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Minna Silver & Pirjo Uino (eds.): Tiedenainen peilissä.
Arkeologian professori Ella Kivikosken elämä ja tutkimuskentät.
Book review.

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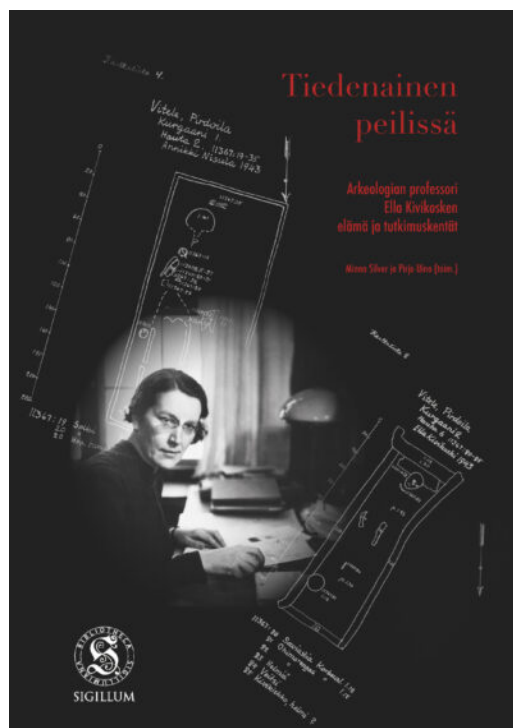
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Minna Silver & Pirjo Uino (eds.): *Tiedenainen peilissä. Arkeologian professori Ella Kivikosken elämä ja tutkimuskentät*. [A Female Scientist in a Mirror. Archaeology Professor Ella Kivikoski's Life and Research Fields]. Bibliotheca Sigillumiana 9. Sigillum, Turku 2020. ISBN 978-952-7220-15-3. 599 pp.

Ella Kivikoski (1901–1990) was the second Professor of Archaeology at the University of Helsinki. She succeeded A. M. Tallgren (1885–1945) in 1948 and remained in office for two decades until her retirement in 1969. Kivikoski is still considered a significant Finnish Iron Age scholar and *Tiedenainen peilissä* is a comprehensive and multifaceted tribute to Kivikoski's life and work.

In the preface to the book, the editors Minna Silver and Pirjo Uino characterize the volume as “*an anthology describing Kivikoski's life work rather than a biography*”. This is an accurate description: the book encompasses a variety of themes and issues related to Kivikoski and concentrates on her professional journey as an archaeologist. Altogether 25 authors have contributed to the book.

The book is divided into seven thematic sections, which include 31 articles, essays, or other texts. Some of the sections are dedicated more to scientific articles, while some include compilations of shorter texts. The book also includes a timeline of Kivikoski's life events, a bibliography of her publications, and English abstracts of the articles in the book. The thematic variation and large number of texts is meant to cover Kivikoski's life from as many angles as possible, but occasionally this makes the book seem somewhat inflated and rambling. Although most articles work well as separate texts, some articles overlap with others and hence there is a certain amount of repetition. These parts could have been more strictly edited, but apart from these exceptions, the editors have done a good



job, the texts are well written, and the language is fluent and enjoyable to read. The layout and visual appearance of the book are also pleasant to look at.

The first section is dedicated to Kivikoski's birthplace, Tammela, and her school years in Forssa. Apparently, there is very little material available about Kivikoski's childhood and life before she became an archaeologist, so the editors have chosen to provide general background details about the Forssa region and Kivikoski's life at school. Some texts, however, feel like they might have worked better in some other context, and parts of this first section would have benefited from more compressed contents. Juhani Kostet's description of Kivikoski's family and early life drifts towards becoming a description of Tammela and of other archaeologists who have spent time in the region. Perhaps this article could have been combined with Minna Silver's compilation of events happening at Kivikoski's school during her time there. Panu Nykänen's

article on the industrial development of Forssa is admittedly interesting, but might not be relevant to a reader who picks up this book expecting it to be solely about Kivikoski's life. This section ends with Sirkka-Liisa Seppälä's 1986 interview with Kivikoski, which would have been an excellent start for the first section, though it also works to close it and further acts as an introduction to the themes that are to come in the next sections.

