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THE ONION DOME CRISIS – SHAPING FINNISH ORTHODOX CHURCH ARCHITECTURE OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Introduction

Where cultural heritage is concerned, it is necessary to consider whose heritage is being addressed and by whom that heritage is defined, as noted by art historian Matthew Rampley, because heritage and local identity are connected in various ways. 'Our' heritage is the focus when the national cultural heritage is constructed, but at the same time the unwanted part of the 'shared' narrative is often ignored. Not only the cherished and the preserved are significant but also the effaced and the forgotten.[1] Rampley applied the notion of *unwanted heritage*, which is related to the observations of early researchers of nationalism – for a nation, both selective memory and forgetting are as important as remembering.[2] According to him, the past will instigate forgetting, especially when a memory is connected to a traumatic experience.[3]

The aim of this article, which is based on my doctoral thesis on art history,[4] is to consider the complex and sensitive issue of shaping a national 'Karelian-Finnish' style for the Finnish Orthodox church architecture in the interwar period 1918–1939. Finland declared its independence on the 6th of December in 1917. In 1809 Sweden ceded Finland to Russia as a result of the Swedish-Russian War of 1808–1809 after which Finland formed an autonomous Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire. The process of gaining independence was linked with the First World War and the Russian February Revolution, which led to the abdication of Nicholas II. From the Finnish point of view, the so-called personal union via the ruler between Russia and Finland lost its legal basis and provided the opportunity to strive for independence. The Orthodox cultural heritage of the Grand Duchy of Finland and especially features interpreted as the signs of Russianness can be regarded as a difficult and unwanted heritage for the young independent nation-state of Finland. The phenomenon of effacing the Russian identity of Orthodox church architecture of Finland proceeded in two stages. Firstly, attention was concentrated on the Russianness of existing Orthodox churches, and secondly an attempt was made to create a new national architectural idiom for churches and chapels. This article aims to briefly discuss both stages.

In the Grand Duchy of Finland, the vast religious majority were Lutherans while the largest religious minority were Orthodox Christians.[5] The Orthodox Church faced socially, politically and financially new circumstances after the turmoil of the Russian revolution and the Finnish Civil War. For the state authorities of Finland, the Orthodox Church – the Greek-Russian Diocese of Finland at the time – was problematically 'a Russian institution'. It belonged to the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church of Russia and thus the supreme administration of the diocese was beyond the borders of independent Finland.

Statistics show that the Russian population of the Grand Duchy of Finland varied at the beginning of the 20th century owing to the ambiguous criteria of defining who is Russian.[6] Although the Pan-Slavic movement emphasised the significance of the Orthodox faith, Slavic unity and the Russian language,[7] the subjects of the Russian Empire in general may have been regarded as Russians. There is no precise information about their number in Finland. In 1910, for instance, about 12,000 of them were settled in Finland's seven largest towns.[8] Considering the officials of the Grand Duchy for example, the features described as Russianness were instead more transnational: German, French, European.[9]

Definitions based on language are also ambiguous. Especially in Helsinki and Viipuri (Vyborg), the Russian-speaking population integrated partly into the Finnish-speaking or Swedish-speaking population during the 19th century. Nonetheless, quite a significant Russian minority existed within the Orthodox minority in Finland. While the majority of the Orthodox population in the rural areas of Karelia were Finnish-speaking, the Orthodox parishes of the largest cities and the Russian settlements on the Karelian Isthmus were Russian-speaking.[10] Russian (mainly Petersburgian) summer villa residents of the Karelian Isthmus participated in the life of rather small local Orthodox parishes,[11] but were often invisible in the statistics. Historian Max Engman has estimated that before the First World War their number was approximately a hundred thousand per season.[12] Furthermore, during the interwar period and even later decades, the monasteries of Valaam and Konevets as well as the Lintula convent were Russian from a linguistic and cultural point of view. Certainly the largest individual group of Russians in Finland consisted of the troops of the Imperial Russian Army. Before the First World War the largest garrisons were on the territory of southern Finland, in Helsinki, Hämeenlinna and Viipuri, but just before and during the war their number remarkably increased.[13] Historian Jyrki Loima has pointed to the Orthodox population of autonomous Finland. He estimates that as a whole, when all the different groups of the Orthodox population – the citizens of Finland and the subjects of Russia in Finland – are taken into account, the number might have even been around 185,000 in 1917.[14]

