

FORN VÄNNEN

JOURNAL OF
SWEDISH ANTIQUARIAN
RESEARCH

Harri Moora, Ella Kivikoski and Scandinavia
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Fornvännen 2012(107):2, s. [96]-111 : ill.

http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fornvannen/html/2012_096

Ingår i: samla.raa.se

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Salminen, T., 2012. Harri Moora, Ella Kivikoski and Scandinavia. *Fornvännen* 107. Stockholm.

Harri Moora from Estonia and Ella Kivikoski from Finland became acquainted while studying at the Baltic Institute in Stockholm in 1931. In subsequent years, Moora was one of the major links in cultural collaboration between Sweden and Estonia. Within archaeology, Kivikoski became his most important contact abroad and they helped each other in scholarly work. Their contact reflects the position of Finnish archaeology between Scandinavia and the Baltic countries and the internal struggle in Finland and Estonia between conflicting features of identity, the Finno-Ugric and the Western European, during a period when nationalist tones became stronger in research into the past. During and after World War II many contacts were severed. New ways of maintaining ties to foreign colleagues were needed, especially in the Baltic countries. The ties of the Finns with Estonia were replaced with contacts with Estonian refugees in Sweden for some years. After Stalin's death, the Baltic countries re-opened to some extent and infrequent but still ideologically supervised contacts were possible again. Finland became a mediator in the Baltic-Scandinavian contacts. The Scandinavian contacts and Scandinavia's significance are reflected in both Moora's and Kivikoski's archaeological work.

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This paper outlines the Scandinavian contacts of two distinguished archaeologists from the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, Harri Moora (1900–1968) from Estonia and Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990) from Finland. I also discuss the significance of Scandinavia for their mutual connections. What factors determined the development of their scholarly cooperation with each other and with Scandinavian colleagues? How did this cooperation influence their archaeological work and thinking? How did their contacts with Scandinavian and especially Swedish colleagues come into being, what channels did they use to develop them, and how did they succeed in overcoming the isolation of the Baltic countries caused by the Second World War?

A previous overview of Harri Moora's international contacts has been provided by Jüri Selirand (Селиранд 1982). Moora was the leading figure within Estonian archaeology from the late 1920s until his death in 1968. He belonged to the first generation of Estonian archaeologists who studied under professors A.M. Tallgren (1885–1945) and Birger Nerman (1889–1971) at the University of Tartu in the early 1920s. In 1930 Moora became acting professor of archaeology, and after defending his PhD thesis in 1938, a full professor at Tartu. After the Soviet government closed the chair of archaeology in 1950, he was appointed leader of the sector of archaeology at the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (Tõnisson 2000).

Ella Kivikoski came to archaeology late in the 1920s. She became one of Tallgren's major pupils at the University of Helsinki and received her PhD degree in 1939. In 1947 Kivikoski became leader of the Department of Archaeology at the Archaeological Commission of Finland (now the National Board of Antiquities). The following year she was appointed professor of archaeology at the University of Helsinki, a post from which she retired in 1968 (formally; practically in 1969; Sarvas 1990; Huurre 2005).

Moora specialised in the Iron Age of Estonia and Latvia, and during the Soviet period he also published papers on ethnic questions. Already in the 1930s he was interested in problems of prehistoric economy. Kivikoski published her most important work on the Iron Age of south-western Finland, but she also wrote an important general overview of her country's prehistory.

A considerable problem here is that correspondence to both Moora and Kivikoski has survived only very fragmentarily. The correspondence to Moora was mostly lost during the war and the following decades. Kivikoski deliberately destroyed her correspondence, except for the letters from Moora. However, their printed works, Moora's letters to Kivikoski, Tallgren, Adolf Schück, Sigurd Curman, C.F. Meinander and Richard Indreko, Kivikoski's letters to Tallgren and some Swedish colleagues, as well as Indreko's letters to his Finnish colleagues offer some possibilities for further conclusions. Especially the more than one hundred letters from Moora to Kivikoski and nearly as many letters from him to Tallgren are valuable sources on Moora's thinking. Adolf Schück's Baltic archives are a valuable source concerning the cooperation between Swedish and East Baltic academic circles.

Between the Wars

As noted above, Moora studied archaeology under Tallgren (1920–23) and Nerman (1923–25) at Tartu. Tallgren's influence on Moora is reflected in his early works as a kind of holistic view of prehistoric culture. This can be noticed, for example, in two general overviews he wrote in the mid-20s (Moora 1926a; 1926b; cf. Tallgren 1925). The main emphasis is not on the analysis of artefacts but on the whole cultural image. The role of

an artefact is determined by its role in this image (Salminen 2003, p. 151).

To my knowledge, Moora did not comment on Nerman's influence on his thinking, not even in any letter to Tallgren. Selirand, however, mentioned Moora's lively cooperation with both Tallgren and Nerman as a basis for his international contacts (Селиранд 1982, p. 54–55). Generally, it is known that Nerman's relationship with the Estonian students was more remote than was Tallgren's, not least because of the language barrier. The students actually accused Nerman of not being interested in the *Kabinet* of archaeology and visiting it only seldom, as well as, at least in the beginning of his professorship, not sufficiently understanding the Estonian circumstances (NLF Tallgren: Pärtel Baumann [later: Haliste] to Tallgren, Oct. 27, 1923). The early Moora was less dependent on literary sources than Nerman even though he did use chronicles and other written material. While Nerman tried to adapt his archaeological image to the saga sources, Moora made his conclusions primarily on the basis of archaeological finds and the literary material had only secondary importance for him (Moora 1926a; cf. Nerman 1918; 1922; 1923; 1929).

Nevertheless, Nerman and Moora shared an essential trait despite their difference in emphasis. That is Moora's inclination towards cultural spheres (*Kulturkreise*), which was expressed both in his doctoral dissertation and in overviews. Another Swedish archaeologist who may strongly have influenced Moora here is Nils Åberg (1888–1957, e.g. Åberg 1936). In popular overviews, Moora did not hesitate to make value judgements about Estonian culture, especially when he considered it to have been on a higher level than Latvian or Russian culture. Nerman based many of his explanations on the approach and theories of Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931) and his followers (especially Nerman 1923 on Kossinna and Erich Blume). This Moora never explicitly admitted to doing, but even so he attempted to divide the Iron Age of Estonia and Latvia into cultural spheres, mostly with ethnic interpretations (Moora 1926a, p. 131; 1932, pp. 42–47, 83–84; 1938, 599–637).

