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## **Heritage of the Finnish Civil War Monuments in Tampere**

ABSTRACT. The 100th anniversary of the Finnish Civil War has made questions about the construction of the heritage and cultural memory topical. Taking the concept of dissonant heritage as a starting point, the paper looks at two monuments in the City of Tampere and their reception and landscape, focusing on recent decades. War monuments are always understood within the framework of current politics, but they are also in continuous dialogue with their physical surroundings and, thus, shape and are shaped by their landscape. In this paper, we look at the statues as arenas for politics of history and cultural memory, and the changes and continuums they carry with them. Monuments are at the core of urban public space and the processes of placemaking. Even when they are distanced from the historical events, they represent and remind us of the historical and political nature of public space.

Keywords: war heritage; monuments; Finnish civil war; urban space, memorial landscape.

### **Military Heritage and Cultural Memory - Two War Monuments in Tampere**

War memorials can, at the same time, both reveal and hide their origins. Much of all the world's public art is about monumentalizing violence, war and conquest, yet to be accepted by the public this reference cannot be too direct or explicit (Mitchell, 1992, p.35). Statues and memorials have a significant role in the heritage of war and conflict. Heritage embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration and constructs a sense of place and belonging (Smith, 2006, p.3). Critical heritage studies have acknowledged that while creating belonging, heritage is also often based on uneven, even unjust premises. Ashworth and Turnbridge (1996, p.21) use the term dissonant heritage arguing that 'all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance implies the existence of disinheritance and

by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially’.

Heritage of war and violence is a sensitive topic and research has to be particularly conscious about the politics of history and the collective or cultural memory, and their possible opposition, both in the present and the past, as well as about the implications for the future. Terms like dissonant, dark, negative, difficult or contested heritage (Enqvist, 2018, p.7) have been used to better tackle the questions that come up while studying the creation and maintenance of war heritage. All the mentioned terms underline that there is something traumatic or denied in the historical events themselves and/or in the ways they are handled in the present. Much of the recent research on difficult heritage has focused on the World War II and the material heritage of occupation, concentration camps and battlefields. In Finland, especially the heritage following the difficult history of the Lapland War and the alliance with Nazi-Germany has recently been under scrutiny (e.g. Koskinen-Koivisto, 2016; Thomas, Seitsonen & Herva, 2016).

The focus of this article is on two monuments of the Finnish Civil War in the City of Tampere, where the memorial landscape has continued to be highly politicized, compared to other Finnish cities. The statues commemorate a political conflict that started after the collapse of social structure due to the February Revolution in 1917 and led to a war that ended up in 1918 (Tepora & Roselius, 2014, p.1). In broad terms, the war was a conflict between the ‘Reds’ and the ‘Whites’; the Reds referring to the socialists, the working class and the landless poor, and the Whites consisting of the middle and upper classes and the landowning peasants. The Battle of Tampere lasted from March 16 to April 6 in 1918 and ended up in the defeat of the Reds. It was the turning point of the war and the most disastrous urban battle that has ever taken place in

Scandinavia. Tampere, as an industrial city with a large working-class population, was the centre of the socialist movement, and the bitter defeat of the Reds affected the whole population. The victory of the Whites led to a public memory culture where the Reds were suppressed and the White memorial practices had a hegemonic status. Therefore, the memories of the event itself, and the violent aftermath of the war with two opposing stances have become an important part of the city's identity and cultural memory. The heritage of the Civil War has been biased and partial ever since 1918, although the democratic development has blurred the boundaries (Tepora & Roselius, 2014, p.6).

The centenary of the Finnish Civil War in 2018 brought the history and questions about the heritage of the war and memorial landscapes to the fore, once again. We contribute to this discussion by examining two monuments reminding of the disharmonious legacies of the Civil War: the Statue of Freedom in the city centre of Tampere (Viktor Jansson, Wäinö Palmqvist, 1921) and the statue of General Mannerheim, commander of the White army (Evert Porila, erected 1956) in a suburban forest. The centenary raised wide attention to the memory of the Civil War in Tampere. Moreover, the recent changes in urban landscape have brought these war memorials into a new light – the Statue of Freedom is planned to be moved and the surroundings of the statue of Mannerheim have recently been restored. The changing landscape also pertains to the social space: the statues that originally evoked strong discussion and objection provoke new discussions on the Civil War.

