Itineraries and Museum Objects: A Study of a Tanner's Logbook

by

KOPPINEN, Pirkko Anneli

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Kingston University, London, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy

31 July 2020

Declaration of Academic Integrity

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis in entirely my own, and that sources have been properly referenced and attributed throughout.

[Redacted]

Pirkko Anneli Koppinen

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to interrogate the recent concept of object itinerary as a metaphorical and narratological tool to investigate the movements of museum objects from the personal context to the public context of a museum. The research question that this thesis answers is, how can we use the concept of object itinerary to investigate the formation of museum objects? Therefore, I conducted a museological intervention in which I took a tanner's logbook into a local history museum exhibition in Mäntyharju, Finland and investigated the processes and relationships it entered in on the way. Thus my thesis supplements the lack of experience members of public usually have of these processes. As a member of the community to which the logbook belongs, my aim was to examine the *processes* by which it moved from the personal context to the museum context and the impact it had on the social and material assemblages it entered. As such, this study is a self-reflexive autoethnographical and anthropological intervention in which the researcher is at the centre of the study. It provides a new case study from Finland to the discussion of museums, museum objects, and communities in the studies of museology, anthropology, material culture studies, and heritage studies. I argue in this thesis that object itinerary, the metaphorical tool used, for example, in archaeology and anthropology, is not sufficient on its own to represent the complex movements of a material object the assemblages through which it enters and exits (Hahn and Weiss 2013 and Joyce and Gillespie 2015). This thesis makes three original contributions to the fields of heritage and museum studies: first, I use the metaphorical and narrative tool of object itinerary which *I complement with another metaphor, the early medieval visual analogy of interlace patterning,* to examine the logbook's objecthood. Second, I redefine the concept of the so-called 'source community' using the approach from Kovach's Indigenous methodologies to examine the logbook's impact as it moves from the *contributing community* to the public domain of the museum. Third, the logbook's itinerary interrupts the Authorized Heritage Discourse that affects the exhibition at Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum and reveals another, a more *Democratic Heritage Discourse* in action at the local history museums in Finland.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people and institutions that made the completion of this thesis possible. First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisors, Dr Helen Wickstead and Dr Chris Horrocks, without whose invaluable guidance and mentorship this thesis would not exist. Many thanks to also members of my maternal family, especially Jarmo Laari and Ilari Ahonen, who provided me much of the material needed to complete my research. Thank you also to Kaija Laari for her help in finding material. I give special thanks also to my brothers; Marko Suopelto, who gave me the tannery's logbook to study and without whom this project would not exist, and Kimmo Suopelto, who also offered a much needed helping hand. I am indebted to the Museum of Mäntyharju in Finland for their vital collaboration with this study and accepting not only the logbook but also me in their exhibition. Special thanks to the Culture Secretary Anu Yli-Pyky and the resident researcher Susanna Helminen, without whose help and guidance this project would never have had a taken off the ground. Thanks also to the summer employee Eemeli Manninen, who showed me the ropes. I would also like to thank everyone, who attended the lecture at the museum and shared their precious memories of tanners and tanneries in Mäntyharju. Thanks also to the Library of Mäntyharju for setting me on the right course with the library's and Finnish digital archives. I would like to thank the keepers of the B&B Hotel Villa Aurora, who gave me not only a place to stay, but also practical help. Special thanks go to Ann-Marie Miller from Codex Conservation who made sure the logbook was fit enough to enter the museum. Thanks also to my dear friend Amy Graham for all her support. Thank you also to my fellow Chrysalids – Alexis, Carina, Carol, Mary, Molly, Penny, and Philippa – for their helpful feedback on my stories. Most of all, I would like to thank my dearest family, Markku and Annemari – you two are my rock. This thesis is dedicated to the granddaughter of a tanner, my mother, who never saw it finished.

In Memoriam

Raili Anneli Suopelto

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

Abbreviations and Conventions

ACHS	*Association of Critical Heritage Studies*
AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
DHD	Democratised Heritage Discourse
DIGI	*DIGI – Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot*
Finna	*Suomen arkistojen, kirjastojen ja museoiden aarteet samalla haulla.*
ICOM	International Council of Museums
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2017) Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oed.com/ (Accessed: 3 May 2017).
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

This thesis follows the APA style, with some exceptions. Finnish quotations within text are italicised and translations within text are placed in single quotation marks in brackets. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. The items listed in the abbreviations and conventions list are referenced in their abbreviated form after the first mention. Full references are given in the reference list. The thesis follows the palaeographical convention of using the term 'hands' to indicate different kinds of handwriting in manuscripts.

Chapter 1: Introduction

> Behind the scenes at museums the world over are thousands upon thousands of artefacts. These objects, removed from other lives, other places, other times, are neatly labelled, catalogued and packed away out of sight, rarely displayed and infrequently studied. The *processes by which these collections are formed remain obscure to many visitors and creator or source communities* alike, perhaps because of their ubiquitous presence in the museum environment. (Byrne *et al.* 2012, p. 4. My emphasis.)

One of the things that characterises museum objects is movement, or lack thereof; for example, objects are donated, loaned, stored, moved from storage to display cabinets, sold, and even destroyed. If an object enters a temporary exhibition, it may be returned to the owner after the exhibition ends, unless it is acquired into the museum's permanent collections, thus it loops back to its source. Yet, these movements are not just physical; for example, objects can be transferred from one catalogue to another, or re-classified. As Byrne *et al.* correctly emphasize in the quotation at the beginning of this thesis, these movements of objects in museums are often concealed from those outside the museum context. Moreover, the processes by which objects enter museums often remain hidden to the communities, or individuals, from where the objects originate. Thus, as Gosden, Larson, and Petch point out, there has been a gap between the museum and the so-called source communities (2007, p. 5); that is, a gap between the museum context and the personal context for members of public who are not, for example, professionally attached to a museum, or academic researchers. This thesis investigates the movements of museum objects, how they are formed, and the effect this process has on the community that contributes them to a museum.

The seeds for this study were sown several years ago, when I was studying for my master's degree in medieval studies almost two decades ago. One of my chosen optional courses was an *Introduction to Archaeology*, which took place in the Museum of London, both at the Barbican and at the Museum of London Archaeological Services. The course took us behind the scenes of the museum, to places that are rarely seen by members of public. The course, which was entirely theoretical (no spade was used), also introduced me to the archaeological processes by which the museum's collections are formed. Moreover, it introduced me to the objects housed in the museum, including those that are not displayed, such as the numerous medieval keys that, for example, 'mudlarks' had found in the river Thames. The objects had found their way into the museum, but only a fraction of them were displayed in the galleries. This experience of museum collections had a profound effect on my later research, including this study. In my previous studies, I specialised in Old English literature and early medieval culture, which culminated in my doctoral study on the semiotics of Old English poetry.[1] Museums and museum objects are integral and invaluable sources of information to the scholars of early medieval literature and culture and have been paramount also to my research (Koppinen 2009). That is, one of the characteristics of Old English poetry is its ubiquitous references to material objects. For example, the epic poem *Beowulf*, set in countries what are now modern day Denmark and Sweden, provides a cornucopia of references and descriptions of material artefacts belonging to an early medieval warrior class, such as pattern-welded swords, helmets, and their decoration (The British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A. xi). As the poem was composed over a thousand years ago, understanding the material culture the poem depicts poses problems for the modern reader.[2] Researchers of the early medieval period visualise the material culture of the early medieval Northern Europe with help of archaeological finds that are often only found in museums, such as the Museum of London or the British Museum, both of which house large medieval collections. My first encounter with such material artefacts that *Beowulf* depicts was in Room 41 at the British Museum, where the finds from, for example, the seventh century burials from Sutton Hoo and Taplow are displayed, both of which provide a physical evidence of the culture that existed over a millennium ago (British Museum 2021). Such archaeological evidence, although found in the United Kingdom instead of Scandinavia, sheds light on the cultural artefacts that the poem describes.[3] The communities, however, who produced and used the medieval objects I saw at the Museum of London and the British Museum, have long disappeared. The

[1] I prefer the more neutral term 'early medieval English' to the controversial term 'Anglo-Saxon', but both terms refer to the English culture in *c.* 450-1066 AD.
[2] The exact date and author(s) of the composition of the poem are unknown, but it is believed that the poem refers to events that took place *c.* A.D. 500. The manuscript in which the poem survives, however, was written *c.* 1000 (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008, p. clxii; see also Lowenthal 1998, p. xiv).
[3] Both the poem and archaeological finds in early medieval burials have been used to explain and illuminate each other, see e.g. Hills 1997 for an overview of this practice.

'lack of shared culture and experience' between the early medieval and modern cultures complicates the interpretation of the Old English texts (Koppinen 2009, p. 50, 2013a, 2013b). Therefore, using Charles Sanders Peirce's model of semiosis as a starting point, I created a methodology with which to examine the impact of such extra-textual material as museum objects in the reading process. I argued in my thesis that readers rely on what I have termed as 'familiar images'; that is, readers of Old English texts need extra-textual material, such as archaeological finds in museums, to bridge the gaps in their knowledge and experience of early medieval culture, although there is no guarantee that the familiar images are correct (Koppinen 2009, p. 22, 2013b, p. 162).

Although my interest in heritage and museology started with nationally and internationally significant objects and texts, such as the *Beowulf*-manuscript, which is part of *The Cotton Manuscripts* collection in the British Library that is included in the *UNESCO*'s *Memory of the World Programme* that aims to protect the cultural heritage (*United Kingdom National Commission for UNESCO* 2018), my subsequent studies took my research closer to home. After emigrating from Finland to the United Kingdom over twenty-five years ago, the nostalgia for my native land provided an impetus for this current project, which started with my master's degree in heritage, and in which I married my interests in Old English literature, semiotics, and museum objects. For my dissertation, I compared the inventories in the Old English text, *Be Gesceadwisan Gerefan* (trans. 'On the Discerning Reeve'; henceforth *Gerefa*) to the permanent collection of a local folk history museum, the Suur-Savo Museum, in my childhood school town, Mikkeli, Finland (Koppinen 2013a). *Gerefa* is a quasi-legal text that recounts the duties of a reeve (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 383, 66v-69r, pp. 102-107; Gobbitt 2013). The museum's collections, which include objects ranging from farming tools to kitchen equipment, were familiar to me from my school days and when studying *Gerefa* the museum objects provided me with the familiar images with which to imagine the equipment listed in the Old English text.[4] During that research, I

[4] The idea was *not* to prove that the objects in the Suur-Savo Museum are identical to those listed in *Gerefa*, but to argue that *Gerefa* performs the same core functions as the folk life museum; that is, in *Gerefa*, part of the cultural, material heritage of the early medieval England is 'collected, preserved, and interpreted' (Koppinen 2013a, pp. 6-7; see the definition of a museum in *ICOM* 2007).

observed first-hand how objects found their way into the museum's collections. That is, when I was interviewing the amanuensis of the Suur-Savo Museum for my dissertation on heritage, there was a knock on the door. A man entered the office holding a broadaxe that was once used to shape logs and wondered if the museum wanted the object in its collections. When the amanuensis asked about the provenance of the broadaxe, the man explained that it had been found under some house about fifteen years earlier, but that was all he knew. After he had left (leaving the broadaxe behind), I asked whether many objects were donated to the museum in such an impromptu manner and whether the broadaxe would be displayed in the permanent collections. The amanuensis replied that occasionally people offered objects to the museum's collections, but not all of them ended up on display in the museum's galleries. He noted also that visitors often reacted to the sight of the objects by saying that 'We have that at home', which prompted some of them to bring objects into the museum. It was doubtful that the broadaxe would be displayed, as they already had several such objects in their collections, many of which had been donated to the museum and some of which were already on display at the permanent galleries (Nousiainen, pers. comm. 3 June 2013). When I left the office, the broadaxe was still leaning against the wall and I never saw it displayed in the museum.[5]