In his practical methodology, Moora devel-

oped an increasingly typological approach during the 1930s. This is reflected especially in his doctoral dissertation (1938) and differs clearly from Nerman and especially Tallgren. Ideologically, Moora's viewpoint differed from Nerman's, coming closer to Tallgren's. While Nerman's main interest was to demonstrate a Scandinavian, especially Swedish, hegemony east of the Baltic Sea, Moora instead wanted to paint as independent and active a picture of Iron Age Estonia as possible, though he never denied a strong Scandinavian influence. This vision of cultural activity was especially emphasised in Moora's 1935 popular overview (2nd unaltered edition 1936). In his first such overview (1926), Moora had still emphasised how great a part of any culture consists of international features and how any culture is strengthened only by interaction with other cultures. In 1935 this thinking had disappeared, obviously for ideological reasons. What Moora wrote in the 1920s is similar to what Tallgren would express in his account of archaeological theory and method in 1936/37 (Nerman 1929, pp. 47–157 etc.; Moora 1926a, pp. 22, 123–125, 144–145; 1932, pp. 51–52; Moora et al. 1935 [1936], pp. 117–118, 133; Tallgren 1936, pp. 20–21; 1937, pp. 156–158; Salminen 2009a, pp. 9–10). From the beginning, Moora had a strong interest in economic history and considered economy and natural conditions as central explanatory factors in prehistory, which was in clear distinction to Nerman (Moora 1932, pp. 38–41, 53–55, 78–80; 1938, pp. 637–655; Moora et al. 1935 [1936], pp. 105, 138–139, 146–147, 181).

Kivikoski's work was typologically oriented too. It is impossible to compare her formation process as an archaeologist unambiguously with that of Moora, because she published her first papers in 1934 and the first ones with practically any kind of conclusions only in 1937. She considered herself a follower of Alfred Hackman (1864–1942) and A.M. Tallgren (Sarvas 1990, p. 92; Huurre 2005, p. 215). Hackman based his archaeological explanations both on typology and cultural spheres and was in that sense largely a follower of Kossinna and J.R. Aspelin (1842–1915), who had represented approximately the same approach in Finland already in the 1870s. Hackman, however, was more careful than Kos-

sinna in his ethnic interpretations and did not accept all of Kossinna's conclusions. With some exceptions, Hackman was not inclined to evaluate ethnic groups while comparing them with each other. Hackman's most crucial conclusion was that the Finnish population would have reached Finland from Estonia in the first centuries AD. He expressed himself quite cautiously here (Hackman 1905, pp. 318–337, an exception p. 336), but the interpretation was later mythologised by Tallgren (1931, pp. 141–151). Kivikoski accepted it but Moora criticised it (Kivikoski 1939, pp. 231–237; NLF Tallgren: Moora to Tallgren, March 21, 1932; Lang 2003, p. 523; Salminen 2003, pp. 152–156; 2007; 2009a, pp. 7–8, 10–12). Like most Finnish archaeologists of his time, Tallgren had studied both in Sweden and in Denmark and was mainly inspired by Sophus Müller (1846–1934) and his way of emphasising closed finds and a short Stone and Bronze Age chronology instead of typology and a long chronology. Thus they were also quite far from Kossinna's Montelian approach (Salminen 2003, pp. 156–157, 164 w. refs; Petersson 2005, pp. 99–100).

Kivikoski differed from Tallgren in her stronger inclination towards typological analysis (1937a; 1937b; 1938; 1939, pp. 41–230). Hackman's heritage can be seen in her tendency to avoid far-reaching conclusions and stay close to the material (Kivikoski 1939, pp. 235–242 etc.; Sarvas 1990, 92.) Her article in *Acta archaeologica* in 1937 (1937a) is interesting, because here she does not fully accept Nerman's opinion that a strong Scandinavian influence east of the Baltic Sea were self-evident. Here, Kivikoski approaches Moora in her assumption of an interaction rather than a one-way relationship between cultural spheres. It is possible to search for political factors to explain this difference, although we must remember that we do not have any material to support our conclusion.

This brings us to the question of the ideological background of archaeology in Finland and Estonia between the World Wars. In the 1920s, Estonian archaeology attempted to wipe off the traces of a Baltic German history image from its national and international image. Above all, this meant fighting the so-called Gothic theory, according to which Goths or Germans had brought cul-

ture to an indigenous population living on a primitive level of civilisation. This had allegedly happened in the Roman Iron Age (Lang 2006, pp. 17–23; Tvauri 2003.) On the other hand, Baltic German societies and other institutions were not demolished in Estonia, as they were, for example, in Latvia (Wahle 1950, pp. 129–135, 140–141, 157–161.) This kind of ideological demand to prove the existence of a certain level of civilisation prior to a wave of cultural influences from abroad could easily lead to nationalist tendencies and the underestimation of all foreign influences, especially Germanic or Scandinavian ones. This was particularly obvious in Latvia, but to a lesser extent also in Estonia. We must emphasise, though, that such a use of archaeology was to some extent normal in any Eastern, Central or Northern European country at the time. Sweden for example was no exception either, although a wide scope of parallel interpretations existed there (Pettersson 2005, esp. pp. 96–100, 145–146, 174–177, 192–194, also 107–109, 114–120, 134–138, 196–197 etc.). Moora's work was a part of this ideological battle, but as mentioned above, it did not acquire a politically nationalist character until the mid-30s.

Except for the shared general ideological background, the situation of Finnish archaeology was somewhat different from the Estonian one. There was admittedly an emphasis on shedding light on the possible prehistoric statehood and military prowess of the Finns, especially in the popular image of prehistory and early history (Fewster 2006, pp. 320–330), but on the other hand, there was no willingness or need to replace an older research tradition with a new one. Instead, Finnish prehistoric research continued along the lines it had adopted under the ideological demands of the 1870s. It consisted basically of three or four central ideas. One was a Finnish migration from their assumed original home in the east to the west and an assumed arrival in a practically empty country during the first centuries AD, when the land was inhabited only by groups of culturally backward Sámi nomads. During the decades up to 1900, Finnish archaeological research had felt a strong ideological need to find archaeological traces of the Finnish migration and to show that prehistoric Finns with history and culture had existed. This was part of a strugg-

le for equal rights for the Finnish language along with Swedish in Finnish society, and the task was tackled, above all, by means of large-scale fieldwork in European Russia and Siberia. When the assumed great past was not found, at least not in the expected form, it led to a crisis for the eastern orientation. With a growing demand for domestic archaeological research for land development and popular enlightenment, the eastern orientation in its original form faded after 1890. Later it was resurrected in a more international form around 1910, but it no longer enjoyed such significance in the mainstream of Finnish archaeology. Also, the growing politically nationalist tendencies found their prehistoric background in the home country (Salminen 2003, pp. 203–205; 2007).¹

Kivikoski did not quite fit into Finland's nationalistic and germanophile political climate between the World Wars. Coming from a bilingual home, she was Scandinavian-oriented, and in other respects too she was closer to the liberal way of thinking than was common in Finland at the time. If not earlier, she must have adopted this ideology at the latest from Tallgren (Huurre 2005, p. 216; see also Salminen 2011a).

