

# Professor Carl Fredrik Meinander and a vision of modern archaeology

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## Abstract

Carl Fredrik Meinander (6 October 1916–23 August 2004) was professor in Finnish and Scandinavian Archaeology at the University of Helsinki in 1970–1982. In 1934 he enrolled to study archaeology under Professor A.M. Tallgren, who introduced him to the Bronze Age and the Montelian typological classification. Professor Aarne Äyräpää guided him to the Neolithic Stone Age. Meinander started working in the 1930s for the State Archaeological Commission in various capacities, acquiring a strong familiarity with field work and find material. He also served in between his archaeological career in WWII. He defended and published his doctoral dissertation in 1954 on Finland's Bronze Age. He also published that year a monograph on the Late Neolithic Kiukainen culture that preceded the Bronze Age. His interests in the transitional features of cultural continuity then became clearly visible. He was appointed Docent/Associate Professor in 1955 and developed into a fine lecturer liked by his students. He had already participated in the 1960s in the computerisation of antiquities and the evaluation of the radiocarbon dating method. The culture-historical and migrationist approaches had been globally criticised since the late 1960s when the New Archaeology opened a vision for the development of cultural continuity with inherent features. As a professor, Meinander extended his studies to the Iron Age, especially to its society. Meinander found 'a missing link' at the Pre-Roman Iron Age site of Dävits in Espoo for further evidence of the cultural continuity from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Finland. The Continuation theory concerning the occupation of the Finno-Ugric people from the Neolithic typical Combed Ware culture, promoted by Meinander, became accepted by various disciplines in 1980, a few years before his retirement.

**Keywords:** Meinander, nationalism, prehistory, Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age society, the Continuation theory, teaching

## The way to archaeology

Carl Fredrik Meinander (1916–2004) was Professor in Finnish and Scandinavian Archaeology at the University of Helsinki from 1970–1982. He followed Professor Ella Kivikoski (1901–1991) in the office: She had retired in 1969 after changing the name of the subject and the chair from Finnish and Nordic Archaeology in 1968 (HUCA, HPDA, minutes). In 2013 Professor Torsten Edgren (1934–2021) published Meinander's biography *Carl Fredrik Meinander: arkeolog med perspektiv* (Carl Fredrik Meinander: an archaeo-

logist with a perspective), a valuable source for studying Meinander's career that was also consulted for this article.

Carl Fredrik Meinander was born in Helsinki in 1916 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV), when Finland was still a Grand Duchy under Russia, but the country soon became independent in 1917 (Palmer 2005, 275). Meinander's birth interestingly occurred during this watershed period between Russian rule and a sovereign Finland. That can be seen, if wished, as symbolic of the future archaeologist who would concentrate on finding transitional phenomena in

previous cultures. His parents' influence on his participation in excavations as a school boy and later on his enrollment in the university to study both archaeology and history was apparent. His father was art historian Dr. Karl Konrad 'Konni' Meinander (1872–1933) (Figure 1), Curator of the Historical Department at the National Museum under the State Archaeological Commission. His mother, Martha Meinander (1887–1967) (born Schauman, family of noble origin) (Figure 2), worked as an amanuensis and later as a conservator there, first in archaeological conservation. His father had studied Basics in Archaeology under Professor Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945), who had been appointed to the professorship in 1923 after the permanent chair had been established at the University of Helsinki in 1921 (Salminen 1993b, 39; Edgren 2001; Edgren 2013, 29).

Coming from a Finnish-Swedish family, Meinander studied at the Swedish-speaking Svenska normallyceum (Norsen) boys' high school



Figure 1. Carl Fredrik Meinander's father, Karl Konrad Meinander, Curator at the National Museum, who had studied archaeology under Tallgren before his son. Meinander photographed at his work in 1904. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.



Figure 2. Conservator Martha Meinander, Carl Fredrik Meinander's mother, who had also worked in archaeological conservation. Photograph taken during the first half of the 20th century. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.

and the secondary school that his father had also attended in the centre of Helsinki (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV; Edgren 2013, 9). It had been established by the national philosopher J.V. Snellman in 1864 (Rosenqvist 1915, 9–11), so one would expect the school to have been an educational institute with a strong national spirit. It served as a hub for several academics in Finland, and the school comradeship continued among many throughout their lives. No wonder that it inspired students to an academic life: Since 1880 the school building had actually been situated at Unioninkatu Street (Meinander 2014, 18) so that the University of Helsinki's observatory stood on the southern hill, and the university's main building was situated further down the street. Normallyceums also have had an integral didactic and pedagogical approach with practi-

cal training classes for those studying to become teachers. Therefore, the pupils became familiar with various teachers and teaching methods. It is apparent that some of them, future teachers like Meinander, benefited from that integral part of the pedagogical program.

Meinander matriculated from the school in 1934 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). His father had died in 1933, just before the important year of his graduation and enrollment in the University of Helsinki to study archaeology under Tallgren in 1934 (Edgren 2001; SLS, Meinander Family archives). The booklet of the requirements for the studies accepted in the spring 1933 reveal that the Basics in Archaeology of Finland and Northern Countries comprised the Montelian typologies and Introduction to Antiquity as well as Tallgren's own studies on East-Baltic Prehistory and ancient sites and monuments in Finland besides Moritz Hoernes's and Friedrich Behn's *Ancient Cultures* in German (The Requirements of Candidate of Philosophy accepted in spring 1933, 19). Meinander attended various courses in archaeology and then participated in practical fieldwork, first in Ostrobothnia on the western coast of Finland on Docent Aarne Europæus' (later Äyräpää) (1887–1971) excavations of an Iron Age site at Gullydynt in Vöyri and in Laihia in 1935–1937 (Figure 3) and further in C.A. Nordman's investigations at Kälämäki, also in Vöyri in 1936–1937 (FHAA, kypfi.fi; Äyräpää 1991). Meinander was soon also able to lead ex-

cavations himself in Ostrobothnia at an Iron Age cairn site in Laihia, Mujanvainio, in 1937, and further at Kälämäki with his school mate Dan Nordman in 1938 (FHAA, kypfi.fi).

The two sites, namely, Gullydynt and Kälämäki, that Meinander had been excavating as a young student in Ostrobothnia were later included as inspiring examples for his students in his lectures as a professor. For Meinander Gullydynt and Kälämäki were examples of local toponyms that he used as indications of archaeological finds: Gullydynt would refer to hidden gold in local folklore and Kälämäki to a gravehill. Earlier excavations at Gullydynt since the 19th century had provided rich finds, thought to be some of the richest, from the Migration and Merovingian periods of the Iron Age in the country, including items of gold decorated with the Germanic animal art (Meinander 1950, 80–115).

Meinander studied history, art history and ethnology besides archaeology (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV) (Figure 4). He did not concentrate on the Migration and Merovingian periods, despite the early interesting and inspiring field experiences that dealt with the Iron Age and even historical periods; he instead started focusing on the Stone and Bronze Ages. The reasons can apparently be partly found in the specialties of Meinander's major teachers, Tallgren and Äyräpää. Nevertheless, Meinander returned and expanded his studies to the Iron Age in his later career, which will be discussed in due course.



Figure 3. Dr. Aarne Äyräpää in an archaeologists' accommodation drying wet clothes during the excavations with Carl Fredrik Meinander in Laihia in 1935. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.

## The national spirit affected archaeology and Meinander

The national spirit had already risen in Finland under Russia in the 19th century and continued at the beginning of the 20th century, also flourishing in Finnish-Swedish circles. *The Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic that Elias Lönnrot collected in the Karelian areas, was published in 1835. Literature, visual arts and music were focusing on the Finnish elements of the culture. The Imperial Alexander University had also been promoting Finland as a concept (Jussila *et al.* 1999, 39–40). Nationalism had inspired Finnish archaeologists as well, and apparently led them to study the origin of the Finns. Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) was the first professor in Finland in archaeology which did not yet, however, have a permanent chair in the Imperial Alexander University's curriculum, known since 1919 as the University of Helsinki. Aspelin's work *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (The initials of the Finno-Ugric studies of Antiquity) was published in 1875. *Antiquités du nord finno-ougrien*, an international version of his studies of the Finno-Ugric people, appeared in 1877 (see Salminen 2006; 2007).



Figure 4. Carl Fredrik Meinander wearing the student cap of the matriculated student during a field trip (furthest on the left) led by Sakari Pälsi, chief of the Prehistory Department at the State Archaeological Commission, for young ethnologists in a photographing and filming course to the Seurasaari Open Air Museum in 1938. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency.

Finnish nationalism, however, was oppressed by Tsarist Russia, and Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918) at the end of the 19th century. General Nikolay Bobrikov was nominated in 1898 to govern Finland as a mere province of Russia. This started the Russification process that was seen as an assault on the country's autonomy (Palmer 2005, 236–243). Martha Meinander's half-brother was famous Finnish activist Eugen Schauman (1875–1904) (Edgren 2013, 12–13). After shooting Bobrikov and the death of them both, Schauman became a hero among the nationalists, especially in student circles. Many Swedish speaking Finns participated in the national movement, even changing their last names into Finnish, a phenomenon called Finnicisation/Fennicisation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, although the Meinanders did not change their name. However, Carl Fredrik Meinander's parents had taken it seriously that their son should learn to speak fluent Finnish, and he himself said that he had been sent as a school boy to the Finnish-speaking countryside of Savo for summers to learn fluent Finnish, which he caught with a Savo dialect (pers. comm. to the author). Eventually, in all the tests of the Finnish language at the university, Meinander had gained complete command of the language (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV).

Meinander was very active in student life in the Nylands Nation (NN), a guild of Finnish-Swedish students in the Uusimaa Province of Southern Finland. He was engaged then in studying local native place histories and informing the public about the local traditions of Uusimaa. In 1931 he had already, as a school boy, participated in founding a Finnish-Swedish association to study the local native places in the region. The association gathered students who were studying or were interested in archaeology, ethnography and local dialects. The members organised small expeditions to the countryside of the Uusimaa province during the summer time, and they arranged meetings during the autumn and spring terms that included presentations and discussions (Bränn & Vainio-Kurtakko 2008, 82). In between his studies Meinander worked for the Finnish-Swedish students' magazine *Studentbladet*, also serving as an assistant for his schoolmate Georg Henrik von Wright (1916–2003) (Edgren 2013,

41–44), who later became an internationally famous philosopher.

The subject of the Finns' origins, like the archaeology of Finland in general, had obviously left a mark on the young student's mind, and this interest continued throughout his career. In 1938 while a student, Meinander started working as an extraordinary amanuensis for the National Museum's Prehistoric Department under the State Archaeological Commission (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). The possibility of a war in Europe after the *Anschluss* and the Munich Agreement became more apparent in 1938 (Palmer 2005, 315–316). In 1939 he was shortly appointed to the position of deputy amanuensis at the prehistoric department during the late summer and early autumn (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). He was then able to lead a short salvage excavation on the Karelian Isthmus at Kalmistomäki, Hovi, in Räisälä to test the site for a planned building (FHAA, kypipi.fi). A Bronze Age settlement and a graveyard at Räisälä, possibly continuing to the Iron Age, with inhumation burials that Tallgren had earlier excavated in 1914 (FHAA, kypipi.fi), were known to have existed. However, Meinander found nothing during his visit. Kalmistomäki, the name of which also carried a reference to a gravehill, would become an important site for Meinander's theory building later on.

