

AARNE MICHAËL TALLGREN, ESTONIA, AND TARTU IN 1920: THE IMAGE OF A COUNTRY IN CORRESPONDENCE

Timo Salminen

Background, questions, and material

Our identities are formed under the influence of places and communities surrounding us. New experiences are formed on the basis of earlier layers, and some researchers even interpret a person's identity as a continuous process and an endless re-creating of self. In addition to the basic identity everybody has, people also have different social identities.¹ We define places and construct narratives of them, connecting them with values and significations of our personal lives, both consciously and unconsciously. Elements with links to our life histories therefore often dominate in our images of places.²

The Finnish archaeologist Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) was an internationally renowned expert on the Russian and east European Bronze Age since his doctoral dissertation, which was published in 1911. He established an extensive network of contacts both in Russia and in Western Europe. Tallgren was appointed as the first professor of Estonian and Nordic archaeology at the University of Tartu in June of 1920, and he served as professor until the spring of 1923. At the end of that same year, he was appointed as the first professor of Finnish and Nordic archaeology at the University of Helsinki. Tallgren built the entire Estonian system

¹ For a concise overview of identities, see Ian Craib, *Experiencing Identity* (London & al.: Sage Publications, 1998), 1–9.

² Yrjö Sepänmaa, “The Centre of the World: Myself as the Centre of My World”, *Koht ja paik – Place and Location, Studies in Environmental Aesthetics and Semiotics V* (2006), 61–65. Dace Bormane, “The Logos of Space as Cultural Paradigm in the Thinking of Life: The Landscape of Thinking”, *Koht ja paik – Place and Location, Studies in Environmental Aesthetics and Semiotics, V* (2006), 131–139. Winfried Nöth, “Ökosemiotik”, *Natur, Umwelt, Zeichen*, hrsg. Susanne Hauser. *Zeitschrift für Semiotik* Bd. 18, Heft 1 (1996), 7–18 (11).

of university education in archaeology, as well as most of the research in this field, and his students remained in prominent positions in Estonian archaeology until the 1960s. After returning to Finland, Tallgren continued his work on the eastern Bronze Age. From 1926 until 1938, at first together with the ethnologist Uuno Taavi Sirelius (1872–1929) and after his death with another ethnologist, Ilmari Manninen (1894–1935), he edited the journal *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, where both analytical studies and materials on Russian and east European archaeology and ethnology were published in German, French and English. This journal was the final and decisive factor to gain Tallgren international fame in his field.³

What did Estonia, Tartu, and conditions there represent for Tallgren before he moved to Tartu? What was his image of Estonia like, especially in relationship to his identity? How and why did it change during the autumn term of 1920? Moving abroad was a big change in Tallgren's life, and it was precisely the autumn of 1920 that was the most important formation period for the image he had of his work, social status, and both physical and social surroundings. In this article, Tallgren's relationship with Estonia is analysed especially in light of his correspondence.

This article is based mostly on the collection of A. M. Tallgren's mother, Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgren (1852–1931), in the National Archives of Finland. This collection contains, among others, the letters that Dean Ivar Markus Tallgren (1850–1936) and Mrs. Tallgren received from their children, and at least most of the letters sent by Jenny Maria to her daughters Anna-Maria (actually, Anna Maria Christina, 1886–1949) and Aili Charlotta (1883–1965), as well as the ones written by Aarne Michaël (Mikko) to Anna-Maria and Aili.⁴ Some letters from Mikko Tallgren to his eldest

³ Ella Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää* (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 1960), 42–45; Timo Salminen, "Tallgren, Aarne Michaël", *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu, Studia biographica* 4 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1997), 2001, <<https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/6461>>. Timo Salminen, "Tallgren, Aarne Michaël", *Biografiskt lexikon för Finland* 4 (Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland; Stockholm: Atlantis, 2011), 1557–1560. Valter Lang, "The History of Archaeological Research (up to the late 1980s)", *Estonian Archaeology* 1, *Archaeological Research in Estonia 1865–2005* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2006), 13–40 (21–24). Timo Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit, Suomalaisten arkeologien kansainväliset yhteydet 1870–1950 (Colleagues, Friends and Opponents, The International Contacts of Finnish Archaeologists 1870–1950)*, Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja – Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift 122 (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 2014), 34–36, 90–125, 192–220, 248–253. Jyri Kokkonen, "Aarne Michaël Tallgren and Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua", *Fennoscandia archaeologica* II (1985), 3–10.

⁴ The National Archives of Finland (further: NAF), 602:67: Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgren's collection.

brother Oiva Johannes Tallgren (later Tuulio, 1878–1941) are kept in the latter's collection at the National Library of Finland.⁵ Correspondence with the second-eldest brother, Kaarlo Zacharias (1879–1932), has not been preserved, at least not in public archives. A good comparison can be made by reading the letters from A. M. Tallgren to his close colleague and friend Aarne Europaeus (later Äyräpää, 1887–1971), kept in his collection at the Archives of the Finnish Heritage Agency⁶, and some sporadic flashes also through the letters Tallgren received from his colleagues, which are now kept in his collection at the National Library of Finland.⁷ Some individual letters connected to Tallgren's time in Tartu are part of the Tallgren collection in the Archives of the Finnish Heritage Agency.⁸ Scholarly correspondence to Tallgren has been preserved almost completely, but some private letters have apparently been lost.⁹

In all, 112 dated letters or postcards from 1920 exchanged between the Tallgren family members are known, 62 of them sent by Mikko Tallgren to his parents, sisters, or brother. There are also 53 letters from other senders to A. M. Tallgren from 1920, eleven of which come from Estonia. Two letters from Tallgren to Aarne Europaeus¹⁰ and three to Johan Gabriel Granö (1882–1956)¹¹ are known from 1920. The letters are the only first-hand source of Tallgren's thoughts on his life in Tartu. Only a few of them have been used in research before. They provide an opportunity for us to take a look at a Finnish professor's thoughts in and about Estonia and Tartu in a more personal way than most other sources we have at our disposal.

⁵ The National Library of Finland (further: NLF), Coll. 246: Oiva Johannes Tuulio's (Tallgren) collection.

⁶ The Archives of the Finnish Heritage Agency (further: AFHA), Aarne Äyräpää's collection (further: Äyräpää).

⁷ NLF, Coll. 230: Aarne Michaël Tallgren's collection.

⁸ AFHA, Aarne Michaël Tallgren's collection (further: Tallgren).

⁹ For an overview of the preserved international correspondence to Tallgren, see Timo Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit, Suomalaisten arkeologien kansainväliset yhteydet 1870–1950 (Colleagues, Friends and Opponents, The International Contacts of Finnish Archaeologists 1870–1950)*, Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja – Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift 122 (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 2014), 14, see also 368–389.

¹⁰ AFHA, Äyräpää.

¹¹ The Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Literary and cultural history resources (further: SKS KIA), Johan Gabriel Granö's collection (further: Granö).

The ideas behind Tallgren's identity

Tallgren's identity was formed on the basis of his personal background and family connections, his concept of his own place in society and of his duty as a researcher, and his relationship to contemporary developments in society and the world.

In archaeology, Tallgren initially adopted the research problems and the whole idea of a Finno-Ugric past formulated by Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) and Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915). However, he soon realised how outdated it was and took a more internationally oriented approach to the prehistory of Russia and eastern Europe, concentrating on the southern roots of the East European Bronze Age, but also continuing popular writing on the prehistory of Finland. Thus, the question regarding the original home of the Finno-Ugric peoples, which was so important for Aspelin, did not play any significant role in Tallgren's later scholarly production.¹² Despite that, the national romantic idea of Finnishness of the 19th century was central in explaining Tallgren's sympathies towards Estonia.¹³

Tallgren had an explicitly conceived political or more generally ideological view based on ideas of legality and personal responsibility. Regarding the language question, he represented a liberal view, which was inherited from his bilingual (Finnish/Swedish) home. He opposed nationalism and was a devoted Anglophile and Francophile. He belonged to the constitutional Young Finnish movement of the first decade of the 20th century and wrote on several occasions against the extreme rightist phenomena of the 1930s in Finland.¹⁴

Tallgren's personal identity was marked by a close relationship with his siblings and parents, especially his mother, as well as a strong sense of togetherness with the surroundings of his childhood and youth in the Turku region. Tallgren's father had been appointed vicar of Maaria only a couple of kilometres north of Turku when Mikko was two years old, and the family lived in the Maaria parsonage for almost fifty years. His

¹² Timo Salminen, *Suomen tieteelliset voittomaat, Venäjä ja Siperia suomalaisessa arkeologiassa 1870–1935*, Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja – Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift 110 (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 2003), 125–127, 172–174, 205.

¹³ On Aspelin and his ideological sympathies towards the Finnic peoples, see Salminen, *Suomen tieteelliset voittomaat*, 43–44, 65–66.

¹⁴ Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 10, 15–18, 40–41, 65–66. Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 44–46. For more details, see the archive sources and literature cited in these works.

closeness with his sisters is reflected both in his lively correspondence with them and by the fact that A. M. Tallgren lived together with his sisters for a considerable part of his life.¹⁵

State, university, and museum in Estonia

Tallgren's appointment and arrival in Tartu was made possible by the establishment of the independent Republic of Estonia. Estonia signed a peace treaty with Soviet Russia in February of 1920 and adopted its first constitution in June. Estonian society took a political turn from left to right when the first parliamentary elections were held in November. However, the economy suffered from especially rapid inflation caused by printing large amounts of money in 1919.¹⁶

An academic precondition for appointing Finnish scholars like Tallgren to Tartu was the decision to develop the University of Tartu as an Estonian-language institution. It meant a need to replace Russian- and German-speaking professors with Estonian ones, but because of a shortage of academically qualified Estonians in the late 1910s, it was decided to invite scholars from abroad to Tartu for some years. The decision evoked some debates on whether it was suitable to appoint foreign professors to a national university, but it would have been considerably more difficult to establish the Estonian-language University of Tartu without them. Among the invited foreign scholars, there were eight Finns, who represented both humanistic and scientific disciplines. In addition to Tallgren, they were professors Lauri Kettunen (1885–1963) in Baltic Finnic languages, Arno Rafael Cederberg (1885–1948) in Estonian and Nordic history, and docent Ilmari Manninen (1894–1935) in ethnography, and further professors J. G. Granö in geography, Kalle Väisälä (1893–1968) in mathematics, Yrjö Kauko (1886–1974) in chemistry, and Kaarlo Teräsvuori (1884–1977) in plant breeding. Mrs. Hilja Kettunen (1888–1981), known as a poet, taught Finnish as a lecturer at the University of Tartu.¹⁷ New chairs, considered

¹⁵ Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 38, 68.

