

Networks, Archaeology, Cultural Heritage and the Use of History in the Medieval Monastic Sites in Finland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

A Case Study of Naantali¹

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Introduction

As far as we are currently aware, there were six medieval monasteries or convents in the medieval diocese of Turku²: the Dominicans in Turku and Viipuri, the Franciscans in Rauma, Kökar and Viipuri, and the Bridgettines in Naantali. Finnish research since the nineteenth century has often linked monastic sites to questions concerning the Christianization process in Finland or the process of the founding of the towns of Turku or Viipuri. The only major study of the subject in the field of history dates from 1890.³ The research history of the monastic orders in Finland also involves the history of archaeological research. In the years between 1868 and 2005, over 250 excavations in or related to medieval churches were undertaken in Finland.⁴ The sites of the monasteries' physical remains have also played a role in various views on cultural heritage, emphasized for instance during various jubilees connected with them, and thus also resulting in increased scholarly interest. These phenomena could be linked to, and thus evaluated as, a form of use of history. The networks and contacts between scholars and other

¹ I would like to thank Mikael Busck-Nielsen, Jesse Keskiäho, Aapo Roselius, and Anna Wessman for commenting on this article. I am also indebted to my parents and mother-in-law for helping with the children during the writing of this article, which was financed by the *Nylands Nations fonder/Nylands Nation vid Helsingfors universitet*.

² During the Middle Ages, Finland was the eastern part of Sweden, forming the diocese of Turku. The westernmost part of the area of today's Finland probably began to be Christianized in the twelfth century. Turku is first mentioned as a town for a bishop's residence in 1259. See e.g. Tuomas Heikkilä & Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, 'Keskiajan kirkko Suomessa' in, Tuomas Heikkilä & Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Keskiajan kirkko. Uskonelämän muotoja läntisessä kristikunnassa* (Tietolipas 185), Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura: Helsinki 2004, 352.

³ K. G. Leinberg, *De finska klosters historia* (Skrifter utgivna af Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 14), Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland: Helsingfors 1890.

⁴ Markus Hiekkänen, 'Hajamietteitä Suomen kirkkoarkeologian vuosien 1868–2006 saldosta, nykypäivästä ja huomisesta', *SKAS* 3/2006, 39–54, here 40, 42, 51, 54.

actors, together with their research and other forms of activity connected to the sites, form the basis on which views on the sites have been formed.

The aim of this article is to briefly present the research and use of history in the site of the Bridgettine monastery in Naantali (Sw. *Nådendal*, Latin *Vallis Gratiae*, South-Western Finland, founded there in 1443) as an example of a monastic site that is considered a cultural heritage site and *lieu de mémoire*. The main focus of this article will be on Naantali: on the one hand, on the dawn of the research in the 1860's, when it was first discovered in an archaeological sense, and on the other hand on the research and use of history from the 1920's to the 1940's, when the site was used, among other things, as a site for historical jubilees.⁵ The source material consists of the published works of scholars who have commented on the site, and biographical data about them. Their networks and viewpoints can also be considered via letters and other material found in the archives, such as photographs, charts, maps and other notes made by the researchers. These will also be included in our analysis.

The history of research into monastic sites was briefly presented by Markus Hiekkanen in 1993 in connection with his vast study of medieval stone churches in Finland.⁶ Henrik Lilius, among others, has more closely investigated the fieldwork of historian, archaeologist and archivist Reinhold Hausen (1850–1942) in Naantali.⁷ Torsten Steinby has examined magnate Amos Anderson's involvement in the commemoration of Naantali monastery in the 1920's.⁸ Derek Fewster, a researcher who has touched on the interest in "inventing traditions" related to the early and late medieval

⁵ This article is based on my phil. lic. thesis, Eva Ahl-Waris, "*Stenarna skola tala*". *Minneskultur och historiebruk vid Nådendals klosterlämningar*, Department of History, University of Helsinki 2009. I follow the trend that has been set by e.g. Swedish scholars concerning the span of the period of interest – from the second half of the nineteenth century to the turn of the twenty-first (see e.g. Ulf Zander, *Fornstora dagar, moderna tider. Bruk av och debatter om svensk historia från sekelskifte till sekelskifte*, Nordic Academic Press: Lund 2001; Ingemar Lindaräng, *Helgonbruk i moderniseringstider. Bruket av Birgitta- och Olavstraditionerna i samband med minnesfiranden i Sverige och Norge 1891–2005*, Linköping Studies in Arts and Science 392, Linköpings universitet: Linköping 2007; Mia Geijer, *Makten över monumenten – restaurering av vasaslott 1850–2000*, Nordiska museets handlingar 132, Nordiska museet: Stockholm 2007, among others examining topics on the use of history that have been examined during the last decade and which analyse a long period of change).

⁶ Markus Hiekkanen, 'De finska klostren under medeltiden. Arkeologiskt och byggnadshistoriskt perspektiv', *Kirkearkæologi i Norden* (Hikuin 20), Højberg 1993, 123–154; Markus Hiekkanen, *Stone Churches in the Diocese of Turku* (Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 101), Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys: Helsinki 1994.

⁷ E.g. Henrik Lilius, *Birgittinerkyrkan i Nådendal* (Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 69), Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys: Helsinki 1969; Henrik Lilius, 'Reinhold Hausen antikvaarisena tutkijana', in Elisa Orrman (ed.) *Reinhold Hausen (1850–1942). Kansallisen arkiston rakentaja*, Art House – Kansallisarkisto: Helsinki 2000, 51–69.

⁸ E.g. Torsten Steinby 'Birgittavespern i Nådendal', *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 53 (1978).

sites, has presented the Fennoman view on Finnish prehistory, which will give an outer frame for many viewpoints in this study.⁹ Other recent and related studies focus on the activities of architects, art historians and archaeologists during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, regarding e.g. Turku Cathedral, the medieval castles in Finland and the monastic site of Pirita in Estonia.¹⁰

Aspects of archaeological sites, "invented traditions" and the use of history

In this context the ideas on the use of history in connection with archaeological sites can be briefly presented.¹¹ The connection between modern scholars and the medieval past in the sites clearly also involves the ideas developed by Eric Hobsbawm concerning 'invented tradition', which he defines thusly:

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with

⁹ Recent studies by Fewster: Derek Fewster, *Visions of Past Glory. Nationalism and the Construction of Early Finnish History* (Studia Fennica Historica 11), Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura: Helsinki 2006; Derek Fewster, 'Arkeologisen tutkimuksen historia Suomessa', in Petri Halinen, Visa Immonen, Mika Lavento, Terhi Mikkola, Ari Siiriäinen & Pirjo Uino eds., *Johdatus arkeologiaan*, Gaudeamus: Helsinki 2008, 97–108.

¹⁰ Connected studies have been and are currently being conducted e.g. by Petja Aarnipuu, Visa Immonen, Linda Kaljundi, Leena Valkeapää and Anna Ripatti. See e.g. Petja Aarnipuu, *Turun linna kerrottuna ja kertovana tilana*, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura: Helsinki 2008; Visa Immonen, paper given in the seminar *Nation, Myth and Science*, Helsinki 8.11.2008; Linda Kaljundi, 'Pirita klooster eest ajaloomälus: mitte ainult kloostri taga metsas', Virve Sarapik (ed.) *Pirita klooster 600* = Kunstiteaduslikke uurimusi (Studies in Art and Architecture) 4/2007, [16], 111–144; Linda Kaljundi, paper given in the seminar *Nation, Myth and Science*, Helsinki 8.11.2008; Leena Valkeapää, *Pitäjänkirkosta kansallismumentiksi* (Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 108), Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys: Helsinki 2000. Leena Valkeapää, 'Emil Nervander as a Pioneer of Finnish Art History and Antiquarian Interests in Finland During the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century', in Renja Suominen-Kokkonen (ed.) *The Shaping of Art History in Finland* (Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia 36), Taidehistorian seura: Helsinki 2007, 40–52; Leena Valkeapää, paper given in the seminar *Nation, Myth and Science*, Helsinki 8.11.2008; Anna Ripatti, *Raunioista renessanssilinna. Jac. Ahrenbergin Viipurin linnan restaurointisuunnitelma 1880-luvulla*, julkaisematon pro gradu-tutkielma, Taidehistoria, Taiteiden tutkimuksen laitos, Helsingin yliopisto 2003; Anna Ripatti, 'The Architect Jac. Ahrenberg and Studies on Turku Castle at the Turn of the 20th Century', in Renja Suominen-Kokkonen (ed.) *The Shaping of Art History in Finland* (Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia 36), Taidehistorian seura: Helsinki 2007, 53–66.

¹¹ For an overview of the study of the use of history see e.g. Peter Aronsson, *Historiebruk – att använda det förflutna*, Studentlitteratur: Lund 2004.

the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.¹²

Why have sites like Naantali been so intriguing? Some light will be shed on this matter later on, involving aspects of the use of history on the site.

