

Professor Ella Kivikoski's groundbreaking archaeological path

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Abstract

Ella Margareta Kivikoski (25 May 1901 in Tammela–27 July 1990 in Helsinki) was the first woman in Finland to defend her Doctoral thesis in Archaeology in 1939. Many duties in the State Archaeological Commission of Finland provided a good basis for her research career. In 1941 she received a docentship (an associate professorship) at the University of Helsinki in the Department of Archaeology of Finland and the Nordic Countries. In 1948 Kivikoski was appointed to the chair of the same department, becoming at the time the only female professor, the second in sequence, at the University of Helsinki and the first female professor in archaeology in the Nordic countries. After the appointment to a professorship, Kivikoski was called to the Finnish Academy of Sciences, becoming its first female member. She retired in 1969. The Finnish Iron Age was Kivikoski's main speciality. Her published scientific production is wide, consisting of several monographs, articles and edited works. Her major publication is *Die Eisenzeit Finnlands*, the catalogue of Iron Age artefacts found in Finland, that is still used today. Kivikoski was well networked in the learned societies, internationally active and awarded many foreign distinctions of honour. Kivikoski was demanding, even abrupt, as a professor but many remember her warm interest in her students. She guided students to fieldwork, especially at Iron Age sites on the Åland Islands where she also initiated the study of Iron Age houses in Finland. Kivikoski kept to culture-historical approaches and comparative typological analyses of artefacts and solid remains.

Keywords: archaeology, University of Helsinki, Iron Age, teaching

Origins in the Tavastia Province

Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990) became the first female professor in archaeology in Finland and in the Nordic countries in 1948, when she was appointed to hold a chair at the University of Helsinki. In her time, she also was the only female professor at the university after the previous female professor Laimi Leidenius had passed away (Schauman-Lönnqvist 2004; Korppi-Tommola 2020; Silver 2020c). In this article we present Ella Kivikoski's path to the professorship and her research and teaching activities as a professor (1948–1969) (HUCA: HPDA, minutes, Kivikoski's CV; see also Uino & Silver 2021).

In 2004 Marianne Schauman-Lönnqvist published an article in Finnish *Nainen*

Arkeologiassa: Ella Kivikoski, tutkija ja opettaja (A Woman in Archaeology: Ella Kivikoski, Researcher and Teacher) (Schauman-Lönnqvist 2004); she had earlier published Kivikoski's bibliography (Schauman-Lönnqvist 1991). In 2020, the present authors edited a book *Tiedenainen peilissä: arkeologian professori Ella Kivikosken elämä ja tutkimuskentät* (A Female Scientist in a Mirror: The Life and Research Fields of Archaeology Professor Ella Kivikoski, originally in Finnish including English abstracts). Previous research published in these books and their archival sources and bibliographies will serve as a general basis for the present article. The book contains articles that have been written by first-rate experts in various subjects that touch Ella Kivikoski's life and her career; we are indebted to their contribu-

tion and information that we are able to present here, but generally the interpretations are ours, and we are only responsible for the contents of this overview.

Ella Kivikoski grew up in the country parish village of Tammela and its industrial centre of Forssa that belonged to the Tavastia (Häme) Province in Finland. Ella Kivikoski's father Juho Kivikoski (1862–1939) was originally a primary school teacher who was involved in establishing the first Finnish-speaking secondary school in Forssa that was the first so-called countryside secondary school in Finland. He was a Finnish nationalist who also participated in municipal politics. The Kivikoski family was bilingual. The mother Jenny (maiden name Grönroos, 1870–1947) was originally a Swedish-speaking Finn who had received her matriculation examination in a Swedish girls' secondary school in Helsinki and had also lived in St. Petersburg. She read enlightened texts, for example, concerning psychologist Alfred Adler's views according to which the women need not feel suppressed but can express themselves in various ways. Ella Kivikoski had three siblings: two sisters and one brother. Ella Kivikoski's childhood landscape in Tammela included ancient remains mainly dating from the Iron Age, such as cairns, and some of their findings were known in the neighbourhood of the family's summer villa (Kostet 2020; Nykänen 2020; Silver & Uino 2020a, 14).

Ella Kivikoski's childhood and school years occurred during a politically challenging time that included the Russian oppression against the autonomous status of the Grand Duchy of Finland (1899–1905, 1908–1917) as Finland was becoming an independent state in 1917 and during the immediate time of the civil war that was waged in 1918 (Silver 2020c). After completing the parish village primary school, all four of the family's children were enrolled in and matriculated from the Finnish secondary school in Forssa. Forssa was a village that had been established for the textile industry, although it resembled a town in its outlook and was an economically vibrant centre with international connections in the mill trade. Father Juho Kivikoski gradually became a bank director in Forssa during the children's school years. Ella Kivikoski took her ma-

trication examination in 1919 (Figure 1), but she did not immediately apply to the university. She first worked as a clerk in the bank where her father was a director (Schauman-Lönnqvist 2004; Kostet 2020; Nykänen 2020; Silver 2020c).

Female pathbreakers showing the way

Kivikoski applied to and was accepted by the University of Helsinki to study History of Finland and Scandinavia in 1927. She was rather mature when enrolling in the university and was able to pass her studies relatively quickly (Uino 2020a; Silver 2020c). Kivikoski started following Professor Aarne Michaël Tallgren's (1885–1945) lectures in archaeology during her studies, but



Figure 1. Ella Kivikoski's matriculation photograph from 1919. Photo: The Kivikoski family archives.

she herself mentioned that her initial interest in archaeology was kindled by a book on cave people that her sister had received as a Christmas present (Seppälä 1987, 24; 2020). This book most likely was *Grottmänniskornas årtusenden* (The Cave People's Millennia) written by Swedish archaeologist Hanna Rydh (1926a), because the book can be found in Kivikoski's personal library, donated to the University of Helsinki Library after her death, and she used another of Rydh's publications in her master's thesis (Silver 2020c).

