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**THE URAL-ALTAIC BRONZE AGE AS SEEN BY
J.R. ASPELIN AND A.M. TALLGREN**

Abstract

The study of eastern regions was important in Finnish archaeology especially during the 1870s and 1880s and again in the first decades of the 20th century. In accordance with the nationalistic spirit of the late 19th century, the main aim was to find the original home of the Finns and to provide them with a history. Later, the significance of ideological factors diminished in directing archaeological research, and actual archaeological questions became dominant. In this article, I examine by using the framework of cultural semiotics how interpretations of the Bronze Age changed from the work of Johan Reinhold Aspelin to that of Aarne Michaël Tallgren and what the central reasons for the change were. Aspelin's significations were based on the narrative 'Finnish migration', and the meaning of all finds depended on their relationship to it. Tallgren delved deeper into one specific part of Aspelin's field. Although Tallgren refuted many of Aspelin's interpretations, he did not question Aspelin's position as the icon of Ural-Altai archaeology.

Keywords: history of archaeology, cultural semiotics, Ural-Altai Bronze Age, J.R. Aspelin, A.M. Tallgren

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The study of Russia and Siberia was important in Finnish archaeology especially during the 1870s and 1880s and again in the first decades of the 20th century. In accordance with the nationalistic spirit of the late 19th century, the main aim was to find the original home of the Finns and to provide them with a history. Later, the significance of ideological factors diminished in directing archaeological research, and actual archaeological questions became dominant (see Salminen 1994; 1998; 2002a; 2003a; 2003b; 2006; 2007 with references).

Two prehistoric periods were especially important for Finnish archaeologists: the Bronze Age, together with the Anan'ino Culture, on the one hand, and the Late Iron Age on the other. In this article, I examine how interpretations of the Bronze Age changed from the work of Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) to that of Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) and what the central reasons for the change were.

**ELEMENTS OF FINNO-UGRIC
ARCHAEOLOGY**

J.R. Aspelin's licentiate's thesis (doctoral dissertation) *Suomalais-ugrilaisen muinaistutkinnon alkeita* (Elements of Finno-Ugric Archaeology) was published in late 1875, and Aspelin defended his thesis the following February. Aspelin had collected the material during his long stays in Russia and journeys to European museums in 1871–74. In his dissertation, Aspelin formulated the first general view of the prehistory of the assumed Finnish tribe and its migration from its original home to Finland. The core of the Aspelinian interpretation was the assumption of a uniform Bronze Age culture extending from eastern Russia to western Siberia. Contrary to M.A. Castrén's view, Aspelin adopted P.S. Pallas' interpretation that the assumedly Bronze Age antiquities in the Minusinsk region belonged to the Finns. M.A. Castrén denied this, although it was he who had considered the Finns to have origi-