After finishing my master's degree, these objects played in my mind – in a sense, they did not leave me alone – and my academic curiosity had been piqued. At first, I went back to teaching medieval literature and continued my research into material objects in Old English literature. In one conference paper on materiality in Old English poetry, I used a butter dish to illustrate the gap between physical objects and words – the readers' lack of sensory experience of the objects described in Old English poetry. The butter dish had belong to me great-grandparents, Alexander and Hilda Myyryläinen, who lived in Mäntyharju, South-Eastern Finland. They owned a tannery and two shops in which they sold leather and leather goods. They had ten children, of whom my grandmother was the youngest. They passed the butter dish to her, who then passed it onto my

[5] The collection has since been moved elsewhere to make space for temporary themed exhibitions, which draw larger crowds than the objects in the folklife exhibits.

mother, and then it came to me. It had been in the household to keep and serve butter, but the time it arrived to my keeping, it contained old copper coins from the late-nineteenth century. The butter dish was similar to the ones I had seen at Suur-Savo Museum when working on my master's dissertation and along with the objects in the museum's permanent collection it sparked this much larger project. That is, the incident at the amanuensis' office along with my experience of museum collections and the objects from the tannery led me to the question: How the processes by which material objects move from personal contexts to museum contexts partake in the formation of museum objects? More specifically, the research question that this thesis answers, is How can we use the concept of object itinerary to investigate the formation of museum objects? Therefore, this study follows the journey of a tanner's logbook from the personal context to the public context of a museum exhibition in Finland and investigates the processes and relationships it enters in on the way, thus it supplements the lack of experience the members of public usually have of these processes. The object of my study, however, is not only the tannery and the tanner's logbook but also my family and therefore myself. As such, it is an auto-ethnographical study of my own journey as a researcher and the great-granddaughter of a tanner.

A Tannery by a Lake: A Personal Story

At the heart of my research is the former tannery, or leather factory, founded by my great-grandfather Alexander Mikonpoika Myyryläinen, the buildings and land of which still belong to members of my maternal family (see Appendix 1 for a (partial) family tree). The original rental agreement tells us that in 1891 Alexander and his brother Otto rented a piece of land by the Lake Vuorijärvi in the village of Kyttälä, in Mäntyharju, South-Eastern Finland. Otto relinquished his part of the rental agreement to his brother on 6 June 1907 (private collection). Alexander built a *savotta* (*Eng*. 'beam-house')[6] by the lake along with other buildings, one of which housed a shop called *Nahka- ja*

---

[6] Thus named because of the beams used in the wet handling workshop. See *OED*, 'beam', n. 8. '*Tanning*. A block of varying shape upon which hides are fixed to be scraped or shaved' and C1.b. 'beam-house', n.

Valjasliike (*Eng*. 'Leather and Rein Shop') and a cobbler's workshop, by the road which today is named after the tannery, *Nahkurintie* (*Eng*. 'The Tanner's Road'). The building is known affectionately by the family as *Punainen Talo* (*Eng*. 'the Red House'), which has acquired the name because its wood cladding is painted with the distinctive red ochre which was a typical custom at the time (Figure 1). In addition to the shop, the Red House had also a dry handling room, a cobblers' workshop, and living quarters. The tannery, or leather factory as it was called at the end of the nineteenth century, took in hides and skins from individual customers and companies. These were then tanned, that is, the tanners made them into finished leather and fur, and cobblers on the site

Figure 1: A view of the Red House of the tannery from the road. The tannery was built in the late 19th century, but has fallen into disrepair over the years. Photography by author. 9 July 2016.

made also finished leather goods, such as horse harnesses, shoes, boots, mittens, and belts. The tannery was also a working farm where the family lived, ran the business, tended land, and fished with the landlord's permission from the Lake Vuorijärvi, according to the rental agreement. In addition to the buildings where the tannery operated, Alexander built several other buildings on the site, including the home for the family, barns, servants quarters, and sauna, where the children were born, as was the custom at the time (for the map of the site, see Appendix 2). In the course of the following years, Alexander became so successful that he opened another shop in Kouvola, a relatively large city in South-Eastern Finland that was accessible from Mäntyharju by the new train network, which had been opened in 1885 (Favorin 1973-1983, II, p. 79). According to the advertisement in *Kouvolan Sanomat* on 28 September 1910 (see Figure 2, marked in red),

> A. Myyryläisen Nahkuriliike Kouvolassa Kauppatorin varrella omassa talossa my kaikenlaista valmista nahkaa, jalkineita ja suutarin tarpeita. Myös otetaan valmistettavaksi nahkoja. Ostetaan kaikkea laatua raakaa nahkaa. Huom! Auki toistaiseksi ainoastaan joka toripäivänä. (*Finna* [No date])
>
> (A. Myyryläinen's Tanner's Shop in Kouvola by the market in its own house sells all kinds of finished leather, shoes, and cobbler's supplies. Also accepts pelts to be prepared for leather. Purchases all quality raw leather. NB! Open at the moment only on every market day.)

The advertisement of *Jalkineliike F. J. Niskanen* (*Eng*. 'The shoe shop of F. J. Niskanen') on the bottom right hand side of the image from *Kouvolan Sanomat*, refers to *Myyryläisen talo* (*Eng*. 'the house of Myyryläinen'). Based on the evidence from such

Huom! I luokan työ.
Ajan halvimmat hinnat.

H. Ojalan
Liha- ja ruokatavarainkauppa
Kouvolassa, torin varrella.
Puhelin 42,
edullinen liha- ja ruokatavarain ostopaikka. Hinnat kohtuullisimmat!

Huutokauppa.

Tiistaina ensi lokakuun 11 päivänä alkaen kello 12 päivällä myydään paikan päällä tapahtuvalla vapaaehtoisella huutokaupalla noin 240 metristä syltä kuivia lehtipuista tehtyjä

sehahalkoja,

jotka ovat Valkealan pitäjän Metsä-miettulan kylän Manulan talon metsässä.
Huutokauppatilaisuudessa maksetaan 1/5 huutosummasta, ja loput ennenkuin halkoja aletaan metsästä pois viedä.

J. PULKKA, Puusepänliike
KOUVOLA.
PUHELIN 67. — SÄHKÖ-OSOITE: PULKKA.
Valmistaa:
uudemmanaikaisia huonehaluja koti- ja ulkomaalaisista puulajeista; ikkunoita, ovia, kansakoulupulpetteja y. m. y. m.
Hyvä työ. — Nopea suoritus. — Halvat hinnat.
Huom! Aina varastossa ruumisarkkuja arkunkoristeita ja seppeleitä.

A. Myyryläisen
Nahkuriliike
Kouvolassa Kauppatorin varrella omassa talossa
myy kaikenlaatuista valmista nahkaa, jalkineita ja suutarin tarpeita. Myös otetaan valmistettavaksi nahkoja. Ostetaan kaikkea laatua raakaa nahkaa. Huom! Auki toistaiseksi ainoastaan joka toripäivänä.

J. V. Konttinen
Satulaseppä ja Verhoilija
Kouvola.
Valmistaa ja myy: Matka-arkkuja,

Kuivia koivuhalkoja
vaunulastittain myy
M. Moilala.
Os.: Lahti sekä Kausala. (Lahti.)

Jalkineliike
F. J. Niskanen
Kouvola, — Myyryläisen talo.
Suositellaan arvoisalle yleisölle.

W. KOIVISTO, — Kouvolassa.
Ottaa tehdäkseen kaikkea sementti työalaan kuuluvaa työtä.

Figure 2: An advertisement for A. Myyryläinen's Tanner's shop in *Kouvolan Sanomat*, 28 September 1910. Black text on white background. The advertisement, which is surrounded by other advertisements, is marked with a red border. (*Finna* [No date])

historical documents, the tannery extended geographically from Mäntyharju to Kouvola and the temporal range during which this network of relations of a working tannery was 'reshuffled together' (Latour 2007, p. 65) extends from 1891 to 1964, to the cusp of contemporary past which, according to Harrison and Schofield, 'is about the vernacular experience of everyday life' of my maternal family (2010, p. 5; see also e.g. de Certeau 1984). The tannery has been part of my life since I was born. Little remains of the successful business and farm that my great-grandfather had started. The tannery's beam house is a ruin, of which only the foundation stones remain (see Chapter 4). The workshop, a wooden building where cobblers produced leather goods which were then sold in the shop, is uninhabited and largely abandoned. It does have a new roof, but parts of it are eaten by termites and have had to have been torn down. A few years after the tannery closed, it became part of my 'vernacular experience' of a place very close to my heart, the one constant place in my life. I have lived in nineteen different addresses in two countries, Finland and the United Kingdom, but there is the one place where I will always return, Mäntyharju. I was born in the regional capital of *Pohjanmaa* (*Eng.* Ostrobothnia) on the west coast of Finland, but my family moved to Helsinki before I was three months old. When I was three years old, we moved to a small village called Hietanen in South-Eastern Finland. One of the reasons we moved to Hietanen was its closeness to Mäntyharju. My grandmother, the daughter of a very close-knit family, who lived with us, was the prime mover in this process: her grandparents came from Mikkeli and other members of my maternal family lived in the municipality of Mäntyharju – Hietanen was half way between the two places. My first physical contacts with my great-grandfather's tannery consisted of visits to see our relatives, some of whom lived in the different buildings of the tannery at the time. My great-uncle Lauri lived in the Myyryläinen's residence with his family, while Otto, the tanner after his father, lived with his family in the Red House, formerly the tannery's shop and dry handling building. His daughter Kyllikki lived in a cottage on the site, while the other daughter Terttu lived with her family nearby until she moved to the Red House after her father's death. Kerttu, my grandmother's older sister dwelled in the village of Särkemäki in Mäntyharju, a place that originally been part of the tannery's estate. As for the other buildings, when my grandmother's other siblings passed, they were passed down the generations and some of them became a *mökki* (*Eng.* 'summer house or cottage') for those who lived away from Mäntyharju, just like the converted barn, in which one of my grandmother's brothers, Uuno, lived until 1974. After he passed away, my mother purchased it and it became our summerhouse. Now it belongs to me.

The summer house and the family of Myyryläinen played a large part in my life from very early on. When I was at school, my grandmother moved to our summer house or cottage for the whole of the summer from the beginning of June until schools started in September. My brothers and I spent most of our summers there from the mid-1970s onwards with her while my parents worked. They then joined us when it was their turn for the one month long Finnish summer holiday and I have continued that practice with my own family. Although Hietanen was a rural village with its own lake, we escaped to our summer house as often as possible. To understand this deep connection to a place which is not your main residence means to understand the Finnish summerhouse culture (see, e.g. Koljonen 2018). The members of my family are part of a much larger summer house community that ascends on Mäntyharju each year and becomes part of the ebb and flow of municipality's residents. My native country has over 180 000 lakes, not counting small bodies of water, rivers, and the seaside with its archipelago all of which attract summer residents. According to a recent study, there were at least 5400000 summer houses or cottages and 100000 of the so-called *vapaa-ajan asunto* (*Eng*. 'free-time residence') in Finland (*Suomen Virallinen Tilasto (SVT)* 2016). Mäntyharju with its lakes and waterways is a popular summer house destination: in 2016, there were 5000 summer houses in contrast to the 3000 permanent residential homes (*FCG Finnish Consulting Group Oy* 2016). Each year, the two communities come together in Mäntyharju and elsewhere in Finland – the one permanent and the other that travels sometimes from afar and only lives there part of the year. Finnish people flock to the countryside to their summer houses sometimes for the whole summer but at least for the month long summer holiday and weekends, just as we do. We enjoy life close to the nature, which means to live in (sometimes) rudimentary huts with no running water, electricity, or central heating. The past times at summer houses include fishing, swimming, foraging for berries and mushrooms, growing our own vegetables, and enjoying sauna by a lake. Spending time near nature is a way of recharging our batteries: as the Finnish somewhat pantheistic saying goes, *luonnossa* *sielu lepää* (*Eng.* 'in nature the soul rests'). Many, just like three generations of my maternal family, have been spending their summers in Mäntyharju, which has a vibrant summer house culture, as the summer dwellings have been passed down generations. These *mökkeilijät*, summer house residents, become part of the local culture. People return to Mäntyharju decade after decade and, just as with our family, their children continue this custom and pass it on to their children. The summer house residents form bonds with local residents and often friendships and relationships are formed. This *mökkeily*, summer house living, is part of the Finnish psyche – for me personally, this research project gave an opportunity (an excuse) to spend time at our summer house and return to the landscape that I have known and loved since my childhood.