The Orthodox Church of Finland was founded from the former diocese by the decree of the Senate of Finland in 1918. The Church proclaimed its autonomy from the Russian Orthodox Church in 1921. The first constitution of Finland in

1919 granted to the Orthodox Church judicial status equal to the majority Lutheran Church. In 1923, the Church gained the autonomous status of an Eastern Orthodox archdiocese under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.[15] Various definitions for Russians existed in Finland also during the interwar period.[16] The Russian minority of the Orthodox population was not marginal. In 1922, for example, the Finnish Orthodox Church had approximately 67,000 members. Over 15,000 were Russian-speaking, of whom roughly half lacked Finnish citizenship.[17]

Until the Russian revolution, Orthodox church architecture in Finland followed the Russian trends, especially currents in Saint Petersburg, but there was also a strong tradition of vernacular Orthodox chapels and churches in the rural areas of Karelia. However, over the centuries this tradition, connected with that of wooden vernacular architecture of the Russian North, was influenced by Russian and Byzantine (stone) church architecture, as the late professor of art history Lars Pettersson has proved.[18] In the public view, especially the Orthodox military churches of the Russian Imperial Army were explicated as 'disfiguring objects' representing foreign influence in Finnish national culture that had to be 'cleaned up' by eliminating them from the landscape.[19] Acts of demolition were called for in the press. In terms of *damnatio memoriae*, they were interpreted as political signs of oppression, because most of them were built either at the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century during the Russification policies of Imperial Russia, which, among other things, sought to limit the special status of the Grand Duchy of Finland.

Overall, during the interwar period, the life of the Finnish Orthodox Church was characterised by the aims of nationalisation of practices, ecclesiastical administration and ecclesiastical art in order to be loyal to the government and to move away from Russia and Russianness. Naturally, the phenomenon was not only Finnish. Corresponding discussions and activity took place in other parts of the fallen Russian Empire, for instance in the Baltic countries and Poland.[20]

An Outpost of Western Culture

Shortly after the Russian revolution and the beginning of Finland's national independence, an extremely difficult period followed, the Finnish Civil War of 1918 between the Whites and the Reds. It resulted in the victory of the White Army, which was gained partly with the aid of German troops. Although the former Russian Imperial Army mainly left Finland by March 1918, the winner's point of view was that Soviet Russia essentially supported the Reds. The winning side interpreted the war as a war of liberation against Russia.[21] One of the consequences of this was a growing anti-Russian atmosphere in Finnish society involving several concrete actions by the authorities, the results of which included restricting the freedom of action of the Russian population in Finland.[22]

The de-Russification actions against certain Orthodox churches were based on a decree issued by the Senate of Finland on the 17th of April 1918 concerning the confiscation of all Russian property to the State of Finland as trophies of war. The decree concerned an extensive amount of valuable and varied property of which Orthodox churches constituted only a small part. It seems that during and shortly after the Civil War, it proved to be problematic in the chaotic situation to define which of the churches should be interpreted as the property of Russia. This matter, however, requires further research. From the administrative point of view, military churches clearly belonged to this group because they were governed by the Russian military administration, not by the Orthodox diocese of Finland. On the other hand, also civilians could take part in the life of the military parish communities and make donations to the churches. The number of confiscated churches was heterogenous. At the beginning of the process, not only the Orthodox military churches but also several civilian parish churches and monastic property were confiscated, possibly because the Orthodox Church as such was interpreted as representing 'a Russian institution' in Finland. Ultimately, the Orthodox civilian parishes and monasteries were allowed to keep their property.[23]

After the Civil War, Finnish historians and writers, among others, increasingly emphasised the position of Finland as an outpost of western culture against the 'Asiatic barbarism' of the Soviet Union, which persecuted Christianity and destroyed churches.[24] The Russian heritage of the built environment was considered a burden in Finnish society and also within the Orthodox Church itself. Later in the 1920s and 1930s, the cultural policies of the Finnish Orthodox Church also took on the idea of the Western outpost.[25] In general, the Orthodox churches built during the years of the Grand Duchy of Finland could have been interpreted as representing the emblems of Imperial Russian rule, which took the landscape into the possession of the Empire, despite the fact that not all of them were built for political purposes.