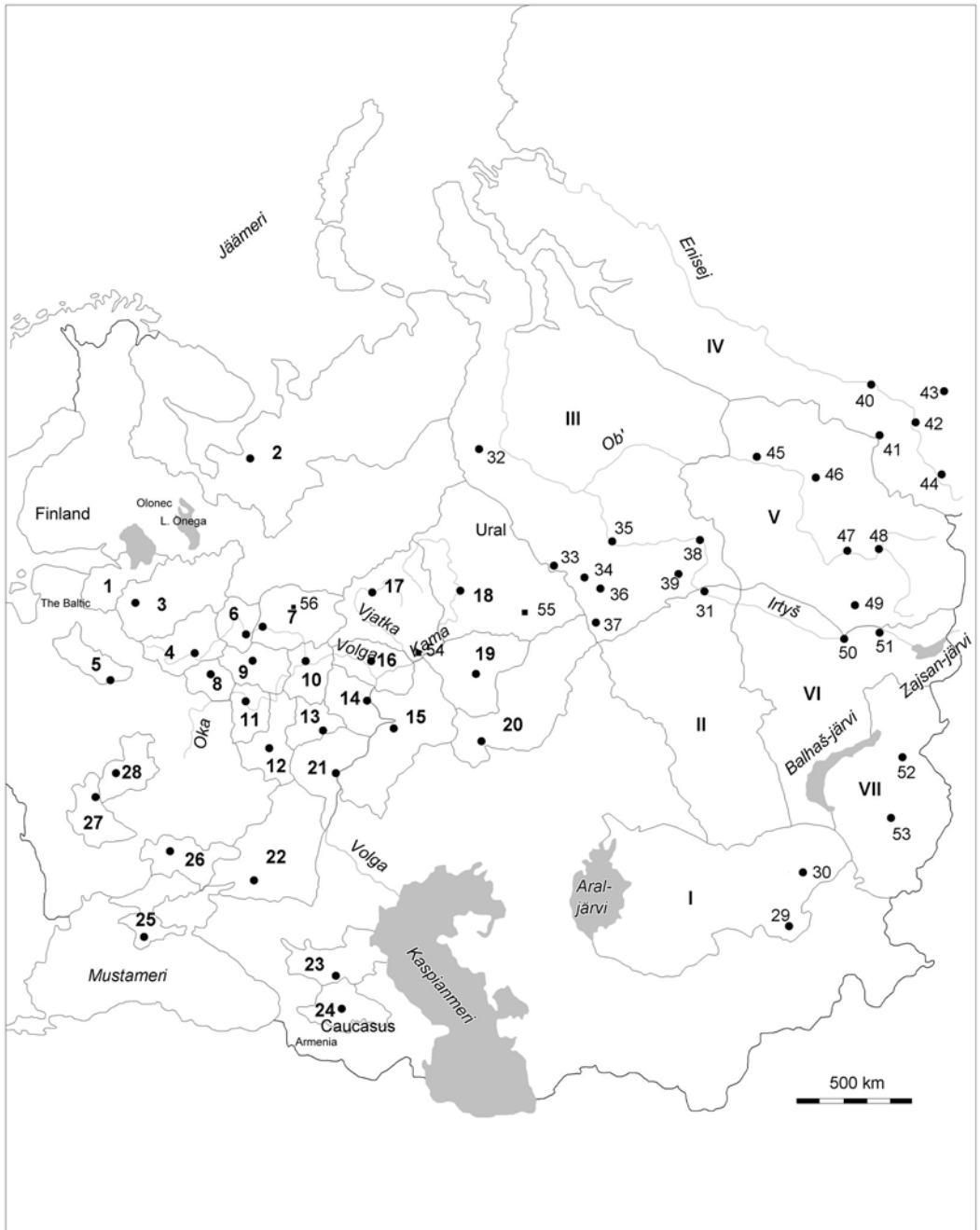


Fig. 1. The Ural-Altaic Area. All administrative borders are not shown on the map. 15 Samara, 16 Kazan', 18 Perm', 21 Saratov, 35 Tobol'sk, 44 Minusinsk, 46 Tomsk, 54 Anan'ino, 55 Ekaterinburg, 56 Galich. Salminen 2003b: map 1 (p. 209). Drawn by T. Mökkönen.

nated from the Altai (Castrén 1845: 184–6; 1855: 10, 76–7; Aalto 1971: 83).

In his dissertation, Aspelin built a conceptual framework of the Finnish tribe, its historical borders, chronological and ethnic groups, distribution, the way of living and cultural level of the ‘ancient national settlement’, the character of each archaeological group, and the development history of different forms. The aim of archaeology was cultural history (Aspelin 1875: 1–2).

Aspelin’s dissertation, the papers he presented in French at international archaeological congresses in Stockholm, St. Petersburg and Budapest, and his atlas *Muinaijännöksiä Suomen suvun asumus-aloilta – Antiquités du Nord finno-ougrien* aroused considerable interest internationally because of the material they systematized. The atlas was printed as five bilingual booklets, which contained the material Aspelin had collected for his dissertation and were supplemented with new finds (Aspelin 1874; 1876a; 1876b; 1877–84; 1878b).

Aspelin divided the European Bronze Age into two separate cultural areas, West European and Ural-Altaiic. He did not completely accept the Montelian diffusionistic concept, according to which the whole cultural development of Europe had its roots in the Near East. On the other hand, he considered Montelius’ model as a natural explanation for the spread of metal (Aspelin 1875: 55). Aspelin thought several western Iron Age artefact forms had developed from Siberian origins and belonged to the same people. Despite this, he was not the first to present the concept of a Ural-Altaiic Bronze Age. It had occurred already in Pallas’ books and had been formulated archaeologically by the Dane J.J.A. Worsaae (Worsaae 1872).

In the south, Aspelin separated the Scythian bronze culture. Its forms had great similarities with Siberian forms, but Aspelin admitted that it was difficult to say whether this indicated ethnic kinship or a common source of culture (Aspelin 1875: 79–80).