The temporal focus of the article is on the transformation of the landscape and the debates around the monuments, from 1990 to 2018. We examine the changes and continuums in these memorial landscapes in two ways. First, we explore the dialogue between the statues and their landscape. Statues are not isolated artefacts, but they shape and hierarchize the surrounding space. Second, we study how these two monuments

mediate the heritage of the Finnish Civil War. We frame our questions in a larger interest in the relations of military heritage, cultural memory and urban space, acknowledging that memory is spatially constituted whether in tangible form, such as monuments, or in non-tangible form, such as narratives, stories of war and rituals (Nora 1989; Hoelscher & Alderman 2004, p.349).

### **Studying Memorial Landscapes of the War**

The Civil War divided the new nation that had gained her independence from Russia in 1917. It has been a traumatic part of Finnish historical memory and politics. The war has had many names; the class war, the Revolution for the Reds, but for the Whites it was a War of Liberation, indicating the liberation from Russia and the socialist ideas that came with the Russian Revolution (Hentilä, 2018, p.63). Although the war is often discussed on a national and local level as a civil war, it was also part of the events of the World War I and the collapse of Imperial Russia (Tepora & Roselius 2014, p.5). The Red troops received help from the Russian revolutionaries and the White Army was assisted by Swedish volunteers and the German army, which was essential to the victory of the White Army. In many ways, it was an international conflict, but the heritage of the War has downplayed the international part and emphasized the national effort and glory (Kolbe, 2008, p.150).

If the events of the war divided the nation, so did the remembering of it. The creation of the heritage and the historiography started immediately after the war, with memorials for the Whites in the centre of the memory building practices (Roselius, 2010, p.92–93). The Statue of Freedom in Tampere was among the first ones in public space. Both the unveiling ceremonies and annual celebrations became important

traditions in the heritage of the war, which could be called the 'White heritage', a historical culture that celebrated the sacrifice of the White soldiers and emphasize politically constructed nature of memory practices of the Civil War. The production of war monuments was essential in building central urban public spaces in a country that had recently gained the status of a nation state (Roselius 2010, p.91–92). The victors dictated the official, public history of the war, while the Reds were in many ways invisible in the public space; they were forbidden to have statues or other publicly visible signs or symbols. Monuments were even destroyed by the officials when the relatives tried to raise them (Peltonen, 2000, p.2). In Tampere, the first commemorial statue for the Reds was erected in the graveyard of Kalevankangas as late as 1941, and the first Red commemorial monument in a public park was erected in 1981.

The Finnish Civil War and the memory culture of the war is a topic that has been well researched. The first thorough research of the Battle of Tampere by Heikki Ylikangas in 1993 started a new phase of critical, post-Soviet research on the Civil War. His book 'Tie Tampereelle' (The Road to Tampere) was based on various sources, especially local oral history. Due to the centenary, the year 2018 saw a flood of academic publications, exhibitions, events and political speeches. An interesting feature in the new wave of academic writing about the Civil War is that many of them address the war in a local context, rather than as a national event, although the two obviously merge. Local memories, emotions, affects, and specific places and sites of memory have gained importance.

Even though the history of the Civil War has been largely studied, the statues of war themselves have been somewhat briefly mentioned in the research literature. Art historians have analysed the war monuments in more detail as art objects, but often neglected the relationship between the monument and its landscape (Kormano, 2014;

Lindgren, 2000). The question of how the war monuments are connected to the memory culture has been asked often enough (e.g. Roselius, 2010; Kolbe, 2008; Hentilä, 2018), but the connection to the urban space has not been thoroughly analysed. Yet, the nexus between place and memory form the very ground of memorial landscapes and requires more attention.

Public commemoration is about naming or inscribing an association with the past, either literally, as by naming streets or more symbolically and abstractly by building monuments and memorials (Rodrigo, 2015, p.34). Memorials are built to last, but memory is always unstable and unsettled. Dwyer (2004, p.422) uses the term *symbolic accretion* to analyse the different layers of memory entwined to monuments. According to him, accretion is a central component of not only monuments, but the production of places more generally. Similarly, Saunders (2001, p.37) sees the landscape of war as a palimpsest of overlapping, multi-vocal landscapes. In open and pluralist societies, there is no single controlled narrative of the past, but multiple interpretations. For example, the histories of minorities and dissidents can gain visibility in the public space as well (Grönholm, 2010, p.104). As Grönholm notes, monuments are places of memory that are open to debate and to conflicts, because their political and cultural context changes (p.107). In moments when collective identities are fragile or unstable, history and heritage become important mediums for negotiating identities. They can also be crashing points that serve as catalysts of conflict, especially when events of the historical past have not been fairly taken into account (p.83).