¹⁶ Seppo Zetterberg, *Viron historia*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 1118 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), 523–528, 563. *Eesti ajalugu*, *Kronoloogia*, ed. by Sulev Vahtre (Tallinn: Olion, 1994), 145–147.

¹⁷ Toomas Hiio, "Tartu Ülikooli venestamine", *Universitas Tartuensis 1632–2007* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2007), 131–133. Sirje Tamul, "Landesuniversität Tartus 1918. aastal", *Universitas Tartuensis 1632–2007* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2007). Helmut Piirimäe, "Rahvusülikooli eelduste kujunemine", *Universitas Tartuensis 1632–2007* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2007), 285–289, 297. K. Martinson, "Kaadri komplekteerimine

crucial in constructing a new state and its identity, were founded, among them a professorship in archaeology. The professor of archaeology was also intended to bear some responsibility for teaching ethnography, at least in the beginning.¹⁸

The Estonian museum world was also taking shape. The *Eesti Rahva Muuseum* [Estonian National Museum], founded originally by a private association in 1909, was developing into a real national museum. The state had maintained the museum, but it still lacked both facilities and personnel. The question of facilities was solved in 1921. The professor of archaeology belonged to the board of the museum and was therefore largely responsible for its organisation for the period while the museum did not yet have a director. Tallgren attempted to find a museum director from Finland, discussing the issue with his fellow archaeologist Aarne Europaeus and the ethnologists Uuno Taavi Sirelius and Ilmari Manninen, and took part in the public discussion in Estonia.¹⁹

Tallgren's path to Tartu

A. M. Tallgren had published his licentiate (doctoral) thesis in Helsinki in late 1911. His new interpretation of the North and East Russian Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages had immediately earned him an international reputation as an expert in East European prehistory. He had extensive networks of contacts both in Russia and Western Europe. On the other hand, he did not have a permanent position in Finland.²⁰ Also the Finnish National Museum was in a provisional situation waiting for the reorganisation of the Archaeological Commission (the predecessor of the present-day Finnish

ja õppejõudude koosseis”, *Tartu Ülikooli ajalugu III, 1918–1982*, ed. by K. Siilivask and H. Palamets (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1982), 52–53.

¹⁸ Piirimäe, ”Rahvusülikooli eelduste kujunemine”, 291–295. Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 66–69.

¹⁹ Ilmar Talve, *Eesti kultuurilugu. Keskaja algusest Eesti iseseisvuseni* (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 2004), 557. Marleen Nõmmela, ”Rahvusmuuseum rahvusriigis. Eesti Rahva Muuseum 1920–1940”, *Eesti Rahva Muuseumi 100 aastat*, ed. by P. Õunapuu (Tartu: Eesti Rahva Muuseum 2009), 105–107, 111, 112. Jüri Linnus, ”Ilmari Manninen ja Eesti etnograafia”, *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi aastaraamat – Annales Litterarum Societatis Esthonicae 1988–1993* (1995), 88–96 (88–89). Jüri Linnus, ”Tagasisivaade Eesti Rahva Muuseumile teadusutusena”, *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi aastaraamat – Annales Litterarum Societatis Esthonicae 1988–1993* (1995), 157–160 (157). Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 71. AFHA, Äyräpää: Tallgren to Europaeus, e.g., 21 Sept. 1920, 21 Feb. 1921.

²⁰ Salminen, ”Aarne Michaël Tallgren” (2011). Salminen, ”Aarne Michaël Tallgren” (2001), <<https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilö/6461>>. Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 35.

Heritage Agency), and its staff concentrated largely on the mutual struggle for power before the change, which was implemented in 1920.²¹

Tallgren had corresponded with the folklorist and museum activist Oskar Kallas (1868–1946) since 1915, mainly on the topic of the local heritage movement.²² In the same year, Tallgren wrote in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, expressing his indignation at the reluctance to accept possible war refugees from Estonia to Finland.²³ In the professional sphere, Tallgren had acquainted himself with the prehistory of Estonia when researching Finno-Ugric issues, and he had written an article about the Neolithic Kunda Culture in the first Finnish encyclopaedia, *Tietosanakirja*.²⁴ He had never visited the Baltic provinces himself.

Tallgren was not the first Finnish archaeologist whose willingness to come to Tartu was investigated. Oskar Kallas wrote to Juhani Rinne (1872–1950) first, asking whether he was interested in becoming professor of archaeology and director of the Estonian National Museum. Also Aarne Europaeus's name was already mentioned in 1919, at least in connection with the museum.²⁵ After Rinne declined, the next enquiry was sent to Tallgren in late 1919, and the same message was also sent via the geographer and anthropologist Kaarlo Hildén (1893–1960), who visited Tartu in January of 1920. In January, Tallgren sent his refusal to the university via J. G. Granö, professor of geography in Tartu since the autumn of 1919.²⁶ He also wrote to Matthias Johann Eisen (1857–1934), who was in charge of questions concerning professorships at that time. However, Tallgren did not give Eisen a clear answer, and the latter hurried to reply in February.²⁷ In March, Tallgren finally explicitly informed Eisen of his refusal, but agreed to give some lectures in summer courses offered by the university.²⁸

²¹ Visa Immonen, *1917–1972 Muinaistieteellinen toimikunta, Tutkimuksen ja hallinnon ristiallokossa*, Museoviraston julkaisuja 3 (Helsinki: Museovirasto, 2016), 24, 30–35. Tuukka Talvio, *Suomen kansallismuseo, Ikkuna menneeseen ja tulevaan*, Museoviraston julkaisuja 7 (Helsinki: Museovirasto, 2016), 164–167. See also NAF, 602:67/15: Aarne Michaël Tallgren (further: AMT) to Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgren (further: JMMT) 2 Nov. 1917.

²² Oskar Kallas wrote his first letter to Tallgren on 25 June 1915. NLF, Coll. 230. On Kallas's scholarly work, see Jüri Linnus, "Oskar Kallas kui teadlane", *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi aastaraamat – Annales Litterarum Societatis Esthonicae 1988–1993* (1995), 22–31 (27).

²³ A. M. Tallgren, "Viron pakolaiset", *Helsingin Sanomat* 271/1915 (5 Oct. 1915).

²⁴ A. M. Tallgren, "Kunda", *Tietosanakirja V* (Helsinki: Tietosanakirja-Osakeyhtiö, 1913), 13.

²⁵ NLF, Coll. 230: Aarne Europaeus to AMT 8 Sept. 1919.

²⁶ SKS KIA, Granö: AMT to Granö 23 Jan. 1920.

²⁷ NLF, Coll. 230: M. J. Eisen to AMT 20 Feb. 1920.

²⁸ NLF, Coll. 230: Eisen to AMT 24 March, 13 April 1920.

At the end of April, Lauri Kettunen (1885–1963), professor of Finnic languages at the University of Tartu, began in earnest to persuade Tallgren to change his mind. He wrote:

As you perhaps have heard, Tartu with its university has satisfied at least us Finns for the time being even more than we were able to expect. There is enough opportunity to do one's own work, and the work at the university gives all satisfaction. And actually, the fact that one feels more useful here than anywhere else – and not only for the benefit of this fine little people but simultaneously also serving the cause of one's own people in the best way – increases the satisfaction. You may have a job at home that requires your work in particular for it to be completed, but in that case you should be similarly assigned to that job. A poor docent's position at the University of Helsinki is not that kind of job. And also, here your work would probably become especially important, perhaps more important than ours, for archaeology and ethnography seem to have always belonged to the favourite hobbies of Estonians, and they demand scientific leadership.²⁹

Soon after Kettunen's letter, Tallgren wrote to Eisen and informed him of his preliminary agreement.³⁰ Eisen considered the problem solved and rejoiced over Tallgren's positive decision: "I'm very glad that your opinions have improved and that you are now willing to come to us to be professor of archaeology for some years."³¹ On 22 May, Tallgren left for an excursion to Estonia, spending five weeks there and visiting at least Tallinn, Tartu,

²⁹ NLF, Coll. 230: Lauri Kettunen to AMT 26 April 1920.

"Kuten ehkä olette kuulleet, on Tartto yliopistoineen meitä suomalaisia kaikkia ainakin toistaiseksi tyydyttänyt enemmän kuin osasimme odottaakaan. Omien töiden tekemiseksi on täällä tilaisuutta yllin kyllin ja työskentely yliopistossa antaa jokaiselle kaikkea tyydytystä. Ja jo se, että tosiaan tuntee olevansa hyödyksi enemmän kuin missään muualla – eikä hyödyksi vain tälle pienelle kelpo kansalle vaan samalla myös parhaalla tavalla oman kansankin asiaa palvelevansa –, on omiaan tyydytystä lisäämään. Teillä siellä kotona on kylläkin ehkä tehtävä, joka juuri Teidän työnne vaatii siellä suoritettavaksi, mutta siinä tapauksessa olisi Teidät myös vastaavalla tavalla työhön kiinnitettävä. Vaivainen dosenttuuri [sic] Helsingin yliopistossa ei kuitenkaan ole se 'vastaava tapa'. Ja Teidän työnne täälläkin tulisi nähtävästi erikoisen tärkeäksi, tärkeämmäksi ehkä kuin meidän muiden, sillä arkeologia ja etnografia näyttävät olleen aina virolaisten mieliharrastuksia, jotka vaativat tieteellistä johtoa."

