

PLACES OF MEMORY IN THE RED VYBORG OF 1918

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ABSTRACT

The Karelian Isthmus belonged to Finland until 1939. The period between the World War I and the World War II was a time of rapid contextual change and ended the difficulties caused by modernisation aggravated in the year 1918. Divine-like authorities were posed in a new light and the Civil War of 1918 set the whole nation before direct aggression and "Red" revolutionism. The "Whites" won the war at the expense of the "Reds". Young nation (Finland gained independence in 1917) was compelled to define its relation to Reds and Whites – Whites were chosen. Also the Lutheran church was officially against Red anarchy and bolshevism.

The situation around the reminiscence concerning the Red victims of the Civil War 1918 in Finland is complicated. The question of the *problem of meaning* and *publicity* plays a central role in the logic concerning the ritual performance and memory of the Civil War 1918 in the city of Vyborg. There is public and private silence and even prohibition to be connected with deaths, memory and places. It has continued until these days. At the same time the official history was put on a favourable form and there were clear limits for the official narratives. The victory of the "Whites" was interpreted as a victory for the independence of the Finnish nation. The history of the "Reds" became a national anomaly: forgotten and invisible.

The atmosphere of concealing continued until the 1960s, when especially Finnish literature took pioneer steps towards the more open minded interpretation of history. On the other hand, the inheritance of concealing still exists – especially when it comes to oral history.

KEYWORDS: Civil War • death • ritual • memory • places of memory

The folklore archives of the Finnish Labour Archive (*Työväen Arkisto* = TA), the People's Archives (Kansan Arkisto = KA) and Finnish Literature Society (*Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura* = SKS) have stored oral history of the Civil War in 1918. The reminiscers have written their texts mostly during the collections carried out in the 1960s. The purpose of these collections was to save reminiscences related to the events of 1918. The collections were influenced by the change in attitudes in the 1960s and the public discussion about the heritage of 1918. This process was advanced by Väinö Linna, the author of *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* (transl. *Under the North Star*) and academic research by Juhani Paasivirta (1947; 1949; 1957), Jaakko Paavolainen (1966; 1967; 1971) and Viljo Rasila (1968). There was a desire to make the history of the lost party respectful and public. The archives commenced the collections, with which they wanted to promote a new interpretation of history. The collections produced tens of thousands of pages of oral history (Peltonen 1996: 14–18).

The majority of those who wrote to the archives are of the generation, of war and shortage, born in the 1900–1920s. In most cases, they identify themselves with the perspective of the losers and act as passers-on of working class tradition. The narrative styles and background of the texts vary, but all writers aim to influence the reader. The writers share a respect for truth; their writing is driven by responsibility and a desire to teach others. In the 1960s, the general atmosphere offered the first public outlet for these aspirations (Peltonen 1996: 90–91, 104, 107).

The texts selected as the source of my article represent only a minor part of the collections from the 1960s. They are located in Vyborg and they discuss death from the perspective of the reds, the losers in the war. The texts open insights into the history of Vyborg and the Karelian Isthmus which have as yet not been captured by the methods of official research on history. The texts tell about the events of 'Red' Vyborg in 1918 from the perspective of death. The archive texts act as signposts – traces and clues – for the interpretations: they are anchored in time, place and landscape in the interpretation. The texts are used as a means for taking a scientific standpoint regarding the issues, for contexts are constructed on the basis of the texts with the writers' intentions influencing them (cf., e.g., Alasuutari 2001: 34–35; Töttö 2000: 42–45). In other words, the researcher defines the problem area, for which the research aims to provide an answer.