The remembrance of the war has often been studied in two categories, either as a project of the nation state or as a site for collective mourning, but in civil societies, politics are always somehow involved. To some extent, mourning and commemoration take place in official meanings and understandings, which influence who can be

commemorated and in what terms (Ashplant, Dawson & Roper, 2004, p.9). Thus, public cultural memory practices are always tied up with the politics of the current time. In cultural memory studies at large, there has been a shift from 'sites to dynamics', from the artefacts themselves to the processes and ways the artefacts circulate and interact with their environment (Erl & Rigney, 2009, p.3). Therefore, the recent research emphasizes that cultural memory is always mediated. Oral history, media and politics frame and shape the memories of war in differing ways in different times.

Cultural memory, however, is not only about the content, but also about the managing institutions, the memory communities and specialized practitioners (Assman, 1995, p.131). When it comes to monuments, design and maintenance of the landscape is an important part of the memory practices and contributes to the way monuments are present in public space; how they create hierarchy in urban space, how the monuments can be accessed or used. Landscape and memory are mutually constitutive of one another, as has been noted in the geographical literature of commemorial landscapes (e.g. Dwyer & Alderman, 2008). The urban landscape changes over time and these changes in turn alter the position of the monuments and give room to new understandings. Changes in the memorial landscape are thus in a dialogue with cultural memory and its dynamics, but also with the uses of urban space. As Rodrigo notes, public spaces of commemoration function as places of memory, but they also contribute to public placemaking and public and private behaviour (2015, p.40).

### *Methods and materials*

Although heritage, history and memory are in many ways intertwined (van der Shriek, 2018, p.11), the study of monuments often falls either into the category of political



history or the category of arts, and the choice of the field leads to respective contexts and source materials. In this study, we combine various sources to get a more comprehensive, but at the same time a more subtle view of how the heritage of the monuments has been created and maintained and what kind of a role the monuments play in public urban landscape. We combine landscape analysis and media analysis and contextualise them in landscape research and multidisciplinary cultural memory studies.

The source material includes archival municipal documents, initiatives and newspaper articles, in addition to visual material such as maps, plans, aerial photographs, other photographs and field observations. We examine the physical transformation of the landscape using maps, plans and photographs, focusing on the relationship between the monument and its surrounding landscape. The thematic content analysis of the newspaper articles includes 225 articles about the two statues from 1994–2018, published in *Aamulehti*, the main daily newspaper of Tampere. The articles have been categorized according to their main topics, concerning e.g. the relocation of the statues or the history or topical events related to them. The analysis of municipal documents includes 15 initiatives and related municipal documents in Tampere City Board and Council or various committees in 1990–2018. With comprehensive and diverse source materials, we aim to understand how different agents, ranging from the municipality's official organizations to the popular press and anonymous protestors and taggers, understand the statues in today's world.

## The Statue of Freedom – the Landscape of Freedom, Oppression and Oblivion



*Figure 1. The unveiling ceremony of the Statue of Freedom (1921). Vapriikki Photo Archives.*

The Statue of Freedom by Viktor Jansson and W. G. Palmqvist stands as a towering landmark in the middle of Hämeenpuisto Park, the longest esplanade in the Nordic countries. Its strategic location in the centre asserts the hegemony of the White heritage. Even though the naked hero standing on its high pedestal is familiar to all the citizens of Tampere, its link to the Civil War is not evident, especially since there is no inscription (AL 29.9.2017). However, when the city proposed to relocate the statue, it appeared that for many Tampere citizens the monument was not simply a neutral piece of art, but a ‘Statue of Hatred’ and a reminder of the city torn apart by the Civil War. Thus, acting as arena for politics of collective memory, the statue is not only the product of the history, but also a tool for re-producing and sustaining historical narratives (Dwyer & Alderman 2008, p.171).

The Statue of Freedom encapsulated the conflict between the White victors and the Red losers. The varying conceptions of the War between the political groupings became manifest in the years 1918–1923 in a battle over the construction, preservation

or removal of the statue. It was the most prominent dispute over a monument for the Civil War and raised wide national attention (Systä 2018, p.236). The competition of the monument was commissioned by the bourgeois majority on the City Council just a few months after the war. However, the statue project ran into trouble when the balance of political power changed at the end of 1918, as the Social Democrats gained the majority in the City Council. The new Council came out against the statue plan and, in 1920, decided to suspend the construction. In spite of the opposition, the project nevertheless continued and the statue was ceremoniously revealed on 3.4.1921 on the three-year anniversary of the occupation of the city (Heiskanen, 1999, pp.23–34).