Definitions of the use of history can traditionally be categorized as follows: monumentalized, critical and antiquarian use of history.¹³ In the 1990's Swedish researchers presented the following categories, among others: scientific use, existential use, moral use, ideological use and non-using use of history.¹⁴ One aspect of the use of history is the historical jubilees; the jubilees of Saint Birgitta in Sweden were recently analysed in a PhD thesis in 2007.¹⁵ The monastic sites in Naantali and Pirita have also been more interesting for archaeologists and other actors in jubilees connected to St. Birgitta and the medieval Bridgettine order.

The concept of the use of history also touches on the concept of identity, and thus on issues concerning cultural and collective identity in connection to cultural heritage.¹⁶ Both of these have a background in the ideas concerning 'people' and 'nation' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ Nowadays cultural heritage can be defined as both the material

¹² Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2005 (first published in 1983), 1.

¹³ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Om historiens nytta och skada. En otidsenlig betraktelse*, Rabén Prisma: Stockholm 1998; Stefan Bohman, 'Vad är museivetenskap, och vad är kulturarv?', in Lennart Palmqvist & Stefan Bohman eds., *Museer och kulturarv. En museivetenskaplig antologi*, Carlssons: Stockholm 2003 (first published in 1997), 10–11; Aronsson 2004, 210–211.

¹⁴ Bohman 2003 (1997), 10–11.

¹⁵ Lindaräng 2007.

¹⁶ See e.g. Ulf Zander, 'Historia och identitetsbildning', in Christer Karlegård & Klas-Göran Karlsson eds., *Historiedidaktik*, Studentlitteratur: Lund 1997, 92; Jan af Geijerstam, *Miljön som minne. Att göra historien levande i kulturlandskapet*, Riksantikvarieämbetet: Stockholm 1998; Aronsson 2004, 143–151. The "grand old man" regarding views on collective identity is of course Maurice Halbwachs, his *On Collective Memory*, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago & London 1992.

¹⁷ In this context the terms "people" and "nation" in connection to nationalism and archaeology have been defined and discussed by e.g. Marie Louise Sørensen concerning Denmark, Evert Baudou, Håkan Petersson and Bodil Petersson concerning Sweden and Derek Fewster concerning Finland. See Marie Louise Sørensen, 'The Fall of a Nation, the Birth of a Subject: the National use of Archaeology in Nineteenth-century Denmark', in Marguerita Diaz-Andreu & Timothy Champion eds., *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, Westview Press, Boulder: San Fransisco 1996, 24–25; Derek Fewster, 'Fornfolket i nutiden. Arkeologins politiska budskap', in Derek Fewster (ed.) *Folket. Studier i olika vetenskapens syn på begreppet folk* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland 626), Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland: Helsingfors, 107–108; Bodil Petersson, *Föreställningar om det förflutna. Arkeologi och rekonstruktion*, Nordic Academic Press: Lund 2003, 30–32; Evert Baudou, *Den nordiska arkeologin: historia och tolkningar*, Kungliga Vitterhets och Historie Akademien 2004; Håkan Petersson, *Nationalstaten och arkeologin. 100 år av neolitisk forskningshistoria och dess relationer till samhällspolitiska förändringar*, (Gotarc B 36), Institutionen för arkeologi, Göteborgs universitet 2005, 22–32; Fewster 2008, 97–104.

and spiritual traces, such as art, objects, material in the archives, buildings, cultural and natural surroundings, written and oral memories, traditions, languages and customs.¹⁸ Among others, Robin Skeates has discussed archaeological heritage as a dynamic process. Cultural heritage is in this case both the material and immaterial heritage. The use of the past is also a part of the process.¹⁹ Skeates has emphasized the role of actors in views on cultural heritage and the use of the past:

...different, and sometimes competing, interest groups actively maintain a variety of concepts, ideals, interests, priorities and strategies in relation to the definition of the 'archaeological heritage'. In doing so, they all (often unwittingly) participate within the 'heritage process', through which the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present.²⁰

According to recent studies²¹ one must view cultural heritage as a creation that is constantly changing: "...heritage is a strong but flexible language for staking claims to culture and claims based on culture".²² The World Heritage Act can be criticized for many things, e.g. the view that everything can be defined by regions and territories that can be topographically limited, measured and mapped.²³

The raising of historical monuments on the monastic sites, or the arranging of vast jubilees in relation to them, testifies to the interest in these sites. Monuments are for remembrance, but can also be seen as connected to a visualization of political aims.²⁴ The aims of those using the sites are clearly

¹⁸ See e.g. Bohman 2003 (1997), 12.

¹⁹ Robin Skeates, *Debating the Archaeological Heritage*, Duckworth: London 2000, 9–10; compare this to the views presented by David Lowenthal, e.g. his *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1985; and *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1998.

²⁰ Skeates 2000, 16.

²¹ Questions and views on cultural heritage have been recently presented in D. Hemme, M. Tauschek & R. Bendix eds., *Prädikat "HERITAGE". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen* (Studien zur Kulturanthropologie/Europäischen Ethnologie 1), LIT Verlag: Berlin 2007.

²² See V. Tr. Hafstein, 'Claiming Culture: Intangible Heritage Inc., Folklore©, Traditional Knowledge™', in D. Hemme, M. Tauschek & R. Bendix eds., *Prädikat "HERITAGE". Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen* (Studien zur Kulturanthropologie/Europäischen Ethnologie 1), LIT Verlag: Berlin 2007, 75–100.

²³ Hafstein 2007, 96.

²⁴ Regarding the raising of monuments and their status, see e.g. Liisa Lindgren, *Monumentum. Muistomerkkien aatteita ja aikaa*, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura: Helsinki 2000, 11; Rodell 2002; Aronsson 2004, 198–213.

connected to 'nation-building',²⁵ but there are regional perspectives and religious interests in the sites as well. These issues also touch on the relation between time, place and memory.²⁶

Archaeological sites could thus also be included in the list of places of memory, or *lieux de mémoire*.²⁷ Among others, Jacques Le Goff has discussed the relation between history and memory, and concludes the following: "Memory is the raw material for history. Whether mental, oral, or written, it is the living source from which historians draw".²⁸ The fascination with sites as *memento mori*²⁹ is also in evidence in Naantali, which is relevant to the creation of the image of the site as an important – both nationally and regionally – place of memory. It is not the scholars alone who create this image, but other actors as well.³⁰ The scientific image of the site is often used as a foundation on which to build other meanings: in this case it is used as a cornerstone for the building of forms of religious revival (inspired by the High Church movement that was constructed in Sweden, very much relying on the interest in Saint Birgitta and her legacy).³¹ This has not been taken into account in previous research concerning Naantali, nor have archival sources previously been used to provide a perspective on the views of archaeologists and other actors on the site.

Ideological framework, politics and the construction of Finnish history

The ideological frames of the researchers should first of all be seen in the context of the discussion and worldviews of their time. After the separation

²⁵ The term 'nation-building' derives from William Bloom, see his *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1990.

²⁶ Ideas on archaeology, place and memory have been discussed e.g. by Ruth M Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock. See their 'Archaeologies of Memory: An Introduction', Ruth M. Van Dyke & Susan E. Alcock (eds.) *Archaeologies of Memory*, Blackwell Publishing: United Kingdom 2003, 2–6.

²⁷ Regarding the discussion about sites and monuments as *lieux de mémoire*, see e.g. Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire* 1–7, Gallimard: Paris 1984–1992; Magnus Rodell, *Att gjuta en nation. Statyinvigningar och nationsformering i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt*, Natur och kultur: Stockholm 2002, 44–46 (Sweden); Kaljundi 2007, 112–113 (the case of Pirita).

²⁸ Jaques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, Columbia University Press: New York 1992, xi.

²⁹ E.g. Lowenthal 1985, 36–37.

³⁰ A few examples of similar studies can be mentioned here: In Denmark this has been discussed by Marie-Louise Sørensen, see Sørensen 1996, 24–25. In Sweden the relation between archaeology and the creation of a Nazi identity in the 1930's has been presented by Lise Nordenborg Myhre, see her 'Arkeologi och Nazism – en ockupation av ämnet', in C. Raudvere, A. Andrén & K. Jennbert eds., *Myter om det nordiska – mellan romantik och politik* (Vägar till Midgård 1), Nordic Academic Press: Lund 2001, 66–78.