Yet, I have an even deeper personal connection to Mäntyharju than holiday stays: after finishing school, I lived and worked in Mäntyharju and for a couple of years I was a permanent resident there. During my school graduation party, I received a call telling me that I had been employed at the kitchen of a large camping site in Vihantasalmi, one of the villages in Mäntyharju, and I was to start the next day. I packed my bag, waved goodbye to my guests, and left for what was to be my home for the next few years. After the camping season ended, I moved to a nearby village Karankamäki, where I was employed in a motel, before I moved to Helsinki to start my studies. In the summer holidays, I returned to Mäntyharju to work and spend time at our summer house by the tannery. Our house in Hietanen was demolished a long time ago, and in the past two decades I have made a life in the UK, but I have never left Mäntyharju and our tannery behind, it is the one place where I will always return.

Autoethnography and a Self-Reflexive Study

This personal connection and a strong sense of belonging to Mäntyharju, a research project on the tannery means that my study is necessarily self-reflexive. Not only does my study focus on an object that belongs to my family, the tanner's logbook, but, in a sense, I have made myself 'the subject of [my] research' (Harrison and Schofield 2010, p. 12; see also Grewcock 2014, pp. 10). Szyłak asks: 'How am I to speak about a context that I am inextricably part of?' (2013, p. 218). Her question is also pertinent to my study, although we approach this question from different, opposing positions. She makes this observation as a museum professional, a curator, as someone who is part of an institution for which she curates exhibitions: 'Aneta Szyłak is a curator, writer, activist, founding director of Wyspa Institute of Art in Gdansk Shipyard and Artistic Director of Alternative' (Martinon 2015, p. xix). I, on the other hand, am not a curator or a museum professional, but (now) a part-time member of the local community and researcher, who took an object into a museum exhibition. Yet, I am also 'inextricably part of' the context of not only the community from which the logbook originates but also because during my research I became part of the museum context. In her book, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (2009), Margaret Kovach explains that 'Reflexivity is the researcher's own self-reflection in the meaning-making process.' She comments further how 'Autoethnography, an approach with its foundations in ethnographical research, brings together the study of the self (auto) in relation to culture (ethnography). With this approach, self-reflection moves beyond field notes to having more integral positioning with the research process' (2009, pp. 32 and 33 respectively). As I am part of the community from where the material object of my research, the logbook, originates, my study necessarily needs to reflect my relationship with that community and the logbook in the research process. Such a methodology is relational 'and flows from a theoretical perspective that values "self-in-relation" [and] will incorporate reflexivity as a necessary method to actualize its approach' (Kovach 2009, p. 33). This process is made more difficult because I exist between two cultures and two languages, both of which create tension, especially when I think of my family in Mäntyharju. Therefore, although Kovach writes from the position of an indigenous scholar (which I am not), her autoethnographic journey resonates with mine. In her 'Prologue' to her book, she recounts personal story of an indigenous 'Nêhiýaw' (Cree) in Canada who was adopted as a child (2009, p. 3). She acknowledges the difficulty of keeping the negotiating the self with the research project that concerns her culture, her native people:

> At some point – I am not sure when – I had this uneasy feeling that my sense of self would intersect with my research. Although I tried to keep my enquiry cerebral, I could feel the coyote medicine in the air.' (2009, p. 6. See also Wall 2008)

Although I was not raised by an adoptive family, like her, I too am between two cultures: that of my native Finnish and my adopted British. After a quarter of a century, I cannot shrug off my Finnishness. When thinking about my family, the tannery and Finland, my thoughts are in Finnish (and vice versa – part of my vocabulary, especially that of academic, only exists in English). Writing about one's self is hard – it is difficult, if not impossible to separate the two selves – my native Finnish and the newly acquired British – between which I have to negotiate every day. Moreover, when I was writing about my role in the research process, I found myself reticent impart with personal information – I wanted to separate the researcher, who conducts an academic study, from the tanner's great-granddaughter, who is separated from her native wants to learn about her family history, but it is an impossible task. Robben notes that ethnographic 'fieldwork is not a detached activity carried out by an objective observer, but that subjective experiences and selfhood are part and parcel of fieldwork'. Moreover, '[t]he ethnographer's multiple social identities and his or her dynamic self may be liabilities, but they are also a research assets.' (2012 [2007], p.89) Therefore, I acknowledge the inherent biases that I bring into my research and accept that they cannot be avoided. I infuse this thesis – which is inherently academic, but also creative piece of writing – with not only my sensory and bodily experience of the tannery and its logbook but also the stories from my childhood; that is, this thesis contains, or rather becomes, part of me. Such an autoethnographic research as mine leads (or should lead) to a better understanding and knowledge of not only the topic but also the self. Therefore, as a PhD thesis, my study is epistemological. As Kovach explains, '*epistemology* means a system of knowledge that references within it the social relations of knowledge production' (2009, p. 21).

With these considerations in mind, apart from describing my personal journey, my autoethnographic study provides an example from a specific context in Finland that sheds light on the field of museology on the discussions of contributing communities, object itineraries, and museum politics. It illuminates the practices of one particular museum in one particular location with its specific history, locale and politics in Finland and contributes to the discussion of the practices of Finnish local history museums, but it can also be used to draw conclusions on the movements of museum objects in general. Finnish museums have been discussed before, but the timing of this project was important as the Russian Revolution, which recently was exhibited also in London, gave Finland an opportunity to gain its independence from Soviet Russia in 1917 (see e.g. The Royal Academy of Arts 2017and The British Library 2017). The exhibition, in which the logbook entered, celebrated one hundred years of independence of Finland and provided me with a unique opportunity to examine the role of one particular object in the creation of Finnish heritage and national identity (Finnish museums are discussed in e.g. Heinonen and Lahti 2001, Enqvist 2014, Mikula 2015, Suominen, Sivula, and Garda 2018, Kovanen 2018). The logbook, when it entered the exhibition on local industry of Mäntyharju at the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum, thus became part of Finland's centennial celebrations and gained new status and significance. It no longer was just a personal object, but a museum object in its own right. This thesis maps that journey and attempts to find a way to represent it so that we can better understand how complex the movements of museum objects are.

Aims

The purpose of this thesis is to interrogate the recent concept of object itinerary as a metaphorical and narratological tool to investigate the movements of museum objects from the personal context to the public context of a museum. Therefore, I conducted a museological intervention in which I took a tanner's logbook into an exhibition in the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum, a local history museum in Mäntyharju, South-Eastern Finland. As a member of the community to which the logbook belongs, my aim was to examine the *processes* by which it entered the museum context. The aim was to uncover parts of the social and material assemblages, hidden processes and the impact the logbook has as a material object when it moved from a personal context to the public context of a museum exhibition and beyond. As such, this study is a self-reflexive and open-ended autoethnographical and anthropological intervention, in which the researcher is at the centre of the study. It provides a new case study from Finland to the discussion of museums, museum objects, and communities in the studies of museology, anthropology, material culture studies, and heritage studies. Therefore, my methodology focuses on the researcher's role in that journey, the materiality of an object, and the relationship between communities and museums. My intervention concerns the relationships of the material object, the logbook, myself as a researcher, the *contributing community*, and a local history museum in Finland. I argue in this thesis that object itinerary, the metaphorical tool used, for example, in archaeology and anthropology, is not a sufficient method on its own to describe the multiple movements of an object through the assemblages it enters and exits (Hahn and Weiss 2013a and Joyce and Gillespie 2015a). Therefore, to complement and expand the concept of object itinerary, I provide a new model from early medieval visual arts by applying the metaphor of interlacing, a model called *interlace technique*, to illustrate the entanglement of the itineraries of objects and people as they move within social and material assemblages. I consider the object itinerary to be a narrative that interlaces with other narratives from different social assemblages as the logbook moves from context to context. To illustrate that process, I borrow a visual analogy from the early medieval English and Celtic interlaced art, familiar from the carpet pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Chi Rho page in the Book of Kells, the latter of which I use to illustrate how the interlaced narratives of the logbook's movements in social assemblages. Therefore, this thesis makes three original contributions to the fields of heritage and museum studies: first, I use the metaphorical narrative tool of object itinerary which *I complement with the early medieval visual analogy of interlace patterning* to examine the logbook's objecthood. Second, I redefine the concept of the so-called 'source community' using the approach from Kovach's Indigenous methodologies to examine the logbook's impact as it moves from the *contributing community* to the public domain of the museum. Third, the logbook's itinerary interrupts the Authorized Heritage Discourse that affects the exhibition at Iso-Pappila and reveals another, a more *Democratic Heritage Discourse* in action at the local history museums in Finland.

Issues Discussed in this Thesis

Although my thesis focuses on the logbook, this study did not start with the logbook *per se*, but with the tannery's ruins. That is, the initial model for my study into the heritage of the tannery, the buildings of which are partly in ruins, came from the international project *Ruin Memories: Materiality, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past* (2009-2013; published in 2014 with the same name, Pétursdóttir and Olsen (ed.)). Pétursdóttir explains that there is a new interest in 'abandonment and ruination' and asks, does abandonment imply 'termination and discontinuity' or can modern ruins be useful or valuable? (2014, p. 339; see Chapter 3). This question was at the heart of my project when I first started my research on my maternal family's estate in 2015. However, with the emergence of the tannery's sales ledger, the logbook, the focus of my research shifted from built ruins to a material object. That is, when my brother handed me the large, old, and mouldy leather-bound book – itself a kind of ruin – on 3 June 2015, it changed the focus of my study from the creation of heritage of the contemporary past of ruins to the movement of museum objects. Yet, Pétursdóttir's question resonates with the issues discussed in this thesis, which are discussed below.

The overall question that this thesis answers, is How can we use the concept of object itinerary to investigate the formation of museum objects? Such an enquiry is concerned with several issues, of which this thesis will focus on four: the first one is a methodological enquiry that concerns the method with which to unpack the movements of museum objects. As Larson, Petch, and Zeitlyn point out, a museum 'is composed of complicated mass of social relationships, formed between curators, administrator, collectors, visitors, communities living in different parts of the world, exhibition cases, labels, accession books, guidebooks, buildings, communication systems, and so on. The list is endless.' However, they state further that, although it is impossible to map out this complex network of relationships in its entirety, it is possible to follow the connections an *individual* object makes (2007, p. 218). Such movements of a singular museum object are often investigated *outside* the contributing community, for example, from a museum's point of view.[7] My study is self-reflexive, and therefore focuses on the itinerary of a tanner's logbook from the point of view of a member of the contributing community – myself – and, as such, it is auto-ethnographical. Unlike the man who brought in the wooden broadaxe to the Finnish museum, I *did* follow the logbook into the museum in order to investigate the processes by which it entered a museum exhibition when, for one summer in 2017, it travelled from the contributing

[7] Recent studies include e.g. Morris 2017, O'Reilly and Parish 2017, Bauer 2015, Warrior 2013, Herle 2012, Pearce 2012, Conn 2010, Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007; see also the essays in Dudley (ed.) 2012 and Byrne *et al.* (ed.) 2011. See also Allen and Hamby 2012 and the essays in Marstine (ed.) 2006.

community and became a museum object. Therefore, the second, related issue that stems from such an examination of the logbook's movements, is how its itinerary impacts the contributing community as the logbook moves in and out of the museum. Once in the public context of a museum, the status of the logbook – and mine – changed: we entered in a political discourse that affects museums. Thus, the third issue that I tackle in this thesis is how the logbook's itinerary intersects and interrupts what Laurajane Smith calls the Authorised Heritage Discourse at the museum (2006, 2011). The fourth issue pertains to the methodological tool I use in this thesis, the adequacy of the metaphorical concept of the 'object itinerary' for representing and describing the complex network of relationships the logbook enters in during its journey in and out of the museum.