The erection of the monument was followed by a major dispute. At a height of nearly 11 metres, the naked soldier stands defiantly, a raised sword in his right hand and his left hand clutched in a fist. The antique-style hero differed significantly from most European war monuments of the World War I, dressed in military uniforms (Sarkamo, 2018, p.159). For the victors, the monument and its sword symbolized the victory and freedom from Russian power. However, the left-wing majority in the Council rose strongly against this interpretation and, in 1922, made the decision to remove the statue. To them, the statue represented the butchery of the White terror and, in particular, a man nicknamed ‘Rummin Jussi’, referring to Johannes From, who had arbitrarily executed Reds during the war. The sword, which represented the Law to the victors, to the Left looked like a threatening and combative gesture directed at the Tampere Workers’ Hall. The location of the statue in Hämeenpuisto Park near the working-class district of Amuri also raised hackles. Despite the strong opposition, the statue stayed and the decision to remove it was rejected by the Supreme Court in 1923 (Heiskanen, 1999, pp.33–42; Systä, 2018, pp.224–236).



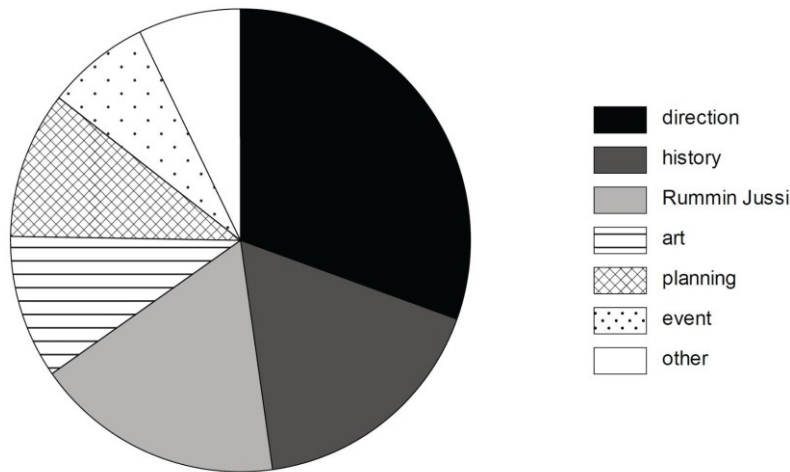
*Figure 2. The changing urban space of the Statue of Freedom. 1. Hämeenkatu Street, 2. Kauppakatu Street, 3. Statue of Freedom, 4. Water feature, 5. Future tramway. The transformation of a park into a square has affected the use of the space. Ranja Hautamäki, Sofia Kangas.*

Following the idea of Dwyer and Alderman (2008) of the memorial landscape as arena and performance, two changes can be detected in the landscape of the Statue of Freedom: first, concerning spatial formation and second, related to its use. Even though the monument has retained its position as a landmark, its surroundings have changed from a park to an urban square. The area lying between two main streets was originally a verdant park, abundant with plants, and a recreational space, accentuated by a kiosk and a bandstand (plan, 1920s, photo, 1899). After the erection of the statue, the area

gradually widened, and the planted areas and large conifers gave way. The place became an important square for victory parades and ceremonies, such as the annual wreath-laying on May 16 to commemorate the end of the Civil War. In addition to military ceremonies, various urban events and pedestrians have occupied the square. The transformation from a park to a square was further emphasized in the mid-1990s when Kauppakatu Street was cut off and the area was turned into a cobblestoned square (plan, 1996). However, the biggest change will happen in the future when the statue is likely to be moved, due to the new tramway line.



*Figure 3. The lively market-landscape of the Statue of Freedom. Ari Järvelä / City of Tampere.*



*Figure 4. Content analysis of 48 Aamulehti articles concerning the Statue of Freedom (1994-1998) demonstrates that the direction of the statue was the most common of the topics. Moreover, the history of the statue and its politically loaded nickname was also often addressed.*

One hundred years after its construction, who does the Statue of Freedom address and how? For many decades, the statue was barely mentioned in the newspapers until it became a point of contention in the autumn of 2017. The reason was the planned route of the new tramway nearby the square, which led the City to propose moving the statue further away from the tramline. This set off a fierce debate over the statue and, in particular, the old grievance about direction of the sword. The director of the Finnish Labour Museum started the debate and suggested turning the statue as a sign of conciliation and in honour of the anniversary year of the Civil War (AL 28.9.2017). This idea was followed by 15 responses which either condemned the whole idea or questioned its motives. The most visible support for the statue came from Tampere Art Museum, which appealed to the artist's vision regarding the statue's position and reminded of the tolerance towards the equivocality of art (AL 17.10.2017). Indifference was also prominent: according to a street survey, most of the passers-by were not aware

of the statue at all and felt it was irrelevant whether the direction was changed or not (AL 29.9.2017). The autumn 2017 evinced a momentary contention, but the content analysis of the newspaper articles in a longer period 1994–2018 also confirms the persistent political character of the statue. Even though the monument has been alienated from the Civil War and become everyday landscape, most articles still refer to its history in a way that suggests not a shared, but a dissonant memory culture of the war.