³¹ An overview of the High Church movement in Sweden and Finland has been presented by professor Bengt Ingmar Kilström, see his *Högkyrkligheten i Sverige och Finland under 1900-talet*, Strängnäs 1990.

of Finland in the war between Sweden and Russia in 1808–1809, the nineteenth century was a time of Russian reign, and over the century the idea of "Finnishness"³² was constructed and adopted among members of the elite under the influence of nationalistic ideas.³³ According to Jyrki Loima the first nationalistic wave among Finnish scholars may have been a form of 'protonationalism' in the 1820's, in Swedish. 'Modern' nationalism developed in the 1870's and 1880's after a period of "invention of tradition".³⁴ The so-called 'Fennomans' strived politically for the right to use the Finnish language and opposed Russian rule. In the 1880's the movement split in two: the radical liberals and the 'Oldfennomans' loyal to Russian rule. The 'Swecomans' were liberals who later declared the rights of Swedish speakers to their language and literature. These groups spread their ideas via the press, literature and publications.³⁵ The literary production of poet J. L. Runeberg (1804–1877) and professor Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) particularly influenced the Finnish nationalistic ideologists in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁶

Romanticism was a reaction against the ideas of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe. Connected with this, the ideas of nationalism also began to influence scholars in Finland. Nationalistic ideas became important for the men of science of the middle class; they thus shared an interest in the roots of 'their people', which were thought to be found in e.g. archaeology – the 'roots of Finnishness' were thought to lie in the Bronze and Iron Ages or in the Middle Ages.³⁷ In Finland in the late 1840's an interest in the past and debate among the learned elite were launched – a debate that continued for a long time in various forms, including the political: the Swecoman vs. Fennomans views on Finnish early history. The interest in

³² In Fewster's studies the terms "Finnishness" (*suomalaisuus*) and "the image of Finland" are explained as follows: They "...emphasize the uniqueness of Finnish history and hold definite positive values, the following two epitomize the nationalist supposition of an enforced Swedish colonial rule over a nation at any time separable from the Swedish realm". See Fewster 2006, 42–43.

³³ See e.g. Osmo Jussila, *Maakunnasta valtioksi. Suomen valtion synty*, WSOY: Porvoo – Helsinki – Juva 1987; Matti Klinge, *Kejsartiiden. Finlands historia 3*, Schildts: Helsingfors 1996, 127–288; Jyrki Loima, *Myytit, uskomukset ja kansa. Johdanto moderniin nationalismiin Suomessa 1809–1918*, Yliopistopaino: Helsinki 2006.

³⁴ Loima 2006, 91–92. As Loima, e.g. Fewster bases his interpretation of the contact between the scholars and nationalism on the theories of Anthony D. Smith and Eric Hobsbawm among others. See Fewster 2006, 30–38, 401–405; Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, Penguin Books: London 1991; Hobsbawm 2005.

³⁵ See e.g. Klinge 1996, 296–303.

³⁶ See e.g. Klinge 1996, 151–156; Matti Klinge, *Idylli ja uhka. Topeliuksen aatteita ja politiikkaa*, WSOY: Porvoo – Helsinki – Juva 1998; Loima 2006, 130.

³⁷ Bruce G. Trigger, *Arkeologins idéhistoria*. Symposium: Stockholm 1993 (originally published in 1989), 87, 136, 182–183; Fewster 2008, 197–102.

ancient monuments in Finland can be traced back to Professor H. G. Porthan (1739–1804) in the late eighteenth century. Interest increased in the 1820's and 1830's, when Elias Lönnrot's (1802–1884) epos *Kalevala* (1835–1836) was published. The first excavations were thus methodologically antiquarian and art historian, coloured by aesthetic romanticism. The Finnish national past in the Iron Age was invented in the late nineteenth century, and in the mid-nineteenth century it was the monumental, visible medieval sites which were seen as interesting for a national past. Later on, at the turn of the twentieth century, the medieval period was seen by the Fennoman paradigm as a period of foreign – i.e. Swedish – rule, and the Iron Age was much romanticized as the time of the *Kalevala*.³⁸ Derek Fewster calls the interwar period the period of militarization – even masculinisation – of the views of Finnish early history.³⁹

But not all actors can be summarised thusly, at least not some of those engaged in the commemoration of the site of the Naantali monastery. Their link to some form of religious interest, though nation-building nevertheless, is evident. The nunnery's past could perhaps represent an 'otherness' opposed to the militant views – a feminine view (the nuns, St. Birgitta): the nuns make romantic and erotic connotations.⁴⁰ It is also evident that the actors have a strongly romantic view⁴¹ of the world that is projected on the Naantali site and is present in their historical, musical and religious interest for the legacy of the Bridgettine order *in situ*.

Archaeology and the monastic sites in Finland in brief

The disciplines of archaeology, art history and history are, in their present state, very much a construction of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Chairs in archaeology were founded in European universities throughout the nineteenth century.⁴² Historiographically it is therefore very hard to determine whether the early research in Finland was

³⁸ Fewster 2006, 56–64; Fewster 2008, 197–102.

³⁹ Fewster 2006, e.g. 320–321.

⁴⁰ Linda Kaljundi has made these kinds of assumptions regarding the interest in Pirita monastery. See Kaljundi 2007, e.g. 138–139, 144.

⁴¹ Romanticism is here seen not merely as an epoch, but rather as a state of mind which, while it had its zenith in the nineteenth century, surely also has its followers in the twentieth century. Compare with e.g. Ernst Klessmann, 'Saksalainen romantiikka', *Kaipuu maisemaan. Saksalaista romantiikkaa 1800–1840* (Tampereen taidemuseon julkaisuja 41), Tampere 1991, 14–32.

⁴² E.g. Trigger 1993, 182–183; Fewster 2006, 142–143; Visa Immonen, 'Tieteellisen arkeologian kehitys. Kulttuurihistoriallinen suuntaus', in Petri Halinen, Visa Immonen, Mika Lavento, Terhi Mikkola, Ari Siiriäinen & Pirjo Uino eds., *Johdatus arkeologiaan*, Gaudeamus: Helsinki 2008b, 82; Fewster 2008, 104.

archaeological or art historical in nature – or at least this will not be defined here. Various scholars have touched on the subject in overviews of the history of archaeological research,⁴³ and mostly historians have commented on the sites connected to their research on the monastic orders.⁴⁴

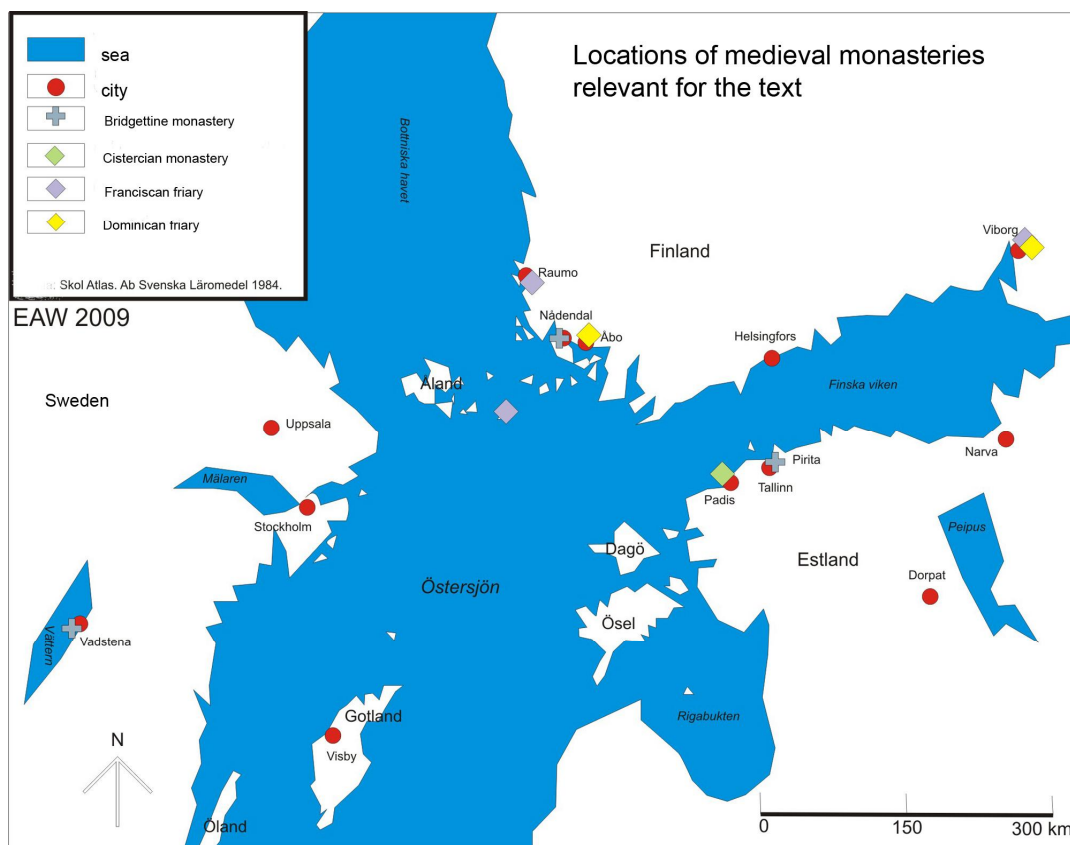


Fig. 1. Map of the locations of the monasteries mentioned in the text (Eva Ahl-Waris 2009).