The area of Karelia was understood as the cradle of the Kalevala-metric folk poetry, and it was thought that the poetry described Finland's Iron Age world. Meinander's visit to Räisälä occurred in the late summer of 1939, before the Soviet Union attacked Finland that autumn and the Winter War started in November (Palmer 2005, 334). He had joined the White Civil Guards in the 1930s, initially as a scout, and he was soon trained to become a soldier prepared to protect the land (Edgren 2013, 53–55). The visit to Räisälä was the end of a peaceful era: The area was part of the lands in the Karelian Isthmus that were ceded to the Soviet Union in the final peace treaty of World War II in 1947 (Jussila *et al.* 1999). Meinander served as a conscript during the Winter War (1939–1940) and as a conscript and a reserve officer in the Continuation War (1941–1944) of WWII (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV; Edgren 2013, 56).

Meinander's participation in field work and reporting, student guilds and military service

in the wars that occurred between 1939–1945 obviously affected his studies, so they took from 1934 to 1943 to complete. He received *magna cum laude* for his Master's thesis on the Neolithic site of Jettböle in Jomala on the Åland Islands (SLS, Meinander Family Archives). He graduated *eximia cum laude approbatur* in his Candidate of Philosophy degree in Archaeology in 1943 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). His other subjects were general history and art history (HUCA, HPDA, minutes).

## To the Bronze Age studies of Finland

Alfred Hackman had published a doctoral study, *Die Bronzezeit Finnlands*, in 1897 on the Bronze Age of Finland, which also raised interest in the Finns' origins. Tallgren's doctoral dissertation *Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland: I Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nordwestrussland: Die ältere Metallzeit in Ostrussland* (The Copper and Bronze Age in Northern and Eastern Russia: The Copper and Bronze Age in Northwestern Russia, the Older Metal Age in East Russia) (Figure 5), from 1911, was also a groundbreaking work in the Bronze Age studies published in the country. It stretched the subject to East Russia when Finland was still under Russia and the area entailed the possibility of tracing the Finno-Ugric people's origins (see more Tiitinen 1988; Salminen 2007).

The Bronze Age had also been in vogue in Scandinavian archaeology for some time. Swedish Professor Oscar Montelius's strong impact (1843–1921) was also visible in Finland. Montelius had an international perspective in his study of the Bronze Age that he had already stretched from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean region in his 19th century publications. He studied the distribution of the types of Bronze Age finds in the Near East. His approach became a normative principle for prehistorians in Europe, and its diffusionist approach of the cultural centres from which cultures emanated affected V. Gordon Childe (1939). Montelius also had a profound influence on Tallgren, who regarded Montelius as his most important teacher (Kivikoski 1945, 163).

Tallgren first served as a professor in Estonia but was soon appointed to the first permanent professorship in the Finnish and Nordic

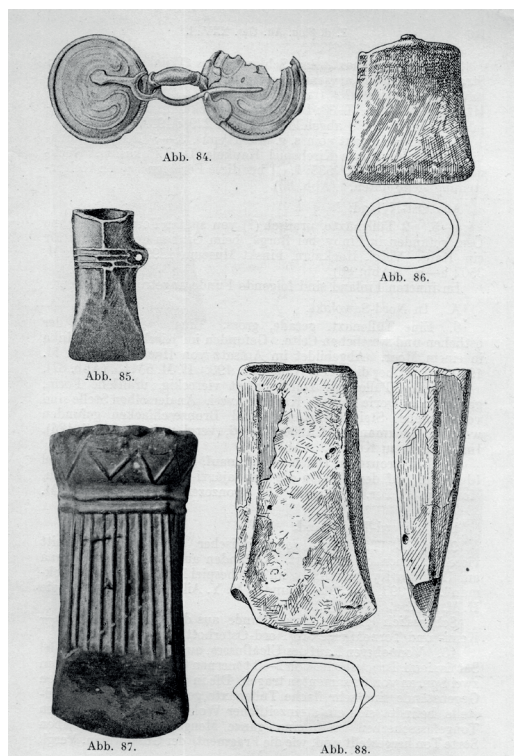


Figure 5. Bronze Age finds from Finland in A.M. Tallgren's doctoral dissertation from 1911.

Archaeology in 1923 after the subject was established as the permanent field of study in the University of Helsinki curricula (see also Salminen in this volume). He was an inspiring teacher and attracted students to his lectures across the borders of the majors and study fields. He was publishing studies in the 1930s on the Caucasian Bronze Age, the Bronze Age of Eastern Europe in general, and the Arctic Bronze Age. He included Finland in the latter work and analysed its connections to the Eastern Bronze Age culture and the Sámi people (Kivikoski 1960, 41–46; 50–52). However, Meinander himself recalled that Äyräpää was present at the National Museum where the Department of Archaeology then existed and was more easily approachable than Tallgren by students who wished to ask something. Tallgren often left the museum after his morning lectures (Salminen 1990).

On the other hand, after Hackman's thesis on the Bronze Age in Finland, roughly a half century had passed, and find material had accumulated without any new synthesis dealing with the Bronze Age of Finland. Meinander thought a possibility existed to take a new perspective to deal with the subject, which, as mentioned, he obviously had started to think about under Tallgren's wings. In the meantime, as indicated, Meinander had to participate in the Continuation War, serving as a Lieutenant in the Battalions of the Infantry Regiment 13 that participated in a great offensive against the Soviet Union in 1944. He led the 8th company and was wounded in June 1944 (Gallén 1949/1987, 80–81). The Battalions' leader was Jarl Gallén (1908–1990), who became a professor in History at the University of Helsinki and therefore later Meinander's close colleague, working in the same department. Meinander's leadership capabilities were marked excellent in the state military injury archive papers; there were also those in the higher ranks whose leadership capacity was estimated poor but who had achieved high positions seemingly according to their social status.

Meinander received archaeological books at the front (Edgren 2013, 91–93) and was even able to write an article, *En romersk bronsskål från Österbotten*, for Tallgren's Festschrift *Strena archaeologica Professori A. M. Tallgren 8.2.1945 sexagenario dedicata*. Tallgren received his Festschrift for his 60th birthday when the war ended in early 1945, but he soon died from poor health in the spring (Kivikoski 1960, 71). Docent Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990), an expert on the Iron Age of Finland, inherited Tallgren's chair in 1948 (HUCA, HPDA, minutes). Meinander therefore in due course became her doctoral student, but he had mainly relied on extraordinary Professor Äyräpää's guidance in the earlier periods.

### The transition from the Late Neolithic culture to the Bronze Age

It took some time after the war before Meinander could finish his doctoral dissertation while working first as Acting Curator and then as Curator for the Suomenlinna Museum from 1945–1947 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). The detour to

Suomenlinna (i.e., Viapori, Sveaborg), a historical museum on the island fortress in front of Helsinki, could have temporarily distanced Meinander from the National Museum and its archaeological collections, but his interest in history, military merits and his participation in the Ehrensverd Society had apparently opened this chance to proceed in his career to the curator position (SLS, Meinander Family archives).

Nevertheless, Meinander started taking leaves from the office for research in 1946, which obviously meant striving to research. He returned to the amanuensis position in the Prehistorical Department (1947–1957) and applied for the curator post in 1947. He was considered a clever and efficient candidate for the curator job but seemed to concentrate superficially on the work and was not as practically organised as the museum work required. Jorma Leppäaho received the post (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV; Immonen 2016, 167–168). It seems Meinander was more interested in research and ideas. Meinander published the prehistory of southern Ostrobothnia in 1950 (Meinander 1950), a major work of the area that he had extensively explored before World War II in the 1930s. That same year he performed empirical field work on the Åland Islands where he studied a Bronze Age seal hunting settlement at Otterböte on the Kökar island with local provincial archaeologist Matts Dreijer (1901–1998) in 1950. Dreijer had already started investigations at the site in 1946. The site was a unique camp with its round hut bases, decorated pottery and pottery jars of the barrel type that were identified as containers of seal grease (FHAA, kyppi.fi; Figure 6).

In 1950 Meinander was also actively participating in the organisation committee of the VII Nordic Archaeological Meeting in Helsinki that was to occur in June 1951. Other members of the committee were Professor Ella Kivikoski and Docent Jouko Voionmaa, but the main part of the work was on Meinander's shoulders. It was elementary for Meinander to maintain lively contacts with Scandinavian colleagues. He had already attended Nordic archaeology meetings in Denmark as a student in 1937 and in Sweden in 1948. He also visited Sweden and Denmark in 1947 and 1951 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). He even immersed himself

in the local academia in Uppsala, Sweden (SLS, Meinander Family archives).

Professor Äyräpää gave a presentation in the Helsinki meeting on the cultural conditions in Finland before the Finns' immigration. It was clear that the view and the dating of the immigration were based on Hackman's original theory that was laid in *Die ältere Eisenzeit Finnlands* (The Older Iron Age of Finland, 1905), dating the arrival of the Finns' ancestors from Baltia to Finland to the country after the turn of the Common Era. Äyräpää's presentation pointed to the problems related to the country's fairly unknown Pre-Roman Iron Age and its significance in relation to Scandinavia and the transitional pottery groups from the Stone Age to the Metal Ages (Edgren 2013, 115–116). It is evident that Äyräpää's observations had an impact on young Meinander, who earnestly then started studying the problem of transitional phenomena under Äyräpää. The Late Neolithic Kiukainen culture, a cultural group in Southwestern Finland, which Äyräpää had defined after Julius Ailio's identification, interested Meinander (Europaeus 1922; Ailio 1909). Meinander also started excavating at a Late Neolithic site of Sätös in Outokumpu in 1952 (FHAA, kyppi.fi) and later returned there in 1966 and 1970.

Meinander (1951a) reported the contents of the important Nordic meeting, compiled and edited some of its Finnish presentations into a small book in Swedish aimed at students and larger public, *Forntid och fornynd: en översikt av Finlands förhistoria i den moderna arkeologins belysning* (Ancient time and ancient finds: an oversight on the prehistory of Finland in the light of modern archaeology, 1952). The title promoted the modern research in the field, and striving for modern science seems to have taken hold in Meinander's young mind. The book became a handy introduction to the archaeology of Finland, for which Meinander had written five and a half chapters dealing with the Neolithic Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The Kiukainen culture has a special chapter of its own. The Stone Age in the Åland Islands was also studied as its own entity relating to the development that was partly seen to have differed from that on the mainland. The book thematically anticipated the coming of his dissertation.



Figure 6. A Bronze Age seal hunting settlement of Otterböte that Meinander excavated with provincial archaeologist Matts Dreijer on Kökar Island in the Åland Archipelago in 1950. Photo taken in 1950, photographer unknown, Finnish Heritage Agency.

Meinander publicly defended his doctoral dissertation *Die Bronzezeit in Finnland* (The Bronze Age in Finland) under Professor Kivikoski in 1954, and the work was published by the Finnish Antiquarian Society (Meinander 1954a). Bronze Age artefacts that were categorised as weapons were the Nordic type of palstave axes, swords, daggers and lance heads. He defined some of the palstave axes as working axes, as well as the socketed axes such as the Mälär, Seima, Ananino, and Maaninka types and their molds (Figure 7). A special distribution map is assigned to the Ananino culture in the Volga-Kama region, and this eastern impact is strongly visible in the finds from Finland. Even if the Mälär type is associated with its name to Sweden, there is an eastern group in the area of the Volga curve. Stone is still used aside bronze in weapons and tools. Jewelry has its own chapter, from buttons and broaches to pectorals and bracelets. The bronze remains of shields are also studied, and tweezers and razor knives are also analysed. Stone artefacts with holes find features imitating the bronze prototypes.