Distinctive garrison churches for the Russian Imperial Army made particularly clear reference to Russian architecture and were thus central unwanted symbols in the landscape. At first, the Orthodox Church tried to negotiate for the use of the military churches, but then the Decree of the Orthodox Church in Finland given by the Senate in November, 1918 excluded them from the property of the Church.[26] Some of them soon served as Lutheran garrison churches or were simply demolished and in some cases taken into secular use.

One of the most striking examples of de-Russification was the heated discussion about the future of the military church of Alexander Nevsky in Hämeenlinna, which was built in 1900. The church was situated in a central location in the townscape. Since it would have been uneconomical to demolish a relatively new building, the local newspaper *Hämeen Sanomat* asked 'What to do with the Russian church of Hämeenlinna?', receiving several various proposals for further use as a theatre or a kindergarten. The pseudonym 'Soldier', for example, proposed that the

Russian-style ornaments and other details should be 'cleaned up' in order to give the building a western appearance.[27] What was unusual is that an organ of the Orthodox Church, the *Aamun Koitto* publication, took a stand in the matter when the editor, Dean Sergei Okulov wrote an authoritative reply. He questioned the most caustic attitudes and attacks against Orthodox Christians and called for national unity after the Civil War.[28] Nevertheless, the building was practically demolished in the process of transforming it into a classicistic library according to designs by architect Bertel Strömmer in 1923.[29]

Taking into account the context of the interwar period and the Lutheran or the secular use of certain confiscated churches, it is obvious that the Orthodox symbols of the buildings would be removed. However, when the original architectural idiom of the buildings was effaced, the nature of the setting changed to become 'national'. Public discussion about the possible Orthodox ecclesiastical use of the military churches dried up but did not totally end, as indicated by a brief news item in *Aamun Koitto* in 1939. The paper noted that the Orthodox Church of Finland aimed to continue to negotiate over the fate of the still existing former Orthodox military church buildings,[30] but apparently with no results, because the churches of Hyrylä (Tuusula) and Mikkeli were demolished later in the 1950s.[31]

Creating the Karelian-Finnish style

In the middle of the 1920s, a group of Finnish-minded members of the Orthodox Church drew up plans for reforms to efface the impression of Russianness in Finnish Orthodox church art. The principles of the reforms were outlined by the Karelian poet and novelist Iivo Härkönen (1882–1941), who was a delegate at the Orthodox Synod held in Sortavala in 1925. According to his proposal, the Church would be liberated from negative foreign influence by rejecting 'the unnecessary foreign characteristics' of ecclesiastical art in the Finnish-speaking parishes.[32] This meant, above all, the onion-shaped domes, which the Finnish-minded actors in Church politics criticised for being un-European and Oriental, although this architectural form is also found in Karelian vernacular Orthodox chapel architecture. In addition, the onion-shaped dome is present not only in Orthodox church architecture. It is an international architectural form found in India, Middle East and Central Asia. Furthermore, it is quite common in Roman Catholic and Lutheran church architecture from the 16th to the 20th century (e.g. in Southern Germany and Austria). Despite this, it has been used in Finland only in Orthodox church architecture and significantly it has been a feature of the Russian Revival style churches built in the 19th and early 20th century.

Notions of negative foreign influence were analogous to the acts of demolition that took place a few years earlier. Obviously, the leaders of the Orthodox Church felt obligated to express their debt of deep gratitude and loyalty to the Finnish

government because of the status given to the Church in the Decree of the Senate in 1918, although written sources do not easily reveal how they experienced the situation. However, it seems that the acts of demolition were more or less hailed by the Finnish-minded elements, in public at least by the openly anti-Russian Härkönen.[33] With colourful words, he described the acts of demolition as acceptable and natural development in order to eliminate the alien, ponderous and disfiguring church architecture of the years of Russian oppression. By emphasizing the consequences of 'foreign influence', Härkönen, on the one hand, associated the new national demarcations of church architecture with the contemporary public anti-Russian discussion. On the other hand, he thus justified the urgent need for the reformation of church art.[34]