A university degree had been open to women in Finland since 1901 (Korppi-Tommola 2020, 198), the year of Kivikoski's birth. Queen Victoria of England (1819–1901) had also died that same year, and the moral Victorian rules were eased in Europe so that honourable women could participate in archaeological fieldwork and expeditions without being accompanied by male relatives, such as husbands or chaperones (Silver 2020b, 210). The first known all-female archaeological expedition performed excavations in Crete in 1901 under the leadership of American Harriet Boyd Hayes (Fotou & Brown 2006, 206–223).

Anna-Lisa Lindelöf (1893–1988) became the first woman in Finland and the Nordic countries to receive a university degree in archaeology in Helsinki in 1917 (Schauman-Lönnqvist 2004) – the year when Finland became an independent state. The Imperial Alexander University changed its name to the University of Helsinki in 1919 (Klinge *et al.* 1989; 1990). Lindelöf had already listened to Aarne Michaël Tallgren's teaching in Helsinki during her school years and later carried out archaeological fieldwork with Tallgren, publishing the Bronze Age investigations of the Uusimaa and Satakunta Provinces with him (Tallgren & Lindelöf 1915; 1916; Talvio 2016). Lindelöf did not continue an archaeological career after marrying.

Tallgren's mother Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgren (1852–1931) had also been interested in antiquarian studies and traced ancient sites in Southwestern Finland, collecting toponyms in Maaria County, publishing the collection with her son Aarne Michaël (Montin-Tallgren & Tallgren 1918). The mother was already working for women's causes. The son was also liberal and studied under the influence of Professor Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) in Uppsala. Mon-

telius and his wife Agda Montelius (1850–1920) worked for equal rights for women. The previously mentioned Hanna Rydh (1891–1964) was Montelius' student and earned her PhD in Archaeology as the first woman in the Nordic countries at the University of Uppsala in Sweden in 1919 (Schauman-Lönnqvist 2004).

The master's thesis and university degree in History

Kivikoski's studies at the university first led her to earn a master's degree in the History of Finland and Scandinavia. Her initial aim was to become a history teacher (Seppälä 1987). She completed her master's thesis titled *Piirteitä naisen asemasta keskiajalla Suomessa* (Features in the status of women in the Middle Ages in Finland, Kivikoski 1930). The manuscript of the thesis was, luckily, found with the kind help of Associate Professor Tapani Tuovinen during the editing process of our book on Ella Kivikoski (Uino 2020d). The thesis deals with the status of women in Finland and the Nordic countries in the Middle Ages, paying attention to the questions of the marital law, inheritance, celibacy, etc. Kivikoski also dealt with the Iron Age in the thesis and cited Hanna Rydh's book on ancient women in Nordic countries that had been published in Swedish in 1926. Kivikoski was interested in Viking women and was already following Rydh's ideas that had discussed the possibility of the existence of female warriors in the Viking Age – a subject that in recent years has been in the headlines concerning the studies of a burial in Birka, Sweden, that appeared to belong to a female warrior (Silver 2020c, 218).

The Nordic Iron Age woman appears almost modern in Kivikoski's thesis as she explains her role:

'It is remarkable to note that, despite violent and brutal times, a Nordic woman appears both freer and more independent than her sister in more southern countries. It cannot be said that this was due to a higher civilization. Christianity, which alleviated customs, was still unknown here, and there was also a longer journey to the old centers

of civilization. Is the reason to be found in the nature of the Nordic woman? The time demanded all the energy and bravery that was in her. Unless she wanted to be oppressed and despised, she had to prove as bold and proud as a man in her own right. In the Viking woman, we encounter the same traits as in the man: vigor, determination, hardness, and uncompromising nature. The woman in Edda's poems often wreaks havoc and destruction. We know that the Viking women, like men, traveled to foreign lands. We know women who took part in the fight alongside men.' (See Silver & Uino 2020a, 323, translation by Minna Silver).

This rare thesis was obviously ahead of its time, and therefore was not well received among male peers and was forgotten for decades. Kivikoski did not mention it in any way during her university career. This is amazing, because Kivikoski's habitus in the 1930s included short hair, a tie and a beret, which corresponds to the image of a female researcher interested in a woman's status and equality (Figure 2). The evaluators of her thesis were male professors in history, and she received *cum laude approbatur*, which corresponds to 7/8 out of 10. However, she received excellent marks in the laudatur level in the History of Finland and Scandinavia. The thesis is now archived in the Finnish Literature Society's literature archives. It seems she was disappointed because she did not receive as much understanding of her thesis as she had expected, and she had to change her direction (Uino 2020d, 327–328).

To the field of archaeology

Kivikoski took courses in archaeology, in addition to history, after the autumn of 1928, first completing Professor Tallgren's general course, as previously mentioned. Thereafter, with a few exceptions, she attended Tallgren's special lectures every semester until the fall of 1938. The lecture topics were wide ranging, extending from Finland and Scandinavia to Rome, the Orient, the Caucasus, Russia and Siberia. Kivikoski's studies progressed quickly and successfully. Tallgren noted in his notebook in the spring of 1930 that Kivikoski had completed the *cum laude ap-*

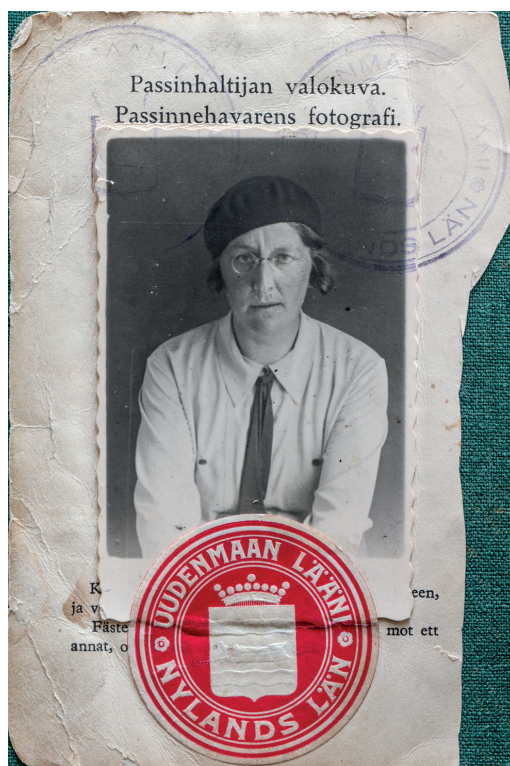


Figure 2. Ella Kivikoski's passport photograph, probably taken in the early 1930s. Photo: The Kivikoski family archives.

probatur level in archaeology with 'very good knowledge', and a later note marked 'glorious' in the laudatur level (HUCA, HU: AA). Tallgren had earlier been professor in Tartu, Estonia, and had even financially supported his student Marta Schmiedehelm's studies there. Tallgren became professor at the University of Helsinki in 1923 after Tartu, becoming the first permanent tenured Archaeology chair after an extra professorship of Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) (Salminen 1993; 2001; 2014; this volume).