³⁰ NLF, Coll. 230: Eisen to AMT 13 May 1920.

³¹ NLF, Coll. 230: Eisen to AMT 13 May 1920 ("Rõõmustan väga, et paremad mõtted olete saanud ja meile arheoloogია professoriks tulla tahate mõneks aastaks."). NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to Anna-Maria Tallgren (further: AMCT) 26 May 1920, AMT to JMMT s. d. (ca. 26 May 1920).

Viljandi, Pärnu, Muhu, and Saaremaa.³² He described his experiences, the country and the people, present-day circumstances and history, and the relationship between Estonians and Finns, in two articles in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*.³³

Soon after his arrival in Tartu, Tallgren was informed that the university had already elected him as professor. Only the formal appointment by the Ministry of Education was still needed.³⁴ He seems to have made his final decision to accept the professorship between 24 and 30 May.³⁵ The Minister of Education of Estonia confirmed Tallgren's appointment on 23 June, and the Board of the University of Tartu informed him of it on 29 June.³⁶ News about Tallgren's professorship had already been published in Swedish newspapers in the beginning of June, and it was known in Königsberg, East Prussia, at the latest in July.³⁷ The wide distribution reflects his networks around the Baltic Sea.

Tallgren used the rest of the summer to study Estonian and arrange various practical matters. His teacher in Estonian was Leeni Ploompuu (later Vesterinen, 1886–1972), who was well-known in the Finnish-Estonian affinity movement between the two world wars.³⁸ Tallgren left for Tartu on 4 September.³⁹ He settled at the home of the attorney Oskar Rütli (1871–1949), who was active in promoting Estonian-Finnish contacts and whose wife Vilhelmiina/Vilhelmine (Mimmi, 1876–1957) was a Finn. The Rütli's house was situated at Pepleri St. 15. Tallgren had initially sought a room in a completely Estonian family, but in vain. The Rütli's had already accommodated Tallgren during his visit in May.⁴⁰

³² NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 22 May, 30 May 1920, AMT to JMMT 7 June, 18 June 1920, AMCT to JMMT 6 July 1920; 602:67/21: AMT to Oiva Tallgren 18 June 1920. SKS KIA, Granö: Tallgren to Granö 7 May 1920.

³³ A. M. Tallgren, "Suvimatkalta Viroom", *Helsingin Sanomat* 144/1920 (31 May 1920); "Suvimatkalta Viroom", *Helsingin Sanomat* 165/1920 (21 June 1920).

³⁴ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to AMCT 26 May 1920, AMT to JMMT s.d. (ca. 26 May 1920).

³⁵ NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920; 602:67:16: AMT to family members 30 May 1920. AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Aarne Europaeus 30 May 1920. See also NAF, 602:67:16: AMT to AMCT 26 May 1920.

³⁶ AFHA, Tallgren 27: Tartu Ülikooli Walitsus to AMT 29 June 1920.

³⁷ NLF, Coll. 230: Ture Johnsson Arne to AMT 10 June 1920, Max Ebert to AMT 19 July 1920.

³⁸ SKS KIA, Granö: AMT to Granö 23 July 1920; NLF, Coll. 230: Eisen to AMT 24 Aug. 1920; NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 19 July, 1 Sept. 1920.

³⁹ NAF, 602:67/16: AMCT to JMMT 3 Sept. 1920, AMT to JMMT 5 Sept. 1920.

⁴⁰ NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 5 Sept. 1920; 602:67/16: AMT to family members 8 Sept. 1920; NLF, Coll. 230: Eisen to AMT 24 Aug. 1920. "Mimmi Rütli", *100 soomlast Eesti sillal, Estofilia 100*, <https://estofilia.finland.ee/2018/01/mimmi-rutli.html> (accessed 30 July 2019).

Lectures started a couple of weeks later. Two upper secondary school students, the Ostrov brothers, helped Tallgren write them by revising his Estonian. One of them was to become Tallgren's student, and later became known as the famous archaeologist and ethnologist Eerik Laid (1904–1961).⁴¹

Tallgren returned to Finland in the spring of 1923, when it had already become likely that he would be appointed professor of archaeology at the University of Helsinki. He also felt that he had fulfilled his task in Tartu by establishing both academic education in archaeology and the network of museums in Estonia.⁴² His work was continued for two years by the Swedish scholar Birger Nerman (1888–1971). After this, Tallgren's Estonian students, above all Harri Moora (1900–1968), took over the main responsibility for teaching archaeology at the University of Tartu. However, Tallgren still examined students in archaeology at Tartu in the latter half of the 1920s and took part in the discussion that aimed to formulate Estonia's antiquities legislation.⁴³

University and professorship as a task and retreat

In the autumn of 1919, Tallgren sees Estonia as an opportunity, not for himself, but for Aarne Europaeus.⁴⁴ Writing to J. G. Granö in January of 1920, he admits that the professorship would be an honourable task, but accepting it would prevent him from carrying out other duties, such as acting as the secretary of the Finnish Antiquarian Society and, more significantly, taking a two-year study trip abroad. He would accept the professorship in Tartu after his journey, if a professor was still needed there.⁴⁵

M. J. Eisen justifies his enquiry to Tallgren by referring to the important duties for which a professor in archaeology would be needed at the university and in all of Estonia. Implicitly, he includes the idea of the personal importance of the work for the professor himself as well, although he emphasises the university's need to the point of distress, since finding a professor is proving to be increasingly difficult. In March, Eisen also mentions the experiences of other Finnish professors, especially related to how easy it is to learn the Estonian language: "Professors Wäisälä, Granö and

⁴¹ NLF, Coll. 246: AMT to Oiva Tallgren 15 Sept. 1920. NAF 602:67/40: AMT to Aili Tallgren 10 Nov. 1920. Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 68–69.

⁴² Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 45–46. Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 74–75.

⁴³ Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 75–83.

⁴⁴ AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus s.d. [14 Sept. 1919].

⁴⁵ SKS KIA, Granö: AMT to Granö 23 Jan. 1920.

Cederberg have already progressed to lecture in Estonian; not to mention Prof. Kettunen.⁴⁶

As we have seen above, Lauri Kettunen really highlights the positive consequences that accepting the professorship would have for the professor himself: the work is fulfilling and the professor will feel useful and have plenty of time for his own research. Also, the town and its university have exceeded the expectations of the other Finns. Thus, Kettunen signifies Tartu both as a place for self-fulfilment and a forum of important duties in society. He bases his conclusions especially upon the popularity of archaeology among Estonians. Kettunen also takes advantage of the fact that the identity of a scholar who carries out research and writes has been a central element of Tallgren's self-image from the beginning of his career⁴⁷, but his opportunities for doing this in Helsinki are rather poor at the moment.

On the other hand, Kettunen explicitly contrasts Tallgren's Scandinavian approach, based on his bilingual home background and scholarly contacts with Scandinavia⁴⁸, and his own Finnish-ideological viewpoint. He reminds Tallgren that building Estonian archaeology is above all a Finn's duty and definitely rejects the idea expressed by Tallgren to Granö that a Swedish candidate could also be sought if nobody is found in Finland.⁴⁹

Anna-Maria Tallgren assumes that the invitation to Tartu might worsen her brother's financial situation and wants to see signs of its improvement in Helsinki. She also notes how difficult it is to make the decision.⁵⁰ The same difficulty is expressed by Mikko Tallgren himself: "I'm afraid of the smallness of Tartu, the different way of life there, being exposed 'on the shelf' in such a central position as I would have, I'm even afraid of the lectures."⁵¹ After arriving in Tartu, Tallgren soon realises how much work the professorship involves. His conception of the job is made tangible, and

⁴⁶ NLF, Coll. 230: Eisen to AMT 20 Feb., 24 March, 13 April 1920. "Professorid Wäisälä, Granö ja Cederberg on juba nii kaugele jõudnud, et Eesti keeles ettelugemisi peavad; prof. Kettusest ei maksa rääkidagi."

⁴⁷ Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 29.

⁴⁸ Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 10, 21–22; Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 30–31.

⁴⁹ NLF, Coll. 230, Kettunen to AMT 26 April 1920. Cf. SKS KIA, Granö: AMT to Granö 23 Jan. 1920.

⁵⁰ NAF, 602:67/16: AMCT to JMMT 30 April, 11 May 1920.

⁵¹ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 19 May, 24 May 1920, s.d. [ca. 26 May 1920], to family members 22 May 1920; 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920. "Minua peloittaa Tarton pienuus, elämän erilaisuus, 'hyllyllä oleminen' siksi keskeisessä asemassa kuin tulisin olemaan, pelottavatpa luennotkin." (24 May 1920)

he sees it as both difficult and challenging in a positive way.⁵² He is informed of the good income that he could expect, especially since a significant part of his salary would be paid in Finnish currency.⁵³ Tallgren acquires an understanding of what Tartu and Estonia would expect from him as a professor and what it might mean for him to be a professor in Tartu. He feels that both archaeology and the university are favoured in Estonia, which boosts his optimism. He writes to Aarne Europaeus on 30 May:

It was thanks to you that I came here, and I'm so glad and happy for it, when I'm only thinking of myself. I would have given you this satisfaction too, but since it is now my part, I sincerely rejoice. I'm like a completely different man, 10 years younger, willing and hopefully able to work. [– –] There is an overabundance of work here, or there will be, but one is allowed and able to do everything, will have full freedom, great interest, influence. Was willst Du doch eigentlich mehr? [– –] And then – I would say – the priceless, greatest advantage as a foreigner is to be above or, let's say, outside of all circumstances and disputes.⁵⁴

Thus, Tallgren fully adopts the idea expressed by Eisen on the significance of the professorship and supplements it with the idea of being an outsider as a resource.

