

FEENIKS

Art and culture in the mental and material reconstruction process following the Lapland War

Finnish Lapland experienced a collective material and mental disaster, when retreating German troops destroyed the material culture, buildings and infrastructure of the province virtually in their entirety in the Lapland War. During the Second World War, the Continuation War against Soviet Union was, in accordance with the armistice conditions, immediately followed by the Lapland War of 1944–1945.

Moreover, migrants from the Salla and Petsamo areas, which were ceded to the Soviet Union, had to build entirely new home districts for themselves. Not only did Lapland suffer material losses, but the feeling of social cohesion and national equality among the region's inhabitants was wounded as well.

This research project is the first systematic initiative to produce a comprehensive picture of the role that art and cultural activities played in the mental and material reconstruction of Lapland. Culture is understood here in broad scope, with the research approaching it from the perspectives of a range of different disciplines: cultural history, art history, art education, Sámi research, photography research, literature research, sociology, architecture and museology.

How was Lapland reconstructed both materially and mentally in various spheres of life by and through art and culture?

The sub-questions are: What kinds of regional, national and international, traditional and modern/modernising influences, values and practices did reconstruction introduce into the culture and everyday lives of people in Lapland? How can the reconstruction ethos be interpreted through an examination of art and cultural activities?

We emphasise the contextualisation of written, visual, material and oral sources, thick reading and sensitivity to the interpretations of the meanings ascribed by contemporaries to their experiences. Crucial here is the concept of the presence of history and the multi-layered nature of time and place. The international research cooperation will enable the project's points of departure and results to engage with a broader European context.

Feeniks is a multidisciplinary programme funded by the Academy of Finland. Head of the Project is **Marja Tuominen**, Ph.D., Professor of Cultural History.



Feeniks researchers visiting the Reconstruction Museum in Hammerfest, Norway, 2012.

Director and actor Kari Väänänen from Kemijärvi telling about the reconstruction of the human mind in "The Spring of Feeniks", 2014. Photos: Mervi Autti.



Feeniks researchers visiting "The Householder Matti's Museum" in Salla, 2013. Seppo Leinonen from the museum (left) and Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja from the University of Lapland.



Marja Tuominen meeting Erkki Lumisalmi at the door of the Ivalo Orthodox Church, 2012.

Researcher Tiina Kinnunen from the University of Jyväskylä giving a lecture on the post-war history of the Lotta Svärd Organization in "The Autumn of Feeniks", 2013.



Reconstructing the Legacy of Reconstruction-period Type-planned Houses

Research into the post-war reconstruction period in Finland has mainly focused on the massive production and building processes involved, urban architecture or questions relating to the housing of returning soldiers and displaced civilians from Karelia. Northern Finland is given little attention in the studies: research on architecture in the region in general is scanty and scantier still on the type-planned houses that played a key role in rebuilding homes there.

The post-war research briefly touched upon the architectural goals of type-planned houses and their status as questionable representatives of modernism. In the early studies, the designs of the reconstruction period, in particular those for type-planned houses, received much criticism. However, in the 1990s this attitude took a more positive turn. The decades-long criticism of the type-planned houses built during reconstruction clearly affected not only the architects who designed the houses but also the way in which the structures have been renovated. In the worst cases, this criticism caused a sort of a trauma for the designers. This research examines the effect of the criticism from the point of view of an individual designer, architect **Erkki Koiso-Kanttila** (1914–2006). It also examines what has happened to the type-planned houses since the war. It asks how these houses have been renovated and why the originally unified residential areas they used to form have turned into something else and, in the worst case, lost their originality and identity.

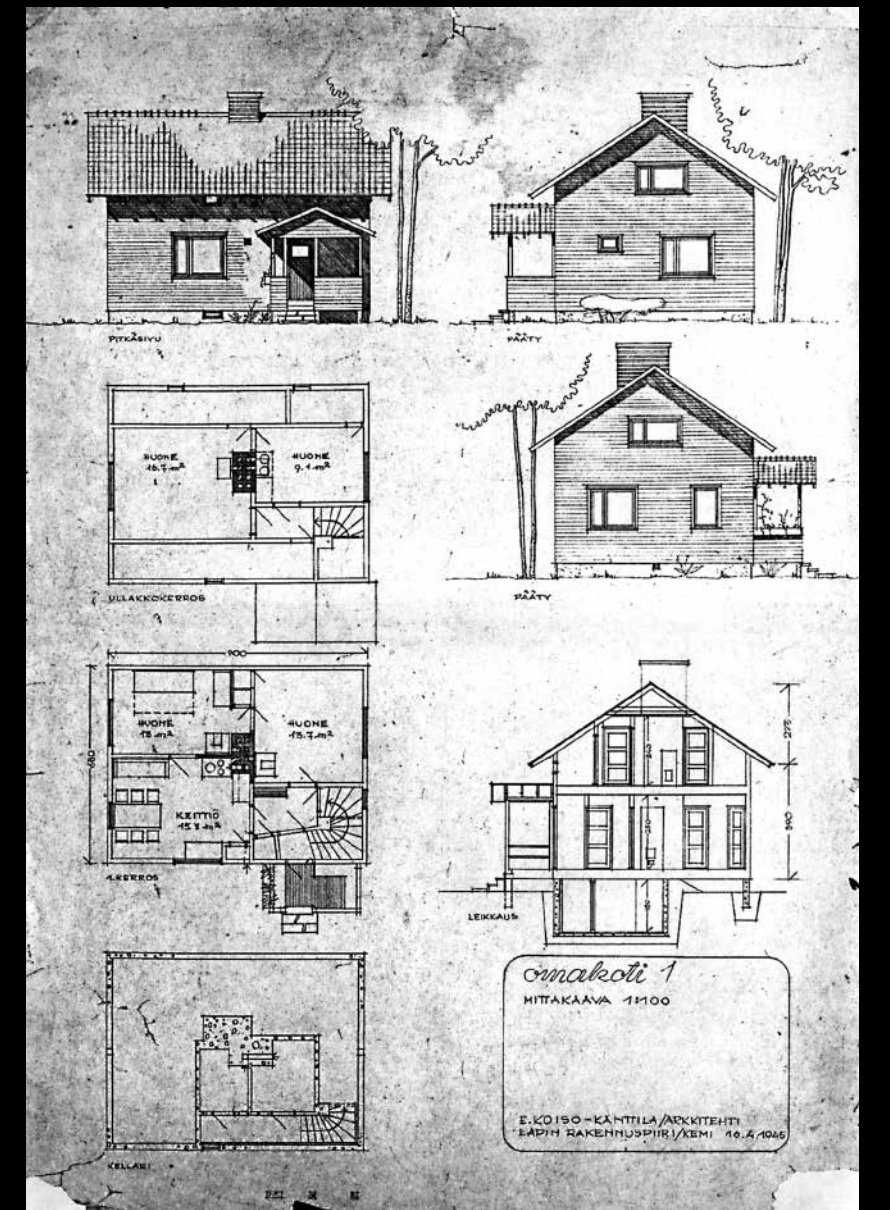
My particular focus is on two questions: Why did Erkki Koiso-Kanttila leave part of his career a blank to us and why have the type-planned houses of the 1940s have lost their originality?

This research is part of a broader research effort on work biographies, the goal of which is to illuminate how architectural phenomena and themes were reflected in the life's work of a single architect, Erkki Koiso-Kanttila, whose career spanned some forty years from the functionalism of the 1930s to the rationalism of the 1970s.