A symbol of victory and freedom from Russian power or a statue of hatred and suppression? There can be no single truth about the statue, only conflicting interpretations, of which some survive and some are forgotten or changed. Far from being static, the statue is part of a process, ‘in which the past is continually modified and redescribed even as it continues to shape the future’ (Bal, 1999). One example of an interpretation that has survived is the satirical name Rummin Jussi that has later become established usage in Tampere. Although it has become distanced from its original context, it can still be considered a way for those Tampere citizens who dislike the statue to acknowledge its existence. In spite of its violent subject and the bitter memories, the name has become part of casual place naming. On 29.6.2006, Aamulehti wrote, ‘Rummin Jussi is seen nowadays as just a traffic island.’ The habit of talking about Rummin Jussi nevertheless illustrates the resilience of oral memory and the statue’s role in upholding it. It also manifests symbolic accretion, attaching new commemorative elements onto existing memorials (Dwyer, 2004).

### **Contested Landscape of General Mannerheim's Statue**



*Figure 5. The unveiling ceremony of the Statue of Mannerheim (1956). Pekka Kosonen / Vapriikki Photo Archives.*

Unlike the Statue of Freedom in the centre, the location of the monument of General Mannerheim is hidden, though politically more loaded. To find it, a first-time visitor would have to use Google maps, but the local people or anybody interested in the history of Tampere would certainly know the place. A narrow forest path leads to a beautiful rocky outcrop where the bronze statue of Marshall Mannerheim is gazing towards the city. The inscription on the pedestal says: ‘Mannerheim stood in this place during the occupation of Tampere in early April 1918’. The statue is a reminder of the divided city during the Civil War as well as of the citizens’ troubled relationship with Mannerheim at that time. For the Red Tampere, Mannerheim was the commander of the White Army; an oppressor who led the Battle of Tampere. His name was also attached to the infamous Court Martials, prison camps and cruelties after the war, which caused tremendous bitterness amongst the survivors and gave Mannerheim the reputation of a



‘butcher’. However, for the winners of the war, Mannerheim was a hero who liberated Finland both from Russia and the Reds of Finland.

The Mannerheim statue project lasted nearly 20 years and was a complicated process that embodied the changing attitudes towards the Civil War from the hegemony of the White heritage to a more cautious understanding of the tragedy. The project was initiated by the Veterans’ Union in 1938 when the anniversary of the victory was grandly celebrated, coinciding with Mannerheim’s 70<sup>th</sup> birthday. According to the initiative sent to the City Council, the statue would display Mannerheim in his General’s uniform of 1918 (Heiskanen, 1999, pp.64–66, CC 6.9.1938) and would be located in the centre of the city (CC 31.12.1938). Both the location and the uniform constituted the main reasons of the long-lasting disagreement. Later, an invitational competition was called, which was won by Evert Porila. Work progressed rapidly, but plans changed at the end of 1939 due to the outbreak of the Winter War and the following Continuation War. Moreover, Mannerheim, who had by then received the title of Marshall, expressed a wish that the monument would not be erected in his lifetime.

After Mannerheim’s death in 1951, the project came to life again, but by then the opinion of the City decision-makers had changed. Although the City Council had unanimously approved the plan in 1938, now the Left moved to prevent the erection of the statue, claiming that it would not be appropriate to raise a statue that commemorated the events of 1918 (Heiskanen, 1999, pp.76–77; CC 7.3.1951). The City Council approved the petition of the Leftists and decided to drop the plan for Porila’s sculpture. The War of Liberation had become a political burden and the statue was too closely linked to this delicate subject. The project, however, took a new turn when the City

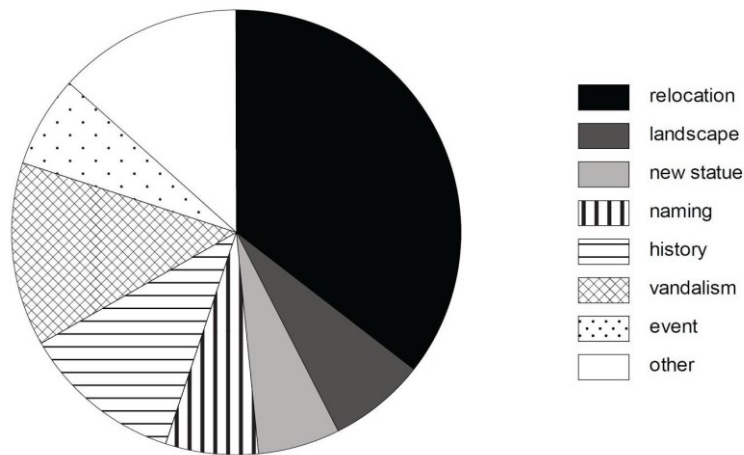
Council proposed the same spot for a new statue representing the President and Marshall Mannerheim (Heiskanen, 1999, pp.78–81; CC 11.4.1951).