At this point, Tallgren himself also expresses the idea already mentioned by his family members (see below): the Tartu professorship offers him the opportunity to escape his unsatisfactory circumstances in Helsinki. Above all, he thinks of it as a refuge from the National Museum, but almost immediately it is accompanied by the thought of a retreat from Finland in general: “The atmosphere is too angry and cold-hearted,” he writes on 26 May.⁵⁵ This thought is inseparably connected to Tallgren’s identity

⁵² NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT s.d. [ca. 26 May 1920], AMT to family members 30 May 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May 1920.

⁵³ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to AMCT 26 May 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May 1920.

⁵⁴ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 30 May 1920. AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May 1920.

”Sinunhan on ansio että tänne tulini tulleeksi ja olen siitä niin iloinen ja onnellinen kun vain itseäni ajattelen. Olisin Sinullekin tämän tyydytyksen suonut, mutta kun se nyt on minun osani, iloitsen vilpittömästi. Olen ihan kuin toinen ihminen, nuortunut 10 vuotta, työnhaluinen ja toivoakseni työkykyinen. [– –] Täällä on työtä aivan ylenmäärin, tai tulee olemaan, mutta kaikkea saa tehdä ja voi tehdä, saa rahaa, saa täydellisen vapauden, saa vastaansa suuremman harrastuksen, saa vaikutusvaltaa. Was willst Du doch eigentlich mehr? [– –] Ja sitten se – sanoisinko – korvaamaton, ylin, etu että on ulkomaalainen että on kaikkien olosuhteitten ja riitojen ylä- tai sanoisinko ulkopuolella.”

⁵⁵ NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920; 602:67/16: AMT to AMCT 26 May 1920, AMT to family members 30 May 1920 (“Suomen atmosfääri on liika vihainen ja

in society, his Anglophile liberalism, stressed by the pro-German turn of Finnish politics in 1918.⁵⁶

Tallgren's joy and relief erupt after his decision. He is not concerned about anything but accommodation and the social duties he would have as a professor. It was an often-recurring feature in Tallgren's character that he did not enjoy social situations. It can be read in his letters, and Lauri Kettunen mentions in his memoirs that when attending social events, Tallgren usually left soon and went to work.⁵⁷

During the summer, Tallgren writes to his relatives and J. G. Granö about possible difficulties with the language. To Granö, he admits being somewhat afraid of the autumn, but to his mother he states just the opposite, expressing optimistically that he does not fear that which awaits him in Estonia. Tallgren also writes to Granö that he would like to have a year to prepare himself, but seems uncertain as to what the situation in Estonia might be after a year.⁵⁸

After arriving in Tartu in September, Tallgren above all views his personal situation as a professor through a large amount of work, especially in preparing lectures and learning the language. His identity as a researcher is accompanied by a new identity as an academic teacher.⁵⁹ He motivates his burden of work with the popularity of archaeology.⁶⁰

Thus, as he sees the situation, one of the professor's duties is to promote awareness of prehistory and its significance in society. This kind of attitude has deep links to Tallgren's self-understanding, for his mother had already considered it to be her task to spread information about the past of

kolea.”), AMCT to JMMT 6 July 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May 1920.

⁵⁶ Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 66.

⁵⁷ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 30 May 1920, AMT to JMMT 7 June 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May 1920. Lauri Kettunen, *Tieteen matkamiehen uusia elämyksiä, Murrosvuodet 1918–1924* (Porvoo & Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1948), 86. In Estonian, see Lauri Kettunen, ”Tartust ja sealsest ülikoolist”, S. Issakov & H. Palamets (ed.), *Mälestusi Tartu Ülikoolist 1900–1944* (Tallinn: Olion 1992), 238–239.

⁵⁸ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 7 July, 19 July 1920; SKS KIA, Granö: AMT to Granö 23 July 1920; NLF, Coll. 230: Granö to AMT 3 Aug. 1920.

⁵⁹ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 13 Sept., 30 Oct., 24 Nov. 1920; 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 13 Sept., 1 Oct., 1 Nov. 1920; NLF, Coll. 246: AMT to Oiva Tallgren 15 Sept. 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 21 Sept. 1920. On Tallgren as a teacher, see e.g. SKS KIA, Mikko Tallgren: *Opuscula Tallgreniana 8.II.1935*; Elsbet Parek, *Tartu – minu ülikoolilinn 1922–1926*, *Litteraria* 14, Eesti kirjandusloo allikmaterjale (Tartu: Virgela, 1998), 31–32.

⁶⁰ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 20 Sept. 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May, 21 Sept. 1920.

their home region and country, and to recruit new members to the Finnish Antiquarian Society (*Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys*). For her activities, she was later elected an honorary member of the society.⁶¹

Tallgren is amused by the important social status he has as a professor in Tartu. In the autumn of 1920, the Finnish professors were invited to a peasant wedding in the countryside 60 km from Tartu. Tallgren writes to his family members: “It is funny to be such an important (!) person that one is invited like that. Above all, it makes me laugh, and my position doesn’t feel stranger to me than it used to feel as a school teacher in Helsinki.”⁶² Tallgren does not admit to having adopted the established conception of the social role of a professor as a part of his identity, but it is more difficult to trace his real thoughts about it. When the autumn term is about to end, Tallgren writes to his parents about his satisfaction with his achievements. He could not do otherwise because that would confirm the doubts expressed by his brother and father, but no signs of disappointment are known from other sources left by him either.⁶³

Archaeology and museums

Tallgren writes relatively little about museums and libraries in the beginning, probably because teaching takes up all of his time. However, he compares circumstances in Estonia with those in Finland. In his opinion, the museum of the Estonian Literary Society (*Estländische Literarische Gesellschaft*) in Tallinn, which nowadays is the Estonian History Museum, is insignificant⁶⁴, but the museum of the Learned Estonian Society (*Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft*) in Tartu looks good. The Estonian National Museum (*Eesti Rahva Muuseum*) is assessed more critically, but his criticism is fuelled by the desire to get Aarne Europaeus and possibly also the ethnologist Tyyni Vahter (1886–1969) to organise the museum.⁶⁵ Tallgren is positively surprised by the libraries.⁶⁶ His attitude towards the shortcom-

⁶¹ About Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgren, see Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 9–10.

⁶² NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 8 Sept. 1920.

“On sukkela olla sellaisena tärkeänä (!) ihmisenä, että joutuu tuolla lailla kutsutuksi. Ennen kaikkea se naurattaa, eikä virka-asema tunnu itsestäni yhtään kummallisemmalta kuin aikanaan koulun opettajan toimi Helsingissä.”

⁶³ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 3 Dec., 8 Dec. 1920.

⁶⁴ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 24 May 1920.

⁶⁵ AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May, 21 Sept. 1920; Linnus, “Tagasisaade Eesti Rahva Muuseumile teadusutusena”, 157.

⁶⁶ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 20 Sept. 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 21 Sept. 1920.

ings is also determined by the fact that as a professor of archaeology, he has plenty of freedom to improve the situation.

Tallgren does not write in his letters about how he relates to the tradition of earlier Baltic German archaeology, although taking into account his general awareness of history that he had inherited from home, it must have been an essential part of his identity as a professor in Tartu to feel that he belongs to a tradition, although, in many respects, he did not share the ideological premises of Baltic German archaeology and archaeologists.⁶⁷ There had been a heterogeneous Baltic German tradition of archaeology in Estland and Livland during the late 19th century, represented above all by the geologist Professor Constantin Grewingk (1819–1887) and the historian Professor Richard Hausmann (1842–1918). Not much practical fieldwork had been carried out. As some kind of initiator of Estonian national archaeology, Jaan Jung (1835–1900), a teacher and archaeology enthusiast, had collected information on antiquities and received advice in this field from J. R. Aspelin in Finland, but data on prehistoric remains were not collected systematically, nor were the remains protected by any kind of antiquities legislation.⁶⁸

Max Ebert (1879–1929), director of the Prussia Museum in Königsberg, explicitly connects Tallgren to the tradition of Baltic German archaeology, viewing him especially as continuing the work of professors Richard Hausmann in medieval studies and Georg Loeschcke (1852–1915) in classical archaeology.⁶⁹ However, despite elements of continuity at the practical level, the new significations connected to prehistory and the new scholarly problems aimed at the opposite, namely questioning Baltic German interpretations of the past and replacing them with national ones.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Cf. A. M. Tallgren, *Zur Archäologie Eestis I, Vom Anfang der Besiedelung bis etwa 500 n. Chr.*, Acta et commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis B III:6 (Dorpat 1922), 5–21.

⁶⁸ Linnus, “Ilmari Manninen ja Eesti etnograafia”, 89. Lang, “The History of Archaeological Research”, 15–22. Andres Tvauri, “The Conservation of Archaeological Heritage in Estonia”, *Estonian Archaeology 1, Archaeological Research in Estonia 1865–2005* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2006), 247–266 (248–250); Vello Lõugas, “Kodu-uurijad ja Eesti arheoloogia kujunemine”, *Kodu-uurimise teateid* 13 (1988), 37–55.

⁶⁹ NLF, Coll. 230: Ebert to AMT 19 July, 4 Nov. 1920. It is noteworthy that in his letters to Tallgren, Ebert does not mention Estonia and Latvia as (independent) states, but still as Baltic provinces.

⁷⁰ Andres Tvauri, “Balti arheoloogia maailmaajaloo pöörises ehk gooti teooria saatus”, *Eesti arheoloogia ajakiri – Journal of Estonian Archaeology* 7/1 (2003), 38–71. Timo Salminen, “Soome arheoloogide Eesti-suhted Aspelinist Tallgrenini – teadusloolisi uurimistulemusi ja probleeme”, *Stilus, Eesti Arheoloogiaseltsi teated* 6:1 (1996), 43–53. Salminen, *Suomen tieteiliset voittomaat*, 43–44.