Anu Soikkeli, Architect, D.Sc. (Tech.), works as a senior lecturer at the University of Oulu in the Faculty of Architecture. Her special interests are the long-term durability and renovation of wooden buildings as well as the identity of historical towns and villages and the cultural environment.



Architect Erkki Koiso-Kanttila.
Photo: Anu Soikkeli



The structures of the veterans' type-planned houses were firmly anchored in Finland's long tradition of timber construction. The primary material was still wood, although the log frame was most often replaced with a framework construction. However, the buildings differed in appearance from traditional Finnish homes. Their shape was cube-like and tall, which was accentuated by a rather steep roof. The simple design used in construction and the shortage of construction materials, together with the ideals of modernism, affected the architecture, which was characterised by scanty detail. The focal objectives were economical construction and living.
Photo: Anu Soikkeli

The dense rows of uniform-looking houses along the streets created unbroken streetscapes.
Photo: Anu Soikkeli



Typically, the outward appearance of houses has been changed by adding features characteristic of 1800s architecture, such as moulding and small-paned windows. Originally, the simple houses were covered with horizontal or vertical wooden siding; the two types were never used on the same building.
Photo: Anu Soikkeli



Experiences of One's Home District in the Texts, Drawings and Paintings of Children in the North

Our research analyses and interprets two physical and mental landscapes of childhood in northern Sweden and Finland. We focus on the experiences of children from the Torne River valley in Swedish Lapland and various locations in Finnish Lapland. The material consists of paintings, drawings and texts produced by local children in post-war Lapland.

Anniina Koivurova's research draws on 141 drawings and paintings collected from Finnish schoolchildren by a Quaker aid worker, **Naomi Jackson** (Groves) (1910–2001). School picture boards and other visual materials of the time are used to support the analysis (narrative and contextual). Children's visual topics spanned ruins, pristine yards and Sámi livelihoods. The pictures are seen as performative representations of the local school aesthetics, ethics and norms of the time. The images they created were culturally or politically influenced by the post-war Western aid efforts.

Päivi Granö examines drawings and textual material produced by Swedish children. A home district association and a local newspaper arranged a contest titled "My Home District" for the schools in the county of Norrbotten in 1951–53. The aim of the contest was to foster regionalism, collect material about local history and strengthen people's feeling of belonging to a nation-state. The Swedish children had connections to relations and friends across the border and they saw the destruction that occurred during the Lapland War. The drawings submitted to the contest both rebuild and comment on what was an imposed cultural agenda. The subject-matter varies from everyday homes, home activities and artefacts to yards, gardens, schools, villages, trades and industries. The visual material reflects a national mental landscape.

Anniina Koivurova, D.A., works as a lecturer in art education at the University of Lapland. In her doctoral thesis she studied the social space of an art education lesson.

Päivi Granö, D.A., works as a researcher in the teacher education programme at the University of Turku. She has published on methods, visual studies, children's drawings and questions of place.



Eevaliisa Holma: *Returning from Evacuation*.
Rovaniemi Senior Secondary School (1946–1947).



P. Harmanen: *Time to Build a New Home to Replace the Old*. Rovaniemi Senior Secondary School (1946–1947).

Ann-Mari Niska, Greta and Gunhild Thornberg, age 12.
Erkheikki, Sweden 1951.



Elsa Montell

Turning traditions into textile design and art

Textile designer **Elsa Montell's** (1926-) work as artist, designer and entrepreneur played an important role during the mental and cultural reconstruction of northern Finland after World War Two. Montell made use of the northern myths and traditional ways of weaving. She excelled in the design of rugs, in particular the *raanu*, an old type of blanket used in everyday life

In addition to *raanu* textiles, which were produced as a cottage industry, Elsa Montell designed numerous artistic works for sacral and public spaces. Her unique works of art also drew on mythological and northern cultural historical elements. The colourful, expressive rya *Wolf of Lake Lokka* exhibits aspects of social criticism, as was typical in the 1960s. Natural hues and regional elements are seen in the altarpiece in Autti Chapel or in the weaving *Processus Vitae* in Rovaniemi City Hall.

After the war, design played an important role in the development of modernism in Finland and the reputation of Finnish design was of great importance for the rebuilding of the national identity. In the 1950s, she made this rug an internationally acclaimed artistic textile when her works were shown in Finnish Design exhibitions nationally and internationally. In numerous joint exhibitions with her husband, photographer **Matti Saanio**, Elsa Montell made Finnish Lapland well known, and her weaving atelier in the village of Oikarainen was one of the region's principal tourist attractions. As an entrepreneur Montell employed local weavers in her atelier *Lapin Raanu* and thus also had an important social impact.

My research deals with the cultural and art historical aspects of the work, art and design of northern textile designer Elsa Montell. Because she was an active figure in the mental rebuilding of the North, my study also examines her work from the feminist point of view. When I consider the post-war era through Montell's art, I ask, in a broader context, What has been the status of textiles in Finnish design?

Heli Tuovinen, M.A. (Ph.D. student), works as a researcher on a stipend from the Niilo Helander Foundation. Her research interests are textile design and visual culture.



Elsa Montell and "raanu" 1950s.
Photo: Matti Saanio.



Elsa Montell: *Processus Vitae* (Detail), 1963.
Photo: The Regional Museum of Lapland.

Elsa Montell: *Wolf of the lake Lokka*, 1969.
Photo: Mervi Autti, image editing: Jukka Suvilehto.