*Figure 6. The redundant pedestal of the statue of Mannerheim (1956). Reino Branthin / Vapriikki Photo Archives.*

Despite the fact that the City had distanced itself from the White General's statue and started pushing for a new monument, the old monument committee carried on and began looking for a new location for Porila's statue. The old pedestal remained standing redundantly in the riverside park. A new, privately owned, site was found in Eastern Tampere, a hill from where Mannerheim had followed the battles. The unveiling ceremony took place on 4.6.1956 in front of a crowd of thousands. Some of the leading City politicians were, however, absent. The Civil War had become a political bone of contention and at the same time the City's own statue project for the Marshall had been thwarted (Heiskanen, 1999, pp.81–90).

*Mannerheim's Problematic Location in the Forest*

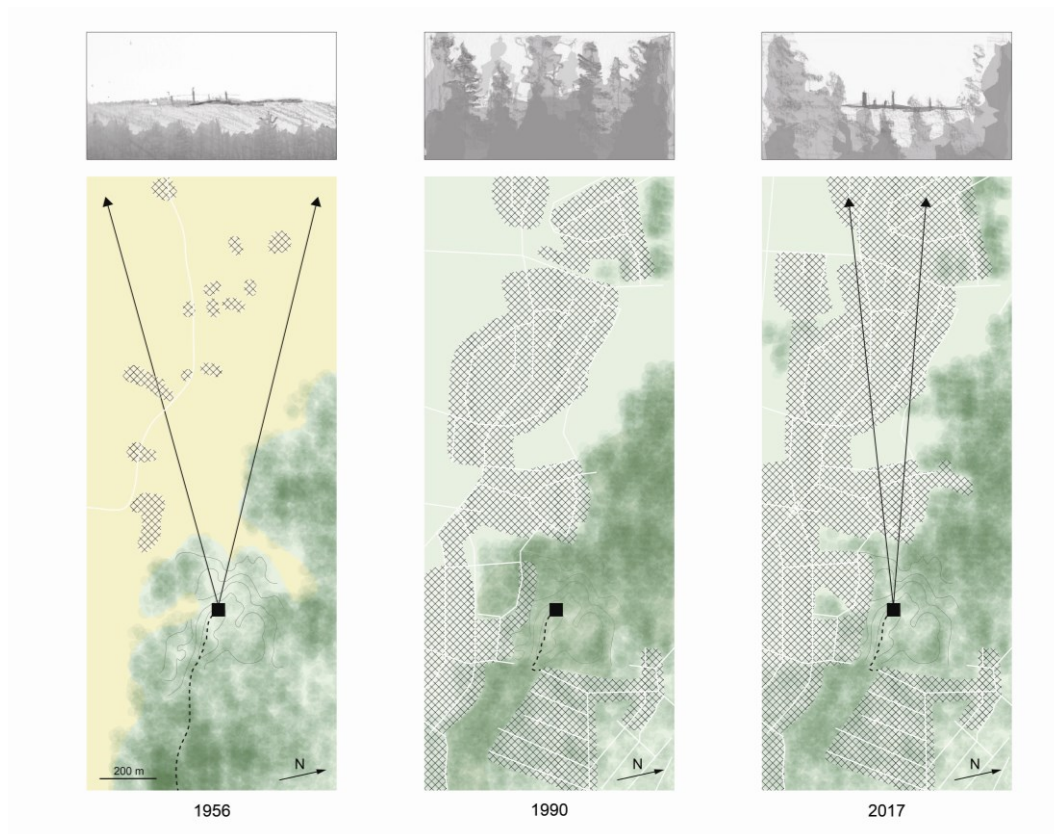


*Figure 7. Content analysis of 177 Aamulehti articles concerning the Statue of Mannerheim demonstrates that the most commonly discussed topic has been the relocation of the statue, in addition to the vandalism and the history of the statue.*