The following section describes the beginning of Kivikoski's career in the 1920s–1940s. Timo Salminen's article about the formation of Kivikoski's professional and personal relations with her Baltic and Scandinavian colleagues is one of the most interesting in the book. Salminen cites excerpts from her letters to several people, including Tallgren, bringing her voice and personality to life. Sadly, this article also brings to mind how we now can relate to the experience of carefree international collaboration coming abruptly to an end, with colleagues and friends subsequently lost behind insurmountable borders.

In an article by Leena Söyrinki-Harmo, Kivikoski's career as a civil servant with the National Board of Antiquities, the predecessor of the Finnish Heritage Agency, is examined. Milton Núñez describes Kivikoski's excavations and research trips to Åland. These both excellent and concise texts contain many intriguing details.

Tiina Kinnunen's article offers an interesting description of the effects of the Second World War on the Finnish science community and on research in Finland. During the Finnish occupation of East Karelia in 1941–1944, several Finnish researchers from different disciplines conducted research in the area of the present-day Republic of Karelia. The State East-Karelian Scientific Committee was in charge of coordinating the research, often seeking to find scientific proof to back up the Finnish claim to the area. Kivikoski was sent to excavate some kurgans in Vitele, near the northeastern shore of Lake Ladoga, in 1943. This research trip is described in a detailed and riveting way in Pirjo Uino's article.

Kinnunen brings up several topics relevant to Kivikoski's career. For example, the absence of men in the work force left women to take care

of everything. It included not just manual labour or industrial work (which are possibly best remembered), but also the duties of civil servants and administrative work. On the other hand, academic women who had families were largely tied to domestic work and childrearing when their husbands were at war, and their careers were hindered on that account. Kivikoski, who stayed unmarried her whole life, did not have these kinds of obligations. As Kinnunen (p. 129) puts it, war polarized gender roles. After the war, many men were bitter towards their female colleagues for their "unfair advantage" of having been able to pursue their careers during wartime. On a number of occasions this accusation was thrown at Kivikoski, too, when she was competing with a male colleague over a vacant position.

Another important point that Kinnunen mentions is the way the academic community was divided into those who believed in a nationalistic Greater Finland ideology, and those, like Kivikoski and Tallgren, who were internationally oriented and/or bilingual, and therefore resented extreme Finno-Ugrism and ethnonationalism. These tensions are discussed in Visa Immonen's article about the conflict between the more nationalistically inclined historians, Jalmari Jaakkola and Arvi Korhonen, and archaeologists Tallgren, Kivikoski, and Aarne Äyräpää. Jaakkola and Korhonen opposed Kivikoski at different stages of her academic career, such as when her PhD dissertation was about to be accepted, when she applied for the title of docent, and when she applied for the position of professor. The main problem for Jaakkola was that he could not accept the conclusions of Kivikoski's doctoral dissertation about the Aurajoki river valley as a culturally and socially central area of the late Iron Age Finland, or anything to do with the Swedes and the Finns being at different "stages of development" during this time.

Immonen clarifies Jaakkola's ideological position: he held highly nationalistic views about the Finnish past, and also liked to emphasize the historical importance of his native province Satakunta over others. Jaakkola was a historian and medievalist who had an agenda to prove Finland's independent political agency as early as the Late Iron Age–Early Medieval period. Jaakkola's emphasis on a strong, dichotomic divide between the east and the west, and

Finland's role in this struggle, fitted well into the political atmosphere of the Continuation War, but it quickly fell out of fashion afterwards. Kivikoski's unpolitical and cautious style of interpreting the past was more suitable for the post-war decades.