According to Aspelin, a still unexplained reason had forced the Finns to leave the Altai in the Late Bronze Age. After arriving in regions where no bronze was available, they had had to make their utensils of other materials: at first, at the river Kama, of bone and antler, then later, in Olonec, of stone. As the main evidence for this theory,

Aspelin considered the animal figures found from the whole area from Siberia to Karelia. Later, the population had again had access to bronze and in Anan’ino they had learned to use iron. Artefact forms had maintained the Siberian tradition. Anan’ino forms lived further in the so-called Permian Iron Age. Aspelin assumed that the Finns had moved from the Baltic to Finland around AD 700, because the artefact forms of the earlier Iron Age in Finland were Scandinavian or Germanic, whereas later forms resembled the types found in the dwelling areas of Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia (Aspelin 1875; 1883: 54–9; Worsaae 1872: 348–60; see also Kokkonen 1984: 154; Белокобыльский 1986: 31–56).

Aspelin had visited Anan’ino in 1872, and his observations caused him to consider it as a part of the Finno-Ugric past. What became significant was the relationship between Anan’ino and the late, assumedly Finno-Ugric Iron Age (Aspelin 1875: 106–25, 158–59, 209–10; 1877–84: 124). Because of its assumed position as a link between Siberia and European Russia, Anan’ino played a central role in Finnish archaeology for several decades. In addition to Aspelin’s own publications, his ideas were presented to Russian audiences by P.D. Šestakov (Шестаковъ, П. Д. 1880: 129–30, 133).

Aspelin rejected some interpretations made by West European archaeologists. J.J.A. Worsaae had assumed that the Finnish tribe had brought the Stone Age culture from Siberia to the west, but in Aspelin’s opinion, the Stone Age in European Russia could not have a Finnish origin, because no Stone Age were known between the Urals and eastern Siberia.

Aspelin also rejected Constantin Grewingk’s assumption about the Finno-Ugrianism of the Stone Age in the Baltic, because the Iron Age was interpreted as Gothic there. Grewingk had examined F.M. Müller’s idea that the original inhabitants of Central Europe had been Finnic, but Aspelin never paid any attention to that possibility. Actually, also Grewingk considered it unlikely (Worsaae 1872: 345; Grewingk 1874: 59–60, 70–72, 89–90, 106; Aspelin 1875: 49–53). Later, Julius Ailio (1872–1933) presented the same idea in the Finnish literature on the basis of Gustaf Kossinna’s views. Nevertheless, Ailio assumed the Finnish original home to have been situated in the Valdaj region (Ailio 1923).



Fig. 2. An inscription stone in Chirkovo, Western Siberia. From Appelgren-Kivalo 1931, Abb. 157.

Antiquités brought Aspelin into correspondence with several foreign colleagues. Especially interesting was the discussion he had with the French archaeologist Charles de Linas, because Linas referred in his letters to the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age contacts between central Russia and Caucasia. Aspelin had neglected this possible explanation for the background of the Anan'ino culture, because Castrén's theory of the original home of the Finns had so strongly directed his views (Salminen 2003b: 55, 62 with references; see also Сафо́нов 2004a: 27; 2004b: 62).

DIE KUPFER- UND BRONZEZEIT IN NORD- UND OSTRUSSLAND

A.M. Tallgren began his studies of the Ural-Altai Bronze Age with a study trip to the museums of London and Paris in 1908. There he noticed the

difference between Bronze Age cultures in Siberia and in the Volga–Kama region. Tallgren published his observations immediately as an article in Finnish. The principal groups of artefacts providing evidence of separate cultures in Siberia and at the Kama were axes, animal figures, and daggers, for all of which Tallgren could show western or southern equivalents. Tallgren left the question of the possible Finno-Ugrianism of the Bronze Age in Russia to wait for the 'cartographic research of types' (Tallgren 1908: 149–165).

In 1911, Tallgren's dissertation *Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland* established a new interpretation of the Bronze Age in Russia. Here, he separated the Uralic and Altaic Bronze Ages from each other. He was not the first to do this, however. I already mentioned J.J.A. Worsaae's views, but also another Dane, Sophus Müller, noticed in 1882 that the Bronze Age remains between the Volga and the Altai showed more similarity with European remains than with Siberian ones. In addition to that, he considered the western finds older than the finds from Siberia. In Russia, A.A. Stuckenberg published the same idea in 1901, noting that the Bronze Age in European Russia was an independent cultural area compared to both Western Europe and Siberia. Tallgren's merits were that, firstly, he searched and found detailed evidence for this, and, secondly, his results were printed in an internationally understood language, German, instead of Danish or Russian (Müller 1882: 348–56; Штуке́нбергъ 1901: 165–8; Tallgren 1911b; 1919: 124–5).