Immediately after receiving her MA degree in History in 1930 (HUCA: HPDA, Kivikoski's CV), Kivikoski participated in archaeological excavations under Professor Alfred Hackman's guidance, learning archaeological field techniques (Seppälä 1987). Tallgren's lectures inspired her to such an extent that she changed her curriculum from history to archaeology (Figure 3). She also, apparently with Tallgren's support, had an op-

portunity to join the archaeological course of the so-called Baltic Institute in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1931, thus building ties with Swedish and Estonian students and scholars. She wrote animated letters to Tallgren from Stockholm, reporting on the course (Salminen 2020). She continued in archaeology, finding work at the State Archaeological Commission of Finland. She excavated with Hackman in the Tavastia Province and in southwestern Finland during the summers of the early 1930s (Söyrinki-Harmo 2020; Suhonen & Lavento 2020).

In 1932 Kivikoski was conferred a *Virgo Clarissima* in the traditional Master's ceremony (Figure 4) at the University of Helsinki (Uino 2020a). She participated in the excavations led by Holger Arbman at the Viking Age trade center of Birka on the Björkö island in front of Stockholm in 1932. It was thought that the kings of Birka had been buried in the nearby island of Adelsö, where Hanna Rydh had excavated with her husband (Silver 2020b, c). Iron Age burial mounds also became

one of Kivikoski's main interests. After becoming an extra amanuensis in 1932 and the first female permanent amanuensis in 1933 at the Prehistoric Department in the Archaeological Commission of Finland (later the National Board of Antiquities, now the Finnish Heritage Agency). Kivikoski, as a state official, started excavating burial mounds in the Åland Islands in southwestern Finland in 1933 and planned to write her doctoral thesis on the Iron Age of the archipelago (Söyrinki-Harmo 2020; Núñez 2020, 107; Suhonen & Lavento 2020).

Kivikoski's maternal grandfather had lived in Åland (Kostet 2020), where she had apparently also spent some time during her childhood summers and had seen archaeological remains there. The interest in burial mounds also reminded her of a childhood's folk song that promised that memories of ancestors were to be found in the caches of such mounds (Silver 2020c). It can be said, as Professor Milton Núñez (2020) previously expressed, that in many ways Åland, with its numerous archaeological remains, is a paradise for archaeologists.



Figure 3. Professors Alfred Hackman and Aarne Michaël Tallgren, Ella Kivikoski's main archaeology teachers, on a trip to Riga in 1930. Photo: Karin Hildén, Finnish Heritage Agency.

From the museum industry to defending the doctoral thesis

Kivikoski was planning her doctoral thesis about the finds from the Åland Islands, but the local provincial archaeologist Matts Dreijer and researcher Björn Cederhvarf from Åbo Academy in Turku began opposing the idea. Soon, upon arriving for an archaeological investigation in Åland, Kivikoski was met by the police and informed that she was *persona non grata* in the area (Núñez 2020, 107; Suhonen & Lavento 2020, 262–263). This apparently was partly related to her role as a state official in the autonomous area of Åland, and the suspicion was at least partly related to cultural and language issues. Åland had applied for a union with Sweden but instead remained part of Finland, becoming an autonomous area in 1920 that was then demilitarized by the League of Nations in 1921 (Palmer 2005, 295).

However, a particular friction between Kivikoski and the locals in Åland seems to have arisen from special animal paws, dating to the Iron Age, modelled in clay and found in the archi-



Figure 4. Ella Kivikoski in the Master's conferment festivities in Helsinki in 1932. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.

pelago. Kivikoski (1934) wrote about these in one of her first scientific publications (see Lehtosalo-Hilander 2020; Núñez 2020; Silver 2020c). Clay paws have been interpreted as having been used as magical objects, perhaps representing a bear's paws or a beaver's or seal's webs. Alongside Alfred Hackman, Cederhvarf had become the actual 'father' of the type after discovering such paws in Åland as early as 1904 (Edgren 2013, 143; Núñez 2020; Lehtosalo-Hilander 2020; Ilves 2019). Perhaps Cederhvarf also felt that the clay paws were his private research territory to which Kivikoski had no claim. The revealed connections of clay paws to Russia also certainly caused suspicion in Åland, which wished to be annexed to the Western powers (Silver 2020c). However, studies have later considered Åland to be the original home region of the clay paws (Ilves 2019). Kivikoski

was particularly interested in the paws throughout her career and also printed their image on her own *Ex Libris* brand (Figure 5). Interestingly, Kivikoski's notes contain ethnographic observations of how real bear paws were used to increase fertility (FHA, Kivikoski's legacy boxes).

According to Kivikoski's own account, she had a period of despair and thought even of leaving archaeology for good in the early 1930s (see Seppälä 1987). This may also be connected to the situation that she had no other alternative than to change the topic of her doctoral dissertation. Leaving the idea of the thesis dealing with the Åland Islands behind, she chose to focus on the Iron Age of the Aurajoki fluvial region in southwestern Finland. C.F. Meinander (1991) assumed that the decision reflected Kivikoski's interest under Tallgren to study areas that were in

Tallgren's original home district, such as Maaria. Kivikoski studied the river valley with the help of regional maps, aerial photographs, and archaeological finds, but it seems that the richness of Iron Age finds in the district where she had worked also inspired her. She concentrated on the finds of the Viking Age and the Crusade Period, which also became particularly close eras for her later research career (See Korkeakoski-Väisänen & Bläuer 2020; Ahl-Waris 2020).