TIME, PLACE AND LANDSCAPE

In particular, two slogans have been used and emphasised in cultural and social geography during the last decades: "space (ship) differentiates" and "geography counts". Space has become a fad concept in a variety of disciplines. Similarly, also place and landscape have become central issues in humanistic research (cf. Haarni 1997: 87; Junkala 1999: 21; Paasi 1998: 222–223; Raivo 1997: 198–200; Strassoldo 1993: 12–13; Tilley 1994: 7; Lefebvre 1991: 85–88). *Space* is particularly related to the constructed environment. The concept is abstract and general by nature: its meanings are produced through the dialogue between the constructors and users and the past and present (Lefebvre 1991: 110–111; Saarikangas 1998: 259; Strassoldo 1993: 7). *Place*, on the other hand, is always personal from the perspective of humanistic geography. It is created through the significations which the subject attaches to the environment, and it is connected with something: we ourselves create places out of neutral environments, landscapes and spaces (Karjalainen 1997: 230, 233; Strassoldo 1993: 7; Tani 1997: 211). A place can also be a specific *place of memory* (cf. Nora 1996), which turns it into a stage for both subjective and collective memory and exercise of power.

Landscape involves two meanings. It refers both to the visible area complexes and to the entities experienced in a variety of ways. The definition of landscape is connected with the problems of representation: nothing is absolute or objective but involves interpretation. Therefore, management, tolerance and control are concepts closely connected with landscape (Baker 1992b: 5–7; Denecke 1992: 303–305; Raivo 1997: 200, 202; Tilley 1994: 22, 24–25; cf. also Cosgrove 1989: 122). Christopher Tilley incorporates mythologies and rituals as part of the logic of monuments constructed in the landscape. They are used to maintain a memory of something that is being worked on and manipulated both at the individual level, in groups and among those who have power and control

(Tilley 1994: 204–209). Monuments and landscape convey interpretations, stances, demarcations and speeches in favour of and against a particular state of affairs.

I am going to show with the examples below, how the places of memory for the reds in Vyborg are/were the graveyard of red soldiers in Papula and the mass grave in Ristimäki, the so called “dogs’ graveyard” and a monument erected there. These are/were places impregnated with the exercise of power by the Whites and intertwined with meanings connected with the memory of the reds and contradictions related to the exercise of social power. In the context of white power, the places of memory were forbidden history, space without the red truth. Space acts as an empty signifier in my interpretation, an object without the interpretation given to it by experience. It is simultaneously both the outcome of socio-cultural action and its context (Knuuttila & Paasi 1995: 32–33).

THE RED HEROES OF PAPULA

Vyborg was possessed by the Reds throughout the Civil War. The White flag was hoisted as a symbol of exchange of power in the tower of the castle in Vyborg at the end of April in 1918, when the Whites had won the war. During the battles, the Vyborgians lived their everyday life anxious and frightened for the events of the war and for their relatives and friends. Both White and Red casualties from the Karelian front were transported to Vyborg to be buried there. The citizens went to look for and identify bodies in the basement of the city hospital and to a barracks used as a temporary morgue. The peer groups arranged a heroic burial for all casualties, since the outcome of the war was as yet unresolved. As a consequence, all the victims of the war, both Red and White, were credited with the respect they deserved, because the ritual signification process related to the funeral was carried out in a usual way. The deaths were not exceptional from the ritual point of view, since silence, shame or prohibition was not attached to them. They differed from ordinary funeral rituals only by their nature as a heroic event.

Throughout the winter news was received from the front with one or another of familiar people dead. We lived with the fear of the moment, when the tidings would come to us. On Sundays, we went to the barracks in Papula to see the bodies which were always brought there from the front. The burial took place on the hill of Papula by a tree. The coffins were usually red and they were buried in a mass grave. There was some singing and then salutes and we small boys thought it was exciting. New tidings kept coming in with one or another dead. (SKS, KRA. “1918”/43: 8)

Pitkin talvea tuli uutisia rintamalta, milloin oli kaatunut kukakin tutuista. Aina oli pelko, milloin tulee viesti meille. Kävimme pyhinä Papulan kasarmilla katsomassa ruumiita joita oli aina tuotu sinne rintamalta. Hautaaminen tapahtui Papulanmäellä pilipuun luona. Arkut oli usemmiten punaisia ja ne laskettiin sellaiseen joukkohautaan. Laulettiin ja sitte ampuivat kiväreillä kunnialaukaukset, joka meistä pojista oli jännää. Aina tuli uusia viestiä, että nyt on kaatunut taas se ja se. (SKS, KRA. “1918”/43: 8)