The Structure of the Thesis

This chapter has introduced the thesis' aims to investigate what happens during a material object's journey from a personal context, the contributing community, to the public context of a museum exhibition when the researcher is part of that community, a guest curator, and an observer in the museum. I have also briefly introduced the tannery as a case study and situated my self-reflexive project as an autoethnographic study in which I investigate not only the movements of the logbook but also my role in that journey. I have also introduced the issues discussed in this thesis. Chapter Two situates the study in the wider framework of material culture and heritage studies and establishes the theoretical framework for research on object itineraries in this thesis: Bruno Latour's and John Law's Actor-Network Theory and the notion of agency of material objects; the idea of replacing object biography (or life-history) with object itinerary, the concept put forth in the essays in the volumes edited by Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss (2013a) and Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie (2015a); Laurajane Smith's idea of the official heritage discourse, which she has termed the Authorized Heritage Discourse that affects museum operations, and the emerging Democratic Heritage Discourse that affects the local history museums in Finland; Margaret Kovach's Indigenous Methodologies as an approach with which contributing communities can use to investigate their own heritage; and my suggestion for using Celtic interlace art as a complement to object itinerary. The bricolage of these methods and methodologies is then elucidated throughout the rest of the thesis. I also provide clarifications and definitions for the terms that act as starting points for wider discussions in this thesis. I also provide the rationale behind the field methods I used to gather data in Finland and the ethical concerns of this study. Chapter 3 has a twofold aim: first, I unpack the materiality and agency of the logbook as a museum object *in-the-making* and its fragmentary itinerary and test the metaphor of object itinerary and the ways it can be represented. Second, Chapter 3 likens the logbook's itinerary in the social and material assemblages to an interlace structure familiar from early medieval Celtic art. That is, I compare the interlace patterning in the Chi Rho page of the Book of Kells to itinerary of the logbook. Thus, in Chapter 3, I marry my background as a literary scholar of early medieval English literature and culture to the metaphorical approach of object itinerary and expand it. In Chapter 4, I explore the role of the contributing community in the logbook's itinerary further and how my self-reflexive study reconnects the object's contributing community to its heritage at a museum setting. The principal aim of Chapter Five is to consider the tension between an Authorized Heritage Discourse and the emerging Democratic Heritage Discourse in Finnish local history museums using the temporary exhibition at a local history museum in Finland as a case study. That is, I consider how the logbook's itinerary intersects Finnish national interests in the curation and construction of the exhibition at Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum, in Mäntyharju, South-Eastern Finland. The concluding chapter, Chapter Six, summarises the issues raised in the preceding chapters, expounds the implications of the study, and suggest further applications for the methodology advanced in this thesis along with suggestions for the future itinerary of the logbook.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to expound the methodology used in the thesis, which is grounded in material culture and heritage studies and which utilizes methodologies from several disciplines. That is, I will explain the methods and theoretical assumptions that guided the choice of methods of the collection and analysis of the data. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this chapter also establishes the theoretical framework for research on object itineraries in this thesis, starting with Actor-Network Theory (henceforth ANT) and the notion of agency of material objects. I shall then situate the study in the wider context of material culture and heritage studies and the approaches discussed in this thesis, the Authorized Heritage Discourse (L. Smith 2006), Indigenous Methodologies (Kovach 2009), and the object itinerary (Hahn and Weiss 2013a, Joyce and Gillespie 2015a), and explain how early medieval and Celtic interlace art can be used as a complement to object itinerary. I also explain the autoethnographical and anthropological methods I used to gather data in Finland, before discussing ethical dimensions of this study and challenges I encountered during my research. The theoretical premise of this study is the idea that just as humans, material objects also have agency, a notion that stems from ANT.

ANT and the Agency of Objects

Byrne *et al.* explain that 'museums are not only 'material assemblages but also social collections'. They clarify further that

> museums, the people who staff and run them, the objects and various individuals and processes which led to them being there, those who visit them and those who encounter the objects within them in various media are all part of complex networks of agency. (2011, p. 4. Emphasis in the original. See also Gosden, Larson and Petch 2007, Wingfield 2011)

That is, museum objects partake in complex networks of relations that include both humans and non-human actors. The ANT put forth, for example, by John Law and Bruno Latour (2004 and 2007 respectively) has at its heart questions that also pertain to this study; that is, whether material objects, or artefacts, such as the logbook, have agency; whether (and how) they partake in the assemblage of networks; and the effect –

or impact – an object has when it travels from an assemblage (the tannery/contributing community) to another assemblage (the museum). These questions have sent me on a semiotic-material task, in which I consider the logbook as an itinerant that has agency, not only as a mediator of the past it has witnessed but also as an actor or actant that has an effect on the networks it both travels to and creates (for a material object as a semiotic index, see Gell 1998; for critique of Gell, see Layton 2003; for the role of extra-textual material in interpretation of texts, see Koppinen 2009).

Agency means the 'ability or capacity to act or exert power' as well as 'action or intervention producing a particular effect; means, instrumentality, mediation'.[8] Both definitions are relevant in a museum context, although they do not state who or what can act as an agent – whether human or non-human. Thus, they do not exclude material phenomena, such as the agency of material objects.[9] For Klebesadel, who in this instance is discussing human agency, specifically that of curators in museums and art galleries, states that '[a]gency, the ability to act or exert power, requires awareness of the dynamics of power operating with the spheres that affect your life'. She points out further that

> You can also acknowledge the institutional contexts you find yourself working within and decipher the social, political, economic, and cultural agendas that guide those institutions. This awareness aids your ability to exert control over a given context when you are conscious of your intentions (2006, pp. 249 and 250 respectively).

In general, the idea that humans have, or can have, agency has rarely been contested, although, for example, post-colonial and feminist studies have shaken this view.[10] Moreover, recently the inclusion – or rather exclusion – of Indigenous communities in decision making in museums has been highlighted (see e.g. Cole and Brooks 2017, O'Reilly and Parish 2017, Kovach 2009, Curtis 2006, Gosden and Knowles 2001; see also the essays in Golding and Modest (ed.) 2013 and Peers and Brown (ed.) 2003). However, the idea that non-humans could act or exert power is traditionally not

---

[8] *OED*, *s.v.* 'agency', n., II.4. and 5.a. respectively.
[9] For the wide-ranging discussions of agency, see e.g. Gosden 2005, Miller 2005b, Law 2004, Latour 2007, Jones and Boivin 2010.
[10] For post-colonial subjects and otherness, see e.g. Said 1978, 1989, Loomba 1998; for feminism and agency, see e.g. Irigaray 1977; see also Marstine 2006a, L. Smith 2008, Kovach 2009.

considered valid, although the proponents of ANT argue otherwise. According to John Law, 'in general it is taken that the natural world and its object exhibit behaviour (in the passive, acted-upon, social science sense of the term) rather than capacity to act. Trouble, indeed, is liable to arise when object takes off on their own and they start to show initiative.' (2004, p. 133) The 'trouble' Law mentions means that the objects do not conform to the pre-existing idea that humans are active and non-humans are passive. (Law 2004, pp. 132-3). Bruno Latour points out that

> After all, there's hardly any doubt that kettles 'boil' water, knifes 'cut' meat, baskets 'hold' provisions, hammers 'hit' nails on the head, rails 'keep' kids from falling, locks 'close' rooms against uninvited visitors, soap 'takes' the dirt away, schedules 'list' class sessions, prize tags 'help' people calculating, and so on. Are those verbs not designating action?' (2007, p.71. For material objects as 'actants'; see Latour 1999, p. 303)

Although object agency in itself is *not* metaphorical, the use of metaphor to indicate agency is a commonplace, for example, in literature, especially in poetry (see e.g. Harbus 2012). Swords, cups, books act in their own volition in, for example, Old English Poetry. In *Beowulf*, the sword, Hrunting, which the protagonist takes to Grendel's Mother's lair, fails, although it previously had achieved glory and victory in many battles (lines 1349-1353 and 1464, see e.g. Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008). In the tenth century collection of the Exeter Book Riddles, dumb things can speak (e.g. 'The Chalice', Riddle 59) and feathers sing ('The Swan', Riddle 7. For the Old English texts, see e.g. Muir 2000; for the riddle of materiality, see also Ingold 2013, p. 31). It would be easy to say that such use of metaphor in literature is just a device, an abstract way of explaining how the world works, but the view that objects have agency is thoroughly ingrained in early medieval imagination, as it is today in, for example, the British and Finnish cultures (Harbus 2012; Koppinen 2009, 2013b). In generic terms, in such usage verbs is considered to be metaphoric. Lakoff and Johnson, who have published extensively on conceptual metaphor theory, explain that we *comprehend* the world through figures of speech, metaphors (see e.g. *Metaphors We Live By* 1980). Furthermore, they make an important point that is relevant in terms of the agency of objects and the way we *represent* agency in the written form: 'There are many possible *physical* and social bases for metaphor' (1980, p. 18; for criticism of that theory, see e.g. Harbus 2014. My emphasis). As such, conceptual metaphor theory and ANT are not in contention, or mutually exclusive (Latour 1999). In both theoretical points of view, it is considered that language and representation reflect the way the material, physical world affects phenomena; that is, *material objects have agency*. Tilley agrees with this notion: 'Metaphor is a primary way in which persons and cultures make sense of the world… thought arises from our embodied experience.' He states further that 'artefacts perform active metaphorical work in the world in a manner that words cannot. They have their own form of communicative agency.' (2002a, pp. 24 and 25 respectively). It should be noted that, although linguistic conventions differ from language to language, the metaphoric function of verbs in creating agents of objects is not restricted to English language. To use my case study as an example, we can say in Finnish that *nahkimot tuottavat nahkatuotteita, kirjat kertovat tarinoita, ja museot esittelevät esineitä* (*Eng.* 'tanneries produce leather goods, books tell stories, and museums exhibit objects'). Therefore, as with other languages, objects can also act as agents, or be personified, in Finnish language. Yet there are profound differences between the two languages, and not just in terms of grammar and vocabulary that affect the way we view and describe the material world. One is that Finnish does not have a concept for gender the same way English does. That is, in Finnish the third person singular pronoun denoting humans of both biological sexes is *hän*. Non-humans – of both the material and the natural world – are referred to as *se* (*Eng.* 'it'). More importantly, in colloquial Finnish *se* is also used of humans. Such usage of the pronoun blurs the seeming distinction between humans and non-humans – the very distinction of agency that ANT wants to abolish (see e.g. Latour 2007).