After 1919, the Baltic countries had to find international contacts and search for direction and cooperative networks in a new Europe. One possible alternative was cooperation with Scandinavia. In Estonian society, the ideologically coloured Scandinavian orientation thus grew stronger. The concept of "Baltoscandia" was established in these years. Originally it had been a plan for realising German political aims and cutting the Baltic Provinces and Finland off from Russia by forming a league of states or even a federation under Swedish leadership, but in Estonia it served above all to strengthen the country's Nordic identity and Western European contacts (Karjahärm & Sirk 2001, pp. 344–346). In Finland, the so-called Scandinavism was an ideology adopted especially by the Swedish-speaking population, and as far as Finland was seen as a Finno-Ugric, eastward-looking ideological entity, Scandinavism was directed against it (Ahl-Waris 2010, pp. 66–68 etc.).

Although political support for Baltoscandian ideas was minimal in Sweden, cultural and educational cooperation did develop. One of the most



Fig. 1. Karolis Mekas, Ella Kivikoski, Rauls Šnore and Harri Moora in Stockholm in 1931. Private collection.

active promoters of such cooperation was State Antiquarian Sigurd Curman (1879–1966). In 1931, he, together with historian Adolf Schück (1897–1958) and Birger Nerman, founded a Baltic Institute in Stockholm. Another historian, professor Sven Tunberg (1882–1954), and the Consul General of Latvia in Sweden, Edvard Henke, were also active participants. This “institute” was actually a series of courses on a selected discipline, a new one each year, organised for invited students and scholars from Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Germany (ATA Schück/Kommittén, Sept. 20, 1931; ATA Curman: Tallgren to Curman, Aug. 5, 1931; NLF SLSA Nordman: Adolf Schück to Nordman, Sept. 6, 1937; Schück ms., pp. 33–35, 38).²

Among those who took the courses were archaeologists Ella Kivikoski from Finland, Harri Moora from Estonia, Rauls Šnore (1901–62) from Latvia, Karolis Mekas (1906–93) from Lithuania and Peter Paulsen (1902–85) from Germany in 1931 (fig. 1); archaeologist-ethnologist Eerik Laid (1904–61) and ethnologists Ferdinand Leinbock (Linnus; 1895–1942) from Esto-

nia, Kustaa Vilkuna (1902–80) from Finland and Antanas Rūkštelė (1906–90) from Lithuania in 1934; as well as art historian Armin Tuulse (1907–77) from Estonia in 1938 (menorinka.lt/ authors.php?cid=160 [Antanas Rūkštelė]; NLF Tallgren: Harri Moora to A. M. Tallgren, Oct. 7, 1931, Ella Kivikoski to Tallgren s. d. 1931, Oct. 2, 1931, Nov. 10, 1931, Dec. 4, 1931, Eerik Laid to Tallgren, Oct. 10, 1934, Oct 30, 1934; ATA Curman: Tallgren to Curman, Aug. 5, 1931, Moora to Curman, Feb. 18, 1934; ATA Arne: Francis Balodis to T. J. Arne, Jan. 13, 1932).³

Curman also helped the Estonians to find suitable Swedish scholars to teach at the University of Tartu and advised the Latvians in building their cultural resource administration. For instance, he was behind the proposal to appoint Sten Karling as professor of art history at Tartu in 1932. In late 1931, Curman sent the organisational scheme of the Swedish cultural resource administration to professor Francis Balodis (1882–1947) in Riga, who hoped to use it as a model for the Latvian counterpart (ATA Curman: Moora to Curman, Mar. 21, 1932, May 26, 1932, Sept.



Fig. 2. Ella Kivikoski, Harri Moora and Nils Åberg on a boat trip to Björkö in 1931. Private collection.

30, 1932, Dec. 20, 1932, Balodis to Curman, Dec. 24, 1931).⁴

While studying in Stockholm in the autumn of 1931, Moora had set himself the particular goal of getting acquainted with the archaeological material from Gotland, which he considered as the most interesting area from the East Baltic point of view. He believed that the study of Iron Age cultural relations between Gotland and the East Baltic would be complicated, partly because much of the material from the eastern shores of the Baltic was still waiting for analysis. In addition, Moora attended Åberg's lectures on the Central European Stone Age and Nerman's lectures on the Viking Age in the Baltic Sea region. He wrote about Åberg's lectures (and I translate), "They are very interesting in the sense that he is largely opposed to [V. G.] Childe and [C.A.] Nordman. Despite that I am not convinced by now that he would be right. Nordman's view seems more natural" (fig. 2).⁵ Nerman's lectures he considered useful for beginners but too general for his own purposes (NLF Tallgren: Moora to Tallgren, Oct. 7, 1931).

Moora's interest in Gotlandic material can most probably be interpreted as a sign of Nerman's influence, but his view of the communication between the two regions differed from Nerman's, as seen in the letter cited above, "It [= Gotland] seems to be a junction from the East Baltic point of view, but I feel that it has not been only a giving party but also a receiving one and maybe also a re-donor – therefore the questions about the relationship of Gotland and the East Baltic are very complicated, particularly as the material from the southern East Baltic is still raw" (NLF Tallgren: Moora to Tallgren, Oct. 7, 1931).⁶

As noted above, Kivikoski seems to have approached Moora in this respect. In 1934, Moora ironically referred to Nerman as "a great patriot". Nerman had then just published his article "Swedish Viking Colonies in the Baltic", where he repeatedly emphasises the Scandinavian-type finds from Grobiņa and elsewhere as being Swedish, considers them signs of a Swedish expansion to the east and characterises the Swedish impact in the Baltic Sea region as particularly