Many researchers have pointed out that the study of medieval sites in Finland has actually mostly concerned churches and castles. It is only since the late 1980's and early 1990's that rural sites have been considered of

⁴³ For an overall view of the history of archaeology, see e.g. Trigger 1993; Anders Andrén, *Mellan ting och text. En introduktion till de historiska arkeologierna*, Symposium: Stockholm 1997, 19–45. Concerning overviews of the history of archaeology in Finland see e.g. C. A. Nordman, *Archaeology in Finland before 1920*, Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Helsinki 1968; C. J. Gardberg, 'Medeltidsarkeologi i Finland', in Heljä Brusila, Knut Drake & Eeva Mikola eds., *Historiallisen ajan arkeologia Suomessa*, (Turun maakuntamuseon Raportteja 6), Turun maakuntamuseo: Turku 1984; Timo Salminen, *Suomen tieteelliset voittomaat. Venäjä ja Siperia suomalaisessa arkeologiassa 1870–1935* (Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 110), Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys: Helsinki 2003; Visa Immonen, 'Tieteellisen arkeologian kehitys. Romantiikan ja evoluutioantropologian vuosisata', in Petri Halinen, Visa Immonen, Mika Lavento, Terhi Mikkola, Ari Siiriäinen & Pirjo Uino eds, *Johdatus arkeologiaan*. Gaudeamus: Helsinki 2008a; Immonen 2008b; Fewster 2008.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Jussi Hanska "'Kansallisromantiikasta" Euroopan Unioniin – suomalaista dominikaanin historiografiaa', in *Dominikaanit Suomessa ja Itämeren alueella keskiajalla* (Turun maakuntamuseon Raportteja 18), Turun maakuntamuseo: Turku 1999, 123–126.

interest.⁴⁵ The first excavations in Finland were conducted by historian and archivist Karl August Bomansson (1827–1906) at the medieval monastic (Franciscan) site in Kökar in the late 1860's. Reinhold Hausen took part in this research as a young student. Together with Henrik August Reinholm (1819–1883), Bomansson published a study of Kastelholm Castle in 1856. Reinholm was an active collector of folklore typical for his time. In 1872 and 1873 Reinhold Hausen excavated the monastic (Bridgettine) site in Naantali. Recently, new methods and questions have made archaeologists return to the site in Naantali: a research team from Turku University led by docent Kari Uotila returned to excavate Naantali from the mid 1990's until recently.⁴⁶

The monastic sites in Rauma (Franciscan), Turku (Dominican) and Viipuri (Franciscan and Dominican) were also excavated in the twentieth century.⁴⁷ According to Markus Hiekkänen, there was an increase in excavations of monastic sites dating from the turn of the century, ca. 1900, and another increase in interest peaked during the interwar period (between the First and Second World Wars). The site of the convent in Turku was also investigated later on, as it is situated in the heart of the city and has been under the pressure of rural planning since the late nineteenth century. The third increase occurred in the period from the 1980's to the present. The excavations in the nineteenth century, according to Hiekkänen, were based entirely on the researchers' personal ambitions.⁴⁸ Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen names this first period of interest an "archaeology of monuments". At that time the main focus was to excavate and document ruins,⁴⁹ which also seems to have been the case in Naantali. But a historical consciousness connected to national identity is also evidently forming at the same time.

⁴⁵ E.g. Nordman 1968, 17–19; Valkeapää 2000, 170; Markus Hiekkänen, 'Maaseudun arkeologia – kommentti', *SKAS* 3/2002, 40.

⁴⁶ K. A. Bomansson & H. A. Reinholm, *Finlands fornborgar I: Kastelholm*, Helsingfors 1856; K. A. Bomansson, *Om Ålands fornminnen*, Helsingfors 1858; C. F. Meinander, 'Före Matts Dreijer', Nina Edgren, Pertti Hakala, Minna Sarantola & Fredrik Åberg (ed.) *Historia bland öar och skär* (Historicus skriftserie 11), Historicus r.f.: Helsingfors 1986, 57–61; Sixten Ringbom, *Art History in Finland before 1920*, Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Helsinki 1986, 23–26. For a recent overview of the history of archaeological research in Naantali in detail, see Eva Ahl, 'Nådendals klostrets forskningshistoria – forskning kring en monumental fornlämning', *SKAS* 3/2005, 4–20 (= Ahl 2005a). About the latest excavations in Naantali, see Kari Uotila, 'Naantalin kirkkomaan kaivaukset v. 2005', *SKAS* 1/2006, 62; Hiekkänen 2006, 54; Kari Uotila, 'Naantalin kirkkomaan -hankke [sic] siirtynyt julkaisuvaiheeseen', at <http://www.muuritutkimus.com/arkeologia/Naantali2006a.html>, read 2.1.2009.

⁴⁷ See fig. 1.

⁴⁸ Hiekkänen 1993, 123–124, 126.

⁴⁹ Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen, 'Historiallisen ajan arkeologia tieteenalana ja antikvaarisena toimintana', in *Historiallisen ajan arkeologian menetelmät. Seminaari 1998*, (Museoviraston rakennushistorian osaston julkaisuja 20), Museovirasto: Helsinki 1999, 7–8.

In connection with the professionalization of archaeology in Finland, the relation between archaeology and cultural heritage must also be mentioned. In Sweden the *Svenska Fornminnesföreningen* was established in 1869; in Finland a similar society was formed in 1870 (The Finnish Antiquarian Society, *Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys*) that made expeditions to collect data on ancient customs, monuments, etc. In Finland many scholars also exchanged ideas in the Finnish Literature Society (founded in 1831) – Bomansson and Hausen among others. In the 1880's new laws concerning ancient monuments were established, and the Archaeological Commission, the forerunner of the National Boards of Antiquities, was founded by the state. This era also saw the founding of museums such as the Nordic Museum in Stockholm (*Nordiska museet*) in Sweden and the University collections – later a part of the National Museum (*Kansallismuseo*) – in Helsinki in Finland.⁵⁰ At the same time there was an increasing interest in regional history and in "finding one's roots". According to most researchers the relations between history, archaeology, the founding of museums and development of cultural heritage, and many other related phenomena, are based on the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ideas concerning the 'people' and the 'nation' in relation to its history.⁵¹

Similarly to research in Finland, the first archaeological excavations in Estonia were also conducted at a monastic site, in Viljandi. The method, however, was harsh: explosives were used in the digging and the tiles uncovered were sold as building material. The next big excavation was arranged at the ruins of the Bridgettine convent of Pirita in the 1890's. After Estonia's independence, larger excavations of medieval sites were conducted in the 1930's in Viljandi and Pirita.⁵²

⁵⁰ In Finland this subject has been touched on by e.g. Sirkka Kopisto and Mikko Härö among others. See Sirkka Kopisto, *Suomen kansallismuseo. Kansallisromanttisen kauden rakennusmonumentti*, Museovirasto: Helsinki 1981; Mikko Härö, *Suomen muinaismuistohallinto 1884–1917*, Museovirasto: Helsinki 1984. Regarding *Nordiska museet* in Sweden, see e.g. Stefan Bohman, *Historia, museer och nationalism*, Carlssons: Stockholm 1997; Victor Edman, 'Från monument till utställningsmaskin', in Anders Bergström & Victor Edman eds., *Folkhemmets museum. Byggnader och rum för kulturhistoriska samlingar*, Byggförlaget: Stockholm 2005; Geijer 2007.

⁵¹ For further discussion of nationalism, history, archaeology and the idea of the "people", see e.g. Benedict Anderson, *Kuvitellut yhteisöt. Nationalismin alkuperän ja leviämisen tarkastelua*, Vastapaino: Tampere 2007 (originally published in English in 1983); Bohman 1997, 13–30; Marguerita Diaz-Andreu & Timothy Champion, 'Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe: an Introduction', in Marguerita Diaz-Andreu & Timothy Champion eds., *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, Westview Press: Boulder, CO & San Francisco 1996, 3; Fewster 2006, 35–38; Loima 2006; Fewster 2008, 197–201.

⁵² See e.g. A. Kodar, 'Esimesed arheoloogilised väljakaevamised Viljandi linnusevaremetes 1878–1879', *Viljandi Muuseumi Aastaramat* 1997, 20–33; Andres Tvauri, 'Viron keskiajan arkeologia 1991–2003', *SKAS* 2/2004, 4–26, here 4.