Stone Age finds from the middle of the 1880s showed that there indeed was a local background behind the Uralic and Volga Bronze Age (Зайцевъ 1886: 50–5; Tallgren 1908: 148–59; 1907: 71; Salminen 2003b: 118). Tallgren built his interpretation on new finds, new ways to examine the previously known material, and a more detailed analysis of the material he had at his disposal. He assumed that shared Scythian origins caused the similarities in the Uralic and Altaic cultural groups (Tallgren 1911b: 1–24, 94–5; 1919: 79, 124–6, 171, 175–7; Kosinskaya 2001: 265–75).

Despite the division he had made, Tallgren still bound the cultural groups together with a superstructure, the 'so-called Ural-Altai area' (Tallgren 1911b: V, 1–2, 10–12, 15, 122). This

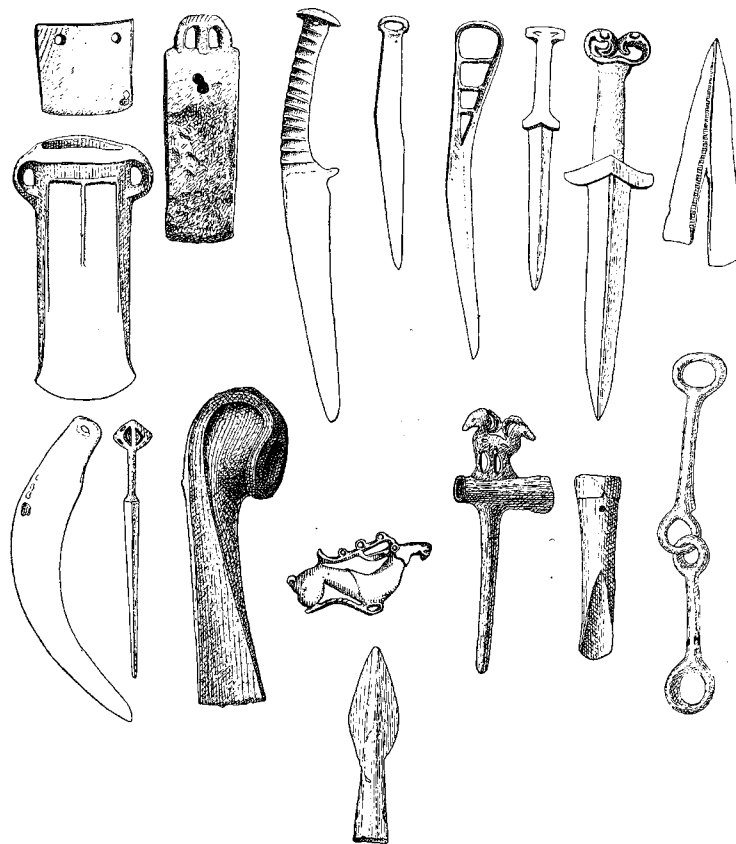


Fig. 3. Siberian artefact forms.
Tallgren 1911b, Abb. 1.

Bronzezeitliche Gegenstände aus Sibirien.
Abb. 1.

concept was needed to keep the whole area inside the borders of the field signified as belonging to Finnish archaeology (Tallgren 1926: 12ff; 1927: 3–4).

In Tallgren's opinion, the Bronze Age in Russia had mostly received influences, but he expected new finds to give it a more active role in the cultural development (Tallgren 1911b: 216–7). Tallgren developed this idea further in his later works. He saw the Ukrainian Bronze Age as a combination of independent forms and external influences. The whole steppe culture was directed towards the west, contrary to what Aspelin, Müller, and V.A. Gorodcov had assumed (Tallgren 1926: 87, 214–21). In the turn of the Bronze and Iron Ages, Russia had certainly had connections with the Black Sea region and probably also with Armenia. Tallgren found the centre of the Anan'ino culture at the river Kama and considered its area as extending to Ekaterinburg, perhaps to Tobol'sk, even Tomsk, in the south to the gov-

ernments of Samara and Saratov, and in the northwest at least sporadically to Finland. The origins of the Caucasian Bronze Age could also be found elsewhere than in the Ural-Altai area. Like Aspelin, Tallgren considered the Anan'ino culture and Scythian civilization as independent groups (Tallgren 1919: 86, 92, 95–103, 171, 184).