Figure 1. Tallgren marked the windows of his lecture room on the postcard he sent to his mother on 8 December 1920. NAF 602:67/16

The country and town in Tallgren's view

Tallgren's first impression of Estonia and Estonians in May of 1920 bears a southerly exotic flavour: "A strong, hot summer breeze welcomed the passenger who arrived from Finland to Tallinn on Pentecost-Saturday. The wind blew the scent of apple, siren and chestnut flowers from the land to the sea, a southern breeze that a Scandinavian always either knowingly or unknowingly misses."⁷¹ During his journey in May of 1920, he sees the country above all through the beauty and historicity of the towns he visits. He views Tallinn, Tartu, and Kuressaare as historical towns from the perspective of his own discipline, but simultaneously states to his sister that he had not been familiar with Hanseatic towns before, which makes Tallinn a novel experience for him.⁷²

⁷¹ Tallgren, "Suvimatkalta Viroon" (31 May 1920).

"Kuuma ja väkevä kesätuuli otti vastaan matkustajan, joka helluntai-lauantaina saapui Suomesta Tallinnaan. Tuulen mukana levisi merelle maalta omena-, sireeni- ja kastanjapuitten kukkien tuoksu, henkäys etelästä, jota pohjoismaalainen tietien tai tietämättään aina kaippaa."

⁷² NAF, 602:67/16; AMT to JMMT s.d. [ca. 26 May 1920]; 602:67/43; AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920. Tallgren, "Suvimatkalta Viroon" (21 June 1920). Tallgren had visited Hamburg

The west Estonian tour following the days spent in Tartu is reflected in his letters as both contributing to Tallgren's knowledge of Estonia and confirming the first impression he had received in Tallinn. Tallgren writes to Granö that he is "in general infatuated with everything" he has seen. The tone is similar in his letters to his parents, and the same message also reaches them via Oskar Kallas, who brings Tallgren's letters to Finland and relays his greetings to Anna-Maria.⁷³

Immediately in the spring, Tallgren tries to persuade his parents and sisters to move with him to Estonia. His main argument is the peaceful, quiet atmosphere of Tartu. "Peaceful, exalted, academic" is his characterisation at the end of May. He describes Kuressaare in the same style in June, highlighting the town's historical and aristocratic features.⁷⁴ Anna-Maria rejects the idea of moving to Tartu, realising that she would only represent the 'Finland' that her brother wanted to escape.⁷⁵

Being a researcher was an important part of Tallgren's own identity, and the particular emphasis that he places on the academic aspect of Tartu reflects that facet of his thinking. The aristocratic aspect of the town appeals to Tallgren's character as a spiritual descendant of Romanticism. He has earlier confessed his debt especially to the generation born in the 1840s and its ideas.⁷⁶ This is probably the main reason why Tallgren also wants to see Estonia as a capsule of the past, in many ways reminiscent of what Finland had been like 50–70 years earlier. Tallgren refers especially to the collecting of folk poetry and museum collections, and the clergymen's part in that work to create the Estonian National Museum.⁷⁷ He was probably also interested in the spread of Estonian-minded ideology from academic circles to the broader masses, as it had happened in Finland in the latter half of the 19th century.⁷⁸

on his way to London in 1908, but he mentions that he does not remember much of it.

⁷³ SKS KIA, Granö: AMT to Granö 7 June 1920 ("yleensä ihastunut kaikkeen"); NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT s.d. [ca. 26 May], 7 June, 18 June 1920; AMCT to JMMT 30 May 1920; 602:67/21: AMT to Oiva Tallgren 18 June 1920; 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920. Tallgren, "Suvimatkalta Viroom" (21 June 1920).

⁷⁴ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 30 May 1920 ("rauhallinen, ylhäinen, akateeminen"); 602:67/40: AMT to Aili Tallgren 18 June 1920.

⁷⁵ NAF, 602:67/16: AMCT to JMMT 5 June 1920.

⁷⁶ AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 13 Aug. 1907; Salminen, *Suomen tieteelliset voittomaat*, 117.

⁷⁷ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 30 May 1920. Tallgren, "Suvimatkalta Viroom" (21 June 1920).

⁷⁸ Talve, *Eesti kultuurilugu*, 424–427.



Figure 2. Professor Tallgren with his students in Tartu in 1922. From left to right Ferdinand Linnus, Aliise Karu (Moora), Aleksander Tiitsmaa, A. M. Tallgren, Hilda Laur, Marta Schmiedehelm, Teodor Vaas, Gertrud Niggol, Harri Moora. Private collection

Describing the physical environment of Tartu remains an important element in Tallgren's letters in the autumn as well, with characterisations of the beautiful town and its academic atmosphere that resemble those he had expressed in spring.⁷⁹ Toomemägi Park is compared to the garden of the Maaria parsonage when Tallgren promenades there under the reddish

⁷⁹ AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 21 Sept. 1920; NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 29 Sept. 1920; 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 10 Oct. 1920.

and golden lindens in September. It gives Tallgren a reason to note that his mother would surely feel at home if she came to visit him in Tartu. This is how Tallgren's close relationship with other family members influences the way he looks at Tartu, more or less constantly thinking how his mother or sisters would feel there.⁸⁰ The Maaria parsonage and its surroundings concretise Tallgren's identity as an inhabitant of Finland Proper, and its garden, to which he had strong personal ties, embodies for him a beautiful garden in general.⁸¹ It is possible that the garden city ideology, which was fashionable in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, is also reflected in Tallgren's fascination for gardens and parks. Thus it was natural for him to pay attention to gardens and parks elsewhere as well.⁸²

During the first weeks of autumn, Tallgren writes letters to Finland very often, as if to convince even the most unbelieving recipients that all is well with him.⁸³ A couple of days after coming to Tartu, he already leaves the impression of having established routines in the town, almost like a local inhabitant.⁸⁴ When describing his lodgings at the Rütliis, Tallgren stresses the wealth of the family and mentions that he could not be better accommodated even in Finland. Especially when writing to his mother, Tallgren neglects the elements of uncertainty that he mentions to his sister Anna-Maria, like whether he is going to have full board at the Rütliis or not.⁸⁵

Tallgren and the economy and society of Estonia

In his first impressions, Tallgren looks at Estonian society, and possible elements of tension within it, from the perspective of Finland recovering from the civil war of 1918, and from that of a person who has grown up in a bilingual clergyman's family in agricultural Finland Proper, but also through the social ideology of the Young Finnish Party of his youth. Therefore, the isolation of the Baltic Germans concerns him.⁸⁶ He is also afraid that deteriorating economic circumstances could lead to social conflict.

⁸⁰ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 20 Sept. 1920.

⁸¹ See e.g. Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 10–11, 17, 68.

⁸² On garden cities as a social movement but also as a eugenicist means of building a new, stronger human race, see Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns. Campaigning for town and country planning, 1899–1946* (London & al.: E & FN Spon, 1991), 36–39.

⁸³ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 13 Sept., 20 Sept. 1920, to I. M. Tallgren 16 Sept. 1920; 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 13 Sept. 1920; NLF, Coll. 246: AMT to Oiva Tallgren 15 Sept. 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 21 Sept. 1920.

⁸⁴ See especially NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 8 Sept. 1920.

⁸⁵ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 5 Sept. 1920; 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 5 Sept. 1920.

⁸⁶ Tallgren, "Suvimatkalta Viroon" (21 June 1920).

Immediately upon his arrival in Estonia, Tallgren takes note of the high prices and constant inflation.⁸⁷ When writing to Aarne Europaeus in May of 1920, he assumes that a civil war may be possible because of the inflation, but he also admits that rightist, conservative political groups are growing stronger and views future development basically in a positive light.⁸⁸ This may seem surprising, taking into account Tallgren's own liberal world view, but it is explained by two factors. Firstly, the Young Finns Party Tallgren supported in his youth had adopted a strongly legalistic view of society.⁸⁹ The civil war of 1918 did not weaken his attitude. Secondly, he is writing to Aarne Europaeus, who represented somewhat more conservative thinking than himself, wanting to lure him to Tartu as well. On the same day in a letter to his father asking for a loan for money to buy a house in Tartu, Tallgren naturally assures him that the peasants are firmly and consistently in power and that no revolutions can be expected in the future in Estonia. In this case it was necessary to convince his father that his money is just as safe in Estonia.⁹⁰

Tallgren's image of Estonia is also coloured by the idea of a shortage of various goods. Just before his departure from Helsinki, he writes that he has bought petrol, starch, sewing thread, pins, soap, cocoa, coffee, nails, twine, silk yarn, paper, and envelopes. He also brought jersey shirts, shirt bodices, sewing thread, and starch that M. J. Eisen had ordered.⁹¹ As he is packing, Tallgren notes that one should not take along everything one owns, because "if something happened", everything would be lost. In his view, Estonia has suddenly become a country marked by shortage and

⁸⁷ NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920; 602:67/16: AMT to family members 30 May 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 30 May 1920.

⁸⁸ AFHA, Europaeus, AMT to Europaeus 30 May 1920.

⁸⁹ The Young Finns Party (*Nuorsuomalainen puolue*) was founded by the constitutionalists of the Finnish Party in 1905, when the political field of the Grand Duchy of Finland was divided according to the attitude towards the policies of Russia in Finland. In the new division of 1918, the majority of the Young Finns Party of 1905–1918 joined the new National Progress Party (*Kansallinen edistyspuolue*) supporting a republican constitution, while the royalists grouped themselves in the National Coalition Party (*Kansallinen kokoomus*). The Young Finns and Progress parties were both centrist parties emphasising social liberalism. "Kansallinen edistyspuolue" *Otavan iso tietosanakirja* 4, Helsinki 1962, 358; "Kansallinen kokoomus" *Otavan iso tietosanakirja* 4, Helsinki 1962, 358.