Naantali⁵³ and related sites

Our consideration of the case of Naantali will focus on the history of research and use of history in the medieval monastic site from the 1860's to the 1960's. In this regard, comparisons to researchers of the sites of Vadstena, Sweden and Pirita, Estonia will be made, as they are important for an understanding of the study of the monastic sites of the Bridgettine order. It has also become evident that the networks between the researchers were of relevance.⁵⁴



Fig. 2. *The Naantali monastery church* (Mikko Waris 2009).

Cultural historian Sven Gabriel Elmgren (1817–1897) published the first attempt at an archaeological interpretation of the Naantali site. During the years 1872–1873 Reinhold Hausen excavated the site; this was one of the first archaeological excavations undertaken in Finland.⁵⁵ Scholarly interest in the Bridgettine monastery of Naantali increased in the late 1840's, when historians began studying the subject.⁵⁶ The only remaining building of the

⁵³ Fig. 2.

⁵⁴ The history of research at these sites has previously been presented in more detail in Ahl 2005a, 4–20; Eva Ahl, 'Sigurd Curman och den antikvariska forskningen i Pirita. Några drag ur forskningshistorien kring Birgittinerklostret utanför Tallinn', *SKAS* 1/2007 (= Ahl 2007a), 3–18; Kaljundi 2007, 117–139.

⁵⁵ See e.g. Ahl 2005a; Hiekkanen 2007, 106.

⁵⁶ Naantali was the subject of a study by C. M. Creutz in 1849 and was also presented in Zacharias Topelius' well-known work, *Finland framstäldt i teckningar*, Helsingfors 1845. See also C. M. Creutz, *Birgittiner Klostret i Nådendal. Historiskt utkast*, särtryck ur Suomi 1849, Helsingfors 1850; Julius Finnberg, *Naantalia viisi vuosisataa 1443–1943*, Otava: Helsinki 1943, 116–117.

monastery was the church, which was still in use by the Lutheran parish. The building was restored in the 1860's.⁵⁷

In 1863 Sven Gabriel Elmgren, active as secretary of the Finnish Literature Society and curator (*kuraattori*) of the students' fraternity of Western Finland (*Vest-finska afdelningen*), published the first work to present a mapping of the remains of the monastery.⁵⁸ His view is affected by the romantic views on ruins. Since Elmgren, a theologian by background, has been defined as a liberal Fennoman, his interest in the medieval monastic site should perhaps be considered with reference to the general views on the medieval past in his day. Elmgren was active in the Finnish Literature Society and in the forerunner to the Finnish Historical Society (1875), the Historical Section (formed in 1864), where Topelius and Karl August Bomansson, among others, probably also exchanged ideas. Bomansson and Hausen were also members of the students' fraternity. The Finnish Literature Society developed a more western orientation in the 1850's as criticism against Russia grew. It has been stated that Elmgren had an influence on this orientation.⁵⁹ Elmgren referred to Topelius's *Finland framställt i teckningar* (1845) regarding the tower of Turku church,⁶⁰ which is a clear sign that he had read Topelius's work.

In Elmgren's study of Naantali the position of the site in relation to the beauty of gardens and nature is often emphasized. In Elmgren's diary he writes about the group that visited the spa in Naantali. The party made several strolls – common in those days – to enjoy the scenery. In July Elmgren notes: "From the high hill beside Viiala you could see the tower of

⁵⁷ For further information about the restoration of the Naantali church, see e.g. Henrik Lilius, *Birgittinerkyrkan i Nådendal* (Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 69), Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys: Helsinki 1969; Valkeapää 2000.

⁵⁸ Elmgren's firstborn, Fanny, died tragically on his birthday in 1863 during the time that he was waiting for the book to be published. Topelius and Bomansson, among others, had been godfathers to the child. See Aarno Maliniemi (ed.), *S. G. Elmgrenin muistiinpanot* (Suomen historian lähteitä 2), Helsinki 1939, 504; Ilkka Mäkinen, 'Elmgren, Sven Gabriel', in *Suomen kansallisbiografia 2* (Studia Biographica 3:2), Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura: Helsinki 2003, 552.

⁵⁹ Sven Gabriel Elmgren, *Nådendals kloster-ruiner*, J. C. Frenckell & son: Helsingfors 1863; K. E. F. Ignatius, 'Minnestäl öfver vicebibliotekarien professor Sven Gabriel Elmgren', *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 24 (1899), 3–19; E. G. Palmén, 'Sven Gabriel Elmgren. Hänen satavuotispäivänsä johdosta kuvannut E. G. Palmén', *Historiallinen arkisto* 30 (1922), 1–65, here esp. 5, 7–8, 17–19, 38–39, 45, 50, 64–65; Maliniemi 1939, v–viii; Ringbom 1986, 26; Päiviö Tommila, *Suomen historiankirjoitus. Tutkimuksen historia*, WSOY: Porvoo 1989, 73–78, 80–81, 85, 106–107, 130, 138; Kari Tarkiainen, 'Mikä mies Reinhold Hausen oli?', in Elisa Orrman (ed.) *Reinhold Hausen (1850–1942). Kansallisen arkiston rakentaja*, Art House – Kansallisarkisto: Helsinki 2000, 7–12. here 10; Jukka Kukkonen, 'Rauniot ja luonto valokuvaaja Hausenin etsimässä', in Elisa Orrman (ed.) *Reinhold Hausen (1850–1942). Kansallisen arkiston rakentaja*. Art House – Kansallisarkisto: Helsinki 2000, 71–76. here 74; Mäkinen 2003, 551–552; Irma Sulkunen *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 1831–1892*, SKS: Helsinki 2004, 98, 115, 124, 149, Ahl 2005a, 10–11.

⁶⁰ Elmgren 1863, 26. See also Topelius 1845.

the Cathedral in Turku, Turku castle, the observatory and the jail, as well as Naantali".⁶¹ Among others, Matti Klinge has stated that the need to climb a nearby hill to view the romantic panorama was typical of the romantic and patriotic literature and worldview in Finland in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶² Elmgren's interest in Naantali thus seems connected to a view of Finnish cultural history as originating in the Middle Ages, with Finland as a western-oriented area.

Karl August Bomansson had a general interest in the monastic sites of the former diocese of Turku,⁶³ but his work was not completed. Bomansson had made expeditions to collect data on ancient monuments and document medieval churches in the late 1850's as one of the pioneers in the field.⁶⁴

Reinhold Hausen was of Ålandic origin, as was Bomansson, and was sent out by Bomansson on antiquarian expeditions financed by the Finnish Literature Society to collect data e.g. in the Åland Islands and about the monasteries of Raumo and Naantali.⁶⁵ As mentioned, he attended the excavations organized by Bomansson in the late 1860's in Kökar and organized his own excavations in Naantali a few years later. Hausen was sent out to collect data in 1870 and 1871 and published his observations in 1872 and 1873.⁶⁶ There is also an indication of competition in the early 1870's between scholars in the various societies regarding antiquarian expeditions. In the Finnish Literature Society, Bomansson eagerly encouraged Hausen in his research and documentation of churches etc. and criticised his antagonists in the Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys for quick and careless research.⁶⁷ In letters from Bomansson to Hausen, issues of methodology

⁶¹ "...från det höga berget invid Viiala syntes Åbo kyrktorn, slott, observatorium och korrektionshus, äfvensom Nådendal", in Maliniemi 1939, 465. Regarding the admiration of both nature and gardens in Naantali see also Elmgren 1863, e.g. 4–5, 17.

⁶² "...kotipihasta noustaan opettavasti läheiselle kukkulalle tai vuorelle, josta avautuva panorama antaa aiheen maailmankuvan laajentamiseen sieltä näkyvien maisemien ansiosta". See Matti Klinge, *Bernadotten ja Leninin välissä. Tutkielmia kansallisista aiheista*, WSOY: Porvoo – Helsinki 1975, 104; also Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*. Fontana Press: London 1996, 15.

⁶³ Several parts of a draft of a history of the medieval monasteries in Finland can be found in K. A. Bomansson's archive, in the 'National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

⁶⁴ Ringbom 1986, 24s; Valkeapää 2000, 30.

⁶⁵ E.g. letters from K. A. Bomansson to R. Hausen 27.12.1871, fol. 9, in Letters from K. A. Bomansson, Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

⁶⁶ Reinhold Hausen, *Anteckningar gjorda under en Antiquarisk forskningsresa sommaren 1870 i Vestra Nyland*, Finska Litteratursällskapet: Helsingfors 187; Reinhold Hausen, *Anteckningar gjorda under en Antiquarisk forskningsresa sommaren 1871 i Egentliga Finland samt på Åland*, J. C. Frenckell & son: Helsingfors 1873, 3. See also e.g. Lilius 2000, 55–56; Ahl 2005a, 11.