The Bronze Age meant the division of the country into two cultures, the western coastal and the eastern inner land cultures already presented in *Forntid och fornfynd*. The pottery on the coast

had developed from the Late Neolithic Kiukainen pottery. The Kiukainen pottery was followed by the Epineolithic pottery types of the Paimio and Morby ceramics. Textile impressions appear in pottery in both cultural areas, although the ceramics have differences. The western pottery types are identified as a Paimio group of the beaker type. The inner and eastern types concentrate in the Kangasala Sarsa textile ceramics. The Sarsa pottery bears features comparable with the Tomitsa textile ceramics occurring in East Karelia. Äyräpää had already identified the continuity of the pottery in Sarsa to that of the Iron Age. Metal objects in the latter context include the eastern Andronovo and Seima types. In *Die Bronzezeit* Meinander also takes up the finds from Kalmistomäki in Räisälä, the site that he had explored before the Winter War and earlier excavations of which offered a mold for an Ananino axe, a pectoral, and Epineolithic asbestos and decorated sherds that can be associated with the Tomitsa group. He also observed there some possible indications of the cultural continuity with the early Iron Age.

Solid structural remains are a secondary subject in the dissertation when the focus is on bronze artefacts. Each material group is analysed



separately, and assemblages of finds are not presented as such. This clearly shows that portable artefacts and their typologies were still in focus at the time and reflects an antiquarian Montelian approach and Meinander's background as a museum man. Stone barrows are of the Bronze Age type of graves on the coast (Figure 17) that Meinander associates with the arrival of a new religion. Otterböte serves as an example of a settlement, a seal hunting camp with hut bases, that Meinander defined as houses. He then returns again after the solid remains to pottery, such as textile ceramics, as dwelling site indicators. In Tallgren's view the Metal Period culture was of foreign origin and first reached the coasts, while Äyräpää and Meinander saw it as a continuation of the Late Neolithic Kiukainen culture and the Boat Axe culture. The Bronze Age culture apparently was already practicing agriculture. The textile ceramics in that area of the Karelian Isthmus and in Finland seemed to be a result of the spread of the Kiukainen culture.

Meinander's opponent in his doctoral defence was Professor Kivikoski, and Professor in Ethnology Kustaa Vilkuna acted as custos. Kivikoski and Äyräpää were the inspectors of the work (HUCA, HPDA, minutes). Kivikos-

ki's statement was very critical, especially as far as the organisation and analyses of the material were concerned. Meinander's dissertation was simultaneously accepted as a Licentiate work and received a high mark, namely *eximia cum laude*. He was later promoted to doctor in the university's conferment ceremony (HUCA, HPDA, minutes). Meinander's book on the Late Neolithic Kiukainen culture, *Die Kiukaiskultur* (1954b), was published in the same year the dissertation was published. Both the volume on the Kiukainen culture and the one on the Bronze Age in Finland were actually meant at some point to be two parts of his doctoral dissertation, but only the Bronze Age volume remained as such (Edgren 2013, 128). One could see their development from the study of the Kiukainen culture to the Bronze Age coastal culture (Meinander 1954b, 184).

The Late Neolithic stage of the Kiukainen culture appeared in Finland in the types of stone implements and pottery that are reminiscent of those of the Combed Ware culture, but the Kiukainen culture showed contacts with the Bronze Age culture of Sweden at a later stage. The Combed Ware culture was also visible in the Åland Islands, but its impacts could be seen coming from Sweden as well. Meinander connects



Figure 7. Bronze Age axes found in Finland in the collection of the National Museum. Photo: The Finnish Heritage Agency.

the period to seal hunting societies. The dwelling site of Jettböle in Jomala that he had dealt with in his Master's thesis presented continuity from the Combed Ware culture to the Boat Axe culture (local variation of the European Battle Axe culture). The Kiukainen pottery (Figure 8) differs from the previous pottery vessels in being rougher, flat based and having a band that includes rows of round pits at the mouth of the vessel. However, the pottery and other artefacts of the Kiukainen culture carry features from both the previous Combed Ware and the Boat Axe cultures (Meinander 1952, 21–27; Meinander 1954b), which Meinander later associated with the mixture of two peoples (Meinander 1984a).

### As a curator and a married man to Nubia

Meinander soon received a docentship, i.e., an associate professorship, in Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Helsinki in 1955 under Kivikoski, and he was appointed Curator at the Prehistoric Department of the State Archaeological Commission in 1957 (HUCA, HPDA, minutes; Meinander's CV). He also became involved

in the editorial work on Äyräpää's *Festschrift* for his 70th birthday, asking, on behalf of the Finnish Antiquarian Society, around 20 scientists from Finland, Scandinavia and the rest of Europe to participate in writing about Europe's Stone Age (SLS, Meinander Family archives).

Meinander married Florence Helena (née Pipping, formerly Marklund) in 1958, a woman of noble origins, and started building a family. According to his former assistant, Docent Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander, Meinander's attitudes became milder during the marriage. He and Lehtosalo-Hilander had often had disputes with each other. She mentioned this change to the milder Meinander in her *karonka* speech at the doctoral dinner in 1982. Meinander's wife Helena laughed, understanding now why she had also been invited to hear about these changes (pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb 2022). However, as a married man Meinander's publication pace also slowed somewhat, at least as far as his colleagues' views and the number of monographs were concerned. Nevertheless, it needs to be seen in hindsight that the transitional phenomena he was studying needed to mature and crystallise. The time was not yet ripe, because more archaeological evidence needed to accumulate to support his ideas.



Figure 8. Combed Ware and Kiukainen ceramic vessels. Photos: Finnish Heritage Agency; Combed Ware vessel photographed by Markku Haverinen 2001.

The Finns decided in 1960 to participate in the Joint Scandinavian Expedition to Nubia to help UNESCO save archaeological sites from being submerged under the construction of the Great Aswan Dam (SLS, Meinander Family archives; Meinander 1962, 1963; see also Säve-Söderbergh 1996). The Swedes were also involved in the UNESCO project in moving Ramesses II's temples of Abu Simbel in 1959–1964 (Berg 1978). Meinander was appointed to the Finnish Commission of the joint expedition to Nubia that included State Archaeologist Nils Cleve, Professor Ella Kivikoski, and Government Councilor Esko Kohonen; Professor Esko Suomalainen served as its chairman (SLS, Meinander Family archives). The other members of the expedition from Finland besides Meinander also included Irmeli Ojamaa-Koskinen, Rostislav Holthoer, Ville Luho, Jouko Voionmaa, Aarne Kopisto, Gustaf Donner, Ari Siiriäinen, C.J. Gardberg and Stig Dreijer. The Scandinavian and Finnish archaeologists received their own lots to study. Meinander led the first season of the joint project. Queen Margrethe II of Denmark participated in the excavations under the staff. She was interested in archaeology and achieved in 1960–1961 a diploma in Archaeology at the University of Cambridge in Britain (Silver 2020, 225). Her attendance during the Sudan project was described in letters to Finland (see FHAA, Ella Kivikoski's correspondence).

The expedition was rather ambitious, and the first season, which Meinander led, started in 1961 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV; Meinander 1962; SLS, Meinander Family archives) (Figure 9). Ville Luho (1911–1982) wrote to Professor Kivikoski from Sudan in 1962 that in his view Meinander would have been an excellent choice to lead the expedition in the future as well, not an Egyptologist or a historian of religions, because he was a professional archaeologist. It needed to be pointed out that there were prehistoric sites to study beside the historical ones (FHAA, Kivikoski's correspondence archives). Ultimately, there seemed to have been general discontent in the choice of leadership, also from Meinander's side, as well as in the partition of the finds. Meinander's long stays abroad also appeared to be difficult for the family, which was understandable, because the couple had a toddler, son Henrik born in 1960, then at home. Their daughter Beata was born



Figure 9. Carl Fredrik Meinander with Hans Jörgen Madsen from Aarhus, participants in the Joint Scandinavian Expedition to Nubia in 1961. Source: Edgren 2013, photographer unknown.

in 1962 (Edgren 2013, 261–262). Meinander explained that he had to concentrate on his professorship and did not continue in the expedition's field studies but still coordinated the work from Finland (SLS, Meinander Family archives).

Meinander published short, general articles on the Nubia campaign in 1962 and 1963. Ari Siiriäinen (1939–2004), Meinander's successor in the professorship, wrote a preliminary report on the explorations of the Stone Age remains in the Wadi Halwa region in 1962–1963. C.J. Gardberg (1926–2010), later the State Archaeologist of Finland, and Rostislav Holthoer (1937–1997), later Professor of Egyptology in Uppsala, Sweden, contributed to the joint expedition's final reports (Gardberg & Säve-Söderbergh 1970; Holthoer & Nordström 1977). Gustaf Donner financed a small Finnish expedition to the area himself (*Helsingin Sanomat* 24 March 1964). He was not a professional archaeologist but nevertheless produced the full report of the 1964–1965 excavations of his area. His report was posthumously published by the Finnish Antiquarian Society in 1998 (Donner 1998a-b).

## Archaeology as prehistory of Finland and Scandinavia

Professor Ella Kivikoski retired from her post as Professor in Finnish and Nordic Archaeology in 1969, but she had changed the subject's name to Finnish and Scandinavian Archaeology (C.F. Meinander's interview by Timo Salminen, 15 Oct 1990). Meinander was then appointed in 1969 to an acting professor until the permanent chair would be filled. The post was laid open as the professorship of Finnish and Scandinavian Archaeology, and Meinander applied for it. Other applicants were Docent Aarni Erä-Esko and Docent Ville Luho, while Docents Torsten Edgren and Unto Salo (1928–2019) withdrew their applications during the process. Meinander presented his lecturing skills on the subject 'A Horned Helmet, a Viking

Signifier?' He thought that the horns did not actually exist on Viking helmets but were created by the public's popular views. Meinander placed first in the application process evaluations, received the post and was appointed in 1970 (HUCA, HPDA, minutes). His wife donated a study lamp to him that was designed according to a Viking helmet with horns. The lamp was on a table in his professor's office at the Department of Archaeology to remind him of this problem (Figure 10).