Tallgren's dissertation refuted the Aspelinian Ural-Altai theory. It was also the first publication to bring the question of the eastern Bronze Age in Finland into the general consciousness. Eastern Bronze Age finds had been made in Finland since the turn of the century, and Tallgren was aware of two cultural areas in Finland at least around 1906. Alfred Hackman (1864–1942) had published papers on eastern socketed axes from Finland in 1899 and 1903. He still referred to contacts in the Urals, but, significantly enough, did not take the birth of the bronze culture further to the east any more (Hackman 1899: 2; 1903: 11, 13; Tallgren 1906: 47; 1911a; 1911b: 144–50,



Fig. 4. East Russian artefact forms. Tallgren 1911b, Abb. 2.

153–86, 198; 1917: 25; 1930: 5–6, 1933: 20–1; 1934: 41).

Tallgren's book changed the relationship between Ural-Altai archaeology and Finnish prehistory. In Aspelin's works, the Ural-Altai cultural sphere and the eastern Bronze Age had belonged to the past of the Finnish tribe far away and in times long past. From Alfred Hackman's and A.M. Tallgren's studies on, these subjects lost their indisputable connection with the Finnish people, but became a part of the prehistory of Finland.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS SIGNIFIER: GENERAL POINTS OF VIEW

By using information about linguistic relationships, historical, archaeological, and ethnographical ideas about the material culture of the Finnic

peoples, and mentions in folk tradition, Aspelin formulated his view of the development of the Finno-Ugric material culture, the birth and migration of the Finnish tribe, i.e. the Ural-Altai theory. This was possible, because Aspelin considered only certain types of artefacts as signs of the 'white-eyed Chuds' of folk tradition.

In the turn of the 1860s and 1870s, Aspelin had very few ready meanings on which to base the interpretations of archaeological finds. Aspelin confronted his material, the cultural languages expressed in it, and the prehistoric peoples' significations, which he had to translate into the language of his own archaeological signification. In principle, these significations were incommensurable with each other. Although unconsciously, Aspelin was nevertheless creating a myth of the prehistory of the Finnish people (for a general theory of cultural semiotics, see Lotman &

Uspenskij 1984: x–xii, 3; Danow 1991: 22–27, 59–60, 96, 99, 102–4; Tarasti 1995; Lotman 1999: 12, 18–21, 24, 39–42, 58, 62).

The general aims of 19th-century archaeology were typological and chronological: archaeologists wanted to arrange the material they had at their disposal. Phenomena were ascribed a special meaning only when an archaeologist exceeded this level. Aspelin's aim was to define nationalities, and he emphasized the newness of this attempt (Aspelin 1875: 3–5). He considered the recipients of his writings to consist of the nationally-minded educated class as well as the common people and the sceptical, even hostile, opposing party. The latter group meant especially Swedish-speaking Finns, but also Russians.

Aspelin's point of view was based on the idea of progress. This idea was inherited from the Age of Enlightenment, and Aspelin saw no need to provide further arguments for it. Without the idea of progress, it would be impossible to understand the construction with which Aspelin explained the Finnish migration from the Altai to the west (Aspelin 1875: 4–5).

By including his papers in international conferences and publications, Aspelin attempted to signify some Bronze and Iron Age cultures in Russia as Finnish property. This meant both the right to research these cultures and the right to own their heritage. Finnish archaeological research was exhibited also in the World Exhibition in Paris in 1878. Finds from Finland, as well as from the Ural-Altai region, were taken to the exhibition. Building a nation required presenting the past and especially the Finnish national character to foreign audiences (Aspelin 1874; 1876a; 1876b; 1876c; 1878a; 1878b; АСПЕЛИНЪ 1884; Smeds 1996: 43–4, 152–3, 159).

URAL-ALTAIC BRONZE AGE AND PERMIAN IRON AGE SIGNIFIED

Aspelin was the first to construct a theoretical and methodological framework for Finnish archaeology. He presented it in the fourth All-Russian archaeology conference in Kazan' in 1877 and published his paper in both Finnish and Russian. The task of archaeology was to discover 'national peculiarities in archaeological material' and use them to 'understand peoples that no longer exist'. Aspelin did not place an especially strong empha-

sis on typology, although he discussed the significance of series of finds in explaining the development of forms (Aspelin 1877: 138–9, 142. АСПЕЛИНЪ 1884; cf. Ожонникова 2002: 64–5).

In his time, J.R. Aspelin did not consider it easy to recognize national forms in Stone Age artefacts, because the material used determined the possible forms and also because stone artefact forms were not yet well researched. On the other hand, bronze as a material did not determine artefact forms. The caster could form objects according to taste and each people's 'special consciousness of beauty' could be freely reflected (Aspelin 1875: 57).