The situation was changed in regard to heroism during the last days of April in 1918, when the Whites occupied the city. The time of the red heroes was over. Rapid action

by the Whites resulted in fear, desperation, terror acts and hate towards each other. As soon as the city was occupied, the reds were arrested, homes were searched and terror acts followed the arrests. The red prisoners and Russians were first gathered into the storehouses of the railway station. From there some were marched through the city to the prison camp in Aleksanterinkatu. The rest were executed, some immediately, the others between the banks in Hiekka and most in the mass grave behind the graveyard of Ristimäki. In particular, the Russians were treated mercilessly, because they were all shot.

My mother told me: Many reds were killed between the banks of Hiekka. Many "old women" went to see it and to look for their husband, brothers or sons among the corpses. The bodies were piled up like logs into a load to be taken to the graveyard. But I didn't go to see it. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/39: 118)

When the Whites came to the town, in the morning of the 29 April, I saw how an old couple was hustled by the butt of a rifle in the street (Torkkelinkatu) towards the castle bridge. I heard that the couple did not understand a word of Finnish – they were Russians. One of the soldiers kicked them in the buttocks now and then [...]. In this case as in many others, they were sentenced to death only because they were Russians (although innocent). (SKS, KRA. "1918"/48: 191)

Äitini kertoi: Paljon "punikkeja" tapettiin Hiekan vallien välissä. Monet "mujat" menivät katsomaan ja hakemaan ruumiiden joukosta miestä tai veljiä ja poikia, ja niitä ladottiin kuin halkoja kuormaan hautuumaalle vietäväksi johonkin. Mutta minä en mennyt katsomaan. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/39: 118)

Valkoiset kun tuli kaupunkiin, silloin huhtikuun 29 pv. aamuna, näin kuinka kiväärin perällä pökkien vanhaa pariskuntaa hoputtivat Torkkelinkadulla linnansillallepäin. Kuulin, etteivät ymmärtäneet ollenkaan suomea – venäläisiä olivat. Toinen sotilaista joskus potkaisu takapuoleen [...]. Siinäkin varman tuomion saivat vaan, sen takia että olivat venäläisiä (vaikka syyttömiä). (SKS, KRA. "1918"/48: 191)

The aftermath of the war was particularly cruel and bloody in Vyborg. The executions also comprise a theme which has left numerous permanent and similar imprints in the archive texts. The bloodiest events took place on the days following the occupation of Vyborg; after that the circumstances settled. The bloody days included the first of May, a holiday for the working people which a year earlier had been celebrated in a merry atmosphere as "a demonstration day for the poor people in every country", as the headline of the newspaper *Työ* described it in April 1917 (*Työ* 26 Apr 1917). This time the situation was completely different: "It was the most horrendous first of May in our family and in thousands of other families as well." (SKS, KRA. "1918"/14: 420) The trauma of the bloody days lived on in small histories outside the official history writing and publicly acknowledged memories of the Civil War. In the reminiscences the writers ponder about the nature of dignity of the dead and its relation to human worth.

In these times of luridness the minds became numb. Nothing seemed gruesome any more. The events that in normal circumstances would make the spectator insane were commonplace. (Archives of the year 1918. Series: HM. Folder: 11.00. Maunonen: Reminiscences of the Civil War 1918. TA)

There were so many of these events, and it was because of the great stir up of hatred on both sides. Because humans and humaneness were crushed down into the dust. I will never forget the image, when the last soldiers and the tormented Reds were taken from Tienhaara to Vyborg. Everyone has seen a large herd of cattle with more guides and the transportation of animals was more human than the transportation of these prisoners. The winners knew their position well. (TMT 68: 61.TA)