The dissertation *Die Eisenzeit im Aurajoki-Flussgebiet* (The Iron Age in the Aurajoki Fluvial Region), was completed but its reception was stormy. It seems there was a schism between archaeologists and historians over the interpretation of the material (see Immonen 2020). Ancient sites, mainly gravefields and their discoveries, were systematically presented in the dissertation. The approach was far-reaching and sought to shed light on the younger Iron Age in Finland as a whole (Sarvas 1990). Nevertheless, permission to defend the thesis publicly was granted

very quickly, and she defended it in May 1939 before the outbreak of the Finnish Winter War of World War II. However, she received the title of Doctor after the Winter War in 1940. In 1941 she was awarded the title of associate professor in Archaeology of Finland and the Nordic Countries (HUCA: HPDA, minutes; Uino 2020a).

Kivikoski's fieldworks took her to various parts of Finland (see Maaranen 2020; Suhonen & Lavento 2020; Ahl-Waris 2020), and she became very familiar with the archaeological material while working for the Archaeological Commission. The Åland Islands remained an important field for Kivikoski's studies until the end of her career, despite the early adversities. Her studies and publications mainly concentrated on Iron Age sites.

In the shadow of World War II

Kivikoski was able to excavate in the Åland Islands during the war years while working for the Archaeological Commission, despite the initial difficulties. She found the stay in the islands very peaceful. Kivikoski was the temporary head of the Prehistory Department of the Commission and had to evacuate the objects and the archives of the National Museum to the countryside during the war (Söyrinki-Harmo 2020; Kinnunen 2020). The Rector's office of the University of Helsinki was evacuated from the bombings to the Urjala Manor, hosted by Anna-Lisa Brander, née Lindelöf, the aforementioned pioneering Finnish female archaeologist (see Brander 1984). So, two female archaeologists were imperative in major evacuation processes benefiting science.

Kivikoski led an archaeological expedition to East Karelia in the Olonets region with Ms. Annikki Nisula as her assistant when the Finnish Continuation War of World War II was going on in 1943. This was the first Finnish archaeological, all-female expedition and belonged to a larger national research project dealing with East Karelia (known then as the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic) that was briefly under Finnish occupation during the Continuation War. Finns were inspired by nationalistic attitudes and were looking for cultural ties to Finland. Kivikoski excavated



Figure 5. Clay paws found in Viking Age graves especially interested Ella Kivikoski. One of them was illustrated in her Ex Libris that was designed by her student Aarni Erä-Esko (pers. comm. L. Erä-Esko, Jan 2022).

Viking Age burial mounds, locally called kurgans, in Vitele (Ru. Vidlitsa) (Uino 2020b) (Figure 6). Kivikoski also started composing a catalogue of Iron Age finds in Finland then (Uino 2020c). However, she traced the origins of *The Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic, to southwestern Finland, not to Karelia, which was commonly seen as the cradle of Kalevala-metric poetry (Silver 2020c).

The chair in Archaeology became vacant at the University of Helsinki after the war and Tallgren's death in 1945, and Kivikoski applied both for it and the position of Director of the Prehistory Department at the Archaeological Commission. Associate Professor Helmer Salmo competed with Kivikoski for the position at the Prehistory Department. Salmo considered that Kivikoski had gained a lead in receiving qualifications in archaeology during the war, when he had to be at the front (Kinnunen 2020). However, Kivikoski was elected to the position of head of the Department (Söyrinki-Harmo 2020, 98). Kivikoski was also then the only candidate to apply for the professorship, and she received additional time to qualify upon special application. The ex-

tra time must have been granted quite easily with her being the sole applicant. Nevertheless, the application process still became a big controversy at the university when historians did not accept Kivikoski's interpretations (Immonen 2020). In 1947 Kivikoski gave an example of her lecturing skills when dealing with the Christian influence in the material of the Finnish Iron Age (HUCA: HPDA, minutes extract 8 Nov 1947). Kivikoski was eventually appointed to the position of professor. As previously mentioned, she then became the only female professor at the University of Helsinki in 1948 (Korppi-Tommola 2020).

Scientific career at the university

Kivikoski started pursuing a scientific career at the university where she inherited the chair of her beloved teacher. She had published the first volume of the Finnish Iron Age catalogue in 1947 before starting the tenure of the professorship, and the second volume came out in 1951. The German language edition, *Die Eisenzeit Finn-*



Figure 6. Excavations at Vitele in East Karelia. There were burials inside the log frames at the bottom of the kurgans. Annikki Nisula is working in the background. Photo: E. Kivikoski 1943, Finnish Heritage Agency.

lands, was also published simultaneously with the Finnish one, and its new edition appeared as late as 1973. The catalogue still functions as the ‘bible’ of the Iron Age for Finnish archaeologists and archaeology students alike (Uino 2020c).

The Åland Islands, continental south-western Finland and her home region in the Tavastia Province remained Kivikoski’s major fields of interest. The publications of Iron Age gravefields and houses of the Åland Islands were among her first and last monographs (Kivikoski 1946; 1963a; 1980). Her journal publications seem to have concentrated more on scientific problems in archaeology. However, Kivikoski was not oriented much in theoretical archaeology and mainly followed the path trodden earlier by others, such as Hackman and Tallgren, in her theoretical thinking. She followed their culture-historical approaches and the comparative typological analyses of artefacts and solid remains. Her own major and pioneering contribution to solid remains was the development of Iron Age house studies (Suhonen & Lavento 2020, 278–279; Silver 2020c). It is apparent that she had received inspiration for such studies in Birka, Sweden, where houses had already been studied. She abandoned any gender-related approaches during her university career, and she did not find a place for women’s causes, despite her master’s thesis written at a young age (Lehtosalo-Hilander 2020; Silver 2020c).