Archaeology in Helsinki, during Meinander's tenure and as it had with previous professors, focused as a discipline on the prehistory of Finland and other Northern countries, according to the name of the discipline. The prehistory of Finland, in the accepted chronology, starts when the Ice Age ended. Among the books to be examined in the late 1970s and 1980s was Matti Huurre's

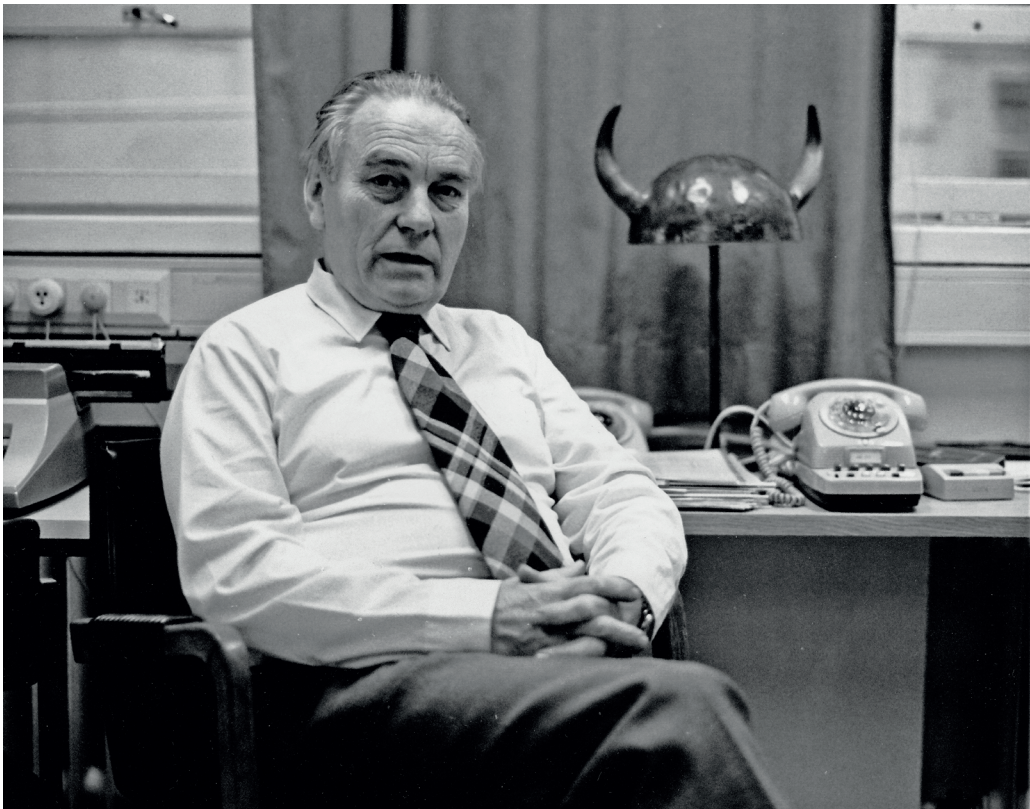


Figure 10. C.F. Meinander in his professor's office with a study lamp imitating a horned helmet that Meinander did not believe to have existed among the Vikings. His wife had donated the lamp to him to remind him of the subject. Photo: Christian Carpelan 1982.

popular book *9000 vuotta Suomen esihistoriaa* (9000 Years of Prehistory of Finland), the datings of which were based on then up-to-date radiocarbon dates. The new radiocarbon dates have since extended the time of Finland's prehistory for 10 000–11 000 years (Seger 1990; Haggren *et al.* 2015, 11; Lang 2020, 66). There was no knowledge yet of the Susiluola finds in Karijoki on the western coast of Finland during Meinander's tenure, but the site and its 120 000-year age, along with the existence of stone manufacture from the Middle Palaeolithic period, have remained controversial. The site would be the oldest dwelling site from a warmer period in Northern Europe if that were the case (Haggren *et al.* 2015, 11). The prehistoric periods of Finland concern the time from the Stone Age until the Crusade period of the Iron Age (AD 1025–1300); even the latter period belongs to the Early Middle Ages in the general historical periodisation.

There was a clear distinction between the disciplines of archaeology and history under Meinander's tenure, as there were during the previous professors in Helsinki. Archaeology was largely synonymous with prehistory in those days in Finland. Meinander rejected the study of historical archaeology under the discipline (Taavitsainen & Immonen 2013, 10). The Late Middle Ages and the beginning of the literary era belonged to the field and discipline of history at the Finnish universities, although archaeology could be studied under the discipline of history, like at the University of Oulu. Art history and ethnology were also dealing with historical periods. In Professor Markus Hiekkanen's mind (Meinander's former student), there was no easy border zone between the fields, not even when comparing Iron Age material with Medieval artefacts in a seminar work in archaeology. Hiekkanen recalls that one could express deviating views to Meinander, and Hiekkanen continued in his chosen field to become a Mediaevalist under another discipline (Hiekkanen 2019, 29). Meinander's former assistant Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander does not, however, remember that there was any such a sharp categorising and was freely comparing her Iron Age finds to the Mediaeval ones (pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb 2022).

Meinander informed youngsters who were planning to study archaeology: 'Our archaeo-

logy does not concern opening of royal tombs or participation in exotic expeditions but concentrating on a rather cumbersome field of a native cultural worker' (*Kalmistopiiri* 15 July 2020). The exclamation type of a view may resonate Meinander's national views, experiences in the Nubia expedition and the definition of his chair to restrict the study to Finland and Scandinavia. Archaeology in Finland has traditionally also largely served the tracing of the Finnish culture and the Finns' origins. If the discipline has included comparative archaeology, it has nevertheless served Finnish connections abroad: the Scandinavian, East-Baltic and Russian connections have been in focus. One could, however, concentrate during the laudatur (MA) level solely on the Nordic countries or on Eastern Europe in Tallgren's time (The Requirements of the Candidate of Philosophy Degree 1933, 20).

Comparative archaeology or general archaeology, or specific branches of archaeology, have not existed as majors in Finland, but courses in those fields have belonged to the universities' curricula. Nevertheless, one could study Classical Archaeology in Helsinki and Oulu, but the subject has not had a chair in Finland, only lecturerships, and is under the classics in Helsinki. The situation has changed since Professor Siiriäinen's tenure (Meinander's successor), and one could also take subjects from all over the world that cover historical periods. Nevertheless, posts were not open for the fields in archaeology other than those who had specialised in Finland. This also meant that the expertise to review the theses dealing with foreign cultures or historical periods had to be found outside the discipline.

Archaeologists were, however, sent from the Department of Archaeology in Helsinki to Villa Lante, the Finnish Institute in Rome, since 1955 after the institute's establishment. Ella Kivikoski had even led a course for archaeologists in Rome in 1960 (see Silver & Uino 2020). Both Kivikoski and Meinander belonged to the institute's delegation as professors, Meinander from 1973 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). Anja Sarvas, Meinander's assistant in the 1970s (Lehtosalo-Hilander, pers.comm., Feb 2022), participated since 1968 as a member in Docent Patrick Bruun's (Professor since 1968) research group in Rome. The group was studying the Romanisation of

Etruria and the Etruscan culture. Archaeologist Jukka Vuorinen, Meinander's student, apparently with his support joined the group when epigraphist Heikki Solin established his research project in Rome in 1979. He continued to participate in Docent (later Professor) Eva-Margareta Steinby's excavations at the Spring of Iuturna at the Forum Romanum in Rome in the 1980s (Setälä *et al.* 2004, 226, 241).

Meinander continued to maintain lively contacts with his Nordic colleagues and arranged excursions for Nordic professors with their students to Finland and for Finnish students to Sweden, for example, with Archaeology Professor Greta Arwidsson (1906–1998) from the University of Stockholm (SLS, Meinander Family archives). The political climate and the interest into the Finnic people's origins influenced the will to build good relations with the Soviet Union, where Meinander himself had carried out archaeological research in 1956 and 1958 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). The pact of mutual friendship and aid (the YYA Treaty) had been agreed between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1948 (Palmer 2005, 376–377). Thus, the post-war Cold War time in Finland meant, politically, the keep-

ing of close and friendly contacts with the Soviet Union. That could be seen either as pragmatism, realism or as a small country's political, strategic compliance (see also Meinander 2011, 222, 250).

Meinander joined the state-led Committee for the Cooperation in the Fields of Science and Technology with the Soviet Union that was founded in 1955. Its archaeology group was established in 1969 (Nordqvist 2018, 40), and Meinander was the group's chairman until 1981 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). A joint meeting was arranged in 1972. Meinander led a mentioned visit with his students to the Soviet Union in 1973 (Figure 11). Soviet archaeologist Nina Nikolaevna Gurina (1909–1990) became his close colleague, and together with B.A. Rybakov they organised the Soviet-Finnish archaeological symposium in Leningrad on the Finno-Ugric and Slavic tribes in Eastern Karelia and Leningrad in 1976 (Kirpichnikov *et al.* 2016, 10). That was followed by similar symposia arranged every other year in Helsinki and Leningrad. Those activities ceased in 1992 when the Soviet Union disintegrated (Edgren 2013, 253–254) but co-operation with the Russian archaeologists continued in other symposia (see Nordqvist & Uino in this volume).



Figure 11. Meinander receiving honours in Riga, Latvia, in 1973, then under the Soviet Union. To the right: Estonian archaeologist Vello Lõugas. Photo: Lauri Pohjakallio.

Nevertheless, Meinander expanded his contacts from the Nordic countries and the Soviet Union to Germany, Britain and USA as well. He was an official correspondent with Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, the German Archaeological Institute, the Turkish embassy for archaeological visits, and in correspondence with professors such as Grahame Clark (Cambridge), Barry Cunliffe (Oxford) and Robert Ehrich (New York), some also visiting Finland (SLS, Meinander Family archives).

### Radiocarbon dating, the New Archaeology and computerisation

Meinander's tenure dates to the time when the radiocarbon dating method was being largely adapted to archaeological dating methods abroad. W.F. Libby had developed the method in the 1940s (Aitken 1974, 27). In 1951 Meinander (1951b) wrote an article on dating methods that also analysed the information that had spread globally about the new method. He joked that soon archaeologists would need to work in the field carrying a Geiger meter in their pocket. The first radiocarbon dates in Finland came from pollen analyses in the 1950s (Meinander 1984b). In 1964 Meinander ordered information about the method from a laboratory in New Jersey in the USA and wrote a presentation on the method's basics (SLS, Meinander Family archives).

There seemed to have been reservations and the need to acquire more information on the method's trustworthiness before its use in Finland (pers. comm. Lehtosalo-Hilander Feb 2022). The laboratory in Sweden solved the discrepancies between the chronology of Egypt and the radiocarbon dates in 1969. The known Egyptian chronology was a way to test the method. This was undertaken by Torgny Säve-Söderbergh (1914–1998), Uppsala Professor in Egyptology (see Säve-Söderbergh and Olsson 1970), who had been leading the Joint Scandinavian Expedition to Nubia. Meinander obviously followed the international developments and was in constant contact with those colleagues (SLS, Meinander Family archives). A radiocarbon laboratory was established then at the Geological Department at the University of Helsinki in Finland in 1969 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV). Meinander (1970) evaluated the subject again in 1970,

delivering a presentation on the application of the method in the Stone Age studies of Finland, and he was nominated to the board of the Helsinki laboratory in 1971 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV).

The rise of the New Archaeology, a school of archaeology also called processual archaeology, was co-affecting the application of the radiocarbon dating method that belonged to the 'modern' research that differed from the old culture-historical school and diffusionist views of the cultural origins. The school made a breakthrough in 1968 when Lewis and Sally R. Binford published their edited work, *New Perspectives in Archeology*, in the USA, and David Clarke's *Analytical Archaeology* inspired more theoretical approaches in Europe. The New Archaeology wished to change how the questions were presented and to pay attention to inherent social and environmental dynamics in cultures. Archaeologists who were following the development saw social and environmental factors as movers and cultures as systems. The cultural change is seen from another perspective as more than simply caused by migrations of new peoples. It was important to ask why cultures change. A new period of application of statistical methods started, and archaeology as a theoretical discipline became further associated with the natural sciences.

In Sweden Professor Carl-Axel Moberg (1915–1987), Meinander's close friend and colleague, expressed in 1969 views like Professor Holger Arbman's (1904–1968) one that archaeology in Sweden had somewhat stagnated, and that had caused a crisis. Individual and national boundaries could cause stagnations and isolations. In that situation new impulses from outside were seen as being fruitful. Archaeology, in Moberg's view, needed new structuring as far as the contents of archaeological work and its targets were concerned. New examples to be studied included Binford's work (Moberg 1969). These ideas were presented in Moberg's *Introduktion till arkeologi* (Introduction to Archaeology), that was included in the books examined in archaeology in Helsinki in the 1970s (Historical Philological Department, study guides 1972–1978).