Tällaisen kaameuden keskellä turtui mielet. Ei mikään tuntunut kaamealta. Tapahtumat, jotka tavallisina aikoina tekisivät näkijästä mielipuolen, tuntuivat aivan jokapäiväisiltä tapahtumilta. (Vuoden 1918 arkisto. Sarja: HM. Kansio: 11.00. Maunonen: Muistelmia Kansalaissodasta 1918. TA)

Näitä tämän laatuista tapahtui paljon ja se oli suuresti seuraus siitä suuresta vihan lietsonnasta, jota harjoitettiin puolien ja toisin. Siis sitä että ihminen ja ihmisyys oli poljettu maahan. Koskaan ei unohdu muististani se näky kun viimeiseksi taistelleita ja vainottuja punakaartilaisia kuljetettiin Tienhaarasta Viipuriin. Jokainen on nähnyt kuljetettavan suurempaa karjalaumaa jossa on useampia ohjaajia, mutta se tapahtui paljon inhimillisemmin kuin näitä vankeja. Hyvin tunsivat nämä voittajat oman arvonsa. (TMT 68: 61. TA)

RED BODIES

In addition to executions, almost all reminiscences by the Reds include writings about the phases of the graveyard of Red soldiers in Papula, in particular, the desecration of the Reds buried there. The texts describe how the graves were dug by the weak prisoners from the prison camp in Vyborg. This detail keeps recurring in the material and in the descriptions of the war in general. It is a “normal exception” in the Civil War, an element which forces to remember, a strong impression and clue in the unstable circumstances of the war.

The Reds buried their own people on the hill of Papula, but as soon as the Whites conquered Vyborg, the tottering, hungry, weak and exhausted prisoners were forced to dig up the smelling bodies. I wonder, if there was any place for them after that? Or were they buried in the dogs' graveyard, where they also took living and healthy people to be shot in the nights, several weeks after the conquest. (SKA. KRA. “1918”/48: 190)

The Reds were buried on the hill of Papula and prisoners had to go there and dig their own friends up, although the bodies were already decaying, and they were taken to a marsh, many prisoners got a lethal disease, then lingered on and finally died, they were too weak and could not live with the smell. (6B: LI. KA)

Sinne Papulan mäelle ne hautasivat punaiset omansa, mutta heti kun Valkoiset valloitti Viipurin huojuvat nälkäiset heikot näännytetyt vangit pantiin kaivamaan ne haisevat ruumiit ylös. Liekö ollut niille enää paikkaa missään? Vaiko koirahautaan, sinnehän niitä vietiin ammuttavaksi eläviä terveitä ihmisiäkin. Valloituksen jälkeen monina viikkoina öisin. (SKS, KRA. “1918”/48: 190)

Papulan mäelle, punakaartilaisia oli hautattu, vankien täytyi käydä kaivamassa omat toverinsa ylös, vaikka ne ruumiit olivat jo mätänemistilassa, ja vietiin jonnekin suolle, moni vangeista sai sellaisen kalman sairauden, kituivat, viimein kuolivat, olivat liian heikkoja eivät kestäneet sitä hajua. (6B: LI. KA)

In Papula, the violence against the Red deceased was used as a shock weapon against the living prisoners in the prison camp in Aleksanterinkatu. The desecration of the deceased was complete, because the prisoners and the deceased were deprived of all dignity and humaneness by physical violence. It was not sufficient in the case of the Red soldiers' graveyard in Papula that the deceased were dug up and buried somewhere else without public rituals. The event itself was made a public ritual to show the Reds their place within the power of the Whites. The Red prisoners who dug up the deceased differed from them only by the fact that they were alive and able to dig the bodies up. In its simplicity this symbolic violence was extremely brutal. The winners went to extremes in their submission of the Reds, the non-citizens.