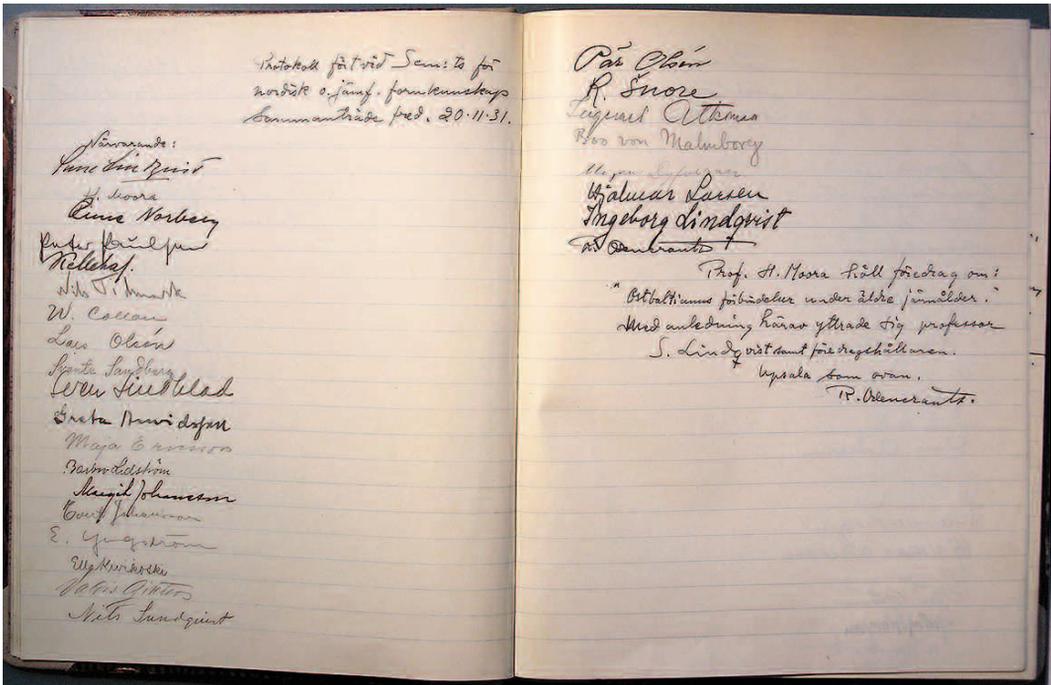


Fig. 3. Minutes from the archaeological seminar at the University of Uppsala, Nov. 20, 1931. Prof. Sune Lindqvist's signature top left, Harri Moora 2 from above, Peter Paulsen 4, Karolis Mekas 5, Ella Kivikoski 3 from below, Valdemars Ģinters 2. from below, Rauls Šnore on the right, 2 from above. UUIA. Photo TS.

glorious (FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, Sept. 13, 1934; Nerman 1934, pp. 357–358, 364, 366, 371–380).

Otherwise Moora did not comment on the education he received at the institute, except for mentioning excursions to excavations at Vendel and another site near Stockholm. He summarised what he had seen on these excursions, “It seems to me that the working tempo is slower here than on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea – but the Swedes are wealthy and they can employ much more workers and therefore have no need to hurry” (NLF Tallgren: Moora to Tallgren, Oct. 7, 1931).⁷

At the time Kivikoski was planning for a dissertation on the prehistory of the Åland Isles, and obviously the period in Stockholm was aimed to further her knowledge of the western contacts of that region.⁸ For the time being, we do not have much material shedding light on the academic results of her studies in Stockholm, her letters to

Tallgren show that she got to know all the major museums of the city and visited several archaeological sites and Medieval towns such as Vendel, Valsgärde, Old Uppsala, Sigtuna, Skokloster and Visby. These were mostly excursions arranged for all of the participants. For Iron Age scholars Kivikoski and Moora, those months allowed them to on one hand establish a contact network in Sweden, and on the other get to know each other, which would soon become significant. Kivikoski seems to have admired Moora greatly, and although Moora does not express himself as openly and enthusiastically as Kivikoski, their later contacts show that the respect was mutual (NLF Tallgren: Harri Moora to A. M. Tallgren, Oct. 7, 1931, Ella Kivikoski to Tallgren s. d. 1931, Oct. 2, 1931, Nov. 10, 1931, Dec. 4, 1931).

All the Baltic students also visited Sune Lindqvist's (1887–1976) seminar at the University of Uppsala, Moora and Kivikoski actually twice. In November, Moora presented a paper there about

the contacts of the East Baltic in the Early Iron Age (fig. 3). Kivikoski spoke in the Viking exhibition hall of the State Historical Museum in Stockholm in December (UUIA: Seminar minutes, Oct. 30, 1931, Nov. 20, 1931; NLF Tallgren: Kivikoski to Tallgren, Nov. 10, 1931, Dec. 4, 1931).

As deputy professor of archaeology at the University of Tartu, Moora was active both in academic and administrative questions concerning the organisation of the humanities in Estonia (Tõnison 2000, p. 68.). In this context he corresponded with Sigurd Curman and Adolf Schüch and promoted Swedish-Baltic contacts also on a general level. He seems to have adopted the Scandinavian orientation at the latest during his stay in Stockholm in 1931. He stated, though, that suspicion and critical attitudes towards Sweden were strong especially in Estonian student circles, where it was felt that Sweden did not show enough interest in East Baltic affairs (ATA Curman: Moora to Curman, May 26, 1932, March 3, 1935, May 1, 1935; ATA Schüch/Handlingar: Moora to Schüch, s. d. (1934?), Dec. 18, 1936, Nov. 15, 1938, Dec. 7, 1938, Jan. 10, 1939, Dec. 29, 1939; Schüch to Moora, Feb. 10, 1934, July 28, 1938, Nov. 22, 1938, as well as the letters referred to in endnote 3). In 1938 Moora, who was himself a moderate supporter of Konstantin Päts's authoritarian regime at the time, believed that the chances to improve relations with Sweden were still good because of several established institutions like the Baltic Institute (ATA Curman: Moora to Curman s. d. 1938; Lang 2003, pp. 519–528; Salminen 2009a, p. 12).

Moora corresponded intensively with State Antiquarian Sigurd Curman. Curman is known for his work in developing the Swedish system of cultural resource protection: above all he sought archaeology's integration into the Swedish democratisation process (Pettersson 2001; Baudou 2004, pp. 230–232, 241–244, 273). Richard Pettersson (2001, pp. 248–252) and Eva Ahl (2007, pp. 9–12) have shown that he attempted to support cultural brotherhood with Swedish communities abroad and obviously also sought to further Swedish hegemony in the cultural life and relations of the Baltic countries. Although it remained unexpressed by Curman himself, strengthening

the Scandinavian orientation in Estonia and Latvia meant weakening and undermining German hegemony there. Despite the selfish goals he had for Sweden, Curman respected the Estonian and Latvian peoples as cooperative partners and so wished to promote their study in Western Europe, particularly Scandinavia. His involvement in the Baltic Institute must be seen against this wider cultural-political-ideological background.

Moora took part in the International Archaeological Congress in Oslo in 1936, but Kivikoski did not (FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, July 24, 1936, Aug. 11, 1936). She may however have been the most important of Moora's contacts abroad on the practical level. Tallgren transmitted his contact network among his pupils, while also giving them opportunity to get acquainted with the international scholarly community. By commenting on and proof-reading each others' dissertations and sharing information about finds and museum collections in the late 1930s, Moora and Kivikoski significantly assisted each other's writing processes while creating large works (FLS Kivikoski: Moora's letters to Kivikoski 1935–39 *passim*).

Responding to Scandinavians

Here we may ask, on a concrete level, how interpretations put forward by Scandinavian archaeologists were adopted by Moora (1938) and Kivikoski (1939). To whom did they refer in their dissertations, and in what sense? Did they agree or disagree with the interpretations or was it only because of material that they made reference to Scandinavian publications?