In 1973 Meinander, for his part, presented some of his thoughts for the future targets of archaeology in Finland, also citing Binford.

However, Meinander included archaeology in the historical disciplines, in the line of the European tradition that the University of Helsinki also had followed, which differed from the American anthropological tradition. In Meinander's view there never had been purely objective writing of history, but our scientific inquiry should, nevertheless, aim for objectivity. Binford's deductivism (cf. Binford and Binford ed. 1968, 16) and purpose of finding general laws of human behaviour in archaeology Meinander found difficult to follow in detail, preferring the more inductive European approach to inquiries. He was also baffled by the question of how to allocate the Marxist archaeology while being in constant contact with the Soviet archaeologists, and which he basically found to be deductive. He admitted, however, that the Marxist understanding of economic structures as cultural drivers was important (Salminen 1990). He observed that, in western archaeology, an ethnos is connected to an archaeological culture when the question is about the historical periods. In the east the ethnogenesis was stretched to the prehistoric eras, and there, 'ethnos' remained a static entity from prehistoric times. He also used an example of a linguistic model of the Finns' origins that was being applied to archaeology without critically testing it. He seemed to look for independent inquiry for archaeological material in the 1970s (Meinander 1973; Marila 2018). Nevertheless, in the subject matter Meinander totally focused in on the archaeology of Finland. This also meant the tracing for the *Urheimat* and the ethnogenesis of the Finns in place and time.

Meinander had actively participated in the computerisation of the National Board of Antiquities even before the New Archaeology had gained a foothold in Europe. An extensive documentation of the plans for computerising the State Archaeological Commission was included in Meinander's application for a professorship in 1969 (HUCA, HPDA). Ari Siiriäinen, Meinander's successor in the professorship, described the occasion when Clark's *Analytical Archaeology* reached his hands at the Coin and Medal Cabinet of the National Museum in Finland as mind-blowing. Siiriäinen defended his PhD dissertation *Studies relating to shore displacement and Stone Age Chronology in Finland* under Meinander in 1974. The

dissertation was applying natural sciences, such as geology, in building up chronologies and, as such, was clearly a new opening of Finnish archaeology towards the exact sciences. Meinander participated in conferences dealing with the computerisation of archaeology (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV) and ordered such books as J.E. Doran's and F.R. Hudson's (1975) *Mathematics and Computers in Archaeology* (SLS, Meinander Family archives). Despite his initial doubts concerning the New Archaeology, Meinander was gradually partly influenced by it, although he did distance himself from its deductive approaches.

### Assistants and life at the Department of Archaeology

The Department of Archaeology initially had only one assistant it inherited from Ella Kivikoski's tenure, but in Meinander's time the posts increased to two. The assistantships allowed research to be carried out that aimed for theses. Pekka Sarvas continued as an assistant at the Department from Kivikoski's professorship from 1969 to the beginning of Meinander's tenure. Aimo Kehusmaa became a temporary assistant with Kari Saarnola in 1970 (Edgren 2013, 160). Lauri Pohjakallio served as assistant and as a half-day temporary assistant in 1972–1973 (*Kalmistopiiri* 1 Feb 2021). The assistantship was also shared with Mikko Perkkö and Liisa Pesonen (later Erä-Esko) in 1973. Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander continued in the assistant post after them in 1973–1976. Anja Sarvas, for her part, became the second younger assistant, serving in 1974–1977, while Lehtosalo-Hilander was the elder one. Christian Carpelan followed Lehtosalo-Hilander as elder assistant in 1977. The younger assistantship was first shared in 1978 between Marianne Schauman-Lönnqvist, Markus Hiekkänen, Jyri Kokkonen and Milton Núñez. Marianne Schauman-Lönnqvist became the permanent younger assistant in 1978 working with Carpelan. Both Carpelan and Schauman-Lönnqvist continued to serve until Siiriäinen's professorship (The Study Guides of the Historical-Philological Dept. 1970–1980; Edgren 2013, 251; pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb 2022; Timo Salminen's handout from 1993).



Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander had known Meinander since 1958, and they had made common research trips to the archaeological fields before she was assigned to the assistantship in 1973. Meinander had said to Lehtosalo-Hilander during their first common archaeological investigations that he did not usually take women to the field, and said that she happens to be the second one after a noble lady. He also wondered where the Finnish name 'Lehtosalo' originated, to which Lehtosalo-Hilander answered that it had originally been Tomander, which satisfied Meinander (pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb. 2022). Christian Carpelan and Marianne Schauman-Lönnqvist, who served as Meinander's assistants (pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb. 2022), also strengthened the students' views that archaeology was a noble discipline in which noble people, including Scandinavian royals, were especially interested.

Course lecturers and docents also taught students at the Department. Visitors from abroad delivered occasional lectures when they visited there.

## The teacher and his students

Meinander's students, including the present author, remember that he was an excellent lecturer. Docent Eeva Ruoff recalls that his lectures were very well structured (pers. comm., March 2017), and Professor Markus Hiekkänen (2019, 22) was also drawn to archaeology, changing his major subject to archaeology in 1973 after listening to Meinander's excellent lectures. In the lecture notes of the Stone Age working techniques performed by Anne Vikkula, the present author was able later to observe very profound teaching with artefact drawings in detail, including the Achaean, Levallois and Clacton techniques that could be observed. Meinander's assistant Liisa Erä-Esko (pers. comm., Jan 2022) remembers that he was very understanding and kind towards students. The governing Council of the Department was founded and included student representatives (Söyrinki-Harmo 2019), being the first one in the whole Historical Philological Department. The students' opinions were apparently taken into account, and it seemed to show some kind of development in institutional democracy.

The entrance exam to study archaeology at the university covered history courses from the secondary high school. There could be questions such as 'Alexander the Great's empire'. Meinander himself, however, also wished to include mathematics in the entrance exams, although that did not occur (pers. comm. P. Uino, Feb 2022). The first year students in archaeology had to participate in their study of the prehistory of Finland in the so-called demonstrations at the National Museum. These personal studies of finds were guided by the professor or by young archaeologists. Liisa Pesonen (later Erä-Esko) was responsible for the demonstrations in 1973–1977; Tuula Heikkurinen (later Heikkurinen-Montell) also arranged demonstrations in 1980–1981 that the present author participated in. The permanent exhibition of the Prehistory in Finland at the beginning of the 1980s was still largely as it had been since its rearrangement just after WWII, when a new exhibition opened in 1946 (Huurre 1995, 10). The glass cases seemed to be as old as the museum itself. The exhibition was arranged so that the cases were full of artefacts set in traditional typological sequences. The renewal of the exhibition had been started in 1974, but by the beginning of the 1980s nothing had been realised yet. Meinander, however, had tried to reorganise the Stone Age material for the exhibition in the 1960s (Huurre 1995, 10; Edgren 2004, 5), and he could awaken interest in the artefact studies through lively demonstrations for a student interested in archaeology.

The books that were examined in archaeology were written in Finnish, Swedish, Danish, Estonian, German and English. Thus, one had to master several languages to study Archaeology. Meinander also encouraged his students to study at least the basics of Russian. Some students were helped when the professor ordered an assistant to translate parts of the books (Pirjo Uino, pers. comm. Feb 2022). In Swedish there was Mårten Stenberger's book on the prehistory of Sweden *Sten, Brons och Järn* (Stone, Bronze and Iron, 1969), J. Selirand's and E. Tönnis's work in Estonian *Läbi aastatuhandete* (Through millennia, 1974), in Danish Mogens Rud's *Jeg ser på oldsager* (I See Old Things, 1965), Johannes Brønsted's *Danmarks oldtid I–III* (The Ancient Time of Denmark, 1938–1940), and in English Grahame Clark's *World Prehistory: an Outline* (1961), also in the new outline edition

## The lodgings of the Department of Archaeology

The Department of Archaeology was situated at the National Museum during Professor Tallgren's, Kivikoski's and the beginning of Meinander's tenure. The space consisted of a professor's room and a seminar room on the first floor to the east from the main entrance. Meinander also started his professorship there. The coin and medal cabinet of the National Museum was situated in the basement, and professors of archaeology were usually heads of the cabinet, Meinander since 1969 as acting professor and as professor since 1970 (HUCA, HPDA, minutes). 'Pälsi's pit' (named after Sakari Pälsi, the former chief of the Prehistoric Department) was also situated in the basement, used for studying archaeological finds and writing reports. It was connected with 'a blind gut' to the storage of the Stone Age finds (see Uino 2017; Erä-Esko & Perkkö, pers. comm., Jan 2022).

Meinander's time meant modernisation of both archaeologists' working milieu and equipment. The Historical-Philological Department of the University budgeted 10 573 Finnish marks in 1970 for the following new equipment for the Department of Archaeology: a slide projector for slides, 2000 slides, camera (Rolleicord 5), an overhead projector, dumpy-level (Wild N10) and an episcopes projector (HUCA, HPHA, minutes, appendix). Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander recalls how Meinander asked her to acquire from Sweden a high metal tripod for photographing the excavation areas from 4–5 metres above the field level (Moilanen & Etu-Sihvola 2020).

The State Archaeological Commission changed its name to the National Board of Antiquities in 1972 (Immonen 2016), and in 1973 the Department moved out from the National Museum to new premises in the building acquired by the National Board of Antiquities at the nearby address of Nervanderinkatu 13 (Figure 12).

The move meant the change from a national romantic Jugend-style building to a nearby building representing Functionalism. The building had earlier served as Helsingin Suomalainen Yhteiskoulu, the Finnish secondary school. Now it offered a centralized site for storing the National Board of Antiquities' collections, archives, library, offices and restaurant/cafe. The National Museum under the National Board of Antiquities remained a separate entity for exhibitions. The coin cabinet,

the offices of the museum, some storage spaces and the facilities for conservation of the artefacts also remained there. The Department of the Historical Buildings was accommodated separately at the House of Nobility near the historical centre of the Senate Square in Helsinki. The architectural fragments were stored there.

At Nervanderinkatu the Department of Archaeology received a northwestern corner on the first floor consisting of a professor's room, assistants' room, a seminar room with a library and a lecture room. Liisa Erä-Esko (former Pesonen, pers. comm. Jan 2022) recalls that the connection of the University Department of Archaeology to the National Board of Antiquities was convenient: It was easy to borrow and bring archaeological finds for lectures from the same building from the basement storerooms to the first floor so that students could look at them and study. This contact with the finds was important in Meinander's study program, and he later opposed the move of the Department out from the premises of the National Board of Antiquities in the 1980s. Dr. Christian Carpelan, Meinander's former assistant, recalls how Meinander usually wore a long white coat of the laboratory assistant type in the 1970s at the Department (pers. comm., C. Carpelan, Feb. 2022), apparently to save his clothes, when he wanted to descend to study finds in the National Board of Antiquities' storerooms. It had been a custom to wear such a coat at the National Museum (cf. Edgren 2013, 236).

The lecture room was serving the Department well. There teachers delivered lectures and showed slides; an episcopes was also used to project images from books or just prints to the wall. Proseminars (BA level) and laudatur (MA level) seminars took place at the separate seminar room, which had a small hand library as well. The seminar room was also used for processing archaeological documentation and finds from the field. The library of the National Board of Antiquities could be reached over a corridor hall.