Further, according to Härkönen's motion, the Orthodox Synod of Sortavala established a special committee of five members, known as the 'committee for nationalising the outward appearance of the Orthodox Church of Finland'[35] to supervise and direct the reforms in practice. It was subordinate to the Orthodox Church Board. With the exception of Härkönen, all the members were theologians and leaders of the Church. The original membership dissolved already in 1932 when Iivo Härkönen resigned because of the slow progress of the work. The Committee was discontinued in 1935, but its tasks were given to the Orthodox Church Board, which had already been represented on the Committee by several members.[36]

On the basis of Härkönen's writings, the Committee published the principles and objectives of the reforms in *Aamun Koitto*.[37] The concept of *negative choice* by the Swedish art historian Anders Åman is useful for considering the shaping of the new national idiom for Orthodox church architecture. In his study of architecture and ideology, he asks what exactly happens when a society, state or political system chooses its style of architecture. He points out that the greater the changes occurring in the history of architecture are, the greater the significance of the negative choice. He observes that rather than having completed plans, it is more likely that the choice is of a negative kind: what is 'chosen' is based on what is rejected.[38]

The Committee stated that because the population of the Finnish Orthodox Church was mainly Karelian and the Finnish Orthodox Church had the status of a national church, 'the old Karelian style' should maintained. Thus, during the difficult period after the Civil War, Karelia became the only resource of the Orthodox Church in Finland in general. Because the Committee rejected 'the foreign', the forms and characteristics interpreted and experienced as Finnish or Western remained and was thus chosen for the basis of the national Karelian-Finnish idiom.

Like many contemporaries, the members of the Committee seem to have held the unreflective and uncritical assumption that Finnish architecture in general and especially Lutheran church architecture had a flawless national character. In a contradictory manner, the instructions published by the Committee for the basis of planning the idiom did not contain definite elements of Karelian vernacular architecture but rather classical and western features – for example the Doric order.

A Romanesque, Renaissance or Gothic roof shape for belfries was recommended, as well as Early Christian and Byzantine motifs in general.[39] It is highly probable that the instructions did not reflect Härkönen's preferences randomly but rather the discussions he had had about art, although written sources do not tell much. Nevertheless, he was a friend of art historian Onni Okkonen (1886–1962), a prestigious participant in related discussion, with whom Härkönen travelled to Italy and who later became professor of art history at the University of Helsinki.[40]

It is necessary to emphasise that the reforms were not independently planned by the Committee or that they were only Härkönen's initiative. The political setting and social context obviously explain the efforts that were made to find suitable national forms. The Orthodox Church was poor and economically dependent on the Finnish state, which promised to fund new churches and chapels *if* their appearance would be so-called national, without 'foreign forms'. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and the National Board of Public Building began to require officially accepted construction plans for chapels, which improved the control of the authorities. Despite the fact that during the interwar period in Finland there was basically a sufficient number of churches for the Orthodox population and no need for new cathedrals, some villages of so-called Border Karelia had an urgent need for modest chapels.[41] Altogether, during the interwar period, only five new Orthodox churches and 13 chapels were built.

To the disappointment of the Committee, Finnish architects did not accept the challenge to develop the new Orthodox church architecture. The Committee was uncertain of the stylistic purity of the old construction plans in the collections of Valaam monastery and the Orthodox Church Board. Thus, at the end of the 1920s, the Committee decided to order a set of Karelian-Finnish type plans from the architect Veikko Kyander (1885–1971),[42] who had studied Finnish vernacular architecture, including Karelian chapels. For example, during the last few years of the Grand Duchy of Finland, he travelled to Karelia and documented vernacular architecture for the Finnish Antiquarian Society.[43] Kyander is quite an unknown name in the history of Finnish architecture. He was a good friend of Iivo Härkönen. The set of 23 sketches for construction plans drawn in the spring of 1930 by Kyander indicates that within the very limited period of three months, he unconventionally endeavoured to create an eclectic idiom, a synthesis, which would combine the forms of Finnish (not only Karelian) vernacular wooden architecture with the contemporary modern. A striking detail is a 'Finnish' Orthodox cross developed by Härkönen. It lacks the lowest slanted crossbeam of the traditional Russian Orthodox cross. It is an example of the clumsy method to eliminate 'the foreign influence'.[44]

Probably to the Committee's surprise, architect Kyander's sketches and the Committee's reforms were strongly criticised as 'foreign' by the Orthodox Synod held in Sortavala in 1930. The delegates interpreted matters in terms of the leaders of the church having rejected tradition and excessively adopted the idioms and practices

Figure 1. A modernist sketch plan for an Orthodox chapel or church by Veikko Kyander from May 1930. Photo: Hanna Kemppi. The Orthodox Church Museum of Finland, RIISA.