Kivikoski refers to works by Oscar Almgren, Conrad Engelhardt, Erik Floderus, Knud Friis Johansen, Gustaf Hallström, Thor Kielland, Anders Lund Lorange, Oscar Montelius, Hanna Rydh, Oluf Rygh, Bernhard Salin, Haakon Shetelig, Mårten Stenberger, Hjalmar Stolpe, Harry Thålin and Emil Vedel only for their material. For both material and interpretations (neutrally or accepting) she refers to Holger Arbman, Gutorm Gjessing, Sigurd Grieg, Sune Lindqvist, Sophus Müller, Birger Nerman, Jan Petersen, Knut Stjerna and Nils Åberg. Exclusively for their interpretations, she refers to Ture Jonsson Arne, Axel Bagge, Sture Bolin, Anton Wilhelm Brøgger, Richard

Eklblom, Olof Hermelin, Sam Owen Jansson, Arthur Nordén and Adolf Schück. Moora refers to the material basis of Engelhardt, Gabriel Gustafson, Rygh, Ingvald Undset and Vedel, both material and interpretations by Almgren, Arne, Bolin, Gunnar Ekholm, Harald Hjärne, Müller, Nerman, Rydh, Salin, Shetelig and Åberg; and exclusively interpretations by Brøgger, Hans Hildebrand, Olov Janse, Montelius and Vilhelm Thomsen, as well as the collective work *De förhistoriska tiderna i Europa*. Overall, we may note that the Scandinavian authors were mostly referred to for their material, but their interpretations were also quite often accepted.

Moora challenges earlier results several times in his work. Kivikoski never does this. There are two researchers whose interpretations Moora mentions more often to reject than to accept them: Gunnar Ekholm and Birger Nerman. As stated above, the latter particularly represents the Swedish hegemony view (Moora 1938, pp. 161, 207, 215, 323, 324, 659). Meanwhile Moora shows a particularly positive attitude towards Nils Åberg's views (Moora 1938, pp. 133, 142, 145, 148, 153, 154, 329, 333, 335, 658), but he refers in an accepting sense also to *De förhistoriska tiderna*, Hildebrand, Hjärne, Janse, Montelius, Müller, Rydh, Shetelig and Thomsen. In the cases of Arne, Bolin and Salin, neither acceptance nor rejection dominates.

The growing national(ist) tendencies of the time could easily have lead to a confrontation between the Baltic and Scandinavian views. Moora rejects a Scandinavian interpretation of prehistory mostly simply in order to reject the Scandinavian or Germanic origins of an artefact form or a cultural trait and to search for a domestic background instead.

Looking at the number of referred-to authors, we can easily see how much more important the Scandinavian viewpoint was in Kivikoski's south-west Finnish research than Moora's Latvian one.⁹

It might also be worthwhile to ask what kind of significance Moora and Kivikoski had for Scandinavian archaeology, but I do not have sufficient material to resolve this problem. I must also leave a more thorough comparative analysis of the referred-to Scandinavian scholars to the future.

The Second World War and Its Aftermath

The war caused an abrupt change in international scholarly cooperation between the Baltic countries and Western Europe. After the Soviet occupation in 1940–41 and the German one until 1944, the countries were reoccupied by the USSR and finally incorporated into the Soviet Union. All immediate contacts were severed for a decade. Still in the autumn of 1939, Moora actively attempted to strengthen contacts with Sweden and Swedish political influence in Estonia. In October 1939, he emphasised that the new minister of foreign affairs Ants Piip was a warm supporter of a Scandinavian orientation instead of the German sympathies of his predecessor Karl Selter (ATA Curman: Moora to Curman, Sept. 7, 1939, Oct. 17, 1939). Moora wrote to Curman as late as in August 1940 when he was acting as deputy Minister of Education in the first Soviet government of Estonia, expressing optimism that the Swedish professor of art history at Tartu, Sten Karling, would be able to continue his work there. Karling did not lose his post until January 1941 (ATA Curman, Moora to Curman, Aug. 28, 1940, Karling to Curman, Jan. 12, 1941; NLF Tallgren: Karling to Tallgren, April 22, 1941).

During the German occupation of the Baltic countries, there was still infrequent contact between Finland and Estonia. Some letters could be smuggled in one or the other direction. The ties between Estonia and Sweden were however practically severed in 1940. Finnish scholars remained in regular contact with their Swedish colleagues throughout the war.

Moora could write to Sweden at least two or three times during the war. In 1942, he, although with some resignation, expressed his trust both in Estonia's survival chances and in Swedish support (ATA Schück/Handlingar: Moora to Curman [sic], July 7, 1942). In his very last letter to Sigurd Curman, Moora informs him that Mr. Hans Ronimois, MA, will visit Curman in the near future and that Moora recommends him: "Ich möchte Dich bitten ihm volles Vertrauen zu schenken und ihm nötigenfalls bei Anknüpfung nützlicher Beziehungen zu helfen." The close collegial relationship between Moora and Curman is shown here by the fact that they were on Christian-name terms with each other (*Dich bit-*

ten) despite their age difference, starting already in 1935 (Moora to Curman, Feb. 3, 1935). Ronimois was an economist, teacher at the University of Tartu and one of the leading figures of the Estonian resistance actions at home and abroad since 1940. He travelled via Finland to Sweden at the turn of 1942/43. Moora himself was a member of the Estonian National Committee in 1943–44 (ATA Curman: Moora to Curman s. d. 1944; Maandi 1988, p. 1386; Marksoo 1999, pp. 127–128). It is not known if Ronimois ever visited Curman, but it is probable, because he was already in Stockholm. It is also possible that Ronimois himself took the letter to Curman. Note that both Birger Nerman and Adolf Schüek belonged to the group of Swedes that took part in founding the Baltic Committee in Stockholm in 1943 (as distinct from the earlier Baltic Institute). The Committee was founded at the initiative of prof. Francis Balodis with the aim to speak for the Baltic countries especially in Scandinavia but also in international publicity (*Baltiska Kommittén*, p. 11–15.)

Moora, with his wife ethnologist Aliise Moora and their children, tried to flee to Sweden in the autumn of 1944, but they missed the boat and had to stay. Their eldest son Rein was in Sweden already and thus became cut off from the rest of the family (Marksoo 1999, pp. 129–130).