Aspelin divided the Russian Bronze Age into two main groups: the western group, which was connected with the Central European Bronze Age, and the eastern group, which was different. The latter one 'appears as a completely peculiar group in the easternmost parts of our research area'. Aspelin already admitted to connecting the eastern Bronze Age with the Finnish tribe (Aspelin 1875: 55, 65).

Now he had to define both the regional and chronological borders of his eastern or Ural-Altai culture. In his opinion, it began on the steppes around the upper course of the river Enisej and the mountains of Altai (Aspelin 1875: 68). After this, Aspelin's concept of the Bronze Age also contained Castrén's linguistic theory of the Finno-Ugrianism of the inhabitants on the steppes around the headwaters of the Enisej. The concept of the Iron Age, again, contained the assumption that these inhabitants emigrated to the west at the time of adaptation of iron, and a new, Kirgiz settlement took place in Siberia. That meant that Aspelin could leave the Siberian Iron Age graves outside his analysis, without comparison to the earlier ones.

Because the Finnish tribe had, according to Castrén, come from Siberia, its earliest signs should be sought there. There were inscriptions and rock drawings, which Aspelin assumed to date to the Bronze Age, because their distribution was the same as the area of the Altai Bronze Age culture that he had defined. Combined with Castrén's assumption about the Finnish original home in the Altai, especially the Siberian Bronze Age culture was considered as 'Finnic' and belonged entirely within the borders of the

Aspelinian Finno-Ugric culture. Following the bronze culture, also the inscriptions were signified as belonging to the 'Finnish tribe'. Aspelin singled out human and animal figures among inscription motifs, because he saw expressions in them belonging to the same cultural language he could recognize from later periods in the west. Moreover, when Spasskij and Grewingk had compared the Siberian pictures with the rock carvings at Lake Onega, their position in the centre of the Aspelinian Finnic culture was clear. Other Siberian pictures, made with red paint, had equivalents in the Urals, which indicated the distribution of these pictures and their makers in that area, too. New significations were built upon this infrastructure (Aspelin 1875: 87–91).

In this way, Aspelin had divided prehistoric cultures into artificial groups. Their borders were defined partly retrospectively and named. With names the groups were semiotized to explain exactly the problem that the archaeologist had set (Salminen 2002b).

The Galich treasure was given a meaning as an actual bind between different cultures. In an Anan'ino cemetery, Aspelin saw a continuation to the forms of Galich idols. In this way, archaeological comparison gave the Anan'ino figures and motifs their meaning. The shared meaning of 'Finnish tribe' between the Siberian bronze culture, Galich, and Anan'ino prevented Aspelin from seeing a connection between Anan'ino and Caucasian cultures. Caucasus remained a non-culture, because it did not fit the picture Aspelin had in mind.

After Anan'ino had become the central point of the narrative 'Finnish migration', the meaning of other finds depended on their relationship to it. The Late Iron Age in the Perm' region was considered Finno-Ugric without any doubt. Was the earlier Iron Age known from the Perm' region an intermediate phase between Anan'ino and the Late Permian Iron Age there or a separate phenomenon? Could the material signs of the Finnish tribe be extended over a period of almost a thousand years from which there were no finds?

Because the forms of the later Iron Age seemed to be commonplace in the areas where they were known, it seemed probable that the settlement using them had had a longer development history only in those places where it was found. This is how the Early Iron Age finds were considered by

Aspelin as signs of the Finno-Ugrians. Actually, they attained this position due to the fact that there was no other material to which he could have given that kind of meaning. Because Anan'ino could at least in principle be proven to be a centre where the later Finno-Ugric forms originated, its own meaning was strengthened. This again strengthened the meanings of later finds (Aspelin 1875: 210–11).

In Aspelin's attitude as a whole, two conflicting powers can be seen: romanticism sought the obscure past of peoples and positivistic archaeological method sought the independence of science (Aspelin 1875: 57, 210–12; Shanks 1992: 15–21; Salminen 1993: 14–17).

All interpretations of Finnish prehistory at the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century were based on Aspelin's work. Until the middle of the 1890s, it had become a myth through which the formation process of the Finnish people out of a larger Finno-Ugric community was viewed.

In some respects, the situation of Finnish archaeology started to change in the 1890s. There was no longer such unanimity concerning the relationship of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age to the Finnish tribe as there had been earlier. The Late Iron Age retained its position, and J.R. Aspelin himself as well. He was already the Founder of Finnish Archaeology and his theories had attained a mythical position.