At this juncture I would like to point out that there are many problems with ANT, not least its name that Latour himself finds problematic: 'there are four things that do not work with actor-network theory; the word actor, the word network, the word theory and the hyphen!' (1999a, p. 15). Yet, although ANT is rather dated and problematic, it still has its merits as a methodology. Law calls ANT 'a ruthless application of *semiotics*' to materiality that helps unpack binary oppositions and it extends its praxis beyond linguistics. (2005 [1999], pp. 3 and 4. Emphasis in the original.) Following Latour, Wingfield points out that actor-network is a way to dissolve 'the dichotomy between structure and agency' (2011, pp. 119-120; see also Byrne *et al.* 2011, Thrift 2010).

Furthermore, ANT provides a suitable metaphorical vocabulary for this study with which to start interrogating the impact of the movements of objects and how to represent the agency of material objects that affects the world around it. The key in the aforementioned Finnish example and the quotation from Latour is that the verbs are in active voice, there is a subject that causes the effect that is non-human – even when it is the people in the tannery who work the hides and skins into finished leather and fur, it is the intention of the human to write the book, and it is the curator who curates the museum exhibition, as Gell has suggested (1998, p. 16-19). Latour maintains further that

> If action is limited a priori to what 'intentional', 'meaningful humans do, it is hard to see how a hammer, a basket, a door closer, a cat, a rug, a mug, a list, or a tag could act. They might exist in the domain of 'material' 'causal' relations, but not in the 'reflexive' 'symbolic' domain of social relations (2007, p. 71).

However, Latour admits that ANT does not 'claim that objects do things "instead" of human actors' (Latour 2007, p. 72). The non-human actors are 'participants in the course of action' just as humans are – also in museums (Latour 2007, p. 71). For Wingfield, 'a museum is an excellent example of the sort of assemblage of humans and non-humans that Bruno Latour has called an 'actor-network'. He explains further that although the term 'network' implies that things are tied together in a complex manner, the term 'actor' underscores the idea that networks have agency (2011, pp. 119-120). Networks of agency, museums, and museum objects are also relational, which is an important point in my methodology.

There is a wide-ranging discussion of objects in relational fields in which objects move and how to best describe the process.[11] As noted earlier, the application of ANT to the material world considers humans and non-humans to be connected in networks of agency. Tim Ingold, on the other hand, suggest that things move within relational lines which create a nexus that he calls the 'meshwork'. This idea differs from the concept of network in that in meshwork, lines 'may loop or twist around one another, or weave in

---

[11] See e.g. Latour 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2004; Law 2004; Knappett 2011; Harrison and Schofield 2010; Ingold 2007b, 2011a, 2011b, 2015.

and out, [yet] they do not connect' in a same way as they would in a network. He claims that 'network is a purely spatial construct [whereas] the lines of the meshwork are of movement and growth (2013, p. 132; see also Ingold 2011a, 2011b). He asks us 'to *follow the materials*, to *learn the movements* and to *draw the lines*' and focus on 'things' instead of objects per se (2011b, pp. 2 and 4 respectively. Emphasis in the original.) This emphasis on materials rather than objects has an impact on the idea of how actors connect or, rather, the way they do not – at least in the same way as actors are thought to connect in a network. Furthermore, I consider agency of both material objects as well as humans to be *reciprocal* (see also Tilley 2006a, 2006b). That is, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, while I affect the logbook's movements, it also affects my actions and my research and any other actors with which it comes in contact. ANT is concerned with material culture, the larger framework in which this study is situated.

Material Culture

My study is situated in modern museology as well as within the wider framework of 'material culture studies', an umbrella term that covers multiple disciplines, but to which archaeology and anthropology have been central. That is, as a material object, the logbook is part of the material world with which humans interact and engage. In 1999, Gosden and Marshall noted that '[u]ntil recently, material objects were given little attention in disciplines such as anthropology, history or sociology, being seen mainly as functional items vital to the social process but seldom as informing it' (p. 169). Since then, however, material objects have become prioritised in material culture studies over symbolic systems, such as texts and language (Hicks 2010). The term 'material culture', according to Christopher Tilley, 'centres on the idea that materiality is an integral dimension of culture, and that there are dimensions of social existence that cannot be fully understood without it'. He describes further how diverse material culture studies are:

> The study of material dimension is fundamental to understanding culture as is a focus on language (formalized in the discipline of linguistics and linguistic anthropology) or social relations (formalized in sociology and social anthropology) or time (archaeology and history) or space (geography) or representations (literary and art historical studies) or focus on relations of production, exchange and consumption (economics). Material culture studies may be held simultaneously to intersect with

> and to transcend the special concerns of these and other disciplines. (Tilley 2006a, p. 1).[12]

In other words, material culture studies are in constant flux, just like cultures that are 'responsive to changing circumstances'.[13] Thus, they are a fluid field of study, which finds its anchor in different disciplines, sometimes at the same time, and which constantly changes and is debated (see e.g. Tilley 2006a, 2006c, Hicks, D. 2010, Ingold 2011a). As is evident from the above quotation, material culture studies encompass a substantial subject that is impossible to review in its entirety in this thesis. However, my research, which is concerned with, for example, the social life of an everyday object (Harrison and Schofield 2010; see also Appadurai 1986, Kopytoff 1986, de Certeau 1984), social relations as well as time and space, does utilise methods and methodologies from several disciplines described in the quotation from Tilley, such as archaeology, anthropology, (auto)ethnography, heritage studies, social studies, and museology – the resultant methodology is a kind of bricolage of methods and methodologies that pertains to the agency, movements of material objects, and how to represent these.[14] In this thesis, I consider that material objects can participate in the creation of heritage (Byrne, D. 2008). Therefore, the logbook acts as – and *is* – part of personal heritage as well as local heritage, and part of the 'palpable body of material heritage' (Stara 2013, p. 99). The logbook along with the tannery and stories and memories stemming from them, are therefore part of my personal tangible and intangible heritage and, as part of the local history of the municipality of Mäntyharju, also part of the wider cultural and national heritage of Finland.[15] Yet, just as with material culture, heritage is a controversial concept that is relational and concerns agency, discussed in the next section.

---

12 For the differences between archaeology and anthropology, see Hodder, 2012, Ingold 2012, Shankland 2012, Lucas 2010.

13 Byrne 2008, p. 151; see also Buchli, 2002, Hicks, D. 2010. For a discussion of the problematic term 'culture', see e.g. Hicks and Beaudry 2010, pp. 26-27.

14 For 'modern museology, e.g. Morris C. 2017, Grewcock 2014, Conn 2010, Janes 2009; see also the essays in Marstine (ed.) 2006, Dudley (ed.) 2010, MacLeod (ed.) 2012. Material culture studies in general are discussed in e.g. Hicks and Beaudry 2010; see also Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, Hicks 2010, pp. 44-45, Tilley 2006, Buchli 2002, Graves-Brown 2000, Miller and Tilley 1996.

15 See e.g. the *Kansallisaarre* (*Eng.* 'the National Treasure') campaign at Kansallismuseo 2017; see also Marstine 2006a, Crinson 2001.

Heritage

'Heritage' is difficult term to pin down. Therefore, it has been defined and redefined in, for example, official documents that provide the framework for the heritage field, such as the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (*UNESCO* 2019; for a discussion of the documents governing the Finnish heritage field, see Chapter 5). Graham and Howard, who emphasise the link between heritage and identity, note that in its broadest sense, heritage is among the most important of the methods of *expressing* often elusive feelings and affinity with one's community (2008, p. 1; see also Harvey 2008). Originally, heritage was considered to consist of inherited tangible items, objects and property; that is, they were 'heirlooms' that were passed down to next generations, although the noun also referred to intangible legacies, such as intellectual or spiritual heritage, as Davison explains. He points out further that 'since the 1970s, heritage has become the special name we give to those valuable features of our environment that we seek to conserve from the ravages of development and decay', such as built environment, heritage landscapes, art and objects.[16] These 'valuable features' of the material world have been deemed precious and worth saving according to a subjective selection process. That is, one stakeholder – a person or an institution – might consider an object not worth preserving while another might consider the object a treasured item that would benefit future generations and thus be in need of saving. Yet, it is important to note that objects and buildings do not need 'to be old or historically significant to be described as "heritage"' (Davison 2008, 31). Indeed, there is a consensus that

> most heritage has little intrinsic worth. Rather, values are placed upon artefacts or activities *by people* who, when they view heritage, do so through a series of lenses, the most obvious are: nationality; religion; ethnicity; class; wealth; gender; personal history; and that strange lens known as "insideness". The validity of a particular lens may also be situationally determined rather than constant while the interpretations will vary depending on the situation of the observer in time and space. (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 2. My emphasis)

---

[16] Davison 2008, p. 31; see also Holtorf and Kristensen 2015; for a comprehensive discussion of the definition of heritage, see e.g. Schofield 2008, pp. 16-20, Harvey 2008; for an overview of the development of heritage in the Western world, see e.g. West and Ansel 2010.

In the above quotation, Graham and Howard emphasise the fact that heritage is value-laden and, it is the point of viewer that determines whether something is considered as heritage. Heritage may have grown 'out of peril' and nostalgia for the days gone by, but it is also inherently political: 'The heritage business is subject to a constant tension between the demands for bureaucratic consistency and impersonal expertise, on the one hand, and for popular participation and local autonomy on the other.' (Davison 2008, pp. 34 and 38 respectively). The question is, whose heritage are we talking about? Experts have traditionally had their say on what can be construed as heritage.[17] Local and national governments along with those states that are part of the United Nations, such as *UNESCO*, with their bureaucratic processes and legislations have governed the creation of heritage. Examples of such heritage objects and sites that are administrated by these heritage actors include tangible objects and sites, such world heritage sites or artworks that have been deemed nationally and internationally important. Outside these processes and bureaucracy exists unprotected and unacknowledged intangible heritage, examples of which include 'living traditions of song, dance, craft and other expressions of what is often called folk or traditional culture', in addition to 'vernacular buildings or performance traditions'.[18] These two forms of heritage are often in contention. For example, in a recent case study from York (UK), 'My Castle Gateway', in which Lianne and Richard Brigham, members of the 'York Past and Present' Facebook group, along with Helen Graham from University of Leeds, explore how 'to increase participation in heritage and place-making in York' (Brigham, Brigham, and Graham 2018, p. 21). The members of the group wanted to conserve in photographic form the disappearing heritage of buildings that were either sold, developed, or demolished; however, they found that gaining access to these sites was impossible. They argue that official consultation methods do not take into account the interests of local communities and that a participatory approach to heritage, which is more democratic than the traditional, official approach, can produce results that benefit everyone. The case highlights how

---

[17] See e.g. Enqvist 2014, Fairclough 2014, Jackson 2014, Schofield 2014, Walker 2014, Maurstad 2012, West 2010, Atkinson 2008, Groote and Haartsen 2008, Harvey 2008, Kean 2008, Mason 2008, Robertson 2008, Smith. L. 2006, 2008.