The following thematic section is mostly devoted to a feminist reading of Kivikoski's career. Aura Korppi-Tommola gives an excellent introduction to the topic, clarifying the reality for women studying at university or launching an academic career both before and during Kivikoski's time. Kivikoski represented the next generation after the trailblazing first generation of educated women: in the year Kivikoski was born (1901), women received equal rights with men to study at university. However, for a long time women were excluded from working in certain positions or professions, therefore making it difficult for educated women to advance in their careers. After the Second World War, the tensions regarding gender roles and the career paths of men and women also had an impact. The first female (full) professor at the University of Helsinki was gynaecologist Laimi Leidenius, appointed by the Faculty of Medicine in 1930, and Kivikoski was the next, 18 years later. The whole teaching staff was mostly comprised of men: Korppi-Tommola mentions (p. 202) that the teachers' lounge in the Main Building did not even have women's toilets until the 1970s.

After Korppi-Tommola, Minna Silver continues to explore the gender issue with two articles (which include several shorter information texts). Silver aims to bring to light female archaeologists who were active before Kivikoski or her contemporaries. As Tuukka Talvio has previously pointed out in his review (2021), it is important that Anna Lisa Lindelöf (Brander), (1893–1988), Tallgren's student, and the self-proclaimed "first female archaeologist in Finland", is referred to in the text. Also, Tallgren's mother, Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgren (1852–1931), should be recognized as one of the pioneers of Finnish archaeology, even though she lacked formal education.

Similarly, although some pioneering Russian female archaeologists are referred to, there is no mention of Countess P. S. Uvarova (1840–1924). After the death of her husband, A. S. Uvarov (1825–1884), archaeologist and "founder of

prehistoric archaeology in Russia", the Countess was the chairperson of the Archaeological Society of Moscow for over thirty years (1885–1917). She was also appointed an honorary member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and she conducted surveys and fieldwork in the Caucasus. Uvarova was a prominent figure in organizing the Archaeological Congresses in Russia, in which Finnish archaeologists also participated until the Revolution. However, Uvarova was not a professional, academic archaeologist.

It seems evident that Swedish archaeologist Hanna Rydh had some influence in Kivikoski's career, but it also seems that maybe Kivikoski did not feel a particular need for female idols. In several parts of the book, it becomes evident that Kivikoski did not want to emphasize her gender, and opposed Rydh's and other Scandinavian female archaeologists' proclamation of doing archaeological research "about, for, and by women". Rydh was also married and had children, which made a woman's academic career much harder and led to a number of obstacles that were absent from the life of a childless woman like Kivikoski. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that issues perceived as created by one's gender are actually created by many other individual circumstances as well.

Silver speculates that Rydh's book about the Paleolithic Age, *Grottmänniskornas årtusenden* (1926), was an inspiration for Kivikoski's pursuit of archaeology, since she owned the book and mentioned in Seppälä's interview a similar-sounding book her sister had received for Christmas. However, in the interview, Kivikoski refers to her sister's book (which is not named) as "my earliest memories related to prehistory", which seems odd if Silver's theory is correct, since Rydh's book only came out a year before Kivikoski began to study at university, and Kivikoski was then already 25 years old.

Korppi-Tommola notes that women studies and feminist philosophy were only introduced into the Finnish academic world during the 1960s–1980s, when Kivikoski was at the end of her academic career, and by 1969 was retired. Kivikoski was probably not an anti-feminist, but she did not wish to pay particular emphasis to gender issues. Professionally, she wanted to be recognized for her work and its scientific value,

without any extra attention being paid to her on account of being a woman. And, after all, is that not what we all wish? It is worth remembering, that while the assumed gender of a person can greatly affect their opportunities in life and the way society sees them, the gender identity of the person themselves can be fluid and non-binary.

Silver's other article about women archaeologists in Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries is interesting but seems somewhat excessive in the context of this book. However, the thought comes to mind that there could be some demand for a separate book focusing solely on women and equality in Finnish archaeology, touching upon other related matters as well, such as the representation of minority groups.