Regarding archaeological field techniques, Kivikoski used organized square plans in site excavations and dug the ancient mounds and cairns in sections. Measurements were taken, including the levels, maps were carefully drawn, and remains were photographed. Kari Hakli, one of her students, served as a photographer on excavations and became a professional photographer (Silver’s and Uino’s observations from reports and photographs). Kivikoski was materially and technically oriented. The typological research of the objects was one of her priority interests, although she also had contacts with natural scientists who conducted analyses of organic material. Regarding material analyses, Kivikoski applied such as macrofossil studies, bread, wood (Lempiäinen 2020, 360–364), bone, soil analyses (Suhonen & Lavento 2020, 265, 288) and the study of the clay paws’ composition (Núñez 2020, 103).

The dating methods that she applied were mainly relative datings based on comparative typological and stratigraphical methods. Numismatic analyses were used for absolute datings possible among the finds from the Iron Age onwards. Globally, the advent of the radiocarbon method dates to the time when Kivikoski was a professor. C.A. Nordman’s *Festschrift*, which Kivikoski edited in 1952, already included an early overview on the radiocarbon method by Matti Sauramo. In 1960 she presented archaeological scientific questions to the general public in a newspaper article in *Uusi Suomi*. She was well aware of the C-14 dating method and was looking forward to its application as an exact method that was especially useful for dating Stone Age remains (Kivikoski 1960a). However, she did not apply it in her studies, despite her understanding of the method’s significance, but continued to rely mainly on relative datings and on the absolute datings of numismatics (e.g., Kivikoski 1980, 33). In any event, her student and successor in the chair, C.F. Meinander (1916–2004), began to apply radiocarbon datings in the 1960s. Ari Siiriäinen (1939–2004) continued to use the method and developed a geology-based, Stone Age, shore-displacement chronology for Finland in his PhD dissertation (Siiriäinen 1974).

Kivikoski’s culture-historical thinking preferred migration theories to explain the origin and change of cultures. Those were in vogue in archaeology in the early 20th century until the 1960s. Like Tallgren, she followed Hackman’s archaeological theory of immigration. According to that theory, the Finns had arrived in Finland in the first centuries of the Common Era. She did not accept the so-called continuation theory, that emerged after her tenure, meaning that the ancestors of the Finns would have lived in the area since the Combed Ware culture of the Stone Age (Carpelan 2020). Her view was more varied. She had already written in 1960 that, apart from the existence of the Finno-Ugric peoples in the Combed Ware cultural area, the area could also have included other populations. She preferred the amalgamation of cultures between the West and East (Kivikoski 1960a). In Kivikoski’s view the central areas of the Finnish settlement after the immigration were on the coast, and the Tavastia Province appeared as the cultural melting pot of the West and the East (Ahl-Waris 2020; Maaranen

2020). Kivikoski illustrated the settlement areas of the Baltic Finns in an atlas, as well as the settlement of Iron Age Finland (Kivikoski 1949/1959a, b). She published an overview on the prehistory of Finland in *Archaeology* magazine in 1959 (Kivikoski 1959). She also produced a general overview, *The Prehistory of Finland*, in both Finnish (1961) and Swedish (1964); it appeared with the title *Finland* (1967) in English. She also dealt with the Christianisation of Finland, which she saw as a gradual peaceful process before and during the coming of the Crusaders from Sweden, not as the result of violent and forceful conversion (Ahl-Waris 2020, 463–472).

Kivikoski also wrote general chapters of prehistory in local and city histories in Finnish besides the aforementioned general works. She acted for decades as the editor of *Suomen Museo* (Museum of Finland in Finnish) journal, collected the archaeological bibliography of Finland for the years 1926–1980 (published from 1936–1984) and assembled and edited the historical bibliographies of Finland with Aarno Maliniemi (published in 1940 and 1986). She wrote articles for encyclopedias on Finland and its archaeological finds. She participated in discussions on the protection of antiquities in the 1960s, when the new Antiquity Law was launched in 1963 (Kivikoski 1963b, c). In 1966 she published a general work on Finland's solid archaeological remains (Silver & Uino 2020b, 563–578).

Kivikoski was the only woman in her time on the board of the Historical Linguistic Department of the Philosophical Faculty at the University of Helsinki. The road to professorship was internationally reminiscent – perhaps including more adversities – of the path of many early female archaeologists, who did not access the post directly from a university career but through the museum industry (Silver 2020c). Kivikoski participated in academic associations, including the female association for *The Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic, and was soon elected a member of several scientific societies, including foreign ones. In 1949 she was also elected as the first woman to the Finnish Academy of Sciences. She was very active in the Finnish Antiquarian Society and held many positions, including its chairmanship for several years. Kivikoski was Director of the Coin and Medal Collection of the University of Helsinki at the National Museum of Finland in 1955–1969. She was also a member of

the delegation of the Finnish Institute in Rome and its foundation from 1958–1982. Kivikoski chose a research career and remained single (Korppi-Tommola 2020; Uino 2020a).

Kivikoski made study trips to various European countries and visited museums and research institutes in the field. International archaeological meetings, especially those in Nordic countries, and congresses were an integral part of Kivikoski's scientific career. Her contacts with Estonian and Swedish archaeologists were particularly close. Kivikoski maintained a lively correspondence with both Professor Harri Moora (1900–1968) and Dr. Marta Schmiedehelm (1896–1981), even during the difficult time when Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union. Views on archaeological remains and their comparison were exchanged with colleagues in Estonia. The common roots between the Finns and Estonians were cherished (FLS, Kivikoski's correspondence).