Thereafter all contacts between the newly annexed Baltic Soviet Republics and the Nordic countries were severed. Nothing was heard of Moora in Sweden, nothing of Swedish, Finnish or other foreign colleagues in Estonia or Latvia for years because of the strict ideological pressure and control of the Stalinist Soviet Union. From Estonia, archaeologist Richard Indreko (1900–61), archaeologist-ethnologist Eerik Laid, art historian Armin Tuulse and ethnologists Gustav Ränk (1902–98) and Ilmar Talve (1919–2007) were exiled in Sweden, where they continued the traditions of research established in Estonia between the World Wars. From Latvia, Francis Balodis and Valdemārs Ģintars (1899–1979) emigrated to Sweden and Eduards Šturms (1895–1959) and Jēkabs Ozols settled in Germany. Some linguists like Julius Mark (1890–1959), Julius Mägiste (1900–78) and Andrus Saareste (1892–1964) came as refugees to Sweden. Mark, as well

as some others, soon continued on to the USA (Salminen 2008, pp. 170–174).

In the Soviet-era Baltic countries, archaeology was compelled to follow Marxist-Leninist guidelines. Scholars must disavow their earlier works. One of the most essential methodological changes was that cultural changes could not be explained by external contacts, because Marxist theory presumed that any transformations were caused by internal economic development. In the late 1940s, archaeological work was actually almost nonexistent in Estonia and Latvia (Lang 2003, pp. 529–530; 2006, pp. 28–33; Salminen 2009a, p. 13.)

The Estonian scholars in exile maintained their ties with Finnish colleagues. For instance, Indreko stayed in contact at least with Aarne Äyräpää, C.A. Nordman and Kivikoski. Despite the political pressure that the Soviet Union directed towards Finland, there were no difficulties in continuing the correspondence. It cannot be determined, however, if and to what extent the KGB monitored mail traffic between scholars (TUL Indreko: Kivikoski to Indreko, Aug. 16, 1945, Feb. 8, 1947, Dec. 29, 1947, Indreko's draft for a letter to Ella Kivikoski s. d. 1947). Indreko and Äyräpää pursued a lively discussion about some Stone Age finds as well as some more general scholarly questions. Indreko also aimed to get a book of his published in Finland and had it sent to a publishing house, but for some reason it could not be printed. The question seems to have been open as late as in 1949 (TUL Indreko: Äyräpää to Indreko, Sept. 14, 1945, Dec. 12, 1946, Jan. 8, 1947, Apr. 10, 1947, Jan. 2, 1948, Apr. 21, 1948. NBA Äyräpää: Indreko to Äyräpää, Oct. 29, 1946; NLF SLSA Nordman: Indreko to Nordman Jan. 11, 1949). In the spring of 1949, the Finnish Antiquarian Society decided to donate its publications to the library of the Estonian Scholarly/Scientific Society in Sweden (Eesti Teaduslik Selts Rootsisis). The initiative had obviously come from Kivikoski, whose contacts from the previous decade bore fruit here (TUL Indreko, Kivikoski to Indreko, May 16, 1949; Indreko's draft of a letter to Kivikoski, May 25, 1949; Salminen 2008, pp. 170–174).

After a couple of years, connections between Finland and Estonia had opened again enough that some new publications could be obtained

via Moscow from Tallinn and Tartu, and Kivikoski was able to inform Indreko of their contents. She admitted, though, that books were received very sporadically in Finland. Moora was heard of again for the first time in January 1948 when he thanked Kivikoski for books he had been sent via Moscow (FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, Jan. 29, 1948; TUL Indreko, Kivikoski to Indreko, Jan. 14, 1948). This contact between them turned out to be an isolated occurrence. Finnish contact with the Soviet Union in general and Estonia especially was still almost non-existent. Especially the Finno-Ugrian Society attempted repeatedly to revive its pre-1917 expedition activities in the east and contacted the Soviet authorities, but little came of this. The NKVD and later KGB still considered Finland to be a hostile country and therefore cooperation was restricted; when contacts with Estonia were considered, the KGB was especially careful (Graf & Roiko-Jokela 2004, pp. 50–51, 59, 71–72; Salminen 2008, pp. 166–168; 2009b). Note that the Finno-Ugrian Society became an important publisher for Estonian-born linguists in exile from the late 1940s on, and it generously supported Estonian refugees' scholarly organisations and researchers by sending them literature (Salminen 2008, pp. 170–173). In this way, Finland could serve as a post office and publishing house between Estonia and Estonian scholars in exile in Sweden, in archaeology as well as in linguistics, ethnology and other humanities.

Despite contacts, some Estonian scholars in Sweden were warned of visiting Finland, since it was suspected that they might be handed over to Soviet authorities from there. Ilmar Talve received such a warning in 1948 after Kustaa Vilkuna had persuaded him to come to Finland to write a licentiate thesis at the University of Helsinki, almost immediately after some Estonian refugees, among them linguist Paul Alvre (1921–2008), had been sent back to the Soviet Union and to prison camps. Curman warned Andrus Saareste when Saareste planned a trip to the tenth Nordic congress of philologists in Finland in 1950. In the spring of 1951, Indreko decided not to go to the Nordic Archaeology Conference in Finland, because his presence would cause “inconveniences” (*olägenheter*). It seems that the

assumption of Vilkuna's willingness to have emigrants sent to the USSR was based on a misunderstanding originating with the previous Estonian ambassador in Finland, Aleksander Warma. Vilkuna was an erstwhile activist of the Academic Karelia Society, an estophile since the 1920s and a friend of Urho Kekkonen. His point of view has been characterised as a one of extreme expediency (NLF SLSA Meinander: Indreko to Meinander, May 29, 1951; ATA Curman: Andrus Saareste to Curman, June 13, June 21, 1950; Herlin 1993, pp. 201–202, 284, 309; Talve 1998, pp. 142, 225, 251).

After Stalin

After the death of Iosif Stalin, the situation began to change little by little. In October 1953, Indreko in Stockholm received a letter signed by Moora, who writes that he sends the letter “with two friends whom I ask you to help in any way” and that their hopes “to meet with friends in happier circumstances” have grown, further that “many of us” have devoted themselves “to the great thing” and because of that “many of us are prepared to risk their reputation for the shared aim”. In addition to this, Moora asks for news about his son Rein and mentions that he has received Indreko's dissertation about the Mesolithic in Estonia (TUL Indreko: Moora to Indreko, Oct. 4, 1953, translated).¹⁰

Moora received a reply from Indreko in the spring of 1954. Here Indreko reports that Rein Moora is fine, briefly describes the circumstances for scholarly work in Sweden and says that “it is possible that the idea cannot be realised very quickly” (TUL Indreko: draft for a letter to Moora, Apr. 16, 1954).¹¹

Ann Marksoo (1999, pp. 133–139) has shown that Moora did not write the letter to Indreko himself, and also its style differs from Moora's. The letter had in fact been dictated by officers of the KGB to be taken to Indreko, Eerik Laid and Aleksander Warma. They intended to use Moora as a channel through which to place an agent into the political circles of the Estonian refugees in Sweden. The KGB were still attempting to use Moora as an agent in the late 1950s. This was part of the price Moora had to pay for the possibility to work in Soviet Estonia.