The next section is dedicated to Kivikoski's work as a field archaeologist. The opening article by Mervi Suhonen and Mika Lavento is undoubtedly one of the best in the book. The quality of the writing, the inclusion of interesting details and thoughts, and the amount of work shown are all impressive. Among other topics, the article introduces interesting questions concerning the history of excavation methods in Finland, and especially the role of the workforce used to do the manual excavating. I have often wondered this myself: When did working as manual labour on excavations become the staple summer job for archaeology students and a subject of artisanal and professional pride, rather than the workforce being random workers recruited from the area? It seems that this change began during the 1970s, but why? This would be an interesting topic for a separate study on the history of archaeological fieldwork in Finland.

Somewhat surprisingly, in several articles it is mentioned that Kivikoski used to give a considerable number of interviews to magazines, both aimed at women, like *Me Naiset* and *Kotiliesi*, as well as others like *Yhteishyvä*. In the latter magazine, she famously said in a 1958 interview: "The work speaks for itself – gender is irrelevant". The title for this interview was "Nobody knows what an archaeologist has to suffer." She also wrote popular texts about archaeology for magazines and newspapers and gave lectures on radio. The interviews in women's magazines tended to describe Kivikoski as a person, her hobbies, or even her fashion sense, instead of her life as a professional. It seems that Kivikoski did

not shun publicity, nor was she afraid of "building a personal brand" for herself, as the modern expression goes. No doubt the women's magazines were especially interested in writing about Kivikoski because of her gender, but I dare say that no other professor of archaeology in Finland has featured this prominently as a "celebrity".

Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander describes Kivikoski's clearly difficult relationship with gender issues in her intriguing article. As mentioned earlier by Timo Salminen, Kivikoski represented Alfred Hackman's research orientation: They were both very careful with broad hypotheses or syntheses, instead preferring to observe typological, chronological, and spatial variation of artefact types. Kivikoski was interested in tracing ethnic and cultural patterns through archaeological material, as well as studying the relations and fluctuations between cultural spheres.

As Minna Silver mentions, many female pioneers of archaeology in Scandinavia were especially interested in the history of women, children, and families, as well as researching prehistoric societies from the viewpoint of their internal hierarchies related to gender and power. However, these intra-societal dynamics seemed to hold no interest for Kivikoski. As Lehtosalo-Hilander points out, sometimes it even seems as if she was deliberately avoiding that subject. It would appear that she was only willing to explore the agency of adult men in Iron Age societies. While she did not have any trouble describing traditionally male activities like hunting, anything related to women or the household felt awkward to her. As Lehtosalo-Hilander states, in Kivikoski's writing, Iron Age women are like lifeless mannequins who wear jewellery, which can then be studied to reveal typological change and cultural contacts.

Consistent avoidance of discussing gender and relations between individuals could stem from some personal experience or possibly an awkward or uncomfortable relationship with one's own gender identity. When these kinds of experiences or emotions are left unprocessed, it can lead to dissonant approaches. In this respect it is particularly fortunate that the book presents a previously unknown work by Kivikoski which throws a new light on the discussion of her and gender. In 1930, Kivikoski wrote her laudatur

(Master's) thesis in Finnish and Scandinavian history on the role of women. The study mainly discusses women in Medieval Finnish and Scandinavian society, without avoiding such topics as celibacy, but it also includes discussion of Iron Age women, stating that Viking Age women in Finland and Scandinavia were not repressed but were brave and worthy like the men, and were quite possibly warriors.