The location of Mannerheim Statue was and continues to be a political statement and a source of disagreement. Dwyer and Alderman (2008, p.168) note that the location of every memorial ‘may confirm, erode, contradict or render mute the intended meanings of the memorial’s producers’. This is evident on the basis of the analysis of the newspaper articles that demonstrate that for countless citizens of Tampere, the statue is still in the wrong place or wearing the wrong uniform, military dress of 1918. Of the 177 articles in 1994–2018, 85 concern relocating the statue, of which the majority have proposed the centre as the new location. The move has also been discussed in the official City decision-making bodies: in 1990–2018 there have been 10 initiatives about it. Arguments in favour of the relocation are repetitive, usually pointing out Marshall Mannerheim’s significance for independent Finland and thus deserving of a worthier location. The current remote position of the statue is also frequently referred to, as well as the original decision to place the statue in the centre. Similarly, the rejoinders to the

initiatives and draft decisions have repeated themselves. The most frequent argument has referred to the established status of the cultural monument and the historical justification for the location. The statements also point out that the motive for these repeating initiatives is not about art but politics (CB 27.12.1990). Therefore, the decision-makers have expressed a cautious stance towards the statue and the politically sensitive narratives attached to it.

It is interesting that, as happened with the proposal for a new Marshall statue in the 1950s, a compromise and a new solution, disconnected from the Civil War, is again being sought to commemorate Mannerheim's legacy. In 1994, there was an initiative for a new lifelike statue, in which Mannerheim would be depicted in civilian dress (CLC 20.12.1994). Later on, in 2004 and 2010, it was suggested that a park would be named after Mannerheim. Unlike the relocation question, these initiatives were received more favourably. The committees suggested setting up a public collection for the new statue and proposed that the centrally situated, new green area of Ratina would be named C.G. Mannerheim Park (CC 26.7.2004; AL 27.7.2004). Ambivalence over the matter is revealed in the fact that both decisions were only narrowly won in the voting and neither the naming decision nor the new Mannerheim statue have moved forward.



*Figure 8. The changing landscape of the statue of Mannerheim. The former open landscape has been transformed into a suburb and the original vista to the city centre has been recently reopened. Ranja Hautamäki, Sofia Kangas.*

Compared to the centrally-located Statue of Freedom, the landscape of the Mannerheim Statue has undergone a dramatic change from a rural area into a suburban recreation area. The extensive view from the wooded hillock over fields towards the city has narrowed and the fields given way to housing. The immediate surroundings of the statue, however, have remained almost the same, a rocky outcrop encircled by pine trees. Forest management and freshly-painted yellow benches tell that the area is looked after. However, the situation was still quite different earlier: until the late 1990s, the area was in poor condition, uncared-for and badly signposted (CLC 11.6.1996). The statue and its immediate surroundings were owned by the Freedom Fighters Support

Foundation, which meant that the City had no control over the monument and could not restore it (AL 11.12.1996). A privately-owned White heritage monument in a public recreation area was problematic, not only concerning maintenance, but also its public nature and the question of whose heritage was represented and how.

The site moved into the hands of the City in 1996 and the monument became part of the Art Museum collection and part of the city's official list of public monuments (CB 9.12.1996). The authorities began reparation work and by 1998 the statue had been cleaned, new benches installed and the forest thinned – however, not enough to restore the important vista to the city. Moreover, postcards of the monument were launched in the city tourist office and the tourist map had been updated (CLC 26.8.1998). These gestures all evinced a changed stance towards the statue, but the most important restoration concerning the vista took place later, in 2016. The hidden statue, surrounded by a dense forest, suddenly regained its original meaning as a war-time lookout thanks to a major thinning (TG). The new visibility of the monument indicate a gradual change in the political climate since the mid 1990s: a hidden statue had now got a position as a Tampere tourist attraction and become part of heritage tourism and public consumption.



*Figure 9. The restored vista towards the city (2018). Ranja Hautamäki.*

The monument of Mannerheim serves as a stage for performing, national ceremonies but also for vandalism. The tradition of defacement, connected to the timing of ceremonies, goes back a long way: in 1967, the statue was tarred and feathered before flag celebration ceremonies. According to the Art Museum, the statue is the most frequent target of vandalism in the city (AL 24.5.2011). Vandalism is also frequently mentioned in the newspapers: from 1994–2018 it was the subject of 32 articles. The Mannerheim statue has been repeatedly daubed with red paint and the word ‘butcher’, which originates specifically in the Civil War. In 2016, the slogans Down with Fascism, Long Live the Red Guard, Happy May Day appeared on the statue as well as a drawing of a hammer and sickle. When official state ceremonies for Independence Day were held in Tampere in 2013, the words ‘6.12 slaughter the butchers’ were written on the statue. Unlike the centrally located sculptures, the Mannerheim statue is not simply a random target of vandalism. The ‘butcher’ messages and their timing to coincide with

wreath-laying ceremonies relate to counter-ceremonies of sorts, demonstrations that have become a tradition and are linked to various forms of protest. The rituals, both ceremonies and their opposition, thus maintain and also reshape the memorial landscape.