Figure 12. In 1973 the Department of Archaeology moved to a modern building at Nervanderinkatu 13 from the National Museum in the jugend style, where the Department had earlier had its lodgings. Photo: Markku Haverinen 2003, Finnish Heritage Agency.

(1977), Tadeusz Sulimirski's *The Prehistoric Russia, an Outline* (the first edition 1970) and Martha Schmiedehelm's work on *The Iron Age of North-east Estonia*, the latter in Estonian. A striking sentence in the Soviet book by Selirand's and Tõnisson's with its Marxist overlook to the prehistory appeared as follows: 'in the Stone Age all the people lived in complete equality'. The archaeology of the Soviet Union was also studied more deeply. It was good to widen one's horizon to neighbouring countries and different world views.

Fibula, the association of students in archaeology at the University of Helsinki that had been founded during Ella Kivikoski's time in 1969, initiated the production of an archaeological field guide that would serve archaeology students and archaeologists alike. In 1973 Paula Purhonen, later Docent, and Leena Söyrinki-Harmo edited and published the book *Arkeologin kenttätyöt* (The field works of an archaeologist), that contained several expert articles for students to study. The book was used in the field courses and by archaeologists working on the field. David Clarke's *Analytical Archaeology* (1968) was also studied at the laudatur level (MA-level) of methodology. While preparing questions for exams, Meinander tested them with his assistants to see if they could answer them and so he was sure they were not too difficult (pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb 2022). Seminars were arranged for various levels, and two proseminar and two laudatur seminar presentations were re-

quired in archaeology (The Historical Philological Department study books 1972–1980). Such difficult subjects, in the students' view, as 'Style in Archaeology' or 'Demographic Studies in Archaeology' were given for seminar papers (pers. comm. P. Uino, Feb 2022).

Field work experience both in the Stone Age and the Iron Age excavations belonged to the requirements for the laudatur (MA-level) (pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb 2022). The first field course in Meinander's professorship occurred in Outokumpu Sätös in 1970, where a Stone Age dwelling site from the Combed Ware period was under study (Edgren 2013, 160). Meinander had earlier excavated there and other Combed Ware culture sites quite a bit, including ochre graves. He had gradually developed with Ville Luho an understanding of the so-called Madeneva hut type that appears at the dwelling sites of the Combed Ware period (Meinander 1976). However, from the early years of the 1970s Meinander started projects on the Iron Age to be discussed in due course, and field courses were arranged at the sites (see Ilves & Heinonen in this volume).

Meinander had several talented students, and he supported both men and women in their careers. Several students graduated in Archaeology during his time, altogether 28, at the average pace of a couple in one year, although some years have peaks, such as 1978, 1979 and 1981, while 1974 did not produce any. The renewal of the degree occurred at the university in

1980, and after that there were no *approbatur*, *cum laude* or *laudatur* levels or works, although comparable levels continued to exist under other names; the MA thesis continued to be called *pro gradu*. The best Master's theses published during Meinander's time were in the Department's new series (here called *Prints*). Roughly half of the students wrote their Master's thesis on the Stone Age subjects (12 students) and the other half on the Metal periods, practically on the Iron Age (16 students). Most of the Master's theses that dealt with the Stone Age concentrated on the Neolithic period (Table 1).

Milton Núñez, later Docent and Professor in Archaeology at the University of Oulu (see Núñez's article in this volume), finished his *laudatur* (MA-level) work in 1977 (*Print 14*) for Meinander in Finnish and Scandinavian Archaeology but with Geology as his major. He completed his Archaeological PhD in Canada. His *laudatur* work for Meinander largely differed from the Archaeological MA theses in that it concerned chemical phosphate analyses, a subject related to natural sciences and field methodology, which was also touched on by Heikki Matiskainen, later Docent, in his MA thesis. Mikko Härö also completed the *laudatur* level (then the deepening level) in Archaeology in 1981 with a thesis dealing (*Print 28*) with the emergence of antiquities management in Finland that had been accepted as his major in Finnish History. He later became Director of a Department at the National Board of Antiquities, now the Finnish Heritage Agency. A Licentiate thesis was required in Archaeology at the University of Helsinki until the new millennium as a prerequisite to continue to the PhD dissertation. In Kivikoski's and Meinander's own cases their Licentiate theses were accepted as PhD theses, and Meinander even became Docent/Associate Professor as Licentiate before the doctoral promotion in the conferment ceremony (HUCA, HPAA, minutes). Only a few of the archaeologists reached the Licentiate and PhD degrees during Meinander's tenure (Table 2). Two of them were his assistants. Pekka Sarvas, who had graduated under Kivikoski, finished his Licentiate thesis on the dating of inhumation graves by coins in Western Finland in 1972. Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander, who also had graduated under Kivikoski, completed her Licentiate thesis in 1976.

Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen finished his Licentiate thesis in 1981 (e-mail comm., Feb 2022). Heikki Matiskainen completed his Licentiate thesis in 1982. Two archaeologists, Ari Siiriäinen and Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander, finished their PhD dissertations under Meinander: Siiriäinen (1974) defended the previously mentioned dissertation as an article compilation in 1974 and Lehtosalo-Hilander (1982c) with *Luistari III: A Burial-Ground Reflecting the Finnish Viking Age Society* in 1982. Both had originally been Kivikoski's students, and Lehtosalo-Hilander (pers. comm., Feb 2022) had wished that Kivikoski, an Iron Age specialist would have been her dissertation's inspector, but Meinander did not agree. Both Lehtosalo-Hilander and Siiriäinen served in the professorship capacity later on.

Tapio Seger, Anne Vikkula, Jukka Vuorinen and Elvi Linturi were also among Meinander's ambitious and talented students who were aiming for a researcher's career but unfortunately died in the midst of their careers before reaching their PhDs. Tapio Seger's (1981) article *On the Structure and Emergence of Bronze Age Society in Coastal Finland: a Systems Approach* reflected the continuation of Meinander's PhD dissertation further as an example of the landing and application of the New Archaeology into Finnish Archaeology. Anne Vikkula was studying Late Neolithic phases, such as the Uskela and Pyheensilta stages, for her PhD seemingly under Meinander's influence but continuing under Professor Ari Siiriäinen. She was also pioneering in computer applications at the National Board of Antiquities and in the discipline of archaeology in Helsinki.

Meinander invited those students who had graduated to a dinner to his home on the Kulosaari Island in Helsinki. The assistants also occasionally received invitations to a dinner. The Meinanders' children served the visitors, who enjoyed the hospitality (pers. comm. P. Uino, L. Erä-Esko, E.-L. Schulz & P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Jan, Feb 2022). The Meinanders also invited archaeologists and students excavating at Liljendal for an unforgettable meal at their summer villa that was situated at Greggöle in the countryside of Porvoo (Pirjo Uino, e-mail comm., March 2022). The opening party of the new Department at Nervanderinkatu 13 was organised in 1974,

Table 1. Master's theses during Meinander's tenure. Source: The University of Helsinki Library database.

<b>MASTER'S THESES</b>			
<b>Stone Age</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Description of topic</b>	<b>Published</b>
Aimo Kehusmaa	1972	Kemijärvi Neitilä 4 dwelling site	Print 3
Paula Purhonen	1973	Rovaniemi Niskanperä 1 dwelling site	Print 8
Helena Edgren	1977	Stone objects with holes from the Combed Ware period	Print 15
Pirjo Rauhala, later Uino	1977	Liljendal Kvarnbacken dwelling site	Print 13
Jyri Kokkonen	1978	Niskasuo dwelling site in Kymi	Print 17
Heikki Matiskainen	1978	Dwelling sites in the Saimaa district, phosphate analyses	
Markku Torvinen	1978	Lieto Kukkarkoski dwelling site and graveyard	
Eero Muurimäki	1979	Combed Ware culture at Kurikka	
Tuija Rankama	1979	Elimäki Hämeenkylä dwelling site	
Tuula Heikkurinen	1980	East Karelian chisel types	Print 21
Anne Vikkula	1981	Vantaa Maarinkunnas dwelling site	Print 27
Jukka H.T. Vuorinen	1982	Flint finds and Combed Ware culture flint trade	Print 30
<b>Metal Ages</b>			
<b>Name</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Description of topic</b>	
Marianne Schauman	1971	Iron Age chain jewellery	Print 2
Helena Wuolijoki	1972	Socketed Iron Age axes	Print 4
Lauri Pohjakallio	1973	Ancient hillforts , especially in the Southwestern Finland	
Christina Bäcksbacka	1976	11th century coin finds	Print 11
Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen	1976	Iron Age horse bits	Print 12
Liisa Erä-Esko	1978	Iron Age finds from Lapland	
Tapio Seger	1978	8th century and Viking Age East-Baltic brooch types	
Leena Tomanterä	1978	Two graves with swords from Köyliö	Print 16
Markus Hiekkanen	1979	Iron Age arrow heads	Print 19
Seija Sarkki	1979	Crusade period bands or ribbons	Print 18
Esa Suominen	1979	Weapons from the Younger Roman Iron Age	
Leena Söyrinki-Harmo	1979	Comparison between some Merovingian and Viking Age under-level cremation cemeteries in the Tavastia province	
Elvi Linturi	1980	Crusade period brooches	Print 24
Eero Ahtela	1981	Iron Age in Vähäkyrö	Print 25
Pekka Honkanen	1981	Migration and Merovingian period in Uusimaa	Print 26
Eeva-Liisa Nieminen, later Schulz	1981	Migration period in the Tavastia province	
<b>Extra gradus, not MA theses</b>			
Milton Núñez	1977	Chemical analyses of soil	Print 14
Mikko Härö	1981	The emergence of heritage management	Print 28

Table 2. Licentiate and PhD theses during Meinander's tenure. Source: The University of Helsinki Library data-

LICENTIATE THESES			
Name	Year	Description of topic	Published
Pekka Sarvas	1972	Dating of inhumation graves by coins found in Western Finland	
Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander	1976	Eura Luistari burial ground male Viking Age accessories and equipment	
Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen	1981	Late Prehistoric Tavastia province	
Heikki Matiskainen	1982	C-14 datings for building the Mesolithic chronology of Finland	
PhD DISSERTATIONS			
Name	Year	Title	
Ari Siiriäinen	1974	Studies relating to shore displacement and Stone Age Chronology in Finland	Print 10 FM 1973
Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander	1982	Luistari III: A Study of a Burial-Ground Reflecting the Viking Age Society	SMYA 82:3

and the professor himself decided to bake pizza, a new delicacy that had just landed in Finland, for everyone. Thus, he sent two students out with a shopping list for the ingredients. He baked the pizzas in the upper floor cafe/restaurant of Nervanderinkatu, where it was received with great enthusiasm (pers. comm. P. Uino, March 2022).

The activities of the Fibula Association continued and expanded during Meinander's time. The students gathered at Möykkä, the basement under the Ostrobothnia Student Guild space of Manala, and had sauna bath evenings with drinks and archaeological presentations during Meinander's period. Meinander's 60th birthday was celebrated on the 6th of October 1976 at the Archaeological Department, and Fibula donated a replica of a bronze palstave axe to the professor as a present (Hiekkänen 2019, 27). It seems that Meinander enjoyed the company of his students. He was called 'Meius' or 'Meikku' among the students. He also continued to be active in the Nylands Nation student guild as an inspector during his professorship in 1972–1978, and in 1979 he was appointed an honorary member of the guild. Many parties with drinks were arranged, and poems and songs were composed for him at the Nation by its students (Hansson & Landgren 1993, 671; SLS, Meinander Family archives).