⁹⁰ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 30 May 1920.

⁹¹ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 1 Sept. 1920; NLF, Coll. 230: Eisen to Tallgren 24 Aug. 1920.

instability.⁹² One week later in Tartu, he notices that almost everything except for sugar, umbrellas and electric light bulbs is available.⁹³

Even now, Tallgren does not write to his family about his concerns regarding the consequences of the economic problems, apparently to avoid evoking fears. He only mentions the high prices to his father and brother.⁹⁴ Later in the autumn, he no longer mentions such problems in his letters.

Tallgren on Estonians and Finns, and on being abroad

At the start of 1920, Tallgren wonders at the productivity of Estonians, especially the fact that they have been able to found a chair of archaeology at their university, even though the same thing has not been achieved in Helsinki. He also characterises Estonians as respectable and pleasant people, mentioning Oskar Kallas as an example, in fact the only Estonian with whom Tallgren had been in contact by then.⁹⁵ When we form stereotypes of something or somebody, we pick one or a few features, which we consider characteristic, and give a generalised definition on the basis of these features. This is exactly what Tallgren did as well.⁹⁶

After arriving in Tallinn in May, Tallgren immediately takes note of the Estonian character, which in his opinion is livelier than the Finnish character.⁹⁷ In the autumn, as earlier, Tallgren emphasises the friendliness and benevolence of Estonians, especially the Rütliis, but now, as he is staying permanently in Tartu, he also appreciates having other Finns in town to socialise with.⁹⁸ There is only one letter in which he mentions other non-Finnish professors of his faculty, and this is in September before

⁹² NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 1 Sept. 1920.

⁹³ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 8 Sept. 1920.

⁹⁴ AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 21 Sept. 1920; NLF, Coll. 246: AMT to Oiva Tallgren 28 Sept. 1920; NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to I. M. Tallgren 4 Oct. 1920.

⁹⁵ NAF, 602:67/20: AMT to JMMT s.d. 1920; SKS KIA, Granö: AMT to Granö 23 Jan. 1920. See also NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920. On founding the chair of archaeology in Helsinki and the debate connected to it, see Timo Salminen, *Suomalaisuuden asialla, Muinaistieteen yliopisto-opetuksen syntyvaiheet n. 1877–1923*, Helsinki Papers in Archaeology 6 (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Department of Archaeology, 1993), 32–36.

⁹⁶ Perry R. Hinton, *Stereotypes, Cognition and culture*, Psychology Focus (London: Psychology Press, 2000), 6–8, 14, 17, 150–156.

⁹⁷ Tallgren, “Suvimatkalta Viroom” (31 May 1920).

⁹⁸ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 8 Sept. 1920, to JMMT 20 Sept., 1 Oct., 30 Oct. 1920; AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 21 Sept. 1920. A. R. Cederberg also made notations in his calendars about the lively social communication between the Finnish professors in Tartu. NAF, 602:73/25, A. R. Cederberg’s collection: Muistikalenteri 1920.



Figure 3. A. M. Tallgren's most important network in Tartu was formed by his students, and he maintained contact with them after he had returned to Finland. Tallgren and Aarne Europaeus at the Students' Society *Veljesto* in Tartu in 1924. In the front row Teodor Vaas, Elsbet Markus (later Parek), Osvald Stamm (later Saadre), second row Erik Laid, A. M. Tallgren, Marta Schmiedehelm, Aarne Europaeus (later Äyräpää), and in the back row Richard Indreko, Gertrud Niggol (later Kivikas), Aliise Karu (later Moora), Ferdinand Linnus and Harri Moora. Private collection

the first faculty meeting that he attended. Unfortunately there is no further description of his colleagues in the letters, except for the contacts he mentions with the other Finns in Tartu.⁹⁹ However, his social circle is not restricted to Finns; he often visits different associations as a speaker and lecturer.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, Tallgren begins to see himself as a representative of Finland abroad.¹⁰¹

Being abroad already acquires a new meaning for Tallgren in September: it becomes a means for learning what is best about Finland and of loving Finland in a more realistic way, i.e. without embellished ideal images.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to family members 8 Sept. 1920.

¹⁰⁰ Lauri Kettunen, *Tieteen matkamiehen uusia elämyksiä*, 85–87. Kivikoski, *Tehty työ elää*, 45.

¹⁰¹ NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 9 Nov. 1920. See also Tallgren, "Suvimatkalta Viroom" (21 June 1920).

¹⁰² NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 20 Sept. 1920. "Det är en välsignad sak, detta att få vara utanför fäderneslandets gränser. Å andra sidan lär man sig sålunda även känna det bästa och det goda som Finland har, och älska det på ett annat, reelare sätt, än förr."

Later in the autumn, he writes that at least sometimes he would like to be in Finland, which seems to confirm the doubts expressed by his father and brother (see below). Tallgren assumes that his homesickness is language-based, although another equally strong bond is formed by the distance to his family.¹⁰³ In spite of this, he insists that it was good to be able to escape the Finnish National Museum.¹⁰⁴

Tallgren's most important network in Tartu is formed by his students, and it emerges little by little during his three years as professor. The core of this group is formed in 1920 by Harri Moora, Marta Schmiedehelm (1896–1981) and Eerik Laid, all of whom Tallgren stays in a regular contact with after his years in Tartu. Other students join this circle during his three years as a professor, but in Tallgren's personal networks they remain somewhat less important, perhaps with the exception of Richard Indreko (1900–1961). Later they are not only students to him but he appreciates them as scholarly companions. Eerik Laid travels with Tallgren in the Soviet Union in 1925, and Harri Moora in 1935. Tallgren also brings them into contact with other Finnish archaeologists like Aarne Europaeus-Äyräpää.¹⁰⁵ (Figs. 2 and 3)

Family members on Tartu

For Tallgren, moving to Tartu means being separated from his parents and other relatives, to whom he has strong ties. For that reason, he specifically mentions the four-month summer holidays that he will be able to spend in Finland.¹⁰⁶ It is therefore also important to look at how his relatives see his departure.

Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgren immediately understands what kind of opportunity the invitation may offer her son. She already sees Estonia as a possibility to retreat from the Finnish National Museum before A. M. Tallgren mentions it himself.¹⁰⁷

After Tallgren makes his decision at the end of May, 1920, his mother sees the situation like her son in every respect, as a retreat from the museum

¹⁰³ NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 9 Nov. 1920; 602:67/40: AMT to Aili Tallgren 10 Nov. 1920.

¹⁰⁴ AFHA, Äyräpää: AMT to Europaeus 21 Sept. 1920; NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 24 Nov. 1920.

¹⁰⁵ Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 80–86; Kristiina Johanson and Mari Tõrv, “The many faces of Richard Indreko”, *Man, his time, artefacts, and places. Collection of articles dedicated to Richard Indreko, Muinasaja teadus 19*, ed. by K. Johanson and M. Tõrv (Tartu 2013), 33–46.

¹⁰⁶ NAF, 602:67/16: AMT to JMMT 19 May 1920.

¹⁰⁷ NAF, 602:67/42: JMMT to AMT 17 May 1920.

in Helsinki with opportunities to work independently and take on important tasks. On the other hand, she needs to find out more about the possible unhealthiness of the environment, especially any bogs and humidity, before she can “let her dear little boy fly on his way. Investigate the issue immediately.” She is seemingly afraid of some kind of harmful consequences. The thought of being separated from her youngest son is now becoming concrete for Mrs. Tallgren.¹⁰⁸ His father and brother Oiva doubt whether Mikko really is committed to his professorship in Tartu, and Anna-Maria also describes her brother as a “child of the moment”. Oiva’s doubts do not disappear even in the autumn. As far as is known, neither he nor other family members write about their doubts to Mikko Tallgren directly, but he may very well have foreseen something.¹⁰⁹ In any case, here we can see some reasons for why Tallgren so eagerly attempts to reassure his relatives during his first term in Tartu.

The message of contentment seems to have been accepted by his family members in the autumn.¹¹⁰ In spite of this, language difficulties continued to worry Mrs. Tallgren, even though State Archaeologist Hjalmar Appelgren-Kivalo (1853–1937) also tries to convince her of her son’s ability to learn Estonian.¹¹¹

Anna-Maria Tallgren pays a quick visit to Tartu in October and tries to assure her mother that the town is pleasant and that her brother is living in good conditions.¹¹²

Some interaction between A. M. Tallgren’s image of Tartu and that of his family members is discernible, but it also seems that his relatives in Finland project certain features onto Tartu that are more specifically connected to Mikko Tallgren himself. All of them see the change from their personal viewpoints formed through their long-term knowledge of him.

¹⁰⁸ NAF, 602:67/21: JMMT to AMCT and AMT s.d. 1920 (“[...] innan jag kan tillåta kära lilla gossen att flyga till vägs. Vidtag omedelbart undersökning i ämnet.”). Mrs. Montin-Tallgren’s possessive attitude towards her children and her desire to be informed of everything in their lives can be read in almost every letter from her to them.

¹⁰⁹ NAF, 602:67/16: Oiva Tallgren to JMMT 7 June, 6 Sept. 1920, AMCT to JMMT 30 May 1920 (“hetken lapsi”); 602:67/21: I. M. Tallgren to family members 25 June 1920.

¹¹⁰ NAF, 602:67/43: JMMT to AMCT 14 Sept., 12 Oct. 1920.

¹¹¹ NAF, 602:67/43: JMMT to AMCT 5 Oct. 1920.

¹¹² NAF, 602:67/16: AMCT to JMMT s.d. [ca. 13 Oct. 1920].