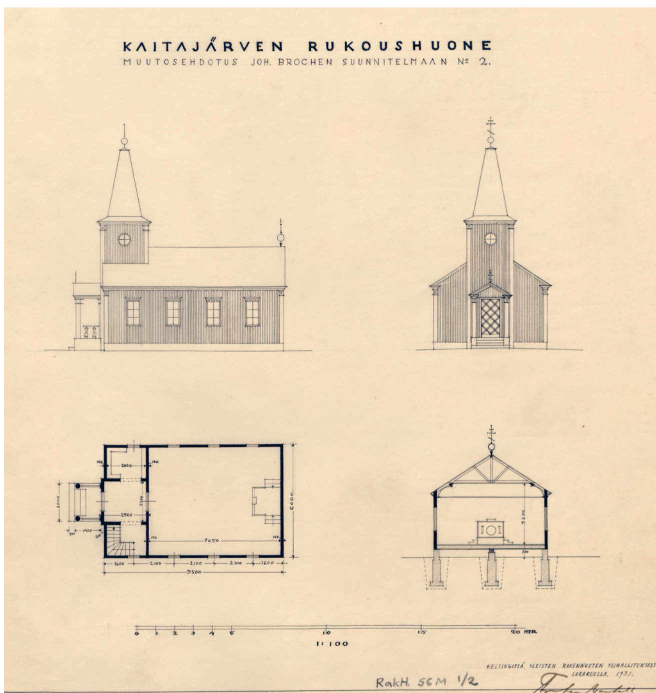

Figure 2. Architect Torsten Montell's version of the type plans of Kaitajärvi Orthodox chapel from 1931. Archive of the National Board of Public Building, Iaa:71. The National Archives of Finland.

of the Lutheran church, despite the Committee's attempts to explain that the source of inspiration was instead the cultural heritage of Byzantium. Ultimately, despite one realised exception (a modest chapel of the village of Uomaa in Impilahti built in 1931), it is not surprising that Kyander's plans were mostly rejected by the parishes.[45]

Later in the 1930s the Committee used construction plans by building engineer Johannes Brocke (1900–1961), but during the process of accepting Brocke's plans for a chapel in Kaitajärvi in Suojärvi in 1931, architect Torsten Montell of the National Board of Public Building significantly developed the plans and thus created a type plan for Orthodox chapels. [Figure 2] His version was obviously inspired by Finnish modest wooden Lutheran churches of the 19th and 20th centuries. An austere, rectangular building with a quadrangular belfry, having a steep tented roof, bore no distinctive Orthodox symbols. This roof form is common in Finnish Lutheran church architecture. It probably originates from the neo-Gothic work of the renowned architect Carl Ludvig Engel (1778–1840). He designed the remodelled belfry roof for Finland's main Lutheran cathedral in Turku during the renovation of the cathedral in 1834 after the Great Fire of the town in 1827.[46]

Eventually, during the 1930s eight small chapels, five of which followed the type plans, were built in the villages of Suojärvi. Besides the actual need for village chapels, these developments point to the interest of the authorities to link the border region and the Karelians more closely to Finnish influence and culture by means of architecture.[47]

Conclusions

An analysis of written sources shows that the core actors in demarcating the 'Karelian-Finnish style' included not only church authorities but also state authorities. The analysis of the plans and realisation of the churches and chapels reveals the significance of negative choice and the great impact of the building authorities in creating 'suitable' de-Russified designs. It appears that the new idiom of the 'Karelian-Finnish style' was based on the eclecticism of contemporary Finnish architecture. The onion dome and other features interpreted as characteristically 'Russian' were for practical purposes forbidden. [Figure 3]

On the one hand, the expression 'Karelian-Finnish' seems to be an euphemism. Evidently, the appearance of new village chapel architecture was not based on the tradition of Karelian vernacular architecture. The expression was rather like a label used to conceal the context of contemporary Lutheran church architecture. On the other hand, it demarcated 'the national' from 'the foreign', Karelian-Finnish from Russian or Karelian-Russian. According to Härkönen's writings and archive sources of the Orthodox Church Board, the latter evaluation was used by the Committee and concerned some of the construction plans in the collections of the Orthodox Church Board.[48]

Figure 3. A photograph showing a village chapel under construction. It lacks the contextual information of time and place, but according to the analysis of the landscape it is mostalikely from the village of Hyrsylä, Suojärvi, where one of the type plan chapels was erected in 1932. Photo: Yrjö Minkkinen. Archive of the Rautalampi Orthodox Parish.