The Lund University archives in Sweden include correspondence between Kivikoski and Professor Holger Arbman (1904–1968) (Figure 7). Both Kivikoski and Greta Arwidsson (1906–1998) had participated in the same Birka excavations led by Holger Arbman in 1932, and Kivikoski participated in the 1947 excavations of Vallhagar in Gotland when Arwidsson, the first female antiquarian in Sweden, was the head antiquarian of Gotland. Both women also specialized in the Iron Age. In 1952 Kivikoski (1952) was apparently an active and crucial promoter of enabling King Gustaf Adolf VI of Sweden to acquire an Honorary Doctorate at the University of Helsinki, which was conferred in the spring. She wrote articles in which she reviewed the King's list of merits while studying archaeology at the University of Uppsala, his participation in archaeological expeditions and his promotional work for archaeology in Sweden (Kivikoski 1962a, b). Greta Arwidsson applied for a professorship in Nordic Antiquities (equivalent to archaeology) at the College of Stockholm (later University of Stockholm) in Sweden in 1954. Unlike the male Swedish professors, Kivikoski's statement did not rank her female colleague, Arwidsson, for first place to the post. Nevertheless, Arwidsson became the first female professor in Nordic Antiquities or Archaeology in Sweden and is known as 'Forngreta', i.e., 'Ancient Greta' (Arrhenius 2020, 28, 77; Uino 2020a, 557).



Figure 7. Ella Kivikoski's academic circle of colleagues: from the left, Holger Arbman, Ella Kivikoski, Povl Simonsen, Kustaa Viikuna and Nils Åberg. Photo: HU: AA.

Activities as a university teacher

Kivikoski had taught at the University of Helsinki already as associate professor, besides her museum work. The Department of Archaeology was then located at the National Museum (Figure 8). She had worked at the Museum during her years on the Archaeological Commission and continued to work there as a university professor. Associate Professor Eeva Ruoff, Kivikoski's student, recalls how Kivikoski always had one male assistant. Dr. Christian Carpelan, also Kivikoski's student, remembers that she favoured male students and recalls 'Ella's paradigm': during Kivikoski's tenure, the academic positions in archaeology did not increase, even though they were offered by the university. When the representatives of the university called her by telephone and informed her that there would now be posts available, Kivikoski replied that she could not accept them, because there were no facilities and when facilities were offered, she could not accept them either as there was not enough staff (Silver & Uino 2020c, 498, 503; Schauman-Lönnqvist 2004).

The content of Kivikoski's lectures was impeccable, but she was not considered a very in-

spiring performer among her students. However, her knowledge base was unparalleled. The topics of Kivikoski's lecture series were mostly related to the Finnish metal periods, especially to the Iron Age. She also lectured on the Iron Age of neighbouring countries (including Karelia, the Lake Ladoga region, Norway, Scandinavia), metal periods in Eastern Europe and prehistoric buildings (Silver & Uino 2020c; HU: AA). Kivikoski gave a series of lectures during the spring semester of 1962 on the methodology of archaeology that the students had specifically requested (pers. comm. C. Carpelan, 28 May 2021). Kivikoski's students were also active in another way: They founded Fibula, the association of archaeology students at the University of Helsinki in 1969 (see Niemelä 2019).

The topics of the seminar presentations given to the students were often related to the Iron Age materials, such as cemeteries and artefacts. Presentations also occasionally dealt with Stone Age artefacts and sites. Professor Aarne Äyräpää, a specialist in the Stone Age, participated in several seminars in the 1950s. Most of the presentation topics were very material focused; the handling of various phenomena was less frequent. However, Kivikoski developed seminars into diverse learning situations when possible. For



Figure 8. The Department of Archaeology was located at the National Museum during Ella Kivikoski's tenure on the second floor of the Street Mannerheimintie side; the windows are visible around the corner of the building. Photo: R. Roos 1920–1929, Finnish Heritage Agency.

example, opponents had to write their reviews of the presentation in a seminar book. Such 'referee' practice – from 1963 onwards – trained students to summarize the main points of the instruction in a written statement, to which it was possible to return later (HU: AA).

Kivikoski's seminars were often tough events, as one student recalled: 'In Ella Kivikoski's seminar I learned how important it is to express oneself unequivocally. Sometimes the authors of the presentation were almost on the verge of hysteria when the professor cross-examined: "What exactly do you mean by writing like this?"' (Silver & Uino 2020c, 506). The seminars also had an international dimension, open to foreign guests, who were generally well-known Swedish archaeologists (Wilhelm Holmqvist, Dagmar Selling, Björn Ambrosiani, Carl Axel Moberg, Mårten Stenberger, Greta Arwidsson, Bertil Almgren), sometimes with their students. Kivikoski herself was able to tell students about archaeological topics of general interest that stretched outside Finland, such as 'Prehistoric

Layers in Ur in Iraq' and 'Oka River's Finnic Cemeteries in the Soviet Union' when there was no actual seminar presentation. Associate Professor C.F. Meinander also spoke about his travels and excavations to Novgorod, Soviet Union (1956) and about the Nubia (1961) expedition (HU: AA). Kivikoski generally emphasised the internationality of archaeology in many contexts. Prehistoric cultural boundaries do not follow national boundaries, so the researcher must follow the development of archaeology throughout Europe. This applies both to the West and the East, where Finnish scholars also had to try to build contacts (Kivikoski 1953, 27; 1960a).

Kivikoski's home in a block of flats in Helsinki had Italian and classicist architectural influences, and the windows had wide views towards the Olympic Stadium (Silver 2020a). Kivikoski held post-seminars at her home for her students to discuss politics and evaluate new works of fiction. *The Unknown Soldier*, a famous novel by Väinö Linna dealing with the battles of

WWII in Finland, was widely discussed. Wine and Campari were available during the sessions. She guided young people in socializing and etiquette. Follow-up seminars were also held at The English Tea-Room in central Helsinki (Tamminen 2020). Kivikoski especially liked children, and it is said that she and her housekeeper also organized children's parties at her home (pers. comm. J. Kostet, Sep 2016). Kivikoski remained single throughout her life but followed the lives of her students as if they were her own children. With friends such as Professor Eino Jutikkala, Kivikoski held a famous Mah-Jong gaming circle (Huvila 2020). In her spare time, she also read detective stories, such as Agatha Christie's, and Maria Lang's novels, and she liked solving crossword puzzles (Viljanen 1961; Silver 2020d).