FINNISH SIGNIFICATIONS AND RUSSIAN ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

An extensive analysis of how the Finnish system of significations influenced Russian archaeologists' interpretations cannot be carried out here, but some observations can be made. I use archaeologists and archaeological publications from Kazan' as examples, because J.R. Aspelin was a corresponding member of the Kazan' Society of History, Archaeology and Ethnography since 1884.

Aspelin's central object of study in eastern Russia had been the cemetery of Anan'ino, which he semiotized as a junction of his Ural-Altai culture between Siberia and Europe. In 1892, P.A. Ponomarev attempted to reach a general overview of all research at Anan'ino and its interpretations. He accepted the Aspelinian concept of a Ural-



Fig. 5. The University of Kazan' was one of the archaeological centres in Eastern Russia. Postcard from the beginning of the 20th century.

Altaic culture but did not comment on Anan'ino's position within the whole. Speculation about dating and ethnicity did not, in his opinion, belong to a presentation that should concentrate on facts (Пономаревъ 1892: 412, 438).

The approach of a natural scientist is clearly visible here. Many Kazan' archaeologists were trained in the natural sciences and the centre of their semiosphere could not contain anything but results of empirical observations and experiments. In this climate, Aspelin's system of significations had no chance of success. This also mostly explains the characteristic of Russian archaeology that the Finnish archaeologists considered as incapability to generalize, but it does not explain why the typological method did not become an established part of archaeological methodology in Russia in the same way as in the west (see also Оконникова 2002: 60–5; Salminen 2003b: 32).

Later, S.P. Šestakov wrote on how archaeological finds cannot tell as much about race as about the way of life. He stated that although the Scythian material culture is very similar to that of Mongolia, this does not refute the theory of the Aryan or Iranian origin of the Scyths, because

linguistics, archaeology, and folk tradition all speak for it (С.П. Шестаковъ 1906: 145). Actually, material culture and ethnicity were separated from each other even earlier in Russian than in Finnish archaeology.

Aspelinian, Fennoman archaeology had also to confront Russian, Slavic nationality and nationalism. In the Kazan' Society, plans were created to found a Russian (русский) public museum of history and archaeology at the end of 1870s. According to V.M. Florinskij, this museum should have sought and presented the original, purely Russian culture that had in the course of time become mixed with European culture and even become extinct. No copies of foreign models should have been exhibited (Флоринскій 1880: 128–9). Florinskij started from the same idea of national spirit as Aspelin but went further: he assumed that a purely original, Russian form of culture could be found. Because the museum was meant to be exclusively Russian, it seemed to strengthen Aspelin's idea of Finns as the rightful heirs of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

In spite of everything, the Kazan' Society also saw itself within the Ural-Altaic framework of

significations established by the Finns, undoubtedly as a leading Ural-Altai archaeological society. It published information about new Finnish publications, but also new collections of other east Russian museums as far as Minusinsk. Kazan' archaeologists carried out excavations far outside their own government, too (Библиографія 1892; Смирновъ 1895; Лобановъ 1893; Чупинъ 1893; Мартяновъ 1895; Зайцевъ 1886).

RE-ASSESSING THE SEMIOSPHERE: HACKMAN AND TALLGREN

The circumstances in which Finnish archaeology was working in the early 20th century had changed from the circumstances 20–30 years earlier. On the one hand, archaeology had been established with the foundation of the Archaeological Commission and the Historical Museum, but on the other hand, it had not been able to answer all the questions raised by national awakening. Also, because Finnish society had to fight against Russification, it was more and more compelled to emphasize the special character of Finland and its past locally, instead of searching for remote roots, especially if they were situated in Russia.

Alfred Hackman's *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland* established a more detailed explanation of the settlement of Finland. Hackman examined the Late Bronze Age in Finland as a background to the Iron Age by using Aspelinian concepts, but setting the concept of *Kulturkreis* above them. He considered the main settlement in Bronze Age Finland to have been Scandinavian. The Uralic finds showed mainly trade connections. Hackman did not use the concept of Ural-Altai – he had actually questioned it already in 1897, and even in the Anan'ino and Zuevskoe cemeteries he refers only to daggers similar to those found in Siberia. The central result of Hackman's book was the new interpretation of the Finnish immigration to Finland. According to him it had started already in the first century AD (Hackman 1905: 2–3, 8–13, 18, 318–59; Salminen 1993: 40, endnote 211).