Despite the fact that Veikko Kyander's sketch plans were not realised, his contribution is intriguing. According to written sources, the Committee explained – with good cause – that he was chosen as a specialist of the traditional Karelian vernacular architecture. Nevertheless, the correspondence between Härkönen and Kyander indicates the aim of creating something completely new, with no efforts to copy a given existing traditional Orthodox village chapel. To my knowledge, this was the first, and one of few attempts to discuss a contemporary Finnish modern idiom for Orthodox church architecture. Further, it is intriguing that the tracks of linking Byzantine or Early Christian inspiration and motifs to the 'national Finnish' lead to the interwar period. Finnish historical research is acquainted with the idea of emphasising connections between Karelia and Byzantium since the 1960s, but the subject requires further research in the field of Orthodox church architecture in Finland.

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Sipulikupolikriisi – Suomen sotienvälisen ajan ortodoksista kirkkoarkkitehtuuria muokkaamassa

TIIVISTELMÄ

Taidehistorioitsija Matthew Rampley huomauttaa, että kulttuuriperintö ja identiteetti kytkeytyvät toisiinsa eri tavoin, joten kulttuuriperinnöstä puhuttaessa on syytä pohtia, kenen perinnöstä on kysymys ja kuka perinnön määrittelee. Muistamisen ohella unohtaminen ja valikoiva muistaminen vaikuttavat siihen, miten esimerkiksi kansakunta rakentaa käsitystään omasta kulttuuriperinnöstään. Suomessa syrjään jätetyksi vaikeaksi kulttuuriperinnöksi voidaan lukea esimerkiksi autonomian ajan ortodoksinen kirkkoarkkitehtuuri, joka nuoressa kansallisvaltiossa tulkittiin venäläiseksi.

Tarkastelen artikkelissani tavoitetta häivyttää olemassa olleen Suomen ortodoksisen kirkkoarkkitehtuuriin venäläisyys ja luoda uusi “karjalaissuomalainen” muotokieli vuosina 1918–1939. Ilmiö kytkeytyy luonnollisesti aikakauden yhteiskunnallis-poliittiseen kontekstiin, murrokseen, jossa Suomi irrottautui Venäjästä ja Suomen ortodoksinen kirkko oli kokonaisvaltaisen kansallistamistyön kohteena. Kirjallisten lähteiden analysointi osoittaa, että niin kirkolliset kuin maallisetkin viranomaiset osallistuivat arkkitehtuurimuotokielen määrittelyyn ja venäläisyyden rajankäyntiin. Maisemasta poistettiin joukko ortodoksisia (sotilas)kirkkoja joko muokkaamalla niiden ulkonäköä tai purkamalla ne. Uusien pyhäkköjen rakentamiseksi suunnitellun muotokielen ”karjalaissuomalaisuus” näyttää pitkälti olleen eufemismi, sillä suunnitelmat eivät perustuneet kovin selvästi karjalaiseen kansanomaiseen puukirkkoarkkitehtuuriin. Venäläisinä pidettyjen arkkitehtuuripiirteiden käyttöä, ennen kaikkea sipulikupoleja, oli vältettävä. Kiinnostavaa on, että vaatimattomista toteutuksista huolimatta suunnitelmien pyrkimyksenä kuitenkin näyttää olleen luoda ilmaisultaan eklektiseen aikalaisarkkitehtuuriin kytkeytynyttä, uutta ortodoksista muotokieltä, ei sellaisenaan kopioida malliksi olemassa ollutta.