*Figure 10. Vandalism of the Mannerheim statue (2013). Elina Nieminen / YLE.*

### **Changes and Continuums in the White Heritage Landscapes**

A hundred years after the Civil War, White heritage is still a prominent part of the cityscape and the local newspaper discussion. The monuments are in constant dialogue with the surrounding urban landscape. They are at the core of public space and the processes of placemaking, thus affecting public and private behaviour (Rodrigo, 2015, p.40), but monuments also remind us of the historical and political nature of public space. They carry the past, but cultural memory sites are not authentic memories of



experience. They are based on repeated and circulated media representations, and are affected by the dynamics involved with remediation (Erll & Rigney, 2009, p.5). The landscape of war monuments also indicates how military heritage is positioned and valued in urban space. The public space of the Statue of Freedom gradually turned from a park into a ceremonial square, and from a political statue to a more neutral piece of art. The rural landscape of the Mannerheim statue changed into a suburban recreational area and from a hidden statue to an official monument, yet still maintaining its status as military heritage.

The monuments of Tampere demonstrate that the location and the place lie at the heart of the discussions and disputes over the heritage of the Civil War. The disputes that the monuments have roused in recent decades have similarities but also differences. Despite the momentary debate about the relocation, the Statue of Freedom has lost its connection to the cultural memory of the Civil War and is mostly regarded as a more or less distant object of art. Its metaphorical aesthetics embrace multiple interpretations and alternative understandings, contrary to the realistic Statue of Mannerheim with its link to the Civil War. The monument and its relocation initiatives keep alive a continuing dissonance regarding the cultural and political heritage of the war. The thinning of the forest landscape aims to restore Mannerheim's view towards the city in the original battlefield scene. Creating the 'authentic' scene is parallel with the preservation, reconstruction and re-presentation of the battlefields and trenches of the Western Front (e.g. Saunders, 2001).

The discussion on the monuments reveals continuums that maintain the relevance of war heritage. Most of the arguments in the disputes have remained the same over the decades, for example, the location of the Mannerheim Statue, as well as

the direction of the sword of the Statue of Freedom. Moreover, the nickname '*Rummin Jussi*' of the Statue of Freedom and the tags '*lahtari*' (butcher) on the Statue of Mannerheim refer directly to the Civil War and maintain the dissonant cultural memory of a war that otherwise might be forgotten. According to Dwyer's notion of *allied* symbolic accretion, the monuments enhance and confirm the dominant discourses. However, it is evident that the monuments also mediate new kind of protests, which do not directly refer to the Civil War, as the taggers are several generations away from the experiences of the war. This could be understood in terms of Dwyer's concept of *antithetical* accretion that seeks to contradict the conventional message of the monuments (2004, p.421).

The monuments reveal not only continuums but also changes in conceptions. A more neutral understanding, even oblivion, of the Civil War (Roselius, 2010) is manifest in the new uses of the sites. Therefore, the social process of remembering is accompanied, simultaneously, by a process of silencing and forgetting (Dwyer & Alderman 2008, p.168). The square of the Statue of Freedom, in particular, has been transformed into an everyday landscape with commercial activities that do not evoke strong emotions. The landscape of the Mannerheim Statue has been developed into a more neutral and accessible recreational area with walking and skiing routes, even though the figural presence of Mannerheim still makes the scene political and value-laden.

The discussion on White heritage monuments also demonstrates a will for reconciliation. This is manifest in the new statue of Marshal Mannerheim and the proposal to turn the direction of the Statue of Freedom. The concept of reconciliation correlates with national discussions taking place during the centenary. In Tampere, the

current aspiration towards unity has major symbolic value as the division is deeply embedded in the city's identity. However, we can ask whether a reconciliation of such different views, experiences and political ideologies is even possible. It should not be forgotten that there are different truths and different ways of remembering the events of the War. To unify the memories under one topic, to say that there could even be one version of the truth, can be both wrong towards the people in the past and dangerous to both academic discussion and the society at large (Haapala, 2008, p.255). Memorial landscapes are heritage of war, violence and military culture, but they also belong to the realm of art, where they have the capacity to embrace and mediate the (always) dissonant heritage of war, also accommodating alternative meanings and future, as yet unknown, interpretations.

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