Human life was worth nothing in those days. (Archives of year 1918. Series: HM. Folder: 11.00. Maunonen: Reminiscences of the Civil War 1918. TA)

Because humans and humaneness were crushed down into the dust. [...] The winners knew their position well. (TMT 68: 61.TA)

Ihmisen henki ei ollut mistään arvosta siihen aikaan. (Vuoden 1918 arkisto. Sarja: HM. Kansio: 11.00. Maunonen: Muistelmia Kansalaissodasta 1918. TA)

Siis sitä että ihminen ja ihmisyyys oli poljettu maahan. [...] Hyvin tunsivat nämä voittajat oman arvonsa. (TMT 68: 61. TA)

Michel Foucault has said that the systems of punishment, in different forms of societies, are part of the body's political economy, which also involves the occupation of the powers of the body, definition of profitability and obedience, distribution and submission of the power of the body. This interpretation is very sharp, because according to Foucault there is a political plan underpinning the punishments directed at the body. The purpose of this plan is to chart illegal acts and to confine the violators of law into the margin outside the social contract. Foucault uses the terms 'allowed' and 'forbidden' to show that a normalising society does not aim to place its objects in order of value but to separate the allowed from the forbidden (Foucault 2000: 38–39, 140, 249–250). This perspective can be elaborated by Mary Douglas's comment about how specific cultural themes are expressed in rituals where the body is manipulated. They give a visible form to social relations. The physical body is a microcosm of the social body and rituals express the structure of social relations. Therefore, symbols grounded in the human body are used to express social experience, and vice versa (Douglas 2000). This process also took place in the aftermath of the war in Vyborg. The situation was exceptional, because the ritual interpretation related to the solving of the problem of death impugned the dignity of both the dead and living Reds. The public rituals were performed in a more reverse logic than was usual.

THE GRAVEYARD OF THE DOGS

The celebrations and the joy were shadowed by the scenes in the night, when the Reds were taken to the graveyard of dogs to be shot. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/30:206)

The Whites had a real drinking party, and for many days. In those days the life of a working man was worth nothing. In the morning between 5 and 6, machine gun shots could be heard from the graveyard of animals, that was the end of journey for several hundreds of workmen and women, as well as the surroundings of the town between the banks. (TMT 68: 61. TA)

[K]aiken riemun ja juhlinnan varjopuolena olivat öiset näytelmät, kun punakaartilaisvankeja kuljetettiin ammuttavaksi koirahaudalle, Pietarintien varteen. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/30: 206.)

Valkoiset pitivät oikein viina juhlat, ja monta päivää. Silloin ei työmiehen henki ollut minkään arvoinen. Aamulla 5-6 välillä kuului eläinhautuumaalla konekivääriammuntaa, sinne päättyi tie kuinka monen sadan työmiehen ja naisen matkan pää. Samoin kaupungin ympäristön vallien välissä. (TMT 68: 61. TA)

The place, which is referred to in both reminiscences, is the mass graveyard for the Reds located close to the graveyard of Ristimäki, off the central area of the city of Vyborg by the road to St. Petersburg. It is most often called the graveyard of the dogs or dog grave, but it is not a proper name. The majority of the victims of White terror were buried there: the bodies dug up in Papula, the executed Finns and Russians and those who died in the prison camp. Nobody knows the real number of the buried Reds and Russians. However, there were hundreds of victims of White terror. Almost all archive texts about the year 1918 in the Finnish Labour Archives, the People's Archives and Finnish Literature Society include reminiscences of the graveyard of the dogs. The writers refer to the executions carried out in the graveyard, and in particular, how the victims were transported there to be shot in the early hours of the morning. The sound of the machine guns in the night remains etched deep in the memories of the Civil War.

Every morning around five o'clock, we could hear the familiar sound of the rapid firing of bullets, which usually came from the dog grave. It was difficult to dig graves between the banks but it was easier in the dog grave. I guess, God has arranged the fates, some in the dog grave, the others in the churchyard. Blessing by the church is not for working people but for the butchers. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/52: 52)

Vaan joka aamu kello viiden seutuviissa kuului tutut kuularuiskun äänet mitkä nyt tuli koirahaudalta päin. Vallien väli oli jo tuottanut vaikeuksia hautojen kaivamisen tähden, koirahautalla se on helpompaa. Kai luoja on järjestänyt kohtalot, toisille koirahauta ja eräät kirkon kupeelle. Kirkon siunaus ei kuulu työläisille vaan nimellä kansan lahtarit. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/52: 52)