Voices in Raivaaja Magazine

Petsamo-born youths in Varejoki in the 1950s

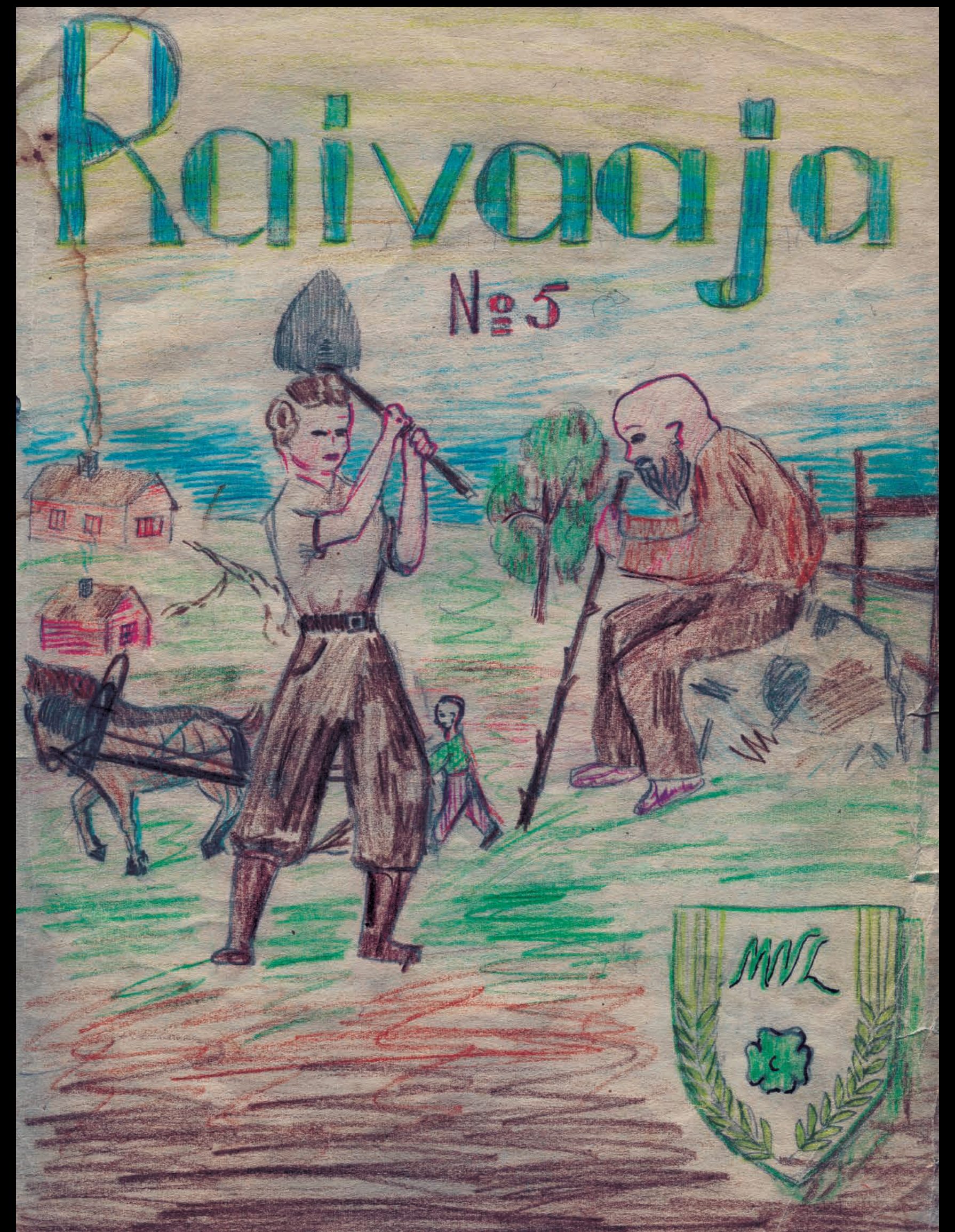
When Petsamo was surrendered to the Soviet Union after World War Two, some of the refugees were settled in the municipality of Tervola, in the small village of Varejoki, about an hour's drive southwest of Rovaniemi. A small collection of magazines was recently discovered at the village school comprising 24 hand-edited issues of the magazine *Raivaaja* (Pioneer). The magazines were the work of youths born in Petsamo, done during the years 1952–1957, when the authors were school children or young adults.

On 16 October 1952, the Rural Youth League of Varejoki decided to edit a magazine as part of their evening meetings. The name *Raivaaja* was chosen unanimously, because it suited the new residential area in Varejoki well. The magazine's special feature was that "it sees, hears and knows everything that happens in Varejoki and its remote villages". The magazines contain a variety of writings, stories, poems, columns, news, announcements, jokes, as well as a large number of drawings and painted pictures. This previously unexplored material will be the main source of my master's thesis.

My main research question is: What and how did *Raivaaja* magazine provide information on the circumstances in which life was reconstructed in Varejoki? The sub-questions are: What do the magazines tell about the reconstruction period, its culture, the place and the rest of the world? and How do the magazines reflect the ethos of reconstruction of the young generation?

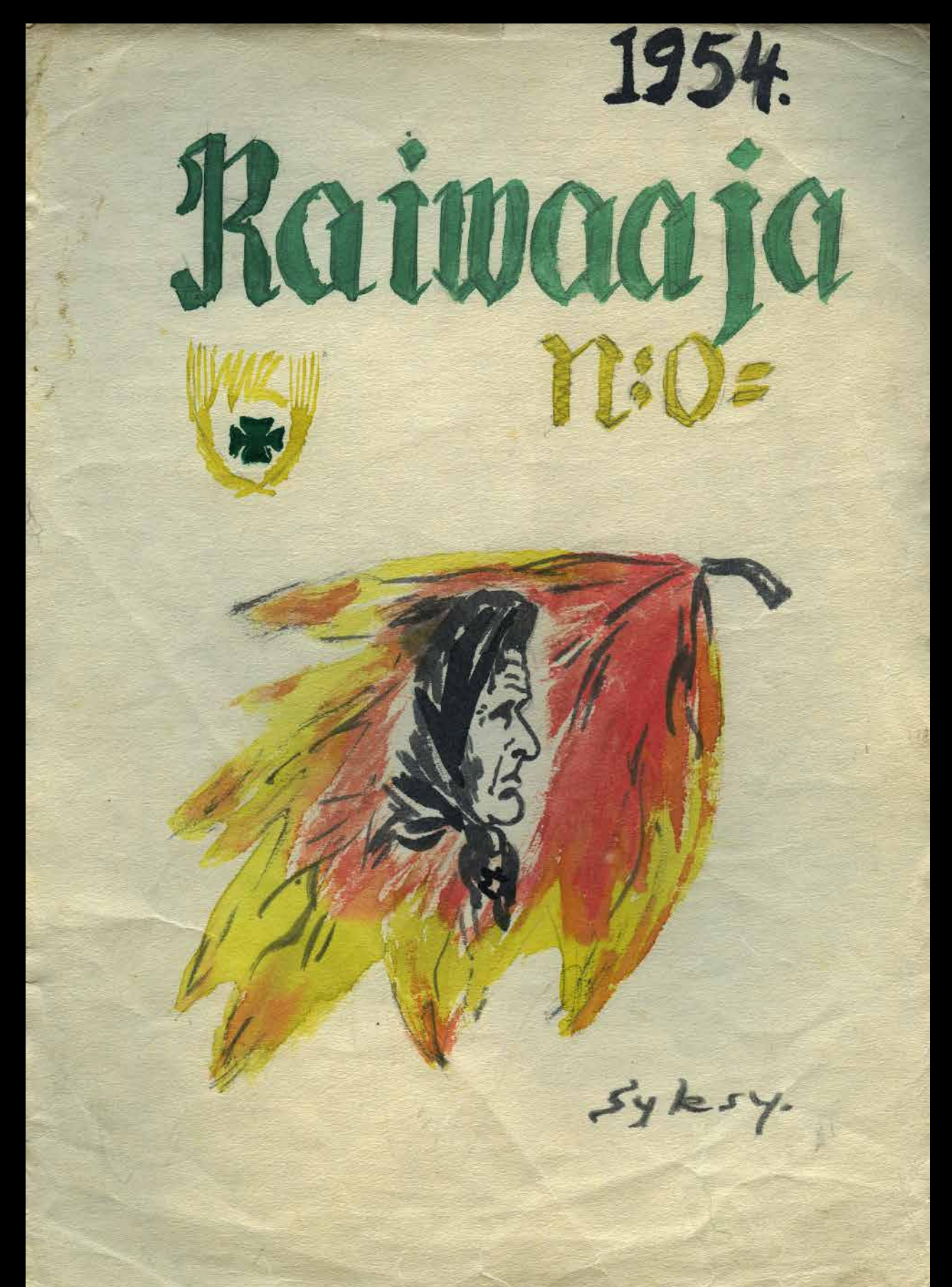
My approach to the material is based on the visual tradition of hermeneutics. The research method is contextual analysis of images and texts.

Johanna Tuovinen is an art education student at the University of Lapland. Her minor subjects are art history and cultural history, and she is doing her master's thesis under the auspices of the Feeniks project.



5/1954

Autumn 1954



Tradition in Transition

Reconstructing Orthodoxy in Finnish Lapland

At the end of World War Two (1944), the Finnish Orthodox Church lost approximately 90 percent of its material property, when Petsamo and large areas of Karelia, with their Orthodox parishes, churches and monasteries, were ceded to the Soviet Union. The civilian population and the monks of the monasteries of these provinces were resettled in "Old Finland", where Lutheranism was the dominant religion.