Less attention has been paid to the fact that Indreko's reply is also quite unusual for his style of writing. When compared, for example, to letters he wrote to Tallgren in the 1930s and Kivikoski in the 1940s it becomes obvious that something is wrong. There are two possible explanations. Either Indreko phrased his letter following the template set by the KGB in the "Moora letter", or he did not write his own letter either. That would mean that Indreko did not write at all and that the KGB agent called "Jokela" composed the reply on his behalf. In any case, we know that the same agent had taken the letter to Moora when he returned to Estonia in the spring, whoever may have written it (Marksoo 1999, p. 137). It seems impossible at the moment to decide which explanation is correct, because the mailed copy has not survived, only a draft in Indreko's archive.

But that is not all. A fake Moora letter was sent to Sweden, at least to Eerik Laid, already in early 1953. On February 1, 1953, Laid wrote to Kivikoski and asked to borrow some of Moora's genuine letters in order to compare their handwriting with that of an anonymous letter he had received. I do not know whether this letter survives or what its contents were.¹² In any case, Laid's suspicions were well founded (FLS Kivikoski: Eerik Laid to Kivikoski, February 1, 1953).

Regular exchange of literature between Finland and the Soviet Union began in 1954, and in the autumn of 1955, a special commission for scientific and technical cooperation between the countries was founded. As the first Finnish scholars after the war, ethnologist Kustaa Vilkuna and folklorist Väinö Kaukonen (1911–90) were allowed to visit Tallinn and Tartu in February 1956 (Salminen 2008, pp. 168–169).

As mentioned above, Kivikoski had received her first post-war letter from Moora in January 1948, but he could not write another one until May 1956. Moora was visiting Leningrad and hoped that they could some day again meet "freely in this world". He thanked Kivikoski for books that she had sent to him. It still took almost a year before regular contact recommenced between them. The next letter from Moora to Kivikoski came in February 1957 (FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, May 20, 1956, Feb. 17, 1957, Dec. 16, 1957).

At the end of 1956, ten Finnish museum workers, among them archaeologists Helmer Salmo (1903–73) and C.F. Meinander (1916–2004), made a trip to the Soviet Union which also allowed them to visit Tallinn and meet colleagues there. Their plans were known in advance in Sweden, as shown by the fact that Elsa Roos sent some photos of her family to Meinander in order to get them to her mother in Estonia. Salmo wrote to Indreko after returning home (and I translate):

Immediately after his trip, Dr. Meinander sent the books you had sent here to Estonia. Now Prof. Moora has sent us their latest publication. On one copy there was a dedication to me but on another there was none. I suppose he meant it to be sent to you. I mail it herewith. He also asked for some additional copies of the book *Steingeräte mit Rille*. Here he did not mention your name either – obviously out of caution."¹³

(TUL Indreko, Helmer Salmo to

Indreko, Dec. 15, 1956; see also

NLF SLSA Meinander: Meinander to

Bengt Thordeman, Oct. 29, 1956,

Elsa Roos to Meinander, Oct. 1, 1956)

The "latest publication" is probably the collective work *Eesti rahva etnilisest ajaloost*, "On the ethnic history of the Estonian people", which had been published the same year and won several prizes in the Soviet Union – while simultaneously establishing a theory of Estonian ethnic history based on ideas from the 1930s and intended as national self-defence against Russification (Lang 2006, pp. 32).

Estonia Re-opened

In 1957, Moora visited Sweden and Finland for the first time since the 1930s. In 1958, he took part in the 5th International Prehistoric Conference in Hamburg. An Estonian-born archaeologist in Sweden, Hille Jaanusson (1922–2010) remembered that Moora's attitude towards emigrants during these first post-war trips of his was somewhat cautious in public, because he knew that the KGB were keeping an eye on him (FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, Dec. 16, 1957,

Feb. 6, 1958, May 19, 1958, Sept. 24, 1958; NLF SLSA Meinander: Moora to Meinander, Nov. 16, 1957; Hille Jaanusson interview with Salminen, Stockholm, Oct. 28 2006; Селиранд 1982, p. 60; Marksoo 1999, p. 139.) Further trips followed in the 1960s, although it was often quite difficult for Moora to get permission to travel abroad. He was in Sweden in 1960 (FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, Aug. 14, 1964). He lectured in Finland in 1964 and took part in the International Congress of Finno-Ugrists in Helsinki in 1965. The Mooras made their last visit to Sweden and Finland in 1967.

Kivikoski visited Soviet Estonia and Latvia with her pupil Pekka Sarvas (b. 1939) in 1962 and alone in 1965 (FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, Oct. 3, 1963, Dec. 7, 1963, Oct. 3, 1964, Nov. 15, 1964, Dec. 17, 1964, Oct. 3, 1965, Sept. 24, 1967, Oct. 31, 1967, Kivikoski to Moora, Oct. 12, 1964; Селиранд 1982, p. 61; on the Baltic Committee and Birger Nerman at the time, see *Baltiska Kommittén* passim).

During the 1960s the contact between Kivikoski and Moora was little by little passed on to their disciples. For example, Lembit Jaanits (b. 1925) visited Finland in the 1960s and became acquainted with colleagues there. Estonian scholars could now maintain direct ties with their colleagues in the west (TUL Indreko: Moora to Indreko, June 19, 1960, June 23, 1960, Sept. 15, 1960, Nov. 17, 1960) – although in a restricted manner – but Finland was still needed as a link sometimes. For example, Moora received Mats P. Malmer's dissertation via Kivikoski in 1964 (FLS Moora to Kivikoski, March 14, 1964). After the deaths of Richard Indreko and Eerik Laid there were no more archaeologists in Sweden who had begun their careers in pre-war Estonia.

Conclusion

The Baltic countries gradually began to be seen as marginal to Finnish archaeology. Estonia was still considered as the starting point whence the Finns had once migrated to Finland, but when it was impossible to travel there, new generations of scholars could not obtain personal knowledge of finds, sites and colleagues. The tradition of cooperation was largely dependent on Kivikoski's generation who had been able to forge relation-

ships to the south before the war (Salminen 2009a, p. 13; 2011b). From the Finnish point of view, Scandinavia thus became even more important than it had been earlier.

Harri Moora's and Ella Kivikoski's friendship and their relationships with Scandinavia developed in an era when nationalist tones grew stronger again in research into the past. In itself it was quite a common, intensive relationship between colleagues of the time, and they quite clearly understood it as such. It reflects the position of Finnish archaeology between Scandinavia and the Baltic and also both Finland's and Estonia's internal struggles between conflicting features of identity, Finno-Ugric and Western European. The situation did not change until World War II. Then many earlier contacts were severed, some temporarily, some permanently. New ways of maintaining links with foreign colleagues were needed, particularly in the Baltic countries, and the restrictions of the Cold War period influenced scholarly cooperation as well as the theoretical and methodological development of archaeology.