The mass graveyard encapsulates the logic of power related to a place of memory, landscape and the bodies of soldiers. One writer tells how he as a small boy did not know what the graveyard of the dogs was and how he thought it was a graveyard for animals. After the war, manoeuvres were organised on the site by the young of the civil guard and also the writer participated in them. The graveyard of dogs was forbidden history left outside

the official history of which an ordinary “boyish member of the civil guard who cleaned his gun” knew nothing about (SKS, KRA. “1918”/39: 128–129). In the Red reminiscences, however, the place is significant. The marks of the past were not completely wiped off but they lived outside the official history: in the Reds’ own places and memories.

MONUMENT

A monument made of granite was erected in the graveyard of the dogs on 29 April 1961. (Riihinen 1972: 69–71) The plate next to the monument reads: “In this site sleep the Finnish Reds shot by the Finnish Whites and Germans in April and May 1918. They fought in a manly manner for the cause of the Finnish working people. We honour these heroes for ever!” In addition, there is a text at the back of the monument: “April 1961. As a token of proletarian solidarity for the Finnish working people from the working people of the Soviet Union.” However, this is not the whole truth, because already right after the war some efforts were made to erect a monument by the working-class movement and the relatives of the executed. They also gathered to trim the graveyard of dogs every spring. The graveyard was cleaned and the graves were covered with flowers, but the graves were repeatedly disgraced and desecrated by White hooligans (Riihinen 1972: 68–69).

The relatives and labour organisations cherished the memory of the deceased. The flowers for the graves of the Reds, especially to the so called graveyard of dogs in Vyborg, had to be delivered secretly so the authorities did not see. It was not allowed to make a monument for the graveyard of the dogs, where a great number of executed Reds were buried, except for the foundation and later during the Lapua movement the monument was violently broken with sledge hammers. (TMT 135: 258/68. TA)

Vainajien muiston vaalimista punaisten omaiset ja työväenjärjestöt pitivät huolen. Kukat punaisten haudoille ja varsinkin n.s. koirien hautausmaalla Viipurissa oli vietävä salaa, niin että viranomaiset eivät päässeet näkemään. Koirien hautausmaan, jonne suuret määrät teloitettuja punaisia oli haudattu, monumenttia ei saanut valmistaa muuten kuin perustuksen osalta ja myöhemmin lapuanliikkeen aikana monumentti väkivaltaisesti kuitenkin lekojen avulla hajoitettiin. (TMT 135: 258/68. TA)

The actions of the authorities did not make the situation easier for the Reds, because the erection of a monument on the graveyard of the dogs was not allowed. In 1921, a monument was made on the basis of an artist’s drawings but it was never taken to Ristimäki (Riihinen 1972: 68–69). The original plinth on which the monument was supposed to be erected is still behind the present monument. A few postcards have been preserved showing the original monument.

In the following texts two people share their experiences. Both of them write about the monument for the graveyard of the dogs. The first writer visited Leningrad in 1965, when there was already a monument for the graveyard. He presents a relieved comment about how all people, who have died for their ideology, are heroes and in his opinion the monument symbolises “truth”, which has finally come into the open. An-

other writer gives a more analytical account of the monument. In his or her opinion the erection of the monument was part of the national Finland project, and the authorisation process for the erection of the monument was about the definition of appropriate and inappropriate.

I have thought about this thing, about who is buried where and thought that they can rest there whether they are White or Red, believers or sinners, as long as they have died for their own beliefs, they are real heroes [...] I went to Leningrad 15 August 1965 and got to be in Vyborg 1 ½ hours on the way there and another 2 hours on the way back and then I saw the monument for the Reds in the graveyard of the dogs and I thought that the truth has come into the open but how are those comrades who rest in Tammisaari, I have no knowledge of that. (6B: LM. KA)