[18] These forms of heritage have been termed as the now outdated 'official' and 'unofficial' heritage, see West 2010, p. 1; see also Kean 2008.

difficult it can be for individuals outside the official heritage field, or system, to impact or even influence how heritage is presented and produced. Nevertheless, 'York Past and Present' project is a success story in which the publicity that started with a Facebook group made a difference in the creation of heritage and led to a collaboration between the council and the local people (Brigham, Brigham, and Graham 2018). As West reminds us, 'Heritage matters because it is an active element of living communities who need the freedom and the means to be able to access and express their sense of how their past informs their present', a notion that is relevant also to my study (2010, p. 2). Furthermore, as Johanna Enqvist, who in this instance is discussing heritage in Finland, points out, heritage is contextually determined; that is, 'the definitions of "heritage" are multiple, dynamic and dependent on historical, cultural, social and institutional contexts'. She notes further that that there are numerous notions of heritage which overlap: these concepts 'represent deeply intertwining, overlapping and interacting aspects of the phenomena called heritage' – that amount to an *interlace structure* (2014, p. 103; for the definitions of heritage, see e.g. Davison 2008). The original definition of heritage as an 'heirloom' can therefore still be valid for artefacts, although such an interpretation depends on the subjective position of the viewer. Someone interested in local history would, perhaps, consider the logbook as a source of historical evidence of the operations of tanneries in Finland in the early twentieth century. For my family, the logbook is an heirloom, although not an obvious one in its initial ruinous state, or precious in terms of its monetary value, but because it is a treasured object of my maternal family's history and heritage. After the tannery had closed, the logbook became a souvenir of my family's past, 'a memory of a place', the tannery (Csikszentmihalyi and Halton (2006 [1994]), p. 149). Pearce notes that '[s]ouvenirs are the objects of which take their collection unity only from their association with either single person and his or her life history, or a group of people, like a married couple, a family' (1992, p. 69). She points out further that

> Souvenirs are intrinsic parts of a past experience, but because they, like the human actors in the experience, possess the survival power of materiality not shared by words, actions, sight or other elements of experience, they alone have the power to carry the past into the present. (1992, p. 72).

For my family, the tanner's logbook is a souvenir of my maternal family's past, tinted with nostalgia for the times gone by that are unattainable at the present (see ibid.).

Rosenstein, who compares souvenirs with antiques, suggests that a souvenir is an '*aide-memoire* to personal experience' (2008, p. 30). In contrast, as Thomas asserts, a museum 'collection is more particularly a technology that, quite simply, enables people to *make new things*' (2016, p. 117. Emphasis in the original.) Unlike museum collections, according to Rosenstein, '[s]ouvenirs have only subjective reality and autobiographical value' (2008, p. 30).[19] Stewart, on the other hand, points out that '[t]he souvenir may be seen as emblematic of the nostalgia that all narrative reveals – the longing for its place of origin.... The souvenir seeks distance (the exotic in time and space), but it does so in order to transform and collapse distance into proximity to, or approximation with, the self'. (1992, p. xii). The narrative in this thesis reveals the negotiation between the self (mine) and the logbook (souvenir) and the desire to diminish the distance between my native land and my adoptive land and to loop back to a time when the tannery was still working, to a time that existed before I did. This nostalgia for my maternal family's past that is crumbling as generations pass away and tangible objects disappear, provides a strong impetus for this project – to save, record and archive a collection of what remains of the tannery's past for future generations. But a souvenir in a museum context attains a new status; that is, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, when the logbook achieved the status of a museum object as part of a temporary exhibition, it became to be recognised as part of the local industrial heritage and therefore became entangled in the creation (or reinforcement) of Finnish national identity.

There are differences between the ways 'heritages' in, for example, the Great Britain and in Finland are understood, partly because of linguistic differences, although historically the heritage fields of both countries have developed in similar ways (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). Graham and Howard point out that

> Even within a single society, pasts, heritages and identities should be considered as plurals. Not only do heritages have many uses but they also have multiple producers. These may be public/private sector, official/non-official and insider/outsider, each

[19] For the distinction between souvenirs and museum collections, see e.g. Thomas (2016), Stewart (2007 [1993]), Pearce (1993).

> stakeholder having varied and multiple objectives in the creation and management of heritage (2005, p. 1; see also Mason 2008).

The various goals stakeholders each have their own lens when they view heritage (and apply their own 'familiar images' when interpreting what is heritage, Koppinen 2009, 2013b). For example, since its conception, the idea of heritage is tied to national heritage and nationalism (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 7), and the same applies to not only to the Finnish heritage field in general but also the exhibition of local industry in Iso-Pappila, which was to a great extent also a demonstration of the national values (for the Finnish heritage field, see e.g. Enqvist 2014, 2016). Yet, as Graham and Howard note, the multiple contributors and stakeholders in *transnational* societies means that there is no simple binary relationship of insider/outsider, colonizer/colonized, or even hegemonic/resistant'. The multiple heritages are thus 'present-centred'; that is, 'created, shaped and managed by, and in response to, the demands of the present. As such, they are open to constant revision and change and are also both sources and results of social conflict.' (2008, pp. 2-3. My emphasis.) Finland, as part of the European Union, is a transnational society, but although my study does not consider the movements of museum objects from that angle, the point is still valid: such binary oppositions that Graham and Howard list, dissipate when scrutinized closely. Harvey also urges us to think heritage in plural form as *heritages* and reminds us that the history of heritage is bound together with the 'history of power relations' (2008, p. 1. My emphasis.). The interpretation of heritage in different societies echo the 'dominant political, social, religious or ethnic groups in' what Laurajane Smith has termed the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' ((henceforth AHD) 2006; see Chapter 5), which is one of the topics discussed in this thesis.

The Authorized Heritage Discourse and the Democratic Heritage Discourse

As noted earlier, heritage is a difficult term to define. David Lowenthal has famously suggested that heritage 'all but defies definition' (1998, p. 94). Laurajane Smith goes even further and suggests in her seminal book, *Uses of Heritage*, that there is *no* heritage, instead, 'there is rather a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage'. For her, heritage constitutes 'a cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings' (2006, p. 11). She has identified a political discourse at work in the heritage field, the AHD, which is an everchanging and context-dependent dominant Western discourse that privileges material remnants of the past. Modelled on Critical Discourse Analysis, AHD 'not only organizes the way concepts like heritage are understood, but the way we act, the social and technical practices we act out, and the knowledge is constructed and reproduced'. Furthermore, L. Smith argues further that the AHD

> draws on and naturalizes certain narratives and cultural and social experiences – often linked to the idea of nationhood[. It] is also a professional discourse that privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, and dominates and regulates professional heritage practices (2006, p. 4).

The AHD is a dominant Western discourse about heritage, the purpose of which is to establish ideas of how heritage is considered and what it means (L. Smith 2006, p. 4). Elsewhere L. Smith explains that the AHD 'defines heritage as a "thing", which must be authenticated and preserved, unchanged for the future by heritage experts' and the way this process is established is 'in public policy, heritage statutes, agencies and amenity societies, and has come to frame the heritage performance at the national [and international] level' (2011, p. 71). What L. Smith suggests is that according to the policies of AHD we should preserve 'things' as they are, stop the ravages of time, and not acknowledge the change tangible objects go through. In other words, the aim of the AHD she describes is to affect the way people think about heritage in an official capacity and therefore affect also the way they enact heritage. Although the language L. Smith uses suggests otherwise, she claims that heritage is not a 'thing' but 'a cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present'. Her assumption is that 'all heritage is intangible', which is a position in which 'places, sites, objects and localities may exist as identifiable sites of heritage [yet] these places are not *inherently* valuable and meaningful, not do they carry a freight of innate meaning' (2006, p. 3. Emphasis in the original). Such a position betrays a pragmatic semiotic stance in which people give meaning to, for example, objects, which, therefore would have little or no agency (Graves-Brown 2000, pp. 3-4, Chandler 2003, p.4; see also Nöth 1995, Veivo 2007, Koppinen 2009, 2013b). Yet, as discussed earlier in relation to ANT, there is no difference between humans and non-humans in regards of agency: 'Things can matter […] even when people do not say that they matter' (Hicks 2010, p. 75). Furthermore, Skrede and Hølleland, who use Critical Discourse Analysis to examine L. Smith's concept, warn against a generalised AHD: 'one can hardly speak of *the* AHD. Rather, there are not only several competing heritage discourses, there are "sub-AHDs" at work within the same organization' (2018, p. 87. Emphasis in the original. Cf. L. Smith 2011, p. 71. See also Pendlebury 2013). That is, there are several different AHDs at work in the heritage field and Finland makes no exception.[20] Furthermore, they note further that 'when applied to an empirical context, the limits of a strongly generalized AHD come to the fore' (2018, p. 87). Recently, another political discourse that challenges the AHD has been identified: the Democratic Heritage Discourse (henceforth DHD) n. The *ACHS: Association of Critical Heritage Studies* brings together heritage and museum professionals and researchers. They assert in the manifesto that

> Heritage is, as much as anything, a political act and we need to ask serious questions about the power relations that 'heritage' has all too often been invoked to sustain. Nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, cultural elitism, Western triumphalism, social exclusion based on class and ethnicity, and fetishising of expert knowledge have all exerted strong influences on how heritage is used, defined and managed. (*ACHS* 2008)

They argue further 'that a truly critical heritage studies will' challenge the existing norms, which means that 'the interests of the marginalised and excluded will be brought to the forefront when posing these questions' (*ACHS* 2008). Taking the *ACHS*'s mission as a starting point, Enqvist argues that 'the claimed exclusion applies not merely to indigenous people and other minorities, but to *all local communities* or members of our society who have been left out of the evaluation and decision-making concerning places or objects meaningful to them' (2014, p. 102. My emphasis.) Hence, although the DHD grew out of, for example, post-colonial concerns, it can be extended to, for example, local communities everywhere, such as that of Mäntyharju. Adopting a more democratic policies than those of AHDs, means to support 'open and free access to

---

[20] See e.g. Enqvist 2018; Suominen *et al.* 2018; Ikäheimo and Äikäs 2017; Seitsonen 2017; Linkola 2015; Mikula 2015; Grydehøj 2010. My thesis concentrates on one particular AHD: the one affecting Finnish local history museums (see Chapter 5).

data and knowledge about heritage' (2014, p. 102). In Finland, this endorsement is comes, for example, in the form of volunteering, which is widely practised in local history museums and provides local communities opportunities to create and share their own heritage. In the report on the Finnish local history museums, Hirvonen notes that *Jokainen voi tuoda tai luoda museoon jotain pientä. Kannattaa ottaa vastaan myös yksittäisten henkilöiden ideat ja tarjota tilaa ihmisten omalle harrastuneisuudelle.* (*Eng.* '*Everyone* can bring or create something small to a museum. It is worth accepting also ideas of individuals and offer space for people's personal interests', 2017c, p. 11. My emphasis). At the local history museum in Hankasalmi, for example, a local forager offered to provide a beginners course in *hortoilu* (*Eng.* 'foraging while wandering about'), which drew many attendees. Another example is the agricultural exhibition held at Talonpoikaismuseo Yli-Kirra, a local history museum in Punkalaidun where local communities volunteered to demonstrate, for example, their craft skills. Hirvonen notes that this kind of community participation means that *Kaikki ovat ylpeitä siitä, että saavat olla mukana näyttämässä omaa osaamistaan* (*Eng.* '*Everyone* is proud to be involved in showcasing their own skills'. Hirvonen 2017c, p. 11 My emphasis. For examples of such participatory projects in other heritage fields, see e.g. Enqvist 2014, p. 115, Kovanen 2018). Kean, who offers a discussion the boundaries and blurring of the personal and public, provides examples of how 'personal voices' are used in museum settings elsewhere, such as in the Museum of London, which has a long history of such practice. He notes further that 'personal stories, memory, artefacts and oral testimony have been recognized as potentially contributing to a collective narrative of the past which goes beyond the idea of simply presenting the past to public' (2008, p. 67; for case studies of the use of personal voices in museums, see ibid. pp. 62-67). Such endeavour not only creates a more democratic way of creating heritage but also makes the officially presented heritage in museums more personal, especially to the contributing communities. The use personal voices as heritage in a museum and research settings is also relevant to my study. Iso-Pappila considers itself a *muistiorganisaatio* (*Eng.* 'memory organisation'), the mission of which is to collect memories of local people and preserve them for future generations (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 6; see Chapter 5). In my study, memories of not only my family members but also the local people became part of the logbook's itinerary (see Chapter 4). The inclusion of the logbook in the exhibition at the Museum of Mäntyharju was also an example of the participatory ways local history museums in Finland challenge the AHD.