A new division of the Orthodox parishes in Finland was introduced in 1950, with the parish of Lapland among the new ones created. Most of the Orthodox civilians resettled in Lapland were Skolt Sámi and Russian and Karelian settlers from the parish of Petsamo, which was situated on the Kola Peninsula on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. There are currently eight Orthodox sanctuaries in the province of Lapland. Five are what are known as *reconstruction churches*.

The term has long been considered a pejorative one. These sanctuaries were built in materially and spiritually challenging post-war circumstances. The attitude is reflected in how harshly the modest places of worship built in the reconstruction period have recently been treated, being given a Byzantine or Russian/Karelian appearance while appealing to the "authenticity" of the Orthodox tradition.

I explore the question, What do these churches tell us – and how – about the preconditions for and possibilities of the mental recollection of the religious, cultural, and ethnic minorities? One may also ask to what degree the boom of revisualising the reconstruction churches is a symptom of nostalgia. Might it be a sign of shame about one's history as well?

The research frame and methodology draw on the Braudelian concept of multilayered time and the presence of history.

Marja Tuominen, PhD., is Professor of Cultural History at the University of Lapland and the head of the Feeniks project. Her research interests range from post-war counter culture movements and generation dynamics, and Byzantine sacred iconography to the cultural history of the Northern societies.



Rovaniemi Orthodox Church in 1962.
Photo: Archives of the Newspaper *Lapin Kansa*.



Rovaniemi Orthodox Church in 1962.
Photo: Archives of the Newspaper *Lapin Kansa*.

Ivalo Orthodox Chapel (later Church) in 1960.
Photo: Archives of the Orthodox Parish of Lapland.



Ivalo Orthodox Church (former Chapel) in 2012.
Photo: Mervi Autti.



The School System during World War Two and Reconstruction in Lapland

The purpose of the study is to clarify how the war years (1939–1945) and the reconstruction that followed affected primary school education and teacher training colleges in Lapland. This historical research draws a picture of the contemporary reality in the light of various sources of data: archival sources, interviews and other studies.

The war years (1939–1945) had an extensive impact on the Finnish school system at large. Efforts were made to provide teaching despite the demanding circumstances, but the lack of teachers and teaching materials, as well as the high number of children in the classroom, affected teaching and learning. More than 900 teachers and about 60 students from teacher training colleges died during the war, creating a shortage of teachers that was to impact the school system for many years. This was the impetus for setting up a new teacher training college in Lapland, in Kemijärvi, in 1950. It operated alongside the teacher training college of Tornio, which was founded in 1921.

Another source of hardship was that 120 school buildings had been destroyed during the war. Getting back to school meant studying in barracks and ordinary homes before schools could be built. Also challenging was the shortage of materials such as textbooks. A further burden was the demand made by the Soviet Union that 28 schoolbooks were to be removed from the curriculum. The books contained facts that were considered incorrect or gave a negative impression of that country. This condition meant that teaching could not depend on those particular books anymore and the teachers needed to find other ways to teach.

The research examines the following questions: How did the war impact the school system? How did schooling get started again during reconstruction? What kind of memories do children have of that time?

Merja Paksuniemi, Ph.D., works as a university lecturer at the University of Lapland and as a network researcher at the Institute of Migration. Her research topics and interests are the history of education and childhood during World War Two.



Primary school children in post-war Kemijärvi. The school has received an aid package from the USA and the pupils' assignment is to write a thank-you letter.
Photo: Kuva-Relavuo 1946, The Regional Museum of Lapland.



Sonka Primary School, 1950s.
Photo: Aimo A. Tuomi, The Regional Museum of Lapland.

Coal into Diamond?

Artists raising awareness of/in Lapland via popular magazines

Writer and painter **A. E. Järvinen** (1891–1963) and photographer **Matti Saanio** (1925–2006) are two artists from Lapland who made significant contributions to cultural life at the provincial and national level. Moreover, neither hesitated to take a stand on developments in society at large and the prevailing circumstances. Järvinen wrote for numerous magazines, mainly the cultural magazine *Kaltio*, published in Oulu in northern Finland. His articles fit in well as examples of “mental reconstruction and resurrection” in the late 1940s and 1950s – as *Kaltio*'s post-war period is described. Saanio's contributions consist of reportage he published in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, a weekly Finnish news magazine, as well as the photographs he took for the articles.

Both of the artists based much of their reportage on nature. According to Jarno Valkonen (2004), definitions of nature had a significant impact on the conceptions that were formed of Lapland in the post-war period. Järvinen and Saanio seem to approach nature in many ways. As a modern technocrat yet a nature-lover by experience, Järvinen had a perspective that was contradictory; it, even embraced animism. In contrast, Saanio saw nature through more humanistic eyes, with people viewed as part of it in a precious and dignified way. His images tell of the survival of Lapland's ordinary country people in the northern wilderness and the social upheaval and rural transformation that impacted the province in his day.

The questions I hope to answer in my research are: How can A. E. Järvinen and Matti Saanio be situated in the tension between nostalgia and modernisation? How did they construct Lapland? and How were they involved in the ethos of reconstruction?

Järvinen and Saanio were not the only artists who participated in public discussions in Lapland during the post-war era. My research will also study comments on society at the time by the writers **Annikki Kariniemi**, **Erno Paasilinna** and **Timo K. Mukka**.

Mervi Autti, D.A., works as a researcher and co-ordinator in the Feeniks project. In her doctoral thesis she studied historical photographs as sources of interpretation and also as material for a historical documentary.



A.E. Järvinen. Photo: Matti Aho, archives of the Newspaper Lapin Kansan.

"It seems to me there is an old truth at work here: people grow through adversity. The process is the same as when coal becomes diamond under extreme pressure."