She made archaeological field trips to Southern Finland and led some to the Åland Islands as early as the 1940s and 1950s (Silver

& Uino 2020c, 493). Other targets were in the southern Tavastia and Uusimaa Provinces. In June 1953, under Kivikoski's leadership, archaeology students made a field trip to Lempäälä in Tavastia where a small excavation and survey were carried out at Iron Age sites. The work's research reports were prepared by students Aarni Erä-Esko, Marja Mäkelä and Virve Ruutu. The university's field course was arranged at Kirkkonummi near Helsinki in 1958 (Figure 9), and field courses were also arranged in the Åland Islands in the 1950s and the 1960s (Silver & Uino 2020c, 488; Suhonen & Lavento 2020, 286–291). Kivikoski would leap over rocks wearing a skirt and a safari helmet on her head during the excavations.

Kivikoski also encouraged students to gain international experience and to acquire Swedish language skills (Silver & Uino 2020c, 503). She took students on study trips abroad to Denmark, Sweden, the Baltic countries (Figure



Figure 9. University field course at Kirkkonummi. The cairn was thought to be a grave. From the left: Ilkka Riihimäki, Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo, Sirkka Mäki (Kopisto), Matti Huurre (behind the previous one), Aarne Kopisto, Torsten Edgren and Gunlög Ahlbäck. Photo: Ella Kivikoski 1958, HU: AA.

10), Leningrad and Novgorod in the Soviet Union and Italy. Kivikoski's student Aarni Erä-Esko (1923–2017) was one of her earliest students who was sent to Villa Lante, the Finnish Institute in Rome, in Italy. Erä-Esko, an artistic student, drew impressions of columns and palm trees in his letters to his professor (FHA, Ella Kivikoski's correspondence archives). Kivikoski led a special course in Classical Archaeology in Italy in 1960 (Silver & Uino 2020c; 2020d; FLS: LA, Kivikoski's correspondence). That was the first course for archaeologists that occurred at Villa Lante. Eight archaeology students from the University of Helsinki were chosen to participate in the two-month course, which included a diary in which each participant recorded the events and impressions of their days. Thus, it was a semi-solid 'learning diary'. The course was a memorable journey for the students into the culture of antiquity and Italian life (Silver & Uino 2020d). As a professor, Kivikoski belonged to the delegation of Villa Lante herself, and Italy remained one of her favourite places to visit. Her student Eeva Väänänen (later Ruoff) received Kivikoski, her teacher, at Villa Lante when she was a Wihuri scholar there in the early 1970s (Uino 2020a; Silver & Uino 2020c, 504).

Furthermore, Aarni Erä-Esko was sent to Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain with Humboldt and Rosenberg grants for his doctoral

studies in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The subject of his PhD dealt with the Germanic animal art (the Salin's style I, Erä-Esko 1965) that appears in Iron Age finds of the Merovingian period in Finland. It was important in such a study to compare finds from Finland with Scandinavia and Central Europe. Erä-Esko sent lively reports of his work at the research institutes, museums and sites to his professor. According to Erä-Esko's letters, Kivikoski appears to have had an impressive international circle of colleagues and was a well-known figure at archaeological research institutes in Europe. An interesting description deals with Erä-Esko's work at the British Museum and his visit to the Sutton Hoo Ship burial (FHA, Ella Kivikoski's correspondence archives). Erä-Esko successfully defended his PhD in 1965 (Silver & Uino 2020c, 492).

Finland participated in a Nordic project in the 1960s when UNESCO set out to help Egypt save ancient remains in the wake of a new Aswan Dam project. The work of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition stretched as far as Nubia. Kivikoski participated in the project as a Finnish expert (Uino 2020a) and was able to send her students on the field (Edgren 2013, 262) but did not join the fieldwork herself. The work included studying various burial grounds and ruined buildings. The students, such as Irmeli Ojamaa-Koskinen, Ari Sii-



Figure 10. An excursion with students to Estonia in 1968. At the Iru Hillfort, Ella Kivikoski is sitting on the left. Photo: Lauri Pohjakallio.

riäinen, and Rostislav Holthoer, regularly reported to Ella Kivikoski from Sudan (FHA, Ella Kivikoski's correspondence). Kivikoski was excited about her students' achievements, such as their excavations, licentiate theses and doctoral dissertations. However, it was generally known that Kivikoski did not mentor her female students as much as the male ones. Only men defended their doctoral dissertations during her tenure.

Kivikoski especially saw promise in Kerttu Itkonen (pers. comm. Eeva Ruoff 2017) and Gunlög Ahlbäck among her female students, and she apparently expected a bright future for them in archaeology. Kerttu Itkonen (1937–2022) became a librarian; Gunlög Ahlbäck married and moved abroad but did not continue in the field of archaeology. Nevertheless, Kivikoski's female students were encouraged to lead excavations. Irmeli Ojamaa-Koskinen (1937–1976) was nominated to a prominent position to lead excavations in gravefields in Nubia (FHA, Ella Kivikoski's correspondence archives). However, Associate Professor Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander is Kivikoski's only female student who defended her doctoral dissertation in Archaeology (1982), but the defence occurred during the tenure of Kivikoski's successor, C.F. Meinander. Some of Kivikoski's female students, such as Eeva Väänänen (later Ruoff) and Paula Purhonen, received doctoral degrees in fields other than archaeology.

Nevertheless, only Kivikoski's male students became permanent professors: C.F. Meinander (1916–2004), Ari Siiriäinen (1939–2004), Unto Salo (1928–2019), Rostislav Holthoer (1937–1997) and Torsten Edgren (1934–2021) (title of Professor). The first two became her successors to hold the chair of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki. However, Lehtosalo-Hilander became an acting professor in Archaeology at the University of Turku in addition to becoming an associate professor in Helsinki. Eeva Ruoff became an acting professor in another field at the Helsinki University of Technology, and Paula Purhonen was the first woman to become Director (the so-called State Archaeologist) of the National Board of Antiquities (currently the Finnish Heritage Agency) (Silver 2020b; 2020c).