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Summary

Harri Moora from Estonia and Ella Kivikoski from Finland got to know each other while studying at the Baltic Institute in Stockholm in 1931. In subsequent years, Moora was one of the major links in cultural collaboration between Sweden and Estonia. In archaeology, Kivikoski became his most important contact abroad and they helped each other in scholarly work. Their contact reflects the position of Finnish archaeology between Scandinavia and the Baltic countries as well as the internal struggles in Finland and Estonia between conflicting features of identity, Finno-Ugric and western European, in a period when nationalist tones became stronger in research into the past. During and after World War II many contacts were severed. New ways of maintaining ties to foreign colleagues were needed, especially in the Baltic countries. The restrictions of the Cold War period influenced scholarly cooperation and also the theoretical and methodological development of archaeology. The ties between Finnish scholars and their Estonian colleagues were replaced with contacts with Estonian refugees in Sweden for several years.

After Stalin's death, the Baltic countries reopened to some extent and infrequent but always

ideologically supervised contacts became possible. Finland became a mediator in such contacts for more than ten years. At this time, the KGB attempted to make Moora its agent in order to obtain information on Estonian refugee organisations in Sweden. In the 1960s, Finland gradually lost this position as mediator while at the same time the Baltic countries became more marginal in Finnish archaeological thinking and the perceived significance of Scandinavia increased.

The contacts were reflected also in Moora's and Kivikoski's archaeological work, especially in how they referred to Scandinavian archaeologists' interpretations and accepted or rejected them. Swedish attempts to prove an ancient Swedish hegemony on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea and the Estonian wish to see Estonia as an active and independent part of the Iron Age world led to the embryo of a conflict between the Baltic and Scandinavian interpretations. Finnish archaeologists did not take a clear position on the issue, because Finnish archaeology concentrated on solving the problem of Finnish-speaking immigration into Finland.

- 1 Fewster 2006: 143 claims that I would have written in Salminen 2003 that Finnish archaeology in general did not have a nationalistic orientation. This is a possibly intentional misreading. I wrote that the Finnish archaeological research in Russia specifically did not show signs of a nationalist orientation after the 1890s but nothing on the general issue. (Salminen 2003, pp. 204–205, 276; Salminen 2007: 46).
- 2 Courses were organized in archaeology (1931), economic history (1932), geology (1933), ethnology (1934), physiology (1935), jurisprudence/civil law (1936), art history (1938) and geography (1939). ATA Schück/Handlingar: Moora to Schück, Jan. 20, 1932, June 13, 1932, April 23, 1933, May 5, 1933, May 13, 1933, May 17, 1933, Sept. 2, 1937, Jan. 10, 1939; Eerik Laid to Schück, Aug. 30, 1934, Feb. 10, 1935; Kustaa Vilku to Schück, Dec. 2, 1934; Schück to Moora, Feb. 10, 1934, Oct. 29, 1938; Schück to Rauls Šnore s. d. 1934; Schück to financial supporters, Sept. 15, 1936; statistics of the courses 1931–1934; report of the course in spring 1938; Committee for Baltic cultural cooperation, Sept. 20, 1931, Aug. 3, 1934, Aug. 30, 1935, Sept. 8, 1937. ATA Schück s. a., pp. 34–35.
- 3 Another Baltic Institute appears also to have existed in Stockholm. According to a newspaper report it was established on October 22, 1937, and aimed to further the economic and cultural cooperation between Sweden and the Baltic countries. The chairman of its board was a Mr. Löfgren (possibly Member of Parliament Eliel Löfgren; *Zemgales Balss* 240/1937, 23. 10.1937, www.periodika.lv). It is characteristic for the period that while writing about Moora's stay in Stockholm, Jüri Selirand (Селиранд 1982, p. 58) does not mention his studies at the Baltic Institute but only a Swedish museums.
- 4 C. A. Nordman had tried to find a professor of art history for Tartu from Denmark as well after the Swede Helge Kjellin left Tartu in 1925. NLF SLSA Nordman: Poul Nørlund to Nordman, April 30, 1925.
- 5 "Need on ses mõttes huvitavad, et ta suurelt osalt on Childe'i ja Nordmani vastane. Siiski ma pole seni veendunud, et tal oleks õigus. Nordmani käsitustundub loomulikumana."
- 6 "See paistab Ida-Balti seisukohalt sõlmekoht olevat. Kuid mulle tundub, et see üks pole olnud andja vaid osalt ka vastuvõtja ja vahest uuesti-andja – seega on küsimused selle ja Ida-Balti suhteist väga keerulised, eriti kuna ka lõunapoolse Ida-Balti ainestik on ise kah veel toores."
- 7 "Mulle on jäänud mulje, et sinne töötempo on aeglasem kui idapool Läänemerel – aga rootslased on rikkad ja neil on võimalik võtta palju inimesi tööle ja seepärast pole vaja rutata."
- 8 She eventually had to give the theme up, probably due to resistance from the Ålandic side around 1934. FLS Kivikoski: Moora to Kivikoski, Sept. 13, 1934, Feb. 8, 1935.
- 9 Kivikoski's list of references also mentions works by Arne, Engelhardt, Salin and Agnes Geijer, to which she does not seem to refer (Kivikoski 1939, pp. 259–266). In addition to the mentioned authors, newspaper articles, museum reports and published museum materials were also referred to by both Kivikoski and Moora.
- 10 "Saadan selle sõnumikese kahe sõbraga, keda palun Sind kõigiti aidata. Me pole kaotanud ega kaota siin lootust, et saame Sinuga veel kokku ja samuti teiste kaugete sõpradega õnnelikumais tingimustes. Viimasel ajal on meie lootused selleks kasvanud. [...] Küsimus ei ole aga muidugi minust isiklikult, vaid sellest suurest asjast, millele paljud meist on vaid pühendanud. [...] meie aga oleme valmis ühise asja eest kaalule panema oma reputatsiooni."
- 11 "Lootused tuleviku peale on head, kuid on võimalik, et nii kiiresti ei saa seda püstitatud ideed läbi viia."
- 12 Tartu University Library keeps an Eerik Laid collection, but it does not seem to contain any correspondence. Aili Bernotas, e-mail to the author, March 2, 2007.
- 13 "Tri Meinander lähetti heti matkansa jälkeen Eestiin tänne lähettämänne kirjat. Nyt lähetti prof. Moora meille viimeisen sikäläisen julkaisun. Toisessa oli omistus minulle, mutta toisessa ei sitä ollut. Hän on varmaankin tarkoittanut sen toimitettavaksi Teille. Postitan sen samalla. Hän pyysi samalla lisää kirjaa: 'Steingeräte mit Rille'. Hän ei tässäköön yhteydessä maininnut – nähtävästi varovaisuussyistä – Teidän nimeänne."