⁶⁷ For example Emil Nervander is blamed for being "a caricature of a researcher" (*karrikatyr till fornforskare*), with the statement that he could stay in his field of poetry as he was "dreamy and poetical" (*svärmisk och poetisk*). See letters from K. A. Bomansson to R. Hausen 24.7.1871, 2.8.1871, 26.10.1871, fol. 9 Letters from K. A. Bomansson, Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

regarding the collection of data are also discussed, as a result of which one can draw the conclusion that these experiences also had an impact on Hausen's fieldwork in Naantali.

It has been claimed that Hausen had Swecoman interests due to his participation in the founding of the Swedish Literature Society in 1885,⁶⁸ but his background at least seems to have been in the liberal Fennoman ideology of the 1850's and 1860's, as does Bomansson's. This seems apparent in Hausen's focus of research, i.e. in his general interest in medieval sites which at that time could represent a long continuum of Finnish history.

After the research of the 1870's there was little interest among later twentieth-century archaeologists (until the 1990's) in returning to the site. This seems to have been due to the fact that Hausen's research may have been considered a sufficient published interpretation of the site.⁶⁹ Juhani Rinne (1872–1950) investigated the site archaeologically in 1921–23.⁷⁰ According to the press watching the vespers arranged by Amos Anderson and Julius Finnberg in Naantali in 1921, Rinne gave a speech about the site. The archaeological investigation was undertaken to determine a place for the monument to Jöns Budde that was erected there by Anderson.⁷¹ The early researchers (Bomansson and Hausen) had no need to write reports of the kind that later became standard (as the Archaeological Commission began conducting more "institutionalized excavating"). They may have been attempting to construct a historical continuum of the site, and thus their aim seems to have been to collect data of all types (folklore, historical sources, information by means of excavation, etc.) and, eventually, to publish the results. This seems evident from an analysis of the material left in Hausen's and Bomansson's archives and a reading of the published results.⁷²

Some points regarding their techniques can be gleaned from the letters from Bomansson to Hausen. Lilius has stated that Bomansson and Hausen had no education in the field of archaeology and that there are no reports

⁶⁸ Tarkiainen 2000, 10.

⁶⁹ Personal communication with Prof. Markus Hiekkanen (University of Turku, Archaeology), 11.10.2008, at the conference *Dies mediaevales*, University of Tampere.

⁷⁰ E.g. Steinby 1978, 355–356; *Hufvudstaadsbladet* (HBL) 21.7.1921 (in the article the facts about the monastery are taken from Elmgren's work – see Elmgren 1863). Regarding Naantali Juhani Rinne himself recommends R. Hausen's study from 1922 to Pirita Kaunistamise Selts in a letter in 1929. They had asked him in a previous letter for a publication on Naantali. See letter to Juhani Rinne from Pirita Kaunistamise Selts 5.11.1929 and letter from Juhani Rinne to Pirita Kaunistamise Selts 25.11.1929, The archive of Pirita Kaunistamise Selts, City Archives of Tallinn, Tallinn, Estonia.

⁷¹ HBL 25.7.1921; Steinby 1978, 355–356.

⁷² K. A. Bomansson's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki; Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

from the excavations,⁷³ but one can still track some of their influences, as Bomansson mentions in a letter to Hausen what he should read (regarding e.g. the attributes of the apostles): "*Handbuch der Kirchelichen Kunst-Archäologie der deutschen Mittelaldert von Heinrich Otte Leipzig, 1854 [sic]*".⁷⁴

Regarding the instruments used in the excavations, Bomansson asked Hausen to order a chain of a specific kind for the measurement of the ruins, to be used in their research in Kökar in the late 1860's.⁷⁵ In an undated letter, Bomansson states that he agrees with Hausen's plan to visit the churches in south-western Finland, there to "rather study a smaller area well than a larger more roughly", and that this was the "only proper method to be followed in all research".⁷⁶

The initiative for the excavation in Naantali came from Karl August Bomansson. Lilius claims that we cannot track this further,⁷⁷ but in fact something can be tracked from the letters between Hausen and Bomansson. It is obvious that Bomansson conducted research regarding the medieval monasteries in the diocese of Turku and in several letters bade Hausen visit the sites in Naantali and Rauma during his antiquarian field expeditions in 1870 and 1871 – the trips financed by the Finnish Literature Society.⁷⁸ Bomansson also wanted Hausen to visit Masku to examine a possible site of the monastery of St. Anna. Should he find the remains, he was to "measure and describe them, mark their current length, their thickness and what they consist of (brick, rock?) and it would be charming if you could do some small sketches of them. Their position [in the landscape] and at which point of the compass they are situated from the nearest hamlet or farm is...also

⁷³ Lilius 2000, 54, 56. As mentioned, there was no institution at that time to report to, which is in part why one must look to the letters and drafts in the archives to follow the work of the researchers in the field. Their aim was evidently to publish the results and that the publications should work as holistic (i.e. describing all aspects of the site) "reports" of their research, as already mentioned.

⁷⁴ Letter from K. A. Bomansson to R. Hausen 27.12.1871, fol. 9 Letters from K. A. Bomansson, Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki; Heinrich Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1868. Leena Valkeapää has stated in her research that until the 1920's the term "archaeology" often included a broad set of various studies in the fields of prehistory, history and art history. The term "art-archaeology" (*taidearkeologia*) was used during a few decades in the late nineteenth century and at the turn of the twentieth century. See Valkeapää 2000, 146–147.

⁷⁵ Letters from K. A. Bomansson to R. Hausen 11.6.1868, 21.6.1868, fol. 9 Letters from K. A. Bomansson, Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

⁷⁶ "Din plan att hellre undersöka ett mindre område wäl än ett större mera lösligt [?], är den enda riktiga man alltid bör följa vid alla forskningar..." See letter from K. A. Bomansson to R. Hausen, undated, fol. 9 Letters from K. A. Bomansson, Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

⁷⁷ Lilius 2000, 56.

⁷⁸ E.g. letters from K. A. Bomansson to R. Hausen 18.5.1870, 21.5.1870, fol. 9 Letters from K. A. Bomansson, Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

important".⁷⁹ Hausen's research in Naantali primarily determined and mapped the area covered by the remains of the monastic buildings,⁸⁰ which seems to have been typical for researchers representative of "romantic antiquarianism".⁸¹

Hausen's publication *Nåndendal kyrka och klosterruiner* (1922) was financed by businessman Amos Anderson during the period of renewed interest in the Naantali site.⁸² In the 1920's and 1930's the use of the site for historical jubilees and commemorations became more frequent. Amos Anderson (1878–1961), together with a local teacher, Julius Finnberg (1877–1955), organized the restoration of the altarpieces of Naantali church, published Hausen's research and organized vespers in the church, and Anderson also wrote a play, *Vallis gratiae* – all for the eve of the big jubilee of St. Birgitta in 1923. Anderson took great interest in the Bridgettine Order – for example, he visited Casa di Santa Brigida on a trip to Rome in 1926.⁸³ In 1920 Anderson took an interest in the Bridgettine legacy, together with Finnberg, who had attended a vesper organized by *Societas Sanctae Birgittae* in Vadstena in July. Anderson published "Vision from Naantali" in *Hufvudstadsbladet*. This "vision" can also be found in his archive as a handwritten draft.⁸⁴

As mentioned, Finnberg had attended the first Birgittavesper arranged in Vadstena in 1920 and thus established an interest in the revival of the Bridgettine legacy. Anderson had visited the St. Birgitta exhibition held in Stockholm in 1918 arranged by Lindblom, Curman and others. The jubilee in 1923 in Sweden was organized by Sigurd Curman (1879–1966) and Andreas Lindblom (1889–1977) – both famous Swedish art historians and active in the

⁷⁹ "...uppmäta och beskrifva dem, anteckna nuvarande längd, tjocklek och beståndsdelar (tegel, gråsten?) och charmant [?] vore de tom du kunde göra små planritningar af dem. Deras belägenhet och väderstrcket från närmaste by eller gård är veterligen [?] ock viktigt)". In letter from K. A. Bomansson to R. Hausen 18.5.1870, fol. 9 Letters from K. A. Bomansson, Reinhold Hausen's Archive, National Archives of Finland, Helsinki.

⁸⁰ Reinhold Hausen, *Nåndendals kyrka och klosterruiner*, Amos Anderson Förlagsaffär: Helsingfors 1922; Lilius 2000, 56–57.

⁸¹ Ringbom 1986, 24, 28.

⁸² Hausen 1922; Lilius 2000, 56–60; Ahl 2005a, 11–13.