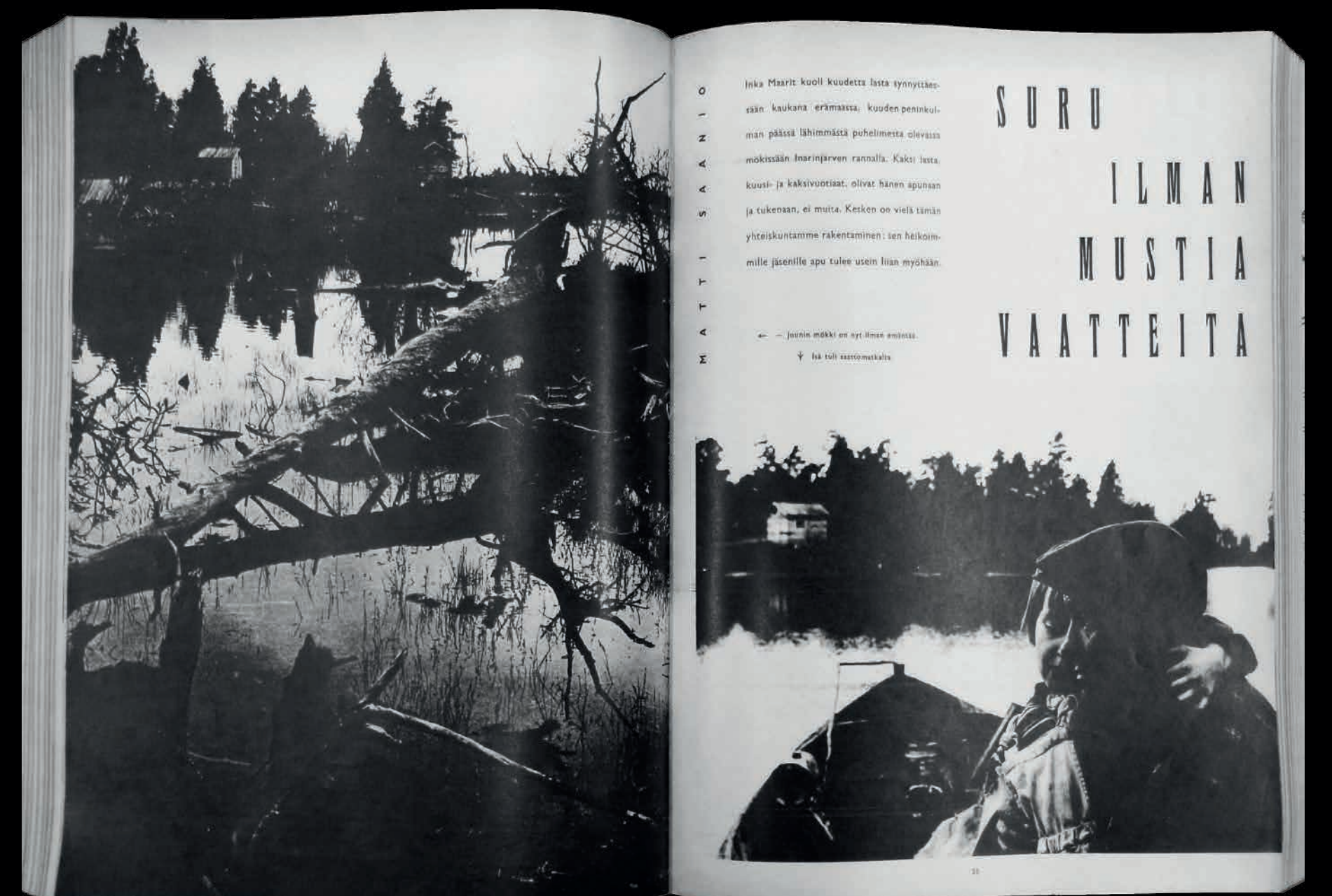
A.E. Järvinen in *Kaltio* 1/1960.



A.E. Järvinen: Watercolour painting, 1956. Source: Petteri Holma and Risto Pyykkö: *Kairanviemä*. Otava 2006.



Matti Saanio. Photo: Käre Kivijärvi. Source: *Matti Saanio – Yhteinen elämä*. Elina Heikka et al. (eds.). The Finnish Museum of Photography, Musta Taide, Helsinki 2008.



Suomen Kuvalehti 41/1961.

Memory/future and the Post-war Landscapes in Reino Rinne's Writings (1940s–1960s)

Reino Rinne (1913–2002) was a northern novelist, journalist and activist who wrote in a range of genres encompassing fiction, poetry and newspaper articles. He is best known as a nature conservationist and an ecologically oriented writer. However, already prior to the era of environmentalist activism (the 1960s on), he focused his efforts on the intersection of artistic and other social practices, organising cultural activities in post-war Lapland, where, in his view, cultural life had sunk into a lingering apathy as a result of the long and wearying war.

Rinne's conviction led him to work as a novelist and journalist for the future of the post-war community in the North. However, his novels exhibit a nostalgic backward-looking orientation.

Adopting a focus on the dual perspective of memory/future, this study discusses the literary responses to war as reflected in Rinne's pre-occupation with landscape, its potential, possibilities and conditions – and its crisis.

The research material consists of Rinne's writings from the 1940s to 1960s, including a travelogue, his first novels, a collection of short stories, and newspaper articles published in the newspaper *Lapin Kansa* in the years 1947–1948. The travelogue *Lapin rauha* [Peace of Lapland], written originally in 1946 and published for the first time in 1991, was a result of Rinne's journey in a devastated Lapland in the summer of 1946. It provides insights into Rinne's artistic production in the 1940s, especially his first novels and the collection of short stories *Erämaan omia ihmisiä* [People of the Wilderness] (1949).

Nina Sääskilahti, Ph.D., is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Lapland (Feeniks project) and the University of Jyväskylä (Department of Art and Culture Studies). Her dissertation focused on autobiographical time, memory and diaries (2011) and her post-doctoral research (2012–2013) on the cultural production and transmission of the northern memories of war.



Northern evacuees returning home after the Lapland War.
Photo: SA-kuva.



Scenes of destruction in Rovaniemi 1944.
Photo: SA-kuva.

From Petsamo to Varejoki

Changed lives and homes: refugees' experiences

Petsamo was the northeast corner of Finland from 1920 to 1944. In the Moscow Armistice the area was ceded to the Soviet Union and over 5000 people lost their homes and belongings. Many of the refugees were resettled in southern Lapland. The first to arrive in Varejoki came in 1946, to a village with no roads, no buildings and no fields. With support from the government and volunteers the settlers built and cleared space for living and making a livelihood.

In this study I am interested in the everyday life and experiences of the Varejoki settlers. I will investigate these topics by analysing group interviews, with micro history and oral history offering me salient methods to examine these previously marginalised stories and the meanings the interviewees give to them. A hermeneutical dialogue between me, the interviewees and other sources has helped me to understand how these experiences and meanings are constructed, but also how I, as a researcher, am part of this process.

My research question is: How did people experience the relocation of their lives and homes to Varejoki?

Many Finnish refugees have had an opportunity to discuss their experiences, but often the public interest has not focused on those who had to leave Petsamo. It is time to hear these marginalised voices – while it is still possible.

Tiina Harjuma, B.Ed., is studying in the primary teacher training programme at the University of Lapland and taking advanced studies in cultural history at the University of Turku. She is doing her master's thesis under the auspices of the Feeniks project.



Fishermen in Petsamo.
Photo: SA-kuva.



A pioneer in Varejoki.
Photo: varejoki.net.

The Role and Significance of Art Associations in the Cultural Reconstruction of Lapland

Just after the Lapland War (1944–1945), artists felt that it was their duty to promote cultural reconstruction. In 1945, the northern cultural magazine *Kaltio* was established in Oulu, its stated aims being to support peace and humanity by helping people to rebuild their minds with art, culture and history.