Other Finnish professors in Tartu

The best comparison to Tallgren's relationship with Tartu is provided by the other Finnish professors there, although the information that we have on their image of the town and of themselves in that town is not as detailed, nor can it be compared from every aspect.¹¹³

Most Finnish professors in Tartu did not have a permanent position at home, but their earlier contacts with Estonia varied considerably. Granö seems to have had practically no earlier contacts, and he did not even acquaint himself very much with the country before making his decision. Kettunen, who was appointed first in August of 1919, had established Estonian contacts both as a linguist and as an emissary of the Government of Finland during the Estonian War of Independence. He had also lectured at summer courses of the University of Tartu in 1919.¹¹⁴ For all Finnish professors in Tartu, the appointment meant a rise in their social status and a consolidation of their academic position.¹¹⁵

Both Granö and Tallgren wanted to escape Finland because of the difficult situation of the disciplines they represented, and Tallgren also because of the political atmosphere in Finland.¹¹⁶ The Finnish professors based their Tartu identity especially on building the new state of Estonia by establishing academic education and founding new institutions. At least Kettunen, Granö, and Tallgren used the Estonian language from the beginning; Granö was motivated to use the Estonian language and protect it from withering away like some small Siberian languages he had encountered earlier.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, Granö, Tallgren, and Kauko considered the instability

¹¹³ Kettunen, *Tieteen matkamiehen uusia elämyksiä*, 65–75; Haavikko, "Kettunen, Lauri", <<https://kansallisbiografia.fi/kansallisbiografia/henkilo/69999>>; Allan Tiitta, *Sinisten maisemien mies, J. G. Granön tutkijantie 1882–1956*, Historiallisia tutkimuksia 256 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011), 152–157; Ott Kurs, *Maateadusest Eestis, Geograafiast ja geograafidest 20. sajandil*, Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi kirjad VIII (Tartu: Õpetatud Eesti Selts, 2007), 28–48; Riitta Mattila, *Intohimona tiede ja opetus, Yrjö Kaukon elämänvaiheita Kuopiosta Patagoniaan*, Suomen Tekniikan historia, STH-julkaisuja 14 (Helsinki: Tekniikan Historian Seura, 2011), 132–140; Yrjö Blomstedt, "A. R. Cederberg", *Suomalaisia historiantutkijoita. Historiallisen Yhdistyksen 75-vuotisjuhlakirja*, ed. by P. Papunen (Porvoo & Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1965), 215–227 (218–220).

¹¹⁴ Kettunen, *Tieteen matkamiehen uusia elämyksiä*, 29–65.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. Kettunen, *Tieteen matkamiehen uusia elämyksiä*, 75; Mattila, *Intohimona tiede ja opetus*, 132–134.

¹¹⁶ Tiitta, *Sinisten maisemien mies*, 155.

¹¹⁷ Kettunen, *Tieteen matkamiehen uusia elämyksiä*, 74. Tiitta, *Sinisten maisemien mies*, 202–204, 208–218; Mattila, *Intohimona tiede ja opetus*, 134; Blomstedt, "A. R. Cederberg", 218.

of the state and society in Estonia to be a problem. When Granö came to Tartu, the country was still in a state of war.¹¹⁸

Even such a brief comparison with the thoughts of the other Finnish professors seems to justify the conclusion that Tallgren's impressions were representative within their community.

Tallgren, Estonia, and Tartu

Tallgren's image of Estonia and Tartu, of his own place in the community there, his attitude towards his duties as a professor, his concept of the possible development of Estonian society and his relationship with his parents and siblings during his Tartu period were formed in constant interaction with one another. However, the process was based primarily on the context of his own life and professional background. His experiences from the autumn of 1920 were decisive for his relationship with Estonia until it was cut off during the German occupation in 1943. The high point for Tallgren's Estonian correspondence was in the late 1920s. He also visited Tartu relatively often at that time. He even received students' exams and took part in the discussion concerning Estonia's antiquities legislation. Then, little by little, his contacts became increasingly sparse but were not completely severed even during the Second World War, except for the period of Soviet occupation in 1940–1941. The Germans also attempted to restrict Finnish-Estonian contacts, and after 1943 there was nobody who could have taken Tallgren's letters to Estonia and vice versa.¹¹⁹

As a professional archaeologist, Tallgren emphasised questions connected with museums and antiquities in his correspondence as well, but kept his eyes open to historical environments, too. The latter view simultaneously reflects his general consciousness of history, an essential feature of his character since early youth. As a product of the Romantic movement of the 19th century, he was also inclined to seek signs of cultural traditions in everything that he saw around him. On the other hand, as a clergyman's son, Tallgren appreciated the peaceful development of society, but as a supporter of what used to be the Young Finns Party since his student years, he was also aware of social problems that needed to be solved. The Finnish Civil War of 1918 further strengthened this emphasis on peaceful development.

¹¹⁸ Tiitta, *Sinisten maisemien mies*, 198; Mattila, *Intohimona tiede ja opetus*, 139.

¹¹⁹ Salminen, *Kollegat, ystävät ja kiistakumppanit*, 177–190, 284–288.

The expressions in his letters from May of 1920 document a development process in the course of which Tallgren attempted to formulate his conception of his own duties and how he could carry them out. They present the tour as a rite of passage during which Tallgren prepared both himself and his family for the change.¹²⁰ Tartu and Estonia represented otherness for Tallgren¹²¹, highlighted in the smallness of the town and the consequent sitting “on the shelf” as a professor.¹²² The idea of otherness can also be seen in how Tallgren compared Estonians and Finns, and for his mother it seems to have been even more predominant.

Tallgren’s correspondence reflects a new phase of doubts in the summer and early autumn. After settling in the town, Tallgren attempted to overcome the otherness Estonia represented for him by searching for features reminiscent of what he knew from home. He kept thoughts of otherness in a secondary position, especially when writing to family members. He also tried to make his adaptation and even his identity formation process seem as simple as possible, maybe to soothe the fears of his parents or to allow himself to settle down in a new environment. An interesting question is to what extent the message Tallgren sent to his relatives in Finland corresponds to the real development of what he thought about himself and his place in the academic context of Tartu. It is not easy to answer this, though, and therefore the question must be left aside here. In any case, Tallgren at least left the impression that he calmed down again during his first term as professor. What is even clearer is that internalising what was expected from him as a professor and getting acquainted with students and other people helped him to settle down in the new environment. Except for its personal aspect, this process may have been influenced by the stabilising political situation, the peace treaty between Estonia and Soviet Russia in February, and the parliamentary elections in November. Although a temporal relationship between these events and Tallgren’s optimistic comments can be seen, a causal one cannot be verified.

Until the autumn of 1920, Tallgren’s image of Estonia was based on pre-history and some general stereotypes. The tour in the spring of 1920 had made him think of Estonia as a part of his own field. His family identity

¹²⁰ Arnold van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, Transl. M. B. Vizedom & G. L. Caffee (London: Routledge & Paul Kegan, 1960), especially 26–40; Victor Turner, “Variations on a theme of liminality”, *Secular Ritual*, ed. by S. F. Moore and B. G. Myerhoff (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977).

¹²¹ On otherness, see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the other. How anthropology makes its object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

¹²² NAF, 602:67/43: AMT to AMCT 24 May 1920.

was slower to adapt to the new situation than his scholarly one, and it could even be stated that it never did. Being far from all of his beloved siblings was a trial for him. Socially, Tallgren belonged to the community of Finnish professors in Tartu that included some Swedish professors, but like most other Finns, knowing the Estonian language meant that they did not withdraw into their own group. Because Tallgren did not enjoy social situations, they had a somewhat secondary role in forming his Tartu identity compared to teaching, research, and organising work at the university.

Summary

The internationally renowned Finnish archaeologist Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) was appointed as the first professor of Estonian and Nordic archaeology at the University of Tartu in June of 1920, and he served as professor until the spring of 1923. What did Estonia, Tartu, and conditions there represent for him before he moved to Tartu? What was his idea of Estonia like, especially in relation to his identity? How and why did his view change during the autumn term of 1920? The article is based mainly on the correspondence between Tallgren and his parents and siblings at home.

Tallgren's image of Estonia and Tartu, and of his own place in the community there, his attitude towards his duties as a professor, his concept of the possible development of Estonian society, and his relationship with his home during his Tartu period were formed in constant interaction with one other. Up to the autumn of 1920, Tallgren's image of Estonia was based on prehistory and some general stereotypes. His tour in the spring of 1920 made him think of Estonia as a part of his own field of work.

His letters document a development process in the course of which Tallgren attempted to formulate his conception of his own duties and how he could carry them out. After settling in Tartu, Tallgren attempted to overcome the otherness Estonia represented for him by searching for features reminiscent of what he knew from home. He also tried to make his identity formation process seem as simple as possible, maybe to soothe the fears of his parents or to allow himself to settle down in a new environment. In any case, he apparently calmed down again during his first term as professor. This process may have been influenced by the stabilising political situation, the peace treaty between Estonia and Soviet Russia in February, and the parliamentary elections in November. Although a temporal relationship between the events can be seen, a causal one cannot be verified.

Socially, Tallgren belonged to the community of Finnish professors in Tartu that included some Swedish professors, but like most other Finns, knowing the Estonian language meant that they did not withdraw into their own group but were able to establish and maintain contacts with local people as well.

Tallgren's image of Estonia and Tartu was based on the context of his own life and professional background rather than on the events of the day. As an archaeologist and cultural historian, he sought historical explanations of what he saw and experienced around him. In the latter field it was crucial for his experience that he could convince himself and his siblings in Finland that the uncertainty he had felt about the circumstances in the spring had been unnecessary.

KOKKUVÕTE: *Aarne Michaël Tallgren, Eesti ja Tartu aastal 1920: riigi kuvand kirjavahetuses*

Rahvusvaheliselt tuntud Soome arheoloog Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) määrati Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikooli esimeseks Eesti ja Põhja-maade arheoloogia professoriks juunis 1920. Ta oli selles ametis kevadeni 1923. Mida tähendasid talle Eesti, Tartu ja sealsed elamistingimused enne Tartusse kolimist? Milline oli tema ettekujutus Eestist, eriti seoses enda identiteediga? Kuidas ja miks muutus tema vaatenurk sügissemestril 1920?