End notes

1 Rampley 2012, 5, 8, 14.
2 Mikkeli 2005, 423. Mikkeli refers to Ernst Renan's classic Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? See Renan 1882, passim., e.g. 8–10, 18–19.
3 Rampley 2012, 14.
4 See Kemppi 2017.
5 For example, in 1910 the population of Finland was ca. 3 million inhabitants. According to statistics, 98.1 per cent of them were Lutherans; 16.7 per cent Orthodox Christians (around 52,000 inhabitants); 1.4 per cent Baptists; 0.2 per cent Methodists and 0.2 per cent Roman Catholics. Väestön ryhmitys uskontokunnan mukaan / Population selon les confessions 1860–1910. Suomen Tilastollinen vuosikirja / Annuaire Statistique de Finlande 1939, 48.
6 Engman 2007, 62.
7 Vovchenko 2012, passim.
8 Nevalainen 1999, 15. Russian Karelian merchants who settled in various regions of Finland during the 19th and 20th centuries are not included in this number.
9 Klinge 1984, 12–13.
10 Turpeinen 1984, 21–27; Jussila 1984a, passim.; Jussila 1984b, 208–209; Pogreboff 2002, 75. See also Baschmakoff & Leinonen 2011, 20–69.
11 On the dacha industry and the flourishing villa culture, see Baschmakoff & Leinonen 2001, 20–30.
12 Engman 2007, 191.
13 E.g. Kauppi 2000, 124–127.
14 Loima 2001, 13–14, 53–56, 61–64, 319 appendix 2. See also Loima 2004b, 195. Cf. statistics of Note 5.
15 Nokelainen 2010, 112–138, 209–210, 215–222.
16 On the different backgrounds of foreigners in Finland, see Leitzinger 2008, passim., especially 216.
17 Loima 2001, 215.
18 See Pettersson 1950 and 1982.
19 Examples of contemporary expressions in newspapers concerning the future use of the Orthodox military churches of Hämeenlinna, Viapori (Sveaborg) and Viipuri, see Kemppi 2017, 81–87.
20 E.g. Plaat & Maasik 2011, 176–177; Bartetzky 2012, 97.
21 Engman 2007, 61; Haapala 2009, 10–11.
22 Kemppi 2017, 56–61.
23 Kemppi 2017, 73–135. On interpreting the Orthodox Church in Finland as a Russian institution, see Nokelainen 2010, 112–138, 209–222.
24 Already those who were involved in developing Finnish national identity in the 19th and early 20th century were eager to point out that the Finnish people were an established part of the civilised Christian West, related neither to Russianness nor Asianness. See Kemiläinen 2008.
25 Loima 2004a, 167; Kemppi 2017, 50.
26 Suomen asetuskokoelma 1918/185, 3§. Also Nokelainen 2010, 137, 151; Kemppi 2017, 95–97.
27 Hämeen Sanomat 12.1.1919, 17.1.1919 and 19.1.1919. See also Raivo [1996], 113–115 and Nokelainen 2009, 126–127.
28 Aamun Koitto 3/1919.
29 The crowd watching the pulling down of the bell tower is documented in dramatic photographs. See e.g. HK10000:6815. https://www.kuvakokoelmat.fi/pictures/view/HK10000_6815. Further Kemppi 2017, 82–83.
30 Aamun Koitto 35/1939, 272.

31 E.g. Kemppi 2017, 297–298, 311–312.
32 Minutes of the Church synod on 10 June, 1925. Cb 4. Archive of the Orthodox Church Board.
33 Kemppi 2017, 154–155.
34 Härkönen published a series of articles concerning Orthodox church art in 1925–1926 in the paper Toukomies, which was edited by him.
35 In Finnish: 'Suomen kreikkalaiskatolisen kirkkokunnan ulkonaisten muotojen kansallistuttamiskomitea'.
36 Kemppi 2017, 138–148, 172–173.
37 Aamun Koitto 4/1926, 32–34.
38 Åman 1992 [1987], 253–255.
39 Aamun Koitto 4/1926, 33.
40 On Okkonen, see Kallio 1.3.1998.
41 Kemppi 2017, 158–159.
42 Herman & Somer 1930, 251.
43 See Kyander's photographs in the collections of the Finnish Heritage Agency, e.g. numbers 118:1–17, 228:1–18 and 1575:7–31 of the Ethnographic Picture Collection.
44 Veikko Kyander's plans. RIISA; Kemppi 2017, 163–168, 198.
45 Kemppi 2017, 168–169, 178–180.
46 Kaisti 2013, 127.
47 On the border region, Russianness and Finnishness, see Lähteenmäki 2009, passim., especially 12–18.
48 Kemppi 2017, 162–163.