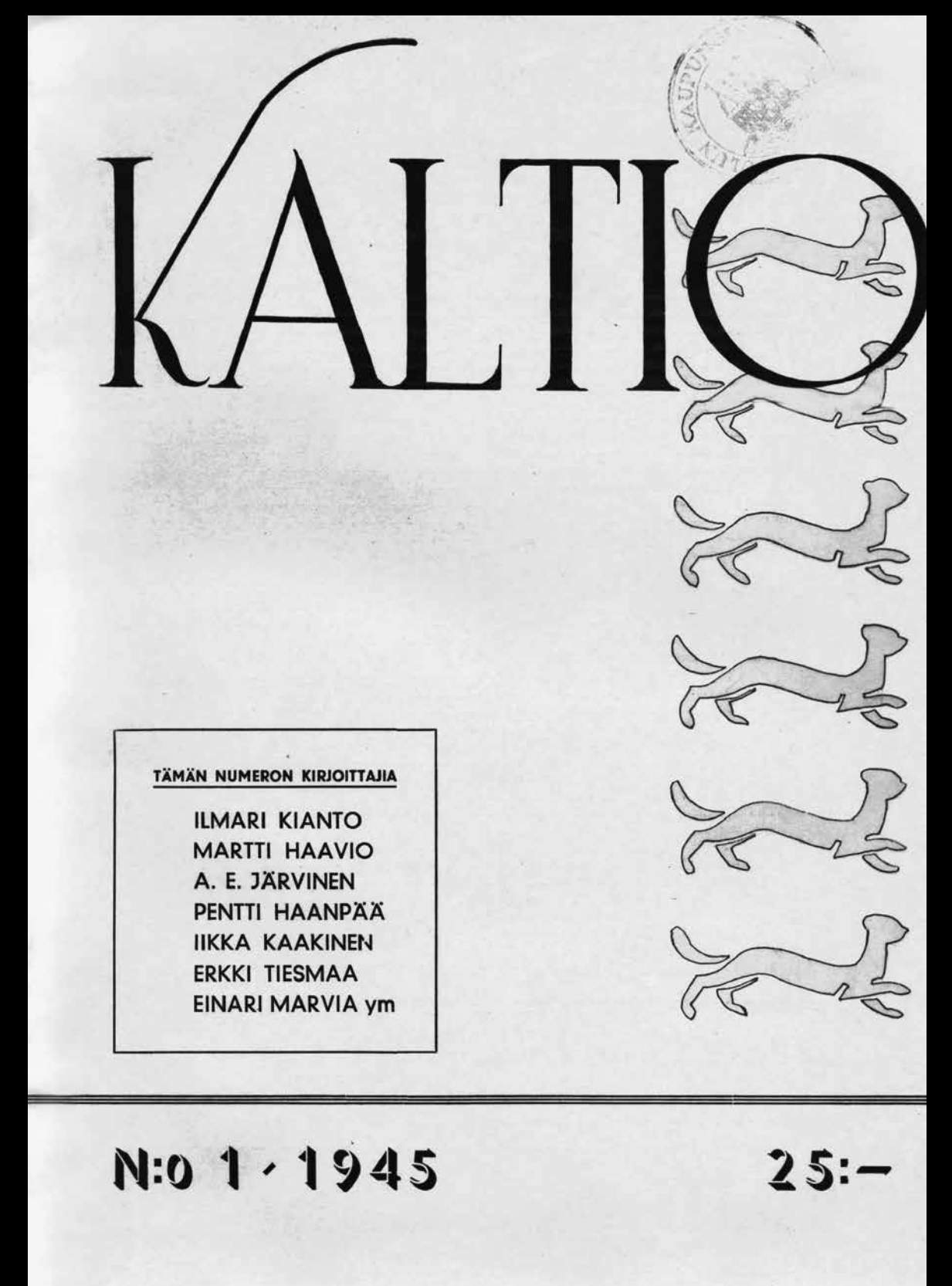
The Kemi Art Association, established in 1947, is also still active. In the same year, a group of fine artists, writers and culture enthusiasts founded The Lapland Art Association, known as Seitapiiri, in Rovaniemi. The two associations immediately got together and started to plan and organise “Lapland Culture Week”, which was an exemplary demonstration of active involvement, cooperation and strength. Seitapiiri was keenly involved in such activities until the beginning of the 1970s, when the organisation of cultural work became the work of public officials.

Art exhibitions were an important part of Lapland Culture Week. All the week’s events were very popular; local culture was important to the people who lived in Lapland, where travelling was expensive and difficult just after the war. The art exhibitions offered visual and colourful views to an audience whose visual experiences were largely grounded in black and white newspapers, magazines and book illustrations.

The study examines the role and significance of the associations in relation to their members and to “consumers of art” as well as the relationship of individual artists and works to the drastically changed post-war environment. Of particular interest in the research is how art and culture were able to support mental reconstruction.

The data consist of the works of the key artists of the associations, the associations’ archives, newspaper articles and critiques.

Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja, Ph.D., is professor of art history at the University of Lapland. Her field of teaching and research is northern art and culture and Finnish modern art in the context of the Jenny and Antti Wihuri Foundation Art Collection. She has also done research on Lappish folk art and Sámi visual art.



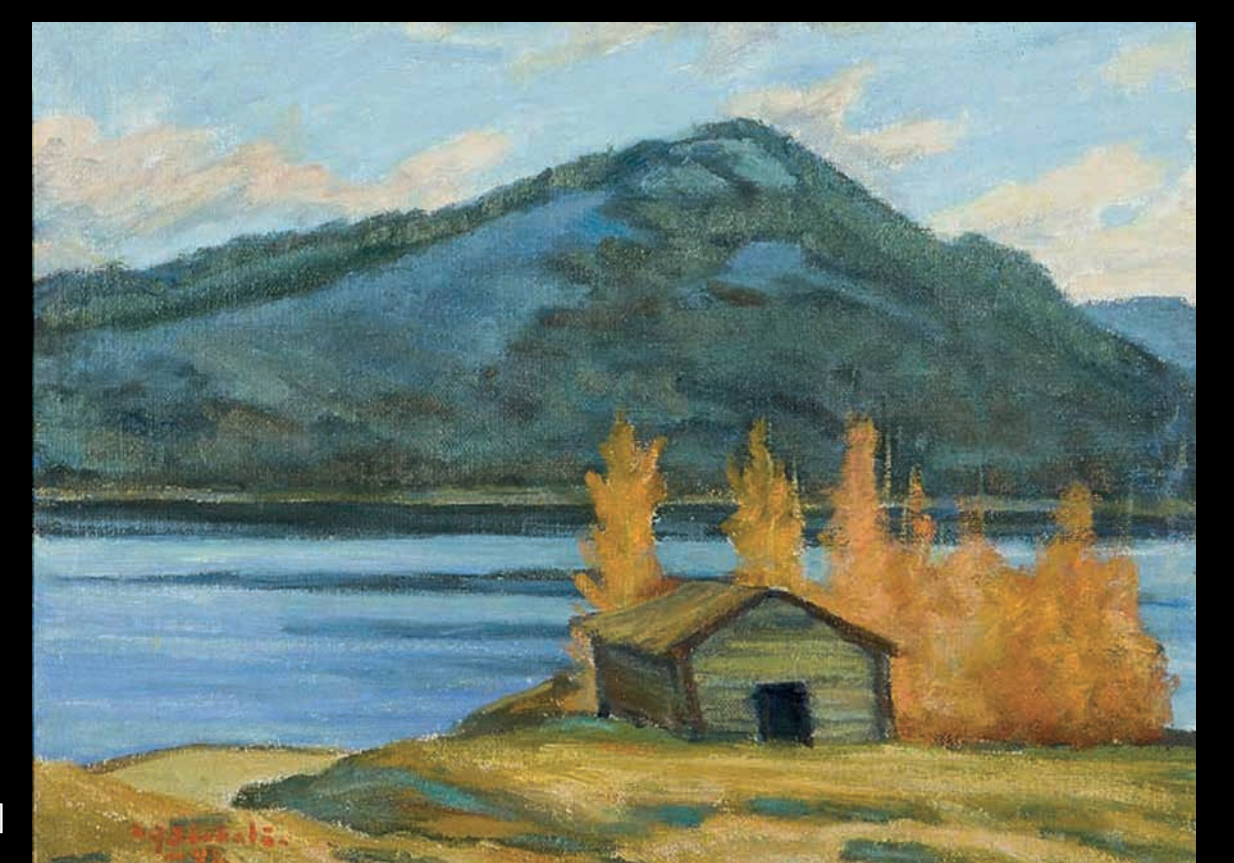
Kaltio 1/1945.



Einari Junttila: *Sumuinen suo*, 1954.
[Misty swamp]
Rovaniemi City Collection.



A.E. Järvinen: *Metsästäjä*, 1950.
[Hunter]
Rovaniemi City Collection.