It is important to note that despite new interpretations, Hackman never rejected the Aspelinian tradition as a whole and never questioned Aspelin's significance as a central figure in Finnish archaeology.

In A.M. Tallgren's thinking, groups of artefacts and cultures emerge more clearly from the mate-

rial itself than in Aspelin's view. Aspelin had considered objects as signs in which the spirit of the people has signified the artefacts. An archaeologist's duty was to recognize these meanings.

Tallgren used typology, but analogy was equally important to him. He searched for equivalents without using typological series. Since Montelius, Bronze Age research had bound itself to typology, and in that realm Tallgren followed a strong tradition. On the other hand, while writing about the Late Stone Age and Copper Age finds from Galich, Tallgren preferred to use his analogy method. He has stated that he attempts to formulate syntheses rather than make typological series (Tallgren 1911b: 45–93, 170–83; 1919: 111–81; 1926: 169–213; cf. Appelgren-Kivalo 1912a, 1912b; Tallgren 1936: 248).

Both Aspelin and Tallgren found some kind of cultural idea in the artefacts. For Aspelin it was national, ethnic, for Tallgren more difficult to define. Aspelin noted forms that were similar to or completely different from each other without making detailed comparisons. Tallgren used his geographic-chronological method to create a general picture of the culture, which he tried to proportion to other pictures and to which he proportioned each artefact form. This is especially typical of his work in the 1920s, and its similarity to Julius Krohn's (1835–88) and Kaarle Krohn's (1863–1933) geographic-historical method of folklore research is significant (Tallgren 1919: 86–103; 1926: 85–7, 139; Krohn 1909; Hautala 1954: 264–5).

Tallgren left the question of the nationality of the East Russian inhabitants open, although he considered it possible that they could be Finno-Ugric. The main contingent of the Finno-Ugric tribes would probably have lived east of these areas, where especially rich remains of Stone Age culture could be found. At least the Finno-Ugrians had been bearers of the east Russian metal culture. Probable evidence of this was provided by the Anan'ino finds, which were a precondition of the Permian 'certainly Finno-Ugric' bone and iron culture. Because Anan'ino culture transformed unnoticeably into an iron culture, which again transformed into Permian culture, it was possible that Anan'ino could be derived from an earlier bronze culture. The new, oriental artefact forms in Anan'ino could be explained with the change in ethnic circumstances caused by a Scythian migration in the Black Sea region. The immi-

grants would have adopted cultural influences from the south there. Tallgren denied a connection between material culture and ethnic identity (Tallgren 1911b: 217–218; 1913; 1915: 218).

In 1919, Tallgren repeated the separation of material culture and ethnic identity less clearly in his book *L'époque dite d'Ananino*, in which he wrote about the spread of Scythian ornaments in Russia. The Anan'ino people at least were not Scyths. Their culture had emerged from a local background and adopted Scythian influences. Tallgren hoped that in the future archaeology could shed light on questions such as the original home of the Finns. This is why he speculated on the ethnic background of the Scyths, too, assuming them probably to be Indo-European. When discussing the Finno-Ugric original home, he stated that it could not be located yet. He had to content himself with general characteristics like the connection between Comb Ceramics and Finno-Ugrians (Tallgren 1919: 103, 181–4; 1923: 335; Ligi 1994a: 114; 1994b; Tönnisson 1994: 808–9; Salminen 2006: 30).

Although artefacts in themselves were not bearers of national spirit, the culture as a whole had its own character. One of the clearest examples of this was Tallgren's characterization of Anan'ino culture (Tallgren 1919: 171, 177–8).

The difference between Aspelin's and Tallgren's approaches can be explained only through the difference in the idea of culture and the questions arising from it. Aspelin sought a general picture of a large area, whereas Tallgren delved deeper into one specific part of Aspelin's field. Tallgren broke the Aspelinian myth into pieces, but did not build a new myth instead. Tallgren got the closest to building myths when he made a paradigm out of Alfred Hackman's new interpretation of the Finnish immigration to Finland (Tallgren 1926: 189, 196–7; 1931: 141–4).

Although Tallgren refuted many of Aspelin's interpretations, he did not question Aspelin's position as the icon of Ural-Altai archaeology. Aspelin remained the mythical Father of all Finnish archaeologists. In the same way, Tallgren iconized the Ural-Altai area, only giving it a modified meaning for the new situation (Tallgren 1911b: V, VII, 1–2, 10, 15, 122).

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