Artikkel põhineb suures osas A. M. Tallgreni ema Jenny Maria Montin-Tallgreni kogul, mida hoitakse Soome Rahvusarhiivis. Kirju Mikko Tallgrenilt tema vanimale vennale Oiva Johannes Tallgrenile (hiljem Tuulio) hoitakse viimase kogus Soome Rahvusraamatukogus. Head võrdlusmaterjali pakuvad A. M. Tallgreni kirjad kolleegile ja lähedasele sõbrale Aarne Europaeusele (hiljem Äyräpää), mida hoitakse tema kollektsoonis Soome Muuseumiameti Arhiivis. Hajusaid killukesi leiab ka kirjadest, mille Tallgrenile saatsid tema kolleegid ning mida hoitakse Soome Rahvusraamatukogus.

Arheoloogia alal lähtus Tallgren uurimisprobleemidest ja arusaamadest soome-ugri mineviku kohta, mille olid sõnastanud Matthias Alexander Castrén ja Johan Reinhold Aspelin. Ta avastas aga peagi, kui ajast maha jäänud need olid, ning võttis omaks rahvusvahelise orientatsiooniga

lähenemise Venemaa ja Ida-Euroopa ajaloole, mis keskendus Euroopa pronksiaja lõunapoolsetele juurtele. Samas jätkas ta ka populaarteaduslike tööde kirjutamist Soome esiajast. Vaatamata sellele on 19. sajandi rahvusromantiline lähenemine Soome ajaloole Tallgreni Eesti-sümpaatia selgitamisel keskse tähtsusega.

Tallgreni maailmavaade põhines seaduslikkusel ja isiklikul vastutusel. Keele küsimuses esindas ta liberaalset vaatenurka, mille oli pärinud oma kakskeelsest, soome- ja rootsikeelsest kodust. Tallgreni isiklikku identiteeti mõjutasid lähedased suhted oma õdede-vendade ning vanematega, eriti emaga. Lisaks mõjutas teda lapsepõlve ja noorusaja Turu piirkond.

Tallgreni kohale määramine ja Tartusse saabumine said teoks tänu iseisvsa Eesti Vabariigi väljakuulutamisele. Soome teadlaste Tartusse määramise akadeemiliseks eeltingimuseks oli otsus arendada Tartu Ülikool eestikeelseks asutuseks. See tähendas vene ja saksa keelt kõnelevate professorite vahetamist eestikeelsete vastu, kuid kuna 1910. aastate teisel poolel oli sobivatest akadeemilise kvalifikatsiooniga eestlastest puudus, otsustati kutsuda Tartusse õpetama ka teadlasi välismaalt. Avati uued õppetoolid, mida peeti oluliseks uue riigi ja selle identiteedi loomiseks, nende hulgas ka arheoloogia õppetool.

Tallgren ei olnud esimene Soome arheoloog, kellega läbirääkimisi peeti. Oskar Kallas kirjutas esimesena Juhani Rinnele, küsides kas ta oleks huvitatud arheoloogiaprofessoriks ja Eesti Rahva Muuseumi direktoriks saamisest. Ka Aarne Europaeuse nime mainiti juba 1919. aastal vähemalt muuseumiga seoses. Pärast seda, kui Rinne loobus, saadeti 1919. aasta teisel poolel päring Tallgrenile. Märtsis 1920 informeeris Tallgren Eisenit oma loobumisest. Pärast seda asus Tartu Ülikooli soome-ugri keelte professor Lauri Kettunen veenma Tallgreni ümber mõtlema. Lõpuks Tallgren nõustus. Mais ja juunis tegi Tallgren viienädalase ekskursiooni Eestisse ja sel ajal teatati talle, et ülikool on valinud ta professoriks.

Tartus seadis Tallgren end sisse jurist Oskar Rütli kodu. Rütli oli aktiivne Eesti-Soome suhete edendaja ja tema abikaasa Vilhelmiina/Vilhelmine (Mimmi) oli soomlane.

Tallgren töötas Tartus 1923. aasta kevadeni, mil sai tõenäoliselt, et ta nimetatakse Helsingi Ülikooli arheoloogiaprofessoriks. Lisaks tundis ta, et on täitnud oma ülesande Tartus, olles arendanud välja nii akadeemilise kõrghariduse arheoloogia valdkonnas kui ka kohaliku muuseumivõrgustiku. Tallgren võttis siiski arheoloogiatudengite eksameid vastu ka 1920. aastate teisel poolel ja võttis osa aruteludest, mille eesmärgiks oli formuleerida pärandiga seotud seadusandlus.

Pärast Tartusse saabumist mõistis Tallgren peagi, kui palju tööd professor endast kujutab. Ta sai aru, mida Tartu ja Eesti temalt kui professorilt ootavad ning mida Tartu professor tema enda jaoks tähendab. Ta tundis, et nii arheoloogiat kui ka Tartu Ülikooli hinnati Eestis kõrgelt, mis süvendas tema optimismi. Tema muljed muuseumitest ja raamatukogudest olid eripalgelised.

Tallgreni esmamuljed Eestist kui riigist ja eestlastest mais 1920 olid eksootilised. Ta oli „üldiselt lummatud kõigest“, mida nägi. Tartu akadeemilised ja aristokraatlikud tahud meeldisid Tallgrenile kui teadlasele ja romantismi vaimsele järgijale eriti. Samas vaatles ta Eesti ühiskonda ja selle võimalikke pingekeeldeid 1918. aasta kodusõjast toibuva Soome vaatenurgast. Ta muretses baltisakslaste isoleerituse pärast. Lisaks kartis ta, et halvenevad majanduslikud tingimused võivad viia sotsiaalse konfliktini.

Tallgren imetles eestlaste töökust ja iseloomustas eestlasi kui meeldivaid inimesi. Ta leidis, et eestlaste iseloom on elavam kui soomlastel. Ta väärtustas eestlaste sõbralikkust ja heatahtlikkust, kuid hindas ka seda, et linnas oli teisi soomlasi, kellega suhelda. Välismaal olemine omandas Tallgreni jaoks uue tähenduse: see muutus võimaluseks õppida Soomet rohkem hindama ja realistlikumal viisil, ilustamata armastama. Teisest küljest pakkus see võimalust põgeneda Soome Rahvusmuuseumis valitsenud ebameeldivast olukorrast.

Tallgreni olulisim võrgustik Tartus moodustus tema tudengitest ja see tekkis järk-järgult tema kolmeaastase professori jooksul. Selle grupi tuumiku moodustasid 1920. aastal Harri Moora, Marta Schmiedehelm ja Eerik Laid, kellega Tallgren jäi pidevalt suhtlema ka pärast Tartust lahkumist.

Tallgrenile tähendas Tartusse kolimine eemal viibimist oma vanematest ja teistest sugulastest, kellega tal olid tihedad suhted. Ta ema nägi olukorda Eestis igas mõttes nagu tema poeg. Ka tema oli mures Eestis valitseva olukorra pärast. Tallgreni isa ja vend Oiva kahtlesid, kas Mikko tõesti pühenud Tartus oma professorile. Seetõttu saatis A. M. Tallgren pidevalt oma sugulastele teateid oma rahulolu kohta ja näib, et nad aktsepteerisid neid. Tallgreni nägemus Eestist ja Tartust ning oma kohast selles, suhtumine oma professorikohustustesse, mõtted Eesti ühiskonna võimalikest arengutest ja suhe koduga olid vastastikusel seoses. 1920. aasta sügiseni põhines Tallgreni kujutlus muinasaegsest Eestist ja üldistel teadmistel. 1920. aasta ekskursiooni käigus hakkas ta mõtlema Eestist kui oma tööpaigast.

Tallgreni kirjad dokumenteerivad seda arenguprotsessi, mille käigus ta proovis mõista oma ülesandeid ja rolli. Pärast enda Tartusse sisseseadmist püüdis Tallgren üle saada võõristusest, mida Eesti temas tekitas, otsides

selles endale tuttavlikke jooni. Samuti proovis ta näidata, et tema identiteedi kujunemise protsess toimus lihtsalt. Võimalik, et ta tegi seda selleks, et rahustada oma vanemaid või kergemini uues keskkonnas kohaneda. Igal juhul rahunes ta esimese semestri jooksul. Seda protsessi võis mõjutada stabiliseeruv poliitiline olukord, Eesti ja Nõukogude Venemaa vaheline rahuleping veebruaris 1920 ja parlamendivalimised novembris. Kuigi ajaline suhe nende vahel on nähtav, ei ole põhjuslikku suhet võimalik tõestada.

Sotsiaalselt kuulus Tallgren Tartu Soome professorite seltskonda, kuhu kuulusid ka mõned Rootsi professorid, kuid sarnaselt enamikule teistele soomlastele tähendas eesti keele oskus, et ta ei kapseldunud oma gruppi, vaid suutis luua ja hoida kontakte kohalikega.

Tallgreni kujutus Eestist ja Tartust põhines pigem elukogemusel ja erialasel taustal kui päevapoliitikal. Arheoloogi ja kultuuriajaloolasena otsis ta nähtule ja kogetule ajaloolisi selgitusi. Sellest vaatenurgast oli oluline, et ta suudaks end ja oma Soomes elavat peret veenda, et tema algne eba-kindlus oli olnud alusetu.

KEYWORDS: University of Tartu, history of archaeology, Aarne Michaël Tallgren

TIMO SALMINEN is a freelance researcher and Associate Professor of archaeology at the University of Helsinki.*

* Correspondence: E-mail: timo.salminen@pp3.inet.fi