Uno Särkelä:
Juuvaara ja Kemijoki, 1948.
[Juuvaara Hill and the Kemijoki River]
Rovaniemi City Collection.

The Village that Dropped out of the Sky

Designing and living at the construction site of a hydroelectric power plant

The reconstruction of Lapland after World War Two did not mean merely restoring the pre-war infrastructure and buildings: the province was both reconstructed and built anew at the same time. Reconstruction was viewed by planners and architects as an inspiring challenge to modernise the many devastated areas. The region was considered a real-life laboratory for creating novel ways to “live, move and work”.

Rural Finland was modernised and urbanised rapidly after World War Two. This development saw almost all of the rapids of Finland’s longest river, the Kemijoki, harnessed for hydroelectric power during the 1950s and 1960s, with a new plant built on the river every other year. One of the rapids harnessed was Pirttikoski. A power plant was built at the site between 1956 and 1959 and in a couple of years the village that sprang up around it grew in population from almost zero to 4000.

In my research, I explore the kinds of modernising influences that the construction of the Pirttikoski plant brought to the culture and everyday lives of the people living in the region in post-war Lapland.

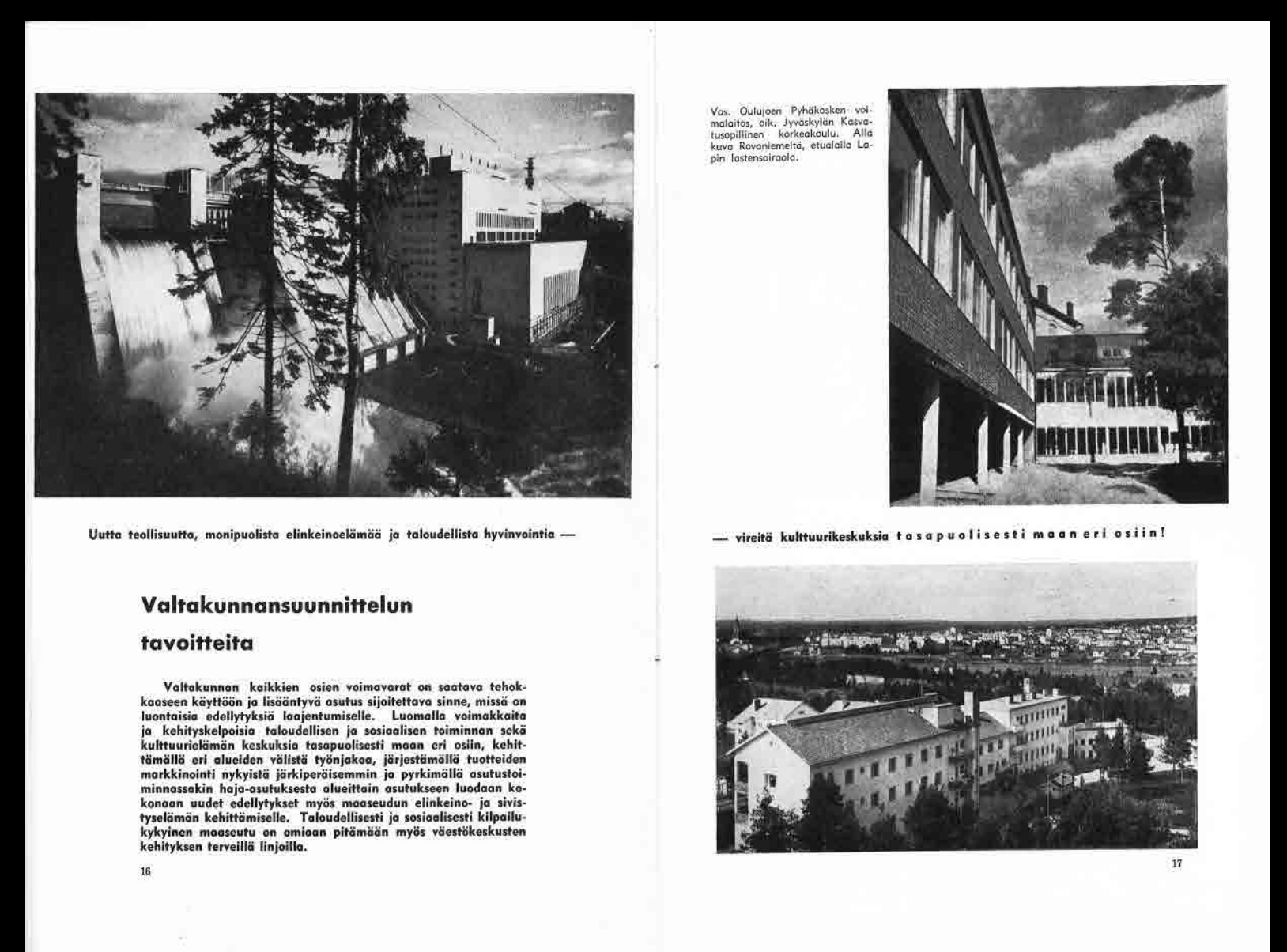
The principal question I hope to answer is, How was the reconstruction ethos articulated in the planning of the community that grew up around the site of the power plant? In this connection, I will also ask what kind of future society the designers of the Lapland regional plan in the 1950s were pursuing.

The village of Pirttikoski serves as a model community in two ways. Firstly, it was designed as a model community for future power plant settlements. Secondly, it is a model village for my study, a micro case on the basis of which I will examine the process of designing communities in Lapland in the 1950s.

Veera Kinnunen, M.Sc., is a researcher in sociology at the University of Lapland and one of the researchers in the Feeniks project. Her fields of expertise are material culture, cultural history and sociology of the home.



The Pirttikoski hydropower plant area under construction.
Photo: Archives of Kemijoki Oy.
Source: *Pyörteistä voimaa – historiikki Kemijoesta*.
Säynäjäkangas, Olli (ed.). Luusuan kyläseura 2013.



Future visions of the reconstruction era as visualised by Väestöliitto, the Family Federation of Finland in 1956.
Source: *Perhe ja yksilö murrosajan yhteiskunnassa*.
Väestöpolitiikkamme vaiheita vv. 1941–1956.
Publications of Population Research Institute number 42.

Whose Tradition(s)?

Lennart Segerstråle and Christ Transfigured

Many explanations have been given to Lennart Segerstråle's *The Fount of Life*, a fresco covering the apse of the Lutheran reconstruction church in Rovaniemi. Its dualist pathos is associated with the teaching of L. L. Laestadius, an austere 19th-century authority of Northern piety – as well as with Segerstråle's adherence to the Oxford Movement – while the pictorial idiom is seen to originate from Segerstråle's Danish teacher Joakim Skovgaard, who admired Byzantine and Early Renaissance Art.

Less thought has been paid to certain affinities between the mural work and those light-hearted wall paintings which Tove Jansson created after the war, or to the attention which some Swedish-speaking colleagues paid to things Russian. Tito Colliander, author and painter – and a close relative of Segerstråle – integrated with a Russian-speaking minority finding thus the Byzantine Orthodox tradition of "Purification of the Heart" – an inner quest for Christ Transfigured.