Summary: Back to the Viking Age and the Åland Islands

Kivikoski explained in an interview that she admired Hackman and Tallgren (Seppälä 1987). She and C.A. Nordman had already edited Hackman's jubilee volume in 1934 (see Nordman & Kivikoski 1934), and she also wrote Professor Tallgren's short biography (Kivikoski 1960b) and bibliography (Kivikoski 1954). However, the Swedish archaeologist Hanna Rydh seems to have been an initial inspiration to young Kivikoski, because she had expressed having obviously read her work on cave people (Rydh 1926a) and quoted Rydh's work on the Nordic woman in ancient times (Rydh 1926b) in her MA thesis that was completed in 1930. The idea for the subject of the thesis actually seems to have come from the latter work (See Silver & Uino 2020a, 323–326; Uino 2020d; Silver 2020b; 2020c).

It can be assumed that the previously mentioned folksong (*Lounais-Hämeen laulu*) that she obviously sang in the Tavastia Province as a child had encouraged her to find ancestral memories in ancient burial mounds and to observe Iron Age cairns in the neighbourhood of her home. She also seems to have followed the example of Rydh's Adelsö and Arbman's Birka excavations to excavate Viking Age burial mounds on the Åland Islands and as far as East Karelia. She especially developed the excavation of Iron Age settlements, including house remains, which provided groundbreaking progress in the Iron Age settlement and house research in Finland (Kivikoski 1946). Kivikoski guided her students to fieldwork in Åland in various seasons in 1957–1967 (Figure 11), and during that time more than 260 burial mounds were investigated (Núñez 2020; Suhonen & Lavento 2020).

Kivikoski's Iron Age find catalogue *Die Eisenzeit Finnlands* (1973) can be seen as the hallmark of her work that has stood the test of time. She was characteristically a researcher of artefacts and their types. Kivikoski had received Rydh's doctoral thesis on Viking Age brooches before her doctoral dissertation, and she herself created the typology of the equal-armed Viking Age brooches found in Finland (Figure 12, Kivikoski 1938). Kivikoski's catalogue influenced the Kalevala Jewelry Ltd. that in its earlier times sought



Figure 11. Kivikoski excavating at Långängsbacken in the Åland Islands in 1966 with students Pepita Wahren and Kari Hakli, the latter photographing. In the background is the dumpy-level of Kern brand. Photo: Lauri Pohjakallio.

inspiration from the prehistoric jewelry finds from Finland (Uino 2020c). The characterizations that Kivikoski gave in her Master's thesis to the Viking Age woman can be seen as a reflection of her own actions and career. The Åland islands remained at the centre of Kivikoski's mind with the Viking Age burial mounds and houses that she studied. Kivikoski's students Pekka Sarvas and Ari Siiriäinen compiled and edited her Festschrift *Honos Ella Kivikoski* that was published and delivered to her in 1973. The medal that was cast for Kivikoski's 80th birthday as an appreciation of her work illustrates the National Museum building and a burial mound with a clay paw. The sculptured copy of the magic clay paw common in the Åland finds finally ended up as a decoration on Kivikoski's tombstone at the Hietaniemi cemetery in Helsinki (Uino 2020a, 561).



Figure 12. An equal-armed Viking Age bronze brooch from the Anivehmaanmäki Viking Age cemetery at Yläne. The brooch represents the Finnish type 7 in Kivikoski's typology. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.

‘Female scientist at the beginning of an academic year: Meeting with Prof. Ella Kivikoski’

The following is a translation of an interview with Ella Kivikoski by Aulimajja Viljanen (1961), published in *Helsingin Sanomat* on September 21, 1961 (translation by Minna Silver).

...I have many students in practical training at the National Museum. However, inventing something to do for them causes a lot of difficulties. Half of the time goes for explaining. And one cannot send one's own students wherever to excavations. How could I know what they have learned? It is impossible to control. Therefore, it is better to place them to organize museum collections.

It is curious how the study of archaeology has spread among students. And in fact, if I honestly speak, archaeology is a very difficult discipline. Its methodology is a chapter of its own. In that one largely needs preliminary work in the field, concrete facts - after one starts the study of archives. And archaeology is not at all economically profitable, our country has not even ten full archaeological positions.

Once a week I have to deliver lectures at Porthania (a building at the University of Helsinki in the centre of Helsinki), but otherwise studies take place at the National Museum. Furthermore, we have an excellent library at the museum that offers access to everyone. Therefore, I strongly oppose the move of studies into the walls of the university. At the National Museum we have a quicker and more effortless contact to the students. Sometimes one really becomes glad, when one notices, how clever the students are and how their innovations can elucidate even [the] teacher's definitions. No, the knowledge seeking students are in my opinion really inspiring! exclaims the professor, I like teaching so much. Research and teaching often mean fruitful interaction.

At the same time the knowledge in academic work and the practice of museum work are in opposite positions to each other, in a particular way being opposite.

...and the professor becomes eager to talk about Jalmari Jaakkola's editorial series on the History of Finland for which Kivikoski has written the first volume on prehistory, coming out during the spring. She recalls many international archaeological con-

gresses. The last one covering the whole world was in Denmark in 1959 and the next one will be in Rome next year.

So, what kind of relations do archaeologists of different countries have?

Mostly we are good friends but also hard competitors with each other. Each archaeologist largely concentrates on her or his own country, and open discussion generally takes place on methodology. German has constantly held its leading position as the language of archaeology. Now the USA has excellent possibilities and finances to study the Near East. In the past I participated in the excavations of a flourishing Viking Age trading and cultural centre of Birka, and it was exciting indeed. But mostly researchers stay on their own soil, that is more just.



Figure 13. Ella Kivikoski on the excursion in the Tavastia Province in 1960. Photo: Matti Huurre.

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Abbreviations, Archival sources

- CV = Curriculum Vitae
 EK = Ella Kivikoski
 FHA = Finnish Heritage Agency
 FLS: LA = Finnish Literature Society, Literature Archives
 FSK = Forssa Secondary Highschool Archives: <http://www.fvkk.fi>
 HU: AA = University of Helsinki, Archives of the discipline of Archaeology.
 HUCA: HPDA = University of Helsinki Central Archives, the Historical Philological Department Archives.
 SMYA/FFT = Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja/ Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift
 SMY = Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, Finnish Antiquarian Society.

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