⁸³ Amos Anderson, *Vallis Gratiae: 8-kuvaelmäinen legendanäytelmä*, Helsinki 1923; Finnberg 1943, 5, 24–25, 107–119; Torsten Steinby, 'Birgittavespern i Nåndendal', *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 53 (1978), 352–375; Eva Ahl, 'Casa di Santa Brigida och Finland – två exempel på intresse för Birgittahuset i Rom', *Roma. Villa Lanten Ystävien vuosikirja* 4 (2005), 95–96 (= Ahl 2005b); Ahl 2005a, 13–15.

⁸⁴ HBL 28.11.1920; Steinby 1978, 352; 'Nattsången i Vallis Gratiae', handwritten draft, Föreningen Konstsamfundet's archive SLSA, Amos Anderson's archive, fol. 81, National Library of Finland, Helsinki; 'Vallis Gratiae. En Nåndendals-vision', draft to an article dated July 1920, Föreningen Konstsamfundet's archive SLSA, Amos Anderson's archive, fol. 88, National Library of Finland, Helsinki.

Birgitta societies in Sweden founded in 1920 (the contemplative *Societas Sanctae Birgittae* and *Birgittastiftelsen*, more focused on preserving both the material and immaterial Bridgettine legacy, i.e. the Vadstena site, Bridgettine art etc.).⁸⁵ Anderson and Finnberg had extensive contact with them from the early 1920's to the 1940's.⁸⁶



Fig. 3. The monument for Jöns Budde (d. 1491) was erected in 1921. The project was planned and financed by Julius Finnberg and Amos Anderson (Eva Ahl 2003).

Besides commemorative activity in the form of vespers at the Naantali site, Anderson and Finnberg also arranged for monuments to be erected on the sites connected to the Bridgettine legacy in Finland: in 1921 a memorial to Jöns Budde (a Bridgettine brother) in Naantali,⁸⁷ and in 1927 a monument to medieval bishop Maunu Tavast (d. 1452) – according to Finnberg and Anderson a friend of the Bridgettines – in Mietois. In Naantali, the nuns received a monument in 1931⁸⁸ and a new one in 1993.⁸⁹ During the interwar

⁸⁵ Steinby 1978, 352–354, 365–366; Ahl 2005a, 16; Lindaräng 2005, 48–49; Lindaräng 2007, 73–85; Ahl 2007a, 9.

⁸⁶ Steinby 1978, 351–352; Torsten Steinby, 'Drama och musik hos Amos Anderson', *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier* 54 (1979), 5–64, here 25.

⁸⁷ Fig. 3.

⁸⁸ When unveiling the monument in Mietois, Amos Anderson probably gave two speeches, which are preserved in his archive. Both speeches are addressed to the youth: that they should follow the bishop's path and love their country but find their own way. See 'Tal hållet vid avteckningen av minnesstenen i Mietois 28.8.1927', Föreningen Konstsamfundet's archive SLSA, Amos Anderson's archive, fol. 86, National Library of Finland, Helsinki. See also: Letters from Julius Finnberg to Mary von Rosen (SSB, Sweden) 31.7.1927, 25.10.1927, fol. J: 10: 1–14, Archives of *Societas Sanctae Birgittae*, Uppsala University Library, Uppsala; Finnberg 1943, 107–108, 114–115. Julius Finnberg also had a vivid

period both Anderson and Finnberg were involved in the restoration of Turku Cathedral, led by archaeologist Juhani Rinne among others.⁹⁰ It must be mentioned that interest in Saint Henry also peaked during this period – Rinne published a well-known work on the saint in the early 1930's.⁹¹ Finnberg was also very active in organizing the Naantali jubilee in 1943.⁹²

The restoration work in Vadstena began in the mid-1920's, and both Lindblom and Curman took part in this. Curman was appointed the head of what was to become the Swedish National Board of Antiquities (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*), and Lindblom was leading the Nordic Museum in Stockholm (*Nordiska museet*). Already in the first decade of the twentieth century a plan to make the buildings in Vadstena into a museum was launched. Both Curman and Lindblom were later involved with these plans, as mentioned, but the museum was only realized much later, and reopened in the jubilee of Saint Birgitta in 2003.⁹³

religious interest in the cause of SSB, which is evident in e.g. the letters to Mary von Rosen. Figs. 4 and 5.

⁸⁹ A statue outside Naantali church by Raimo Heino was raised in 1993. Fig. 6.

⁹⁰ E.g. Letter from Julius Finnberg to Mary von Rosen (SSB, Sweden) 12.1.1928, fol. J: 10: 1–14, Archives of *Societas Sanctae Birgittae*, Uppsala University Library, Uppsala; Anna-Kaisa Tenhunen, *Rooman ja Turun välissä. Amos Anderson kirkollisena vaikuttajana 1920-luvulla*, unpublished master's thesis, Department of Ecclesiastical History, University of Helsinki 2004, 117–118, 126–127; Ahl 2005b, 95–96.

⁹¹ Juhani Rinne, *Pyhä Henrik. Piispa ja marttyyri* (Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia 33), Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura: Helsinki 1932; Tuomas Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda* (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 1039), Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura: Helsinki 2005, 43; Eva Ahl, 'Henrik. Kirves ja Lalli? Sata vuotta arkeologiaa Köyliössä', in Helena Edgren, Tuukka Talvio & Eva Ahl eds., *Pyhä Henrik ja Suomen kristillistyminen = Suomen Museo Finskt Museum 2006* (= Ahl 2007b), 138–149, here 142. There was active interest in the process of the Christianization of Finland in the mid-nineteenth century as well as later on. This also involved an interest in the legend and legacy of Saint Henry. See e.g. Härö 1984, 55–56; Valkeapää 2000, 151; Fewster 2006, 118, 124; Ahl 2007b, 138.

⁹² Letters from Julius Finnberg to Mary von Rosen (SSB, Sweden) 16.6.1943, 12.7.1943, 21.7.1943, fol. J: 10: 1–14, Archives of *Societas Sanctae Birgittae*, Uppsala University Library, Uppsala; Finnberg 1943, 5, 107–119; Ahl 2005a, 16–17.

⁹³ Birgitta Olai, 'Föreningen Birgittamuséet i Vadstena 1906–1935 – Birgittamuseum med förhinder', in Anders Jarlert ed., *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift 2005*, 29–36; Lindaräng 2005, 49; Lindaräng 2007, 117–139; Ahl 2007a, 8–10.



Fig. 4. The monument in Mietois for Maunu Tavast (d. 1452) was erected in 1927 by Amos Anderson and Julius Finnberg (Eva Ahl-Waris 2009). Fig. 5. A monument in memory of the Naantali nuns was erected by Vallis Gratiae-yhdistys (1928) in 1931. Notice the flowers brought to honour their memory! (Eva Ahl-Waris 2009).

A good example of the frequent contact among those involved with the Bridgettine legacy can be seen in 1923, during the 550-year jubilee of St. Birgitta. Anderson and Finnberg visited Sweden and were welcomed by Curman.⁹⁴ Anderson hosted Curman's visit to Finland in the same year, as Curman had taken an interest in the restoration work on Turku Cathedral. Overall, he was personally pleased with Anderson's burning interest in the medieval legacy. Anderson invited Curman to the premiere of the play *Vallis gratiae*, but Curman could not participate. The play opened on November 20th 1923 at the Finnish National Theatre (*Kansallisteatteri*).⁹⁵ The play was later shown in Stockholm in 1925 and in Vienna in 1931.⁹⁶

In Anderson's *Vision from Naantali*, written in July 1920, one can note a few special features in the handwritten draft. When referring to the spot next to the monastery's remains where the writer's vision begins, the word for "favourite spot" (*älsklingsplats*) has been crossed out compared to the printed article.⁹⁷ Was it too personal? When reading the text one comes to think of a person Anderson seems to have greatly admired: the well-known inhabitant

⁹⁴ Steinby 1978, 364–366.

⁹⁵ E.g. Letters from Sigurd Curman to Amos Anderson 21.9.1923, 15.10.1923, 8.11.1923, Amos Anderson's Archive, Archive of the National Library of Finland, Helsinki; Copy of letters from Amos Anderson to Sigurd Curman 10.10.1923, 26.10.1923, Amos Anderson's Archive, Archive of the National Library of Finland, Helsinki.

⁹⁶ Steinby 1979, 41–42.