Archaeology students joined trips to Nordic conferences and other study trips abroad.



Figure 13. Meinander's students at the Department of Archaeology at Nervanderinkatu Street at a meeting to establish the Archaeological Society of Finland. Heikki Matiskainen is holding a copy of a Combed Ware jar in the middle, in front is Tapio Seger, left is Pekka Honkanen, in back on the left is Pirjo Uino and to the right is Elvi Linturi. Photo: Courtesy of Heikki Matiskainen, photographer unknown.

Eeva-Liisa Schulz (pers. comm, Jan 2022) especially remembers a trip to Estonia, Latvia and Leningrad that were then areas under the Soviet Union. In Leningrad the group was able to see the golden room with the precious Scythian finds at the Hermitage Museum situated in the old Winter Palace, thanks to Meinander's special relations with the staff. In 1976 Meinander's students Helena Edgren and Pirjo Uino joined a Nordic expedition to Greenland with Docent Torsten Edgren (pers. comm. P. Uino, March 2022), and Fibula arranged a study trip to Petroskoi in the Soviet Union in the same year (*Kalmistopiiri* 15 July 2020). Docent Torsten Edgren also led a student trip to Britain in 1980. One half of a plane was booked. The target was the large Viking Age exhibition at the British Museum. Director of the British Museum David Wilson, a specialist in the Anglo-Saxon Art, who had been in Finland and said to have enjoyed warm hospitality there, received the group with an amazing reception with food (Kotivuori 2019, 30).

In 1974 Meinander's assistant Lehtosalo-Hilander had arranged Wilson's visit to Finland. Wilson understood Swedish, and Lehtosalo-Hilander had to serve as an interpreter, but she also provided him a raincoat for a field trip to Karjaa. Meinander even asked her to fetch her husband's Wellington boots from home for Wilson for their field trip. The boots were too large for him to use, so Wilson joked that he was the man who did not fit into her husband's boots. He remembered to retell this joke to his colleagues in a Viking exhibition tour reception while meeting Lehtosalo-Hilander (pers. comm. P.-L. Lehtosalo-Hilander, Feb 2022). The student trip led by Edgren to Britain continued from London to Stonehenge, Avebury Hill and West Kennet (Kotivuori 2019, 30). Oxford and the Ashmolean Museum were also on the list (SLS, Meinander Family archives). The Nordic Contact seminars (Kontaktseminarium) between archaeologists and archaeology students were arranged with Scandinavian colleagues. One was arranged in Turku, Finland, in 1976 (Hiekkänen 2019, 27), and in 1981 Fibula organised a trip to the seminar in Denmark (Kotivuori 2019, 31). In 1982 Meinander took researchers on his project to Iceland to a Nordic conference for archaeologists (pers. comm. P. Uino, March 2022). Trips by students and archaeologists to Sweden were also frequent.

When Meinander retired in 1982, he received a book from his friends, *Studia Minora Professori emeritio Carolo Fredrico Meinander die Caroli MCMLXXXII gratia dedicaverunt discipuli*, edited by Helena Edgren and Pirjo Uino. A party with a dinner and dance was arranged for his retirement by students in the central hall of the National Museum (Edgren 2013, 251). A yellow industrial helmet with protective glasses was delivered as a departing gift (SLS, Meinander Family archives). After his retirement Meinander received a Festschrift *Studia Praehistorica Fennica C F Meinander Septuagenario Dedicata* from his students and colleagues for his 70th birthday in 1986 published in the *Iskos* series edited by Torsten Edgren.

Meinander also had various engagements in professional associations, and he had built a very large social and academic network that was beneficial for the Department and its students. His role as inspector of the Nylands Nation (Figure 14) has already been mentioned.



Figure 14. Portrait of Carl Fredrik Meinander painted by Anitra Lucander (1918–2000) from 1980. Photo: Fredrik Forssell, 2007. Nylands Nation at the University of Helsinki. Courtesy of Nylands Nation.

He was a member of the State Committee of the Humanities and the UNESCO Committee of Finland, representing ICOM at its general meetings – serving also as secretary of the Finnish division. He was a board member of the Finnish Antiquarian Society – also serving as its secretary, as vice-chairman and chairman; a member of the Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters, the Finnish and Swedish Literature Societies, a member of the Nordic Anthropological Research and Geographical Society, of the delegation of the Finnish Institute in Rome, and of the Nordenskiöld Association – also as its secretary – and of the Ehrensvärd Association, the Kalevala Association, and an honorary member of the Archaeological Society of Finland and other societies. He was editor of the *Finskt Museum* journal for twenty years in 1956–1975. He served as an inspector of the accounts in various associations. He was council member of the International Union of the Prehistoric and Protohistoric Studies and became its executive board member in 1971 (HUCA, HPDA, Meinander's CV; SLS, Meinander Family archives).

### **Studying the Iron Age society: Cup stones, grave fields, houses and village life**

The first excavations, as previously discussed, in which Meinander participated as a student were Iron Age sites. His career generally concentrated on the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age, although he later started widening his scope during the professorship and showed interest in promoting the study of the Iron Age. He began to investigate Iron Age settlements and society at Retulansaari in Tyrvöntö, Hattula, in the Tavastia Province, participated in the studies of a burial ground in Luistari at Eura and a settlement at Salo Isokylä Ketohaka, Katajamäki and Vanutehtaanmäki in southwestern Finland. The Department's field courses were arranged at all those sites for several summers.

The Tyrvöntö explorations date to the years 1972–1973 and 1975–1976. The excavations were led by assistants Aimo Kehusmaa, Lauri Pohjakallio and Anja Sarvas. They started with aerial prospection, mapping and phosphate analyses.

Different light conditions during a day were utilised in aerial prospection (FHAA, [kyppi.fi](http://kyppi.fi)). The excavations were carried out as both a research project and as field courses (FHAA, [kyppi.fi](http://kyppi.fi)). Stone layers, Iron Age pottery, clay remains of building material, some metal equipment and cup stones were found in the excavations. The area has revealed a number of cup stones that indicated the concentration of ritual offerings that had occurred there. One field course was arranged at Dävits in Espoo in the meantime, led by Marianne Schauman-Lönnqvist in 1974 (Salminen 1993a).

Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander had already started excavations on an Iron Age burial ground dating from the Merovingian and the Viking Age periods at Eura in Luistari in southwestern Finland in 1969 and continued to 1972 when she worked for the State Archaeological Commission, whose name was changed then to the National Board of Antiquities. Meinander influenced the change of the Luistari project from a rescue operation to an excavation under Lehtosalo-Hilander (Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982a, 4). The project became the university's research project in 1973 when Lehtosalo-Hilander also started as Meinander's assistant. The field course at the site occurred in 1977 (Salminen 1993a).

Meinander taught Lehtosalo-Hilander the importance of topographical thinking in studying a grave field and helped her to acquire further funding for the excavations that continued for decades (Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982a, 4; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982b), also financed by the Academy of Finland. The excavation project led to Lehtosalo-Hilander's previously mentioned doctoral dissertation (Lehtosalo-Hilander 1982c). She became acting professor in Archaeology at the University of Turku in 1991 (*Muinaistutkija* 1991). Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen, another Meinander's student who defended his dissertation on Iron Age hillforts under Professor Ari Siiriäinen, received the permanent chair in Turku in 1995.

The new project in Salo at Isokylä that Meinander started and led in 1978–1982 was tracing the Iron Age settlement life and society in Finland. These studies belonged to pioneering explorations of Iron Age settlements and houses on the continent of Finland after the studies by Kivikoski's Viking Age house excavations on the



Åland Islands (see Silver & Uino in this volume). The project's field director was Meinander's assistant, Christian Carpelan. Pirjo Uino, later Dr. and Docent, participated in the project to study ancient house remains at the excavations, and Marianne Schauman-Lönnqvist, then also Meinander's assistant, participated in the excavations and acted as students' field teacher.

Excavation field methods and documentation at the University followed the square plan in 2 m x 2 m squares, excavated stratigraphically. Plans were drawn, measurements and levels were taken with a dumpy-level and a level-rod, finds were registered, and photographs were taken, also using a high tripod (Figures 15 and 16). Finds were cleaned, photographed, and drawn and reports were written. The projects dealing with the Iron Age brought in varied evidence from settlements to ritual sites and burial grounds, for studying the society. Understanding the Iron Age of Finland had previously mainly remained focused on the evidence from burial grounds. The excavation of house foundations and tracing the village life had started a new chapter in Kivikoski's time and continued in Meinander's and Siiriäinen's tenures. Pirjo Uino (1986) and Schauman-Lönnqvist (1988) published their Licentiate thesis on the Salo material under Professor Siiriäinen as the final publications of Meinander's project. Uino's work dealt with the Iron Age houses, and Schauman-Lönnqvist concentrated on the Iron Age settlement development from a farm to a village.

A project concentrating on the Sámi society was started in 1978. Assistant Carpelan continued to lead it during professor Siiriäinen's tenure in the 1980s (Salminen 1993a).

## The Neolithic Stone Age and the Continuation theory

Meinander, like Äyräpää before him, had seen cultural continuity already in the transition from the Late Neolithic Kiukainen Culture to the Bronze Age culture in Finland in the 1950s. As previously mentioned, one could also follow the Kiukainen culture continuity backwards as far as the Combed Ware culture, but there still remained the questions of the continuity from the

Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Where could one find a bridge to coherently explain the continuous, inherent cultural development from the Combed Ware culture to the Iron Age? There seemed to have been a hiatus in the Early Iron Age, but in 1949 Meinander had already seen possibilities for finding solutions based on the Pre-Roman Iron Age finds in Eastern Uusimaa, from Pernaja, Porvoo and Sipoo, as Meinander's former assistant Christian Carpelan (later doctor h.c.) has pointed out. Meinander, as a young researcher, had exclaimed that the finds were indicating a new era and soon the eldest history of the Finnish people has to be rewritten (Meinander 1949; Carpelan 2020, 435). Meinander had already paid special attention in 1950 to the types of people in the Käl-damäki and the famous Levänluhta funerary sites in Ostrobothnia based on the skeletal remains. He analysed their racial features and was clearly intrigued by the occupiers of the area during the Migration period (Meinander 1950, 140–142).

In 1969 Meinander published an article on the Pre-Roman Iron Age based on excavations at Däviits in Espoo near Helsinki in Southern Finland. Däviits was a site he had been looking for to test his hypothesis on the continuity from the Bronze Age to the oldest period of the Iron Age, namely the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Morby pottery, also present at Däviits, represented for him the Scandinavian orientation on the coastal areas, an overlapping phenomenon from the Bronze Age to the earliest period of the Iron Age, which also presented agricultural subsistence economy. The development of the tomb type from Bronze Age cairns with a central stone coffin or a rectangular stone edge seemed to develop into the so-called tarand graves, such as those found at the Little Fort (Pikku Linnanmäki) of Porvoo on the southern coast of Finland, dating from the Iron Age. The population, in his view, represented farmers, not traders.

The finds from an Iron Age grave field at Räisälä in the Karelian Isthmus that he had excavated in the 1930s also supported his view (Meinander 1969). Already according to his doctoral dissertation, the Epineolithic pottery that developed from the Kiukainen ceramics that consisted of two groups, such as the Paimio and Morby ceramics, seemed to continue to the Iron Age. The textile motif in the ceramics appeared to overlap the periods



Figure 15. The University of Helsinki explorations at Salo Ketohaka in 1978 where squares were excavated in horizontal layers. A dumpy-level to measure the levels is in the backstage. Photo: Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki, photographer unknown.