Thus far in this chapter, I have introduced the approaches and topics that inform my discussion in this thesis. I shall now explain the terms used in this thesis, starting with the concept of museum object, which is central to my study.

What is a Museum Object?

Since their beginnings, museums have had a profound relationship with objects. The early 'curiosity cabinets' that later became defined as museums, such as the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, or the Raahe Museum in Finland, were filled with material objects brought in from far and wide (Abt 2011, Arnold 2006, MacGregor 2001, Weschler 1995, Hooper-Greenhill 1992, Heinonen and Lahti 2010). Similarly, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, could be said to be a museum of early museums, defined by its collections – itself a kind of material definition of a museum. Some of its objects were collected or bought from the field, some donated by private collectors.[21] Larson, Petch and Zeitlyn, who consider the network connections between collectors, curators, and objects at the Pitt Rivers Museum, point out that 'These clusters of people were held together by the flow of objects', assemblages which in turn helped define the museum (2007, p. 213). Indeed, it is the movements of objects that characterize a museum (Grewcock 2014, p. 12). Heinonen and Lahti note that humans are all collectors of objects:

> Lähes jokainen kerää jotain, ovat ne sitten postimerkkejä, kirjoja tai vaikkapa omia, valokuviin tallennettuja muistoja. Jokainen myös säilyttää keräämänsä esineet ja huolehtii niiden kunnosta, luokittelee ja järjestelee ne ja näin laajasti käsitettynä tutkii niitä. Näyttämisen, esittämisen ja kertomisen tarve on myös jokaisessa sisäsyntyistä. Ihmiset tekevät siis samoja asioita kuin museot ja jokaisella on oma 'pienoismuseonsa' on se sitten pikkupojalla taskussa tai eläkeläisellä kenkälaatikossa. Ero 'jokamiehen' ja museon välillä on *koossa*: ihminen kerää esineitä oman

[21] Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007; see also Weschler 1995; Findlen 1994, 2004; Greenberg 2005; Arnold 2006; Conn 2010; for a comprehensive survey on collecting and fieldwork, see Lucas 2010.; see also the essays in Golding and Modest 2013, Abt 2011, Classen and Howes 2006, MacGregor 2001, Gosden and Knowles 2001, Pearce 1993, 1994c.

> identiteetinsä vuoksi, kun taas museot keräävät ja esittelevät yhteistä kulttuuri- ja luonnonomaisuutta ja ylläpitävät ja voimistavat yhteistä identiteettiämme. (2007, p. 14; see also Pearce 1993. My emphasis.)
>
> (*Eng*. 'Almost everyone collects something, whether it is stamps, books, or memories conserved in photographs. Everyone also preserves the objects they collect and looks after them, classifies and organizes them and thus, in a broad sense, studies them. The desire to display, present, and tell stories is also innate in everyone. People then do the same things as museums do; everyone has their own 'miniature museum', be it in the pocket of a little boy or in a retiree's shoebox. The difference between the 'everyman' and the museum is *size*: human collects objects for their own identity, while museums collect and exhibit shared cultural and natural objects and maintain and strengthen our shared identity.')

Yet, the object in 'the little boy's pocket or in the retiree's shoebox' is *not* a museum object. Therefore, it is important to ask, what constitutes a museum object? Is it only an accessioned object, or can we stretch the definition further? Can we call a museum's reception desk a museum object? That is, what distinguishes a museum object from the rest of the material – be that tangible or intangible – in a museum? What about objects that are on loan? Susan Pearce describes the process by which objects become museum objects:

> all collected objects begin life outside a collection, and it is possible to build up individual biographies for particular objects which cover first their lives in general circulation, then their entry to the museum, with its concurrent professional repertoire of documentation, display, photography and publication. (1994, p. 2)

As Curtis notes further, '[m]useum collections ideally consist of thousands of objects, each individually catalogued and numbered' (2006, p. 123).The inclusion of the objects in the catalogue and the specific number the object is given, then elevates an object to the status of a museum object (Pearce 1993). Selection, then, plays an important part if the formation of museum objects. That is, museum materials, such as natural specimens, artefacts, and objects, are '*selected* lumps of the physical world to which cultural value has been ascribed' (Pearce 1993, p. 5. My emphasis).[22] Chalk, who in this instance is discussing scientific objects (specimens), notes that 'there is little difference

[22] The distinction between the aforementioned 'souvenir' and 'collection' is discussed in e.g. Thomas (2016, Stewart (2007 [1993]), Pearce (1992).

between museum objects because all objects in collections – whether cultural or natural, artistic or scientific – are similarly selected, partial and modified' (2012, p. 19). Furthermore, Grewcock points out that

> Museums are not engaged in the collection of 'any thing' but of the 'real thing'. Ideas of authenticity and the knowledge that confirms it separates a museum collection from 'mere' curios by adding empirical, informational layer to the 'museum object' and museums themselves. (2014, p. 155)

For Turpeinen, an authentic museum object is not only the basic unit of museum processes but also a cultural historical object that originates from another time and place (2005, p. 13; see also Knell 2012, Gosden and Knowles 2001, p. 19). The authenticity of an object plays a large part in the selection process in museums (Pearce 1993, pp. 24-35; see also Hill, K. 2011). Curtis points out that

> the description of something as a 'museum object' […] is only an indication of one of the contexts in which something has been considered. It does not mean that there is an essential category of 'museum objects' that can be distinguished from anything else. *Only its treatment as a museum object makes it one*. (2006, p. 123. My emphasis.)

Therefore, to answer my earlier question about a reception desk where visitors buy tickets and programmes at a museum, it does not qualify as a museum object any more than the toy in a little boy's pocket. This view suggests that *only* when the desk is removed from its function, catalogued, labelled, and added to a collection as a museum object it would become one. Sarah H. Dudley makes this point with 'a ritual libation cup'. Displayed in a museum, 'instead of moving from hand to hand, mouth to mouth, being filled with ceremonial liquid, drunk dry and refilled once more,' the cup is removed from its original function. As a museum object, it 'sits motionless, empty, permanently parched, viewed passively through the glass of its display case, untouched, unused, unblessed and unmoved'. Yet, she points out further that objects are far from 'dead' in a museum. Visitors engage with museum objects – even through a glass barrier – and staff handle the objects. (2012, pp. 1-2). But the desk, when in used for its intended function, is an object *in* a museum and *not* a museum object per se. Indeed, museum objects are created (Walklate, 2012). Objects have multiple meanings, as has often been pointed out (see e.g. Dudley, 2012, Hill 2011, Pearce 1993, 1994, 2012). Furthermore, the meanings and values of objects, within the museum as elsewhere, are dynamic and unstable, situated and contingent' (Swinney 2012, p. 33). The meanings of objects, of which there are multiple, depend on the point of view, knowledge, and experience of the person; that is, the meanings depend on their 'familiar images' of the curator who processes the object in the museum setting, or the visitor, who interprets the object in their own way (Koppinen 2009, 2013a, Swinney 2012). It does not mean, however, that the object is passive in this relationship. As the 'lumps of the physical world', to use Pearce's words, are considered and created as museum objects – selected and modified to fit the museum context – their properties and material characteristics affect the way they are treated. Indeed, an object that is in a bad condition, for example, mouldy, or infested with harmful insects that pose a threat to the museum's collections, affects the outcome of whether the object becomes a museum object (Curtis 2006, p. 124). Pearce points out that

> A second process of selection [...] lies at the heart of the museum operation, or, to put it another way, museum objects are created by the act of collecting, usually twice over – firstly through the choices of individual collector, and secondly, by the willingness of a museum to take the collected assemblage for reasons which have to do with its perceived aesthetic, historic, or scientific value. It is upon this basis that museum interpretation is erected (1993, p. 7).

The process of is depicted in a *Vimeo* made for *Rauman Merimuseo* – *Rauma Maritime Museum*, '*Muistosta museoesineeksi - From the memory to the museum artifact*'. The film depicts a young woman, who donates an old photograph of her ancestor in a naval uniform from her home to the museum's collections. The museum and the woman sign a contract, the photograph it is treated professionally, catalogued, and displayed in a gallery where the donor views it in the display case (2019; for such 'passive acquisition', see Szczepanski 2017). Yet, museum collections do not only consist of physical 'lumps' (Pearce 1993); they include, for example, recording, stories, memories, and images, although these may be stored in a physical form. For the purposes of this thesis, I consider museum objects to be *processes* by which tangible and intangible objects and things become museum objects as they accrue layers of meaning and information during their travels to the museum context (for objects as processes, see DeSilvey 2012, pp. 257-259, Gosden and Knowles 2001, pp. 18-22, Pearce 1994a, p. 2). These processes are material, social, ever-changing and defined by the movements of the objects and people, time and spaces (see e.g. Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, Díaz-Guardimo

2015, Haskell, 2015). Furthermore, as Gosden and Knowles suggest, 'people are produced through interaction with the material world as well as things', as I also found out during my research journey (2001, p. 18). As Dudley astutely points out, in material form, 'museum objects never stand alone... the interaction between the inanimate, physical things and conscious person, [...] constitutes the moments in which a material thing is perceived and sensorially experienced (2010, p. 5).

The museum object I discuss in this thesis is a large old leather-bound manuscript with a text block of ruled paper leaves filled with handwritten notes (Figure 4; discussed in detail in Chapter 3). However, although the logbook does contain text, I consider the book in my thesis first and foremost as a *material object* – a manmade artefact – that has an effect on bodily senses rather than just as a carrier of text. I do, however, discuss the text of the logbook at relevant junctions in order to illustrate the kind of itineraries the logbook is entangled with (for my discussion of the relationship between museums and texts, see Koppinen 2013a; see also Ravelli 2006; for the discussion of the logbook's text, see Chapter 3). Poulter notes in relation to museum objects that 'meanings of objects are not fixed but shift and accrue over time. Through an interrogation of their materiality, […] objects enable us to unlock these complex, interconnected' stories. She considers objects as texts to be read: 'All objects have the potential to impart information about moments in their lives' and suggests the method of 'close reading' to uncover this information (2013, pp. 7 and 8 respectively). The method of 'close reading' is widely used method of interpretation in literary studies. It means to investigate the different features of the text, such as words and syntax, in order to see what kind of effect the text creates. This reading method produces different effects and interpretations in different readers depending on their knowledge and experience (Cuddon, 1998, p. 142; for the role of extra-textual material in the reading process, see Koppinen 2013a). I use the method of close reading also in this thesis, although I do not consider that objects can be reduced to texts.

Another category of museum objects that I consider in this thesis is 'photograph', which played a large part in the logbook's itinerary into a museum object. Indeed, photographs, such as depicted in the *Vimeo*, are ubiquitous in museums. Edwards and

Hart note that photographs are material objects and images; 'they exist in time and space and thus in social and cultural experience' (2004, p. 1).[23] As such, they do not differ from other museum objects. In museums, however, photographs are often treated as additional, symbolic objects that add value, explain, or frame exhibits and spaces. In this 'secondary level of interpretation', as Katz notes, '[i]mages are employed as visual representations of things, rather than the thing itself' (2012, p. 324). Yet, as Edwards notes, 'photographs constitute one of the most emotionally intense classes of museums objects: they are not imprinted representation in abstract, but imprinted objects that are both representational and material' (2010, p. 21). They are 'memory objects' that transport us to another time and place, they prompt stories, emotions, and sensory experiences, even when those are second-hand, such as when we view an image of things, places, and people we have not encountered in real life ourselves (for 'memory objects', see Hahn and Weiss 2013a, p. 3; see also Sontag 1978, p. 165). The photographs are often contributed to museums by individuals and what I call *contributing communities*, described in the next section.