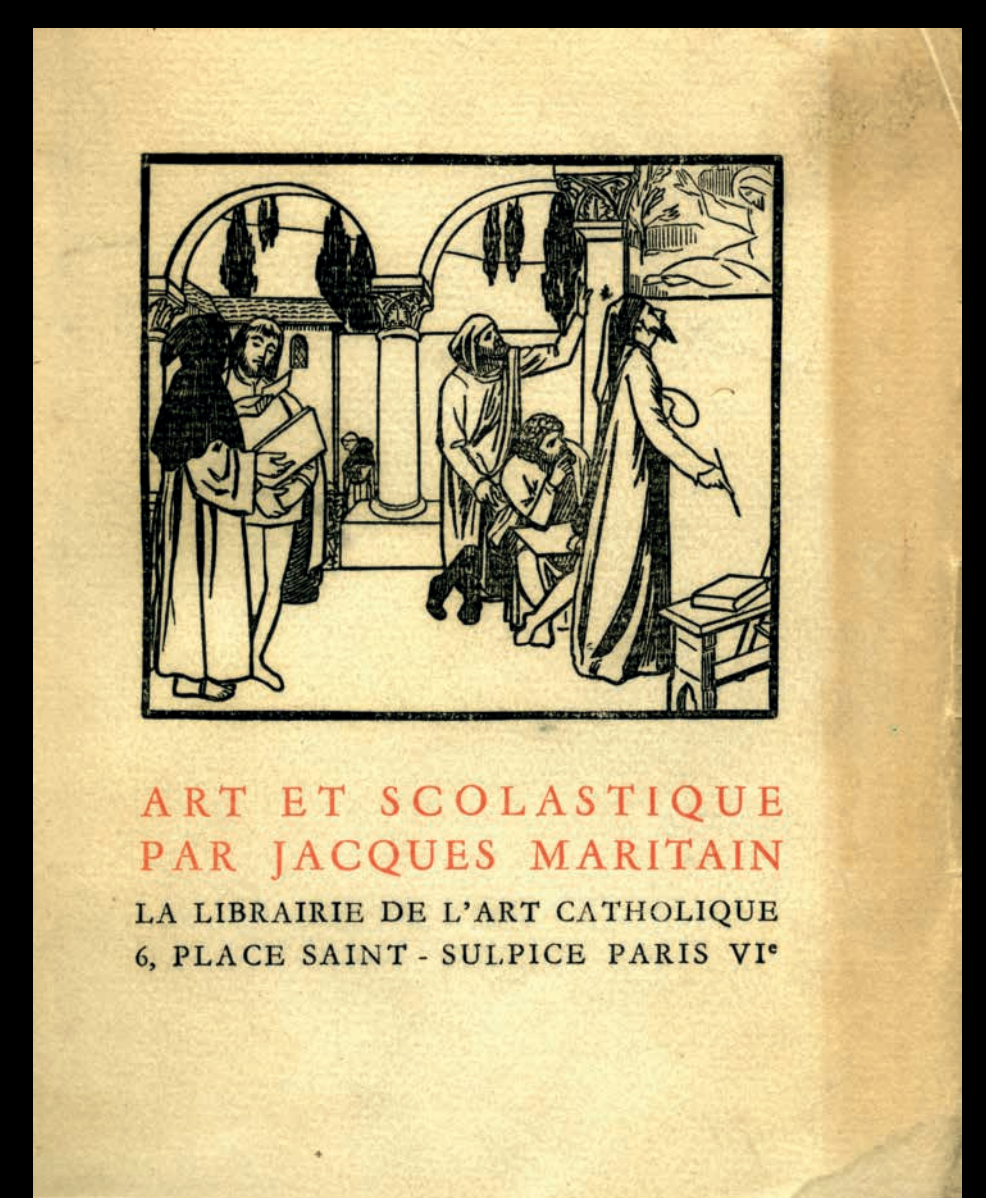
During the 1941–1944 occupation of Soviet Karelia by the Finns, icons discovered in conquered lands drew the attention of wide audiences. After Finland's defeat, public talk about icons came to an end, but Finnish Swedish enthusiasts might well have discussed them off the record – and in their native Swedish. A case in point is the resemblance between *The Transfiguration* attributed to André Rublyov and certain compositional elements of *The Fount of Life* (Christ standing within a sphere of divine light). The *francophone* Segerstråle was aware of the French Neo-Catholic Revival and may, paradoxically, have discovered Rublyov in a French revivalist publication.

My aim is to apply iconographical tools and context analysis while reading published and unpublished texts, as well as art history textbooks, so as to explore various aspirations of Swedish, Finnish- and Russian-speaking Cold War audiences. Whose traditions should one see in *The Fount of Life*?

Kari Kotkavaara, Ph.D., is Academy Lecturer at Åbo Akademi University and Adjunct Professor in Art History at Helsinki and Jyväskylä Universities. He has published on sacred images in Imperial Russia and the émigré diaspora, and is working on the historiography of icon art in war-time and post-war Finland.



The Fount of Life is being painted at Rovaniemi in 1951. The Lennart Segerstråle Archives, Espoo. Source: Matti Saario – *Yhteinen elämä*. Elina Heikka et al. (eds.) Photography, Musta Taide, Helsinki 2008.



Maritain, a Neo Catholic revivalist, was quoted by Segerstråle in one of his interviews. Source: Jacques Maritain: *Art et scolastique*. La librairie de l'art catholique, Paris, VI, Place Saint-Sulpice, 1947 [1920].

Repatriating the Memories

Encounters of archival photographs and Sámi experiences concerning the period 1945–1968

The material of the study is a collection of photographs in several archives concerning the post-war period the Sámi area in Finland, interpreted especially by Sámi themselves interviewed for this purpose. The Sámi people have been photographed a lot already since the end of 19th century and representations have usually been characterized by romantic, exotic or even racial images. This was also the case in the post-war period, but the photographic images became more multidimensional with the photo material produced by ordinary tourists, journalists and also the Sámi themselves.

When reaching for the idea of repatriation of returning the voices of the ancestors of the Sámi, including experiences, lived environments and the senses of places, the photo material becomes the most valuable. Not only will it present testimonies about encountering between two cultures, but interpreted through the lenses of the objects themselves, the photographs also tell multiple and visualized stories about “our histories”, the recent past of the small Sámi communities.

My research question is, what kind of multiple stories do the photos reveal, when the perspectives of both the photographers and objects themselves are analyzed? How much are the traditions of representing the Sámi reflected in photos, how much the changes after WWII, and what is the role of personalities behind the camera? From the point of view of Sámi themselves interpreting the photos, how much are the memories connected to encounters between two cultures, and how important is it to remember stories about individuals, families, places and “us”?

Veli-Pekka Lehtola is a professor of Sámi culture at the Giellagas Institute for Sámi studies at the University of Oulu, Finland. He holds a PhD in cultural studies from the same university. Lehtola's work has focused on the history of the Sámi and northern Scandinavia.



The Sámi were actively part in reconstruction work, here e.g. the Porsanger brothers Samuel, Niilo and Jouni. The changing times could bring new opportunities: Niilo became a carpenter, Jouni a building constructor, while Samuel studied administration and became a city manager in southern Finland. Photo: Lasse Porsanger's private collection.

During the postwar time the political Sámi movement in Finland became strong and visible even in southern Finland. The leading Sámi politicians Erkki and Juhani Jomppanen in a press center in Helsinki 1950. Photo: Teuvo Lehtola's private collection.



Aili Valle, an Aanaar Sámi, has returned to Jurmukoski with two cows that she has bought in Ylivieska, where the Sámi stayed over the winter 1944–45. The breed of the cattle has changed compared to the time before the war, and there are several stories describing the adaptation of the cows to the harsh northern environment. You can also see in the photo that the Aanaar Sámi in Western Inari could use Utsjoki dresses, the costumes of different cultural areas. Photo: The Sámi Museum Siida.