The examiners of the thesis, history professors Jalmari Jaakkola and Gunnar Suolahti, graded Kivikoski's dissertation *cum laude approbatur*. Pirjo Uino speculates (p. 327–329) that since Kivikoski was used to achieving higher marks for her studies, a *cum laude* would have discouraged her from researching women's history in the future and might also have prompted her to transfer to archaeology for her doctoral degree. Whatever may be the case, it would seem to have changed Kivikoski's perceptions about researching gender-related topics. Uino remarks that it is unlikely that Suolahti would have graded the work poorly because of its subject, since his students commonly wrote dissertations about their own interests, and there is nothing controversial in Kivikoski's dissertation: after all, it praises Finnish women. Perhaps the problem was Jaakkola, and would then be related to something about the way Finnish as opposed to Swedish women were described: Kivikoski examines the much-debated topic of Finns as Vikings. Unless some new sources depicting Kivikoski's own thoughts surface, the matter of the strange relationship between Kivikoski and gender issues will remain a mystery.

Later in the book, Lehtosalo-Hilander (p. 494) reminisces about the time when as Kivikoski's student she asked her about the archaeological traces of warrior women in the Viking Age. Kivikoski snorted that if such women ever existed, they soon came to their senses, got married, and were buried like all the other women. It seems that even today, some people perceive studying gender in the past to be irrelevant, but it can be argued that the study of a past society remains largely incomplete if all other groups than adult males are omitted from the picture.

The following articles in the book very much resemble those found in a *festschrift*,¹ but they

nevertheless fit into the anthological character of the book. All these articles include interesting and detailed information. Pirjo Uino has written about the jewellery company Kalevala Koru and manufacturing replicas of Iron Age jewellery. Kristiina Korkeakoski-Väisänen and Auli Bläuer examine the interpretations made about the cremation burial ground in Lieto Ylipää, and Terttu Lempiäinen describes the history of researching archaeological macrofossils in Finland.

The *festschrift* feeling continues in the last article section, which goes back to exploring the history of the region of Häme, where Kivikoski spent her early life. Articles by Eero Ojanen, Päivi Maaranen, and Riho Grünthal examine different interdisciplinary aspects of archaeology, history, geography, and linguistics in relation to Häme and Finland in general. The wide-ranging articles by Christian Carpelan and Eva Ahl-Waris, about the changing interpretations of migration and continuity in Finnish prehistory and the Late Iron Age, respectively, are excellent. These kinds of reflective articles addressing Kivikoski's interpretations of the past, and the further development and changes in her research themes, could have been more numerous in the book.

The last two sections resemble a scrapbook of all things Kivikoski. The anthology of memories about her by former students, colleagues, and friends is engrossing, funny, and warm-hearted, bringing her personality alive even to those who never had the chance of meeting her. The quirks of her personality are not glossed over. Several contributors, for example, reminisce on Kivikoski's tendency to pick favourites among her students, some of whom later were employed by her and became lifelong friends. However, her favouritism is always mentioned in a cordial way. Either none of her acquaintances felt slighted, or then those who had something against Kivikoski did not provide memories for the book. It should also be noted that the events described happened decades ago, and Kivikoski's former students have now already retired themselves.

The final section presents Kivikoski's letters, postcards, and interviews. The title of the book *Tiedenainen peilissä* ("A woman scientist in the

1 An actual *festschrift* was dedicated to Kivikoski in 1973 (Sarvas & Siiriäinen, eds.).

mirror”) is explained; it comes from a book review written by Kivikoski about Veijo Meri’s *Nainen peilissä* (“A woman in the mirror”). Even if the last two sections are a rather exhausting smorgasbord of small tidbits, they include a great deal of information. Everything there, as well as in the book as a whole, will undoubtedly serve as a useful source for future scholars studying Kivikoski or the history of Finnish archaeology in general.

Biographies or memoirs of Finnish archaeologists are rare (Kivikoski 1960; Meinander 1991; Edgren 2013; Salo 2014; see in addition Relas & Metsola 2017), and this book has been eagerly awaited. It includes much original research and previously unpublished information. Writing and editing has required massive work by the contributors and editors, to whom we should be grateful, and this book can be considered an important and influential work. But one question still remains: who now will pick up the thread left by Kivikoski (1960) and complete a thorough study of the life and works of A. M. Tallgren?

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