Figure 16. The University of Helsinki excavations at Salo Ketohaka in 1981. A draftsman is drawing a plan, and a high metal tripod is standing in the backstage for photographing. Photo: Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki, photographer unknown.

(Meinander 1954a). Meinander was glad of Unto Salo's doctoral dissertation *Die frühromische Zeit in Finnland* (1968) that drew a similar picture and understanding of the Early Iron Age that Meinander had been tracing. The textile ceramics were further taken up for studies by Mika Lavento (2001), who defended his PhD in Archaeology under Professor Siiriäinen in 2001. He was inspired by Meinander's views and followed Siiriäinen in the chair of Archaeology.

As with the New Archaeology in general, from the 1970s there began a time of seeing inherent factors in the cultural changes in Finland as well. The paradigm was changing. In the new development in Europe, Colin Renfrew (1973) had been questioning, in his *Early Civilization: the Radiocarbon Revolution and Prehistoric Europe*, the diffusionism expressed by earlier archaeologists such as V. Gordon Childe as an explanation of cultural origins in Europe. Radiocarbon dating was used as a scientific way to question the validity of the diffusionist thinking. Cultures had been seen in the culture-historical perspectives to have originated by various migrations of people or trade from a homeland, *Urheimat*, not as an indigenous development. Migration theories were gradually abandoned everywhere around the world in archaeology as insufficient for explaining cultural change. Alfred Hackman's old immigration theory from 1905 was also seen as insufficient. Tallgren and Kivikoski had supported the theory during their professorships.

Before Meinander retired, there had appeared, in addition to Meinander, those who saw that continuity was the best explanation concerning the archaeological material and the occupation of Finland by the Finno-Ugric people. In the Tvärminne seminar in 1980 (Åström 1984), which was arranged by History Professors Eino Jutikkala and Jarl Gallén with linguists, archaeologists, physical anthropologists and genealogists, the Continuation theory became clearly supported as the chief theory and became scientific mainstream. The Combed Ware culture and its origin in the Volga region seemed to fit into the scenario that had for long been seen as the cradle of the Finno-Ugric people. Meinander's assistant, Christian Carpelan (1984), concentrated in the Tvärminne seminar on the Sami people and their place in the continuity. Kivikoski did not accept the Continuation theory

and that left a rift between Kivikoski and Meinander (Carpelan 2020, 439–440; Immonen 2020, 552).

Meinander (1984a, 36) acknowledged that Professor Harri Moora (1900–1968) in Estonia had already identified in the 1950s the cultural continuity of the Finnic people from the Typical Combed Ware culture. In Meinander's view the continuity concerned people of Finno-Ugric origins beside whom there existed influxes of other populations during various periods. Meinander acknowledged that, besides continuity, there had been the waves of other immigrating people, such as those representing the Battle Axe–Boat Axe/Corded Ware culture of Indo-European origins mixing with the continuous Finnic elements, for example, through the Kiukainen culture, in the country (Meinander 1984a, 39).

Meinander, however, agreed with Tallgren that an ethnos emerged locally from these elements of continuity and influxes; the nation as a whole was not the result of a movement (Salminen 1991, 23). Meinander was largely a positivist but based his views on the archaeological data from an inductionist's approach (see Meinander 1973). Agriculture has internationally been seen as a sign of the Neolithic cultures, but Meinander (1984b) still doubted its appearance at such an early date in Finland. Carpelan (1984), for his part, held that the Boat Axe/Corded Ware culture apparently exercised both agriculture and animal husbandry. Meinander found no substantial evidence from either the Neolithic or Bronze Age cultures, but from the Early Iron Age there was hard evidence of radiocarbon dated pollen.

Meinander lamented that his tenure was too short, that he could have built a scientific school of his own (Edgren 2004, 5). It seems, however, in hindsight that its existence can be delineated in any case because Meinander brought the views of the New Archaeology under consideration while also promulgating the Continuation theory (with other archaeologists and scientists), the application of radiocarbon dating methods and the use of computer to the archaeology of Finland. Nevertheless, he was eager to follow the larger currents of modern archaeology. However, his attitude towards the New Archaeology was ambivalent, although he was obviously partly affected by it. It can be seen that he positioned himself on the verge of the new era between

the west and the east by amalgamating elements of the traditional interpretation of ethnic origins with the Continuation theory. For him, typology was still the archaeologist's basic research method, and pottery served as a major signifier of a prehistoric people (cf. Lönnqvist 1998), as far as the Finns' roots were concerned. The Urheimat thematics still continued in the Finnish Continuation theory.

The new paradigm of the continuity was adapted to Archaeology of Finland and taught through the 1980s to 2000s. Only after 2000 did the studies of ancient DNA start to form a new kind of picture that explained the place of the Yamnaya culture and its association with the Indo-European Battle Axe culture, its migrations and distribution as the Corded Ware Culture to Finland. The present view still sees the basic continuity from the Combed Ware culture in Finland, but aside from it, the influx of various people, including the Indo-European people, is now taken variably into account from the DNA evidence (see Lang 2021).

## Conclusions

Carl-Fredrik Meinander's time of birth and background fall into the time of the watershed when Finland became an independent state from imperial Russia, was immediately struggling in a civil war and later had to defend its independence against the Soviet Union during WWII. Meinander's relatives were activists in Finnish nationalism under Russian rule, and his parents worked at the National Museum. The background of the relatives obviously had an effect on his choice of a career in the State Archaeological Commission of Finland because Meinander was already able as a school boy to participate in its archaeological excavations. His school years in the Swedish-speaking Svenska Normallyceum in Helsinki exposed him to teaching principles and methods.

A.M. Tallgren and A. Äyräpää were Meinander's initial teachers in Archaeology. Tallgren introduced him to the Bronze Age and the Montelian typology. Nevertheless, Äyräpää became Meinander's close instructor when Meinander was deepening his research in the Late Neolithic period and transition to the Bronze Age. Meinander worked for the State Archaeological Commission at

the National Museum where he could participate in the field work and study of the material. However, when Ella Kivikoski became professor after WWII, Meinander was dependent on her for his Licentiate and PhD research that were completed in the 1950s. He had concentrated on the Bronze Age and followed the typological method of the time, but the transition from the Neolithic Stone Age to Bronze Age was a phenomenon that intrigued him, and he studied it in earnest. Interestingly, as a person born in a time of major political changes, cultural transitions and the question of continuity became the focus of his interest. He became a docent and had more opportunities to teach at the university. He was regarded as an excellent lecturer and was very much liked by the students. Some influence on his interest in pedagogics may be traced to his school years in the school that trained candidates in teaching.

Meinander became professor after Ella Kivikoski in 1970. The name of the subject had changed from Finnish and Nordic Archaeology to Finnish and Scandinavian Archaeology. Meinander continued to have close contacts with Scandinavian, especially Swedish colleagues, but he also created long-standing cooperation with colleagues in the Soviet Union, including the Baltic countries. He also saw both the Scandinavian and the eastern geographical directions to be important for understanding the roots of the Finns. A short odyssey on the Scandinavian expedition to ancient Nubia in Sudan in Africa did not change his emphasis from the archaeology of Finland.

The cultural contacts and the origins of the Finns was a study that led him to more theoretical approaches. He applied new dating methods, such as the C-14 method, to his studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He was already eager to develop computer applications in museum and archaeological studies in the 1960s. The scientific school called the New Archaeology had an effect on his involvement in building the Continuation theory concerning the occupation of the Finno-Ugric people from the Neolithic typical Combed Ware culture onwards, instead of the immigration of the Finns to the area of Finland in the change to the common era. The Continuation theory promoted by Meinander became accepted by various disciplines as a new governing paradigm in 1980, a



Figure 17. A modern metro, an underground tube, started the service and connected Meinander's home at Kulosaari with central Helsinki and the university when he was retiring in 1982. The photo is taken on the Kulosaari Island. In front of the picture there is a protected Bronze Age cairn, an ancient type of remains that Meinander had especially studied for his doctoral dissertation. Photo: Helena Ranta, Finnish Heritage Agency.

few years before his retirement. Meinander substantially developed the theoretical and methodological framework of the discipline further, although his tenure lasted only a dozen years.

However, the nationalistic background and the history that Meinander had lived through affected the discipline of Archaeology in Finland so that it remained and continued to concentrate on and develop from the national grounds to educate archaeologists mainly to serve the museum branch in the country. The Iron Age and its society became fields of Meinander's interests as a professor and in the university field projects in Finland. Meinander supported both his male and female assistants' research. The theses were written on the archaeology of Finland – the Scandinavian and Soviet finds only served as comparative material to the Finnish finds. However, courses on the archaeology of other regions belonged to the students' general education, and close contacts were also kept with colleagues in the Anglo-American world. Students were taken on study trips to Scandinavia, Britain, and the Soviet Union, and as the member of the delegation to the Finnish Institute in Rome students he sent his students to courses and research groups of the institute that concentrates on the Classical world and Classical Archaeology.

When Ari Siiriäinen, Meinander's professorship successor, gained the chair in 1983, the name of the subject had been changed to Archaeology, but the focus was still mainly on educating students in the archaeology of Finland to serve the museum branch. Tallgren had offered the possibility of specialising in the archaeology of the Nordic countries and of Eastern Europe. Siiriäinen actively opened more possibilities to write theses on the subjects that dealt with archaeological materials from abroad; he also stretched the time scale of the studied material towards Mediaeval and industrial times. He himself was active in projects in Africa, the Near East and Latin America.

The present author was the first in the discipline of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki who wrote a PhD that dealt with areas and cultures abroad, namely on the Ancient Near East. The thesis was accepted under Siiriäinen. Tallgren had earlier defended his PhD on Northern and East-Russian Early Metal Age culture, but that was in the time of the Russian occupation when there was no permanent chair in Archaeology at the Alexander University in Helsinki. It needs to be noted that Siiriäinen was oriented to the Anglo-American world, the New Archaeology and its connection to anthropology. MA

theses were completed on subjects that dealt with foreign archaeology under Siiriäinen, besides the archaeology of Finland. However, the nationalistic tendency in the choice of the tenures of the permanent posts in archaeology at the university continued and has continued in the hands of those concentrating on the archaeology of Finland.

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## References

### Archival, oral sources and abbreviations

- e-mail comm. = e-mail communication  
 FHAA = Finnish Heritage Agency Archives, Helsinki, Finland  
 FM = *Finskt Museum*  
 HUCA = University of Helsinki Central Archives, Helsinki, Finland  
 HPDA = Historical-Philological Department Archives, the University of Helsinki Central Archives, Helsinki, Finland  
 pers.comm.= personal communication, oral communication  
 Salminen, T. 1993a. *Annales Archaeologiae Universitariae Helsingiensis* 1993. Unpublished handout prepared for the 70th anniversary exhibition of the Department of Archaeology.  
 SLS = Swedish Literature Society in Finland, Helsinki  
 SMYA/FFT = Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja/Finlands Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift  
 SMY = Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, The Finnish Antiquarian Society

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- FHAA, Finnish Heritage Agency Archives electronic source: *Kyppi.fi* = Kulttuuriympäristön palveluikkuna, arkeologiset kohteet, the Cultural environment portal, archaeological sites by the site name and the identification number. [https://www.kyppi.fi/palveluikkuna/mjreki/read/asp/r\\_default.aspx](https://www.kyppi.fi/palveluikkuna/mjreki/read/asp/r_default.aspx)
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