It was not even allowed to erect statues for the Reds in those days. When a new war was necessary for the proletariat class, they erected statues for the Reds for the sake of "unity" and "the consensus of the Finnish people" – the Soviet Union has erected a statue in honour of the murdered Reds in the graveyard of the dogs a few years ago. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/14: 425)

[O]len ajatellu sitä asja tänäki aikana mitä uskont[?] on kuka mihin on hauttatu niin eikö se siinä saa levätä olkon hän valkonen tai punanen tai uskovaine tai syntine ja kun on vakaumuksen pualesta henkensä antanut hän on sillon tolelinen sankari [...] minä kävin leningraatissa 15/8-65 sillon sai olla viipurissa 1 ½ tuntia mennessä ja tullessa 2 tuntia sillon näin punasten muisto patsaan siellä koirahautalla ja ajattelin että totuus on tullut julki mutta mitenkä niiden toverien laita lienee jotka tammisaaressa lepää heitä ei ole tietoa. (6B: LM. KA)

Punaisille ei saanut aikanaan pystyttää edes patsaita. Kun uusi sota omistavalle luokalle oli tarpeen, pystytti se "yhtenäisyyden" ja "kansan yksimielisyyden" vuoksi patsaat punaisille. – Viipurin koirahaudalle on Neuvostoliitto pystyttänyt joku vuosi sitten patsaan murhattujen punaisten kunniaksi. (SKS, KRA. "1918"/14: 425)

Monuments for the Reds and mass graveyards were officially hushed up history, even completely forgotten places of memory of the Civil War. In the landscape of Vyborg redness was a completely forbidden issue until the year of 1939. Only when the monument was erected 40 years later, did the graveyard obtain a position as a public graveyard and it began to be discerned from the surrounding landscape both as a concretely existing object and as a special place of memory. However, this acknowledgment took place in 1961 and therefore the graveyard of the dogs never entered Finland's official imagery of landscape. The white power was clearly expressed in the location of the graveyard in the outskirts of the city of Vyborg (cf. Baker 1992a: 277, passim). Therefore, official meanings were not attached to the landscape next to the graveyard of Ristimäki, although the graveyard was a significant place of memory for the Reds. An effort to deny the meanings attached to the landscape included both strong ideological connotations and a systematic aspiration to hush up the 'Others' of the history.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF EXCLUSION

Visibility is a keyword in the analysis of places of memory, landscape and monuments as well as in the social production of space. Publicity is the essence of rituals. The important questions are therefore: "Whose landscape is allowed to be visible?" and "Which signs, texts and discourses are allowed to be part of the landscape?" After the Civil War, there was a battle about physical, symbolic and ideological visibility throughout Finland. The criteria for visibility were defined on the basis of the prevailing and nationally significant imagery of landscape. Landscape became part of Finnish nationalism and the rise of national culture with its roots in the early days of the 19th century and the period of autonomy. The authorisation of visibility had a direct connection with the limits of tolerance within the dominant culture (Raivo 1996: 107, 110; cf. Knuuttila 1998: 209).

Therefore, it is not insignificant how landscape and monuments are read and interpreted. However, the meanings hidden by the landscape are partly, or sometimes even entirely, unattainable for those who live in the landscape as well as for those who observe it from outside and therefore their interpretation demands boldness. Landscape is part of cultural texts and processes produced in their context. Thus, landscape can be considered a texture of subjective and inter-subjective readings, a way of perceiving and analysing the environment as part of the cultural system. The same landscape can be interpreted in a different way depending on the cultural framework of the person (Raivo 1996: 24–25, 133).

After the Civil War, the concept of landscape involved dimensions related to experience and memory, as well as power discourses, about the concrete possession and control of landscape. Landscape was defined as a landscape for something or for somebody. The official, public imagery of landscape represented the White Finland. This perspective excluded the red landscapes with their various signs from the collective consciousness. However, the red landscape lived on in memories. In addition to producers, spectators and interpreters, landscape also had its authorities. It was under dynamic processes, because its hidden meanings were continually presented and produced, in particular, among the Reds. Landscapes used for nationalistic purposes can be found everywhere, where the prevailing ideologies have been defended or created with arms. Marked landscapes are part of political representation and politics of memory. They are part of the narrative at the macro level (Tilley 1994: 27; Raivo 1998: 60, 64–65).