⁹⁷ 'Nattsången i Vallis Gratiae', handwritten draft, Föreningen Konstsamfundet's archive SLSA, Amos Anderson's archive, fol. 81, National Library of Finland, Helsinki.

of the fifteenth-century monastery, Jöns Budde, and his vision. In Anderson's vision, the writer is entering the church to the chiming of the bell. The end is abrupt: the writer is taken back to his own time in a thunderclap and notes that he has fallen off his bench in the park. In the vision much emphasis is placed on the chanting and praying of the monks and nuns and on the tolling of the bells. In Jöns Budde's most famous written story (connected to the translating of the visions of St. Mechtild) the writer also dozes off to a dream, sees a lady (a nun?), and returns to the pealing of the bell of the morning mass.⁹⁸ The Naantali site is thus also seen as a *memento mori*: the fascination for the passage of time is evident in the "vision". It is very likely that Anderson had read about Jöns Budde and his dream and was thus inspired. The tolling of the bells was also, naturally, an important element in the vespers at Naantali arranged by Finnberg and Anderson.⁹⁹ Steinby has emphasised that this *Vision from Naantali* must have been a first draft of the play *Vallis Gratiae* which Anderson wrote shortly thereafter.¹⁰⁰ Anderson was evidently touched by the Catholic revival in the wave of interest for St. Birgitta,¹⁰¹ but his network consisted of the "Birgitta enthusiasts" who did not convert, but worked in an ecumenical spirit in the High Church movement, emphasizing the preservation and continuum of the historical legacy of Birgitta. The same seems to have also been the case with Finnberg.

In 1929 Curman visited Tallinn and took an interest in the monumental Bridgettine ruin in Pirita. In 1925 a society had been formed in Pirita, Pirita Kaunistamise Selts ("the Society for making Pirita beautiful"), with an interest in preserving the site. Earlier restorations had taken place in the late nineteenth century and the 1910's. The enthusiasm of the Birgitta jubilee in 1923 spread to Pirita Kaunistamise Selts as well. Thus, in 1930 the archaeological excavations began as a joint project of Estonian and Swedish researchers, launched by Curman among others. A big jubilee was organized in 1936, in which Pirita can be clearly seen as a political bridge between Estonia and Sweden. Curman is seen to be a very active person in the creation of this view of Pirita, which may be an example of some idea of

⁹⁸ See e.g. Marko Lamberg, *Jöns Budde. Birgittalaisveli ja hänen teoksensa*, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura: Helsinki 2007, 13–14.

⁹⁹ See e.g. article in HBL 25.7.1921. This is more thoroughly discussed in Ahl-Waris, forthcoming.

¹⁰⁰ Steinby 1979, 41–42.

¹⁰¹ Steinby 1979, 10, 21–24.

a 'Greater Sweden' affecting him somewhat.¹⁰² The last fieldwork in Pirita prior to the Soviet regime was conducted in 1937.¹⁰³

During the interwar period the contact between e.g. Curman, Lindblom, Finnberg and Anderson was frequent – and evidently fruitful. They could thus possibly be seen as a modern "spiritual" network of "activists" joined in the cause of preserving the monumental Bridgettine legacy.



Fig. 6. The statue of a Bridgettine nun made by Raimo Heino and erected outside the medieval church of Naantali during the 550th jubilee of the city of Naantali in 1993. Notice the flower brought to honour their memory! (Mikko Waris 2009).

Concluding remarks

A brief overview of a case study of the Bridgettine monastery in Naantali, of interest as a *lieu de mémoire* in the second half of the nineteenth century and

¹⁰² *Pirita klooster 500. 1436–1936. Birgittaklostret vid Tallinn. Koguteos. Festskrift* (Pirita Kaunistamise Seltsi Väljanne 12), Pirita Kaunistamise Selts: Pirita 1936; *Pirita klooster ja selle 500-aastase pühitsemispäeva juubel 15. ja 16. augustil 1936. A. ühes mõningate ajalooliste andmetega. Birgittaklostret vid Tallinn och firandet av dess 500-årsjubileum den 15 och 16 augusti 1936 jämte några historiska upplysningar*, (Pirita Kaunistamise Seltsi Väljanne 15), Pirita Kaunistamise Selts: Pirita 1940; Bertil Berthelson, *Studier i Birgittinerordens byggnadsskick 1. Anläggningen och dess tillämpning*, Håkan Ohlssons boktryckeri: Lund 1946, 5; Ahl 2005a, 15–16; Kaljundi 2007, 117–139; Ahl 2007a. For a biographical background to Curman, see e.g. Richard Pettersson, *Fädernesland och framtidsland. Sigurd Curman och kulturminnesvårdens etablering*, Umeå universitet: Umeå 2001; Pirita kaunistamise selts has been reestablished in 2005. See e.g. <http://www.hot.ee/piritaselts/>, read 9.1.2009.

¹⁰³ E.g. letter to baron Staël von Holstein from Pirita Kaunistamise Selts 18.9.1936, and copy of an article in Päevaleht 1937, Archive of Pirita Kaunistamise Selts, Tallinn City Archives, Tallinn, Estonia. From time to time Estonian archaeologists point out that the excavations were led by Armin Tuulse and took place in 1934–36 (see e.g. Tvauri 2004, 4), but this is not entirely the case, as mentioned.

in the interwar period, has been presented. Elmgren's interest in Naantali seems connected to a view of Finnish cultural and religious history as having its origins in the Middle Ages, with Finland as a western-oriented area. This view is later also shared by e.g. Leinberg in his 1890 monograph on the monasteries.¹⁰⁴ Both Bomansson and Hausen probably shared some of Elmgren's ideas that the medieval sites could represent a long continuum in Finnish history from the "nation's" early past to the present. The ruins were also seen in this context from the viewpoint of aesthetic romanticism typical of the mid-nineteenth century. This is also reflected to some extent in Hausen's work, but Hausen seems to be more familiar with the methodologies of the *Kunst-Archäologie* of his time than Elmgren.

From the late eighteenth century to the 1940's, Pirita and Naantali were interesting to the public for their beaches and long traditions of spa culture, but the monasteries' monumental remains were clearly also used to attract this public.¹⁰⁵ This is also visible in the interwar brochures for tourists at that time; the monasteries are a part of the public image of both.¹⁰⁶ Even though the regional and religious aspects of the Naantali site are stronger and the national aspect stronger concerning Vadstena, they still share a common feature of the interwar period linked with cultural heritage as cultural identity: never have so many monuments been erected on historical sites in Europe as during that period.¹⁰⁷ The raising of monuments on the sites, or the use of the sites for jubilees or commemorations, are also a part of the "production of memory": things, places, events and stories.¹⁰⁸ This is also reflected in Vadstena, Pirita and Naantali.

The Naantali site is also connected to the religious interest in the 1920's in Catholicism, which was seen particularly among scholars and actors (e.g. the people in the High Church movement) involved in the study

¹⁰⁴ Leinberg stated in his foreword that the monasteries were "the elder daughters of the Christian church in Finland", with importance for the "education and the religious views of the Finnish people" ("...äldre döttrar af den kristna kyrkan i Finland", "...finska folkets bildning och religiösa föreställningssätt"). The universities also derive from the church as institutions that "foster the Finnish people" ("...härstamning från kyrkan, såsom det finska folkets fostrarinna") and the "Finnish monasteries were the less respected, earlier descendants of the church during the Catholic era" ("...mindre bemärkta, tidigare afkomlingar höra Finlands kloster under katolicismens tid"). See Leinberg 1890, i–iii.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. Elmgren 1863, 60; Maliniemi 1939, 465; Finnberg 1943; Ahl 2005a; Ahl 2007a; Kaljundi 2007, 127–128.

¹⁰⁶ Kaljundi 2007, 127–128. The silhouettes of the monasteries' churches are used in brochures and posters in the 1930's. See e.g. leaflet *Pirita. Seebad St. Birgitten bei Tallinn*, 1938. For a picture of the poster of Naantali by Rainer Baer from the 1930's, see Magnus Londen, Joakim Enegren & Ant Simons, *Come to Finland. Julisteita & matkoja. Affischer & resor 1851–1965*, Edita: Helsinki 2007, 80.

¹⁰⁷ Concerning the interwar period as a period of the raising of monuments in vast numbers, see e.g. Aronsson 2004, 208.

¹⁰⁸ Aronsson 2004, 197.

of Saint Birgitta at that time.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the monastic sites in Vadstena, Naantali and Pirta also formed bases for national and regional histories in these countries. The use of history in jubilees also connected scholars across the Baltic Sea in the international interest for the Bridgettine order, at the same time as the national and regional contexts were emphasized.

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¹⁰⁹See also Jan Lehtola's article on Amos Anderson's organ. See Jan Lehtola, 'Amos Andersonin kotiurut', *Organ* 3/2009, 23–30. For further background to the worldviews of the scholars interested in Birgitta, see e.g. Ingemar Lindaräng, *Synen på Birgitta. En undersökning av några Birgittabiografier*, Föreningen Gamla Vadstena. Småskriftserien nr 46. Föreningen Gamla Vadstena: Vadstena 2002; Eva Ahl, 'Den heliga Birgitta – profet eller politiker? Trender och tendenser inom den nordiska Birgittaforskningen', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 2002, 25–56; Carina Nynäs, *Jag ser klart! Synen på den heliga Birgitta i svenska 1900-talsbiografier*. Åbo Akademis förlag: Åbo 2006.