In Vyborg, the places of memory of the Civil War, and the living and dead Reds, were marked in a specific way. Red meanings were attached to the deceased and places but White meanings were forced upon them. In the aftermath of the Civil War, rituals anchored in the marked places symbolised the seizure of power. In this framework of white power the objects were the living and dead Reds. In the second phase, the places were connected with silence and architecture of exclusion. In Vyborg, after the Civil War, the deceased occupied a place only among the Reds in specific places of memory but also in spaces and truths of silence. The white power emptied the Reds' places of memory. According to this interpretation, the actions in Papula and in the graveyard of the dogs both opened and closed the space from other people (Cf. Ronkainen 1999: 214–215).

The social practices during the Civil War also involved normativity in a central way,

i.e. exercise of social power and an aspiration for the definition of what is allowed and normal. Violence directed at concrete bodies, both living and dead, was part of this process. Normativity acted invisibly in the structure of the social body defining normality in society and extending its evaluative effects on all levels of the structure. Therefore, the normativity of society was also an attribute which defined human dignity and the rituals of death. The treatment of Red prisoners and the deceased in Papula and the public respect of funerals reflected the normative power of the social body. This relation was reflected in rituals, places of memory, public and forbidden memories and in living and dead bodies.

Part of the traces of the Civil War in Vyborg has disappeared in the course of time and the rest was covered on purpose by ideological, political and national practices. These processes are encapsulated in the memories written in the 1960s by people who experienced them: in their wish to reminisce. Thematic reminiscences are anchored in the events in Papula and in the graveyard of the dogs and in the dispute about the authorization of the erection of a monument. In official publicity, the victims of White terror and the different places of memory attached to these acts of terror were defined as 'Otherness' and excluded in a variety of ways. The in-group 'we' included the White, the Reds were the official 'Others'. The Reds only possessed their personal reminiscences. An official outlet for the Reds' reminiscences was first offered in connection of the collections in the 1960s, when society had become politically and ideologically mature enough to open a way for another interpretation of the truths of the Civil War.

IN CONCLUSION

In 1918, a crisis originated in Finland right after her independence. The signification process, which emerged from the micro level, did not comply with the values and goals of the institutions, actors and power elite at the macro level. The war itself was a war between the Whites and the Reds. Both parties had their heroes, rituals and significant places of memory. Rituals related to death expressed dignity and respect. All casualties of war were heroes and they were buried with public rituals. When the Whites won the war, also the myth of heroes became officially White. Control of rituals was political power carried out at the macro level: an attempt to normalise and marginalise deviances originating at the micro level. The social contract did not allow Red publicity and Red interpretation of the Civil War before the 1960s. Instead, the White myth was made visible in a variety of ways: in rituals of victory, commemoration days and monuments for heroes. In this situation, the Reds only had their own heritage of the Civil War: rituals and narratives of heroes as well as silenced memories of death and heroism.

Oral history provides a means for eliciting small histories, which are connected to each other by their concreteness and their location somewhere in between the official history and research on cultural heritage (cf. Popular Memory Group 1982: 207; Ollila 1995: 10; Ginzburg 1996: 62; Kalela 2001: 18). A researcher has to take risks in interpreting the texts, because the imprints and clues are part of context which leaves the researcher with the difficult role of an interpreter. However, in my opinion it is worth taking the risk because otherwise history will become timeless with no subjects (cf. Peltonen 1990: 28–29). This is a good starting point for a researcher of cultural heritage,

because he or she should bring forward his or her own perspective. A researcher can also be an opinion leader and forward a better understanding of historical phenomena through his or her research. Therefore, I claim that the memories of the Finnish Civil War in 1918 are history intertwined with time, specific subjects, forbidden memories, public silence and exceptional rituals. If these memories were not published, the history of the Civil War in the Karelian Isthmus would be faceless and incomplete.

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