A Donor versus a Contributing Community

As Museums are said to be either 'active' or 'passive' collectors of objects,

> Five methods of *active* collecting have been identified: field collection, gift, purchase, loan transferred to gift and loan transferred to purchase. Similarly, four categories of *passive* collecting have been identified: gift, purchase, loan transferred to gift and loan transferred to purchase. (Szczepanski 2017, p. 275. My emphasis)

In these scenarios, the museum is either active or passive in sourcing the objects to the museum's collections. The *Vimeo* from *Rauma Maritime Museum* depicts a case of 'passive acquisition', in which a donor offers an object, in this case a photograph, to the museum's collections. 'Donors', Szczepanski claims, 'feel responsibility for preserving history' (2017, p. 278). She points out further that 'passive acquisitions are more than just unsolicited gifts abandoned at the side of the door. In most cases, the owner is known... The key point is that the discussion to offer the object to the museum is

---

[23] Photographs in museums is a much discussed topic, see e.g. Edwards 2012, 2010, 2009, 2001; see also Katz 2012, Wehner 2012, Porto, 2004, Edwards and Hart 2004, Stanton, 2003.

initiated by the owner rather than by the museum' (2017, p. 272. My emphasis). The key in distinguishing donors from source communities is the way they are described: donors, often wealthy Western individuals or families, *offer* or *gift* a museum objects or artefacts while Indigenous or minority people are source communities from where objects and artefacts are collected.[24] Szczepanski suggest that

> donors, people who offer their belongings to museums are motivated by a sense of responsibility to preserve the past and a need to divest that responsibility. Memorable museum visits and positive experience with staff members may also inspire people to donate items. In this way, passive acquisitions have become part of a reciprocal relationship and a way for donors to mark their positive experience at the museum. (Szczepanski 2017, pp. 272-273; see also Alberti 2005, p. 565)

However, the dichotomy of *active* acquisition (instigated by the museum) versus *passive* acquisition (instigated by individuals) becomes blurred when scrutinised closely. The seemingly passive process actives the museum and results in a 'reciprocal relationship' Szczepanski mentions in the quotation. This relationship could not be considered passive, not even from the museum's point of view, since in order the process to be reciprocal, both the donor and the museum have to have agency. Szczepanski points out that the research on collections largely 'involves unpacking the relationship between people and objects: tracing the object's journey from its home through various intermediaries and finally to the museum' (2017, p. 273; see also Byrne *et al.* 2011, Gosden and Knowles 2001, Pearce 1992). Porto provides an example tracing that journey from the Dundo Museum in Angola of both active donations and how local communities participate in the museum:

> Visiting the Dundo Museum became an established routine for the native population ('*locals*', 'from outer areas' or 'visitors') and for colonials, tourists, scientists or visitors to whom the company accorded the status of '*distinguished guests*'....These two main categories of public (natives and Europeans) were guided by museum staff who carefully noted visitors' remarks, preferences and dislikes. (Porto 2004, p. 126. My emphasis.)

[24] For discussions of donors, see e.g. Szczepanski 2017, Varutti 2013, Warrior 2013, Bodenstein 2012, Burch 2012, Carreau 2012, Gray 2012, Abt 2011, Wingfield 2011, Gosden and Larson 2007, Larson, Petch, and Zeitlyn 2007, Hill, J. 2007, Harrison 2006, Alberti 2005, Petch 2004, MacGregor 2001.

The '[n]ative visitors' were also, in the course of [their] visits, *asked to contribute* to the museum collections. Native self-representation at the museum by donation became common practice' (Porto 2004, p. 126. My emphasis).[25] The key phrase in the quotation, '*asked to contribute*', sums up how active donation works: first, the museum instigates the process of acquisition of the photographs from the natives by *asking* them. Second, the action is defined as a *contribution*. Interestingly, although Porto refers to a 'donation', the natives are not referred to as donors nor are they described as the so-called source communities, which is the common term when discussing collecting objects from Indigenous peoples (see e.g. Golding and Modest 2013, Peers and Brown 2003). One the topics discussed in this thesis is the so-called source community, or alternatively 'originating' or 'creator' community from which the logbook originates (the focus of Chapter 4 in this thesis).[26]

The difference between donors and source communities is the way the object acquisition is instigated, as described above. The dictionary definitions of the noun 'source' include two examples that are relevant to this study: it can mean both '[t]he origin, or original stock, of a person, family' and [t]he originating cause or substance of some material thing or physical agency'.[27] The word community, on the other hand, means, for example, '[a] body of people or things viewed collectively' or, more specifically, '[a] body of people who live in the same place, usually sharing a common cultural or ethnic identity. Hence: a place where a particular body of peoples lives'.[28] Furthermore, Kadoyama, who in this instance is writing about community involvement in museums, provides further two ways of comprehending 'community': 'interest' and 'sense of belonging' (2018, p. 8). As we shall see, all of these ways of understanding the concept of community apply to my study. In the museum context, source community is considered to be the origin of, for example, tangible and intangible material in a

---

[25] Porto uses the word 'native' of the local Angolan population as opposed to the term 'indigenous', because it 'is a historical usage... part of the colonial discourse that stressed the civilisation gap rather than affirming a specific culture' (2004, p. 130n).
[26] 'Source community' is a much discussed topic; see e.g. Kovach 2009, Curtis 2006, Gosden and Knowles 2001; see also the essays in Golding and Modest (ed.) 2013 and Peers and Brown (ed.) 2003.
[27] *OED*, *s.v.* 'source', n., 4.c. and d. respectively.
[28] *OED*, *s.v.* 'community', n., 1. and 2.b. respectively.

museum's collections and exhibitions (for collecting, see e.g. Peers and Brown 2003, Lucas 2010, Wingfield 2011). Peers and Brown describe how

> During the great age of museum collecting which began in the mid-nineteenth century, this was a one-way relationship: objects and information about them went from peoples all over the world into museums, which then consolidated knowledge as the basis of curatorial and institutional authority. (2003, p. 1)

Lucas explains how active collecting in the field: 'Museums sent out their staff to collect artefacts, but at the same time purchased material from local collectors; indeed, often it was in the field that professionals bought collections from amateurs.' (2010, p. 233) Since the 1980s, this method collecting has become a much more reciprocal process than in the early years of collecting. Artefacts and objects are now being repatriated and returned to the communities from where they were collected. These source communities, traditionally considered to consists of Indigenous peoples, are now often considered to be valuable audiences for museum exhibitions and museums consider how they can take such communities into consideration (Peers and Brown 2003, p. 1). Peers and Brown explain that in museology and anthropology, the term 'source community' traditionally refers to the social assemblage – the people or the place – from where an object in a museum's collections or exhibit originates. They note further that 'source community' is a term that 'has most often been used to refer to indigenous people of the Americas and the Pacific, but apply to every cultural group from which museums have collected: [including] local people' (2003, p. 2). However, recently the term has become under scrutiny. As Curtis points out, 'when we are talking of "indigenous people" or "source communities" we are contrasting them with Western culture. The danger of doing this is that the differences between these cultures are minimized – homogenising them into an undifferentiated "other"' (2006, p. 123. See also Cole and Brooks 2017, p. 131). However, in the light of these statements, the term 'source community' seems inadequate. Curtis offers critique of the term source community and considers it an 'essentialist' one that appears to encompass a homogenised group which does not take into account the notions of how those communities consider themselves. However, he does not offer a better term to replace it (2006, pp. 122-123).

As we will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5, the practice of crowdsourcing material to their exhibitions in the Museum of Mäntyharju follows a similar pattern as in the aforementioned example described by Porto (see Chapter 5). The museum *asks* the local people to contribute relevant material to their collections, exhibitions and events be those material objects or memories. The verb 'contribute' in its figurative sense means 'to give or furnish along with others towards bringing about a result; to lend (*effective agency* or assistance) to a common result or purpose'.[29] When the museum is considered active and the community passive the community is stripped of their agency, although they actively contribute to the museum's collection and exhibitions. The word *contribution* sums up the active involvement of the community. My intervention initially followed the model of a passive collection; that is, I made an unsolicited offer of an object to Museum of Mäntyharju's permanent collections. Yet, the idea of *passive* acquisition only applies to the museum, which did not seek the object. I *actively* sought the museum and offered to donate the logbook into the museum's collections (with permission; M. Suopelto pers. comm. 3 June 2015). Although the offer of the logbook into the permanent collections was declined because it did not fit the acquisition policy delineated in the museum's collections policy, it did end up on loan in the temporary exhibition. However, the photographs that accompanied the logbook in the exhibitions along with stories and memories it engendered along the way, were added to the museum's collections. As such, I, along with my family, contributed to the museum exhibition and collections. In this thesis, I take the community from where the logbook originates to mean a '*contributing community*' that acknowledges the *ongoing* and *active* contribution of the community to the itinerary of the logbook and the museum exhibition (see Chapter 4). However, I want to keep this definition flexible and fluid; that is, the contributing community is *not* a homogenous group of people, instead, it consists of multiple communities that come together in contributing to the museum both tangible and intangible material – in the form of objects, stories, experiences, and memories; for example, I call my family members the *immediate* contributing community in order to distinguish them from other communities which fall under the umbrella term of the contributing community.

[29] *OED*, s.v. 'contribute', v., 5. My emphasis.

That is, not only the community of which I am intimately part, my family, but also the museum audiences who visited and participated in the museum events contributed to the logbook's itinerary and the museum exhibition. Although in my study the *contributing* community from where the logbook originates is not part of Indigenous or minority people, it is important to be aware of the post-colonial contexts in which the term has been used and how charged that phrase is today.[30] However, while this thesis does *not* focus on Indigenous or minority communities, it *is* informed by the Indigenous methodologies – especially in the field methods – put forth, for example, by Margaret Kovach in her book, *Indigenous Methodologies* (2009; described earlier in this thesis and at relevant junctions of this thesis).

Clarifications and Definitions

I have already defined the way the terms 'museum object', 'donor', and 'contributing community' are used in this thesis. The following terms and definitions need to be redefined in order to reflect more accurately the way I understand these concepts and the argument I am putting forward in this thesis, starting with oral history. Stories are important in the formation of museums objects and often come in the form of 'oral history', which has two primary meanings: first, it is 'a body of stories about past events passed on by word of mouth', and second, it is 'the branch of history that deals with the compilation and study of such recollections, usually through the use of recorded interviews with people having personal knowledge of the past' (*OED*, *s.v.* 'oral history', n.). In the latter kind of oral history, people's memories, stories, poems, and songs are collected and preserved through recording and stored in archives, just as the Finnish folklorists did in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 5). Such body of oral history is considered to be part of oral tradition worth preserving for future generations. The Old English poetic corpus is based on oral tradition; the poems were disseminated orally and only written down centuries after they were composed (see e.g. O'Brien O'Keeffe 1990; see also Cuddon 1998, p. 617). I use the term in the loosely in first sense as

[30] 'Indigenous' is capitalised throughout this thesis to indicate the 'numerous communities with a distinct cultural culture and history' that the word indicates (Cole and Brooks 2017, p. 137n.2). Finland has its own Indigenous people, the Sámi, but they are not the focus of my study (see, e.g. Magnani, Guttorm, and Magnani 2018, Heikkinen 2017, Enqvist 2016, Levy 2006).

'stories about past events passed on by word of mouth' and situate the term in the framework of Indigenous methodologies in which 'the act of sharing through personal narrative, teaching story, and general conversation is a method by which each generation is accountable to the next in transmitting knowledge' (Kovach 2009, p. 14). To represent these stories about the past that add layers of meaning and information onto museum objects, we use metaphors.

Metaphors of Movement: Object's Life History, Biography, and Itinerary

The focus of this study is on how an object travels from a context in which it is a functional item to an exhibition in a museum and how or what kind of heritage is thus created. One of the approaches I adopted in this study comes from the use of metaphors to investigate and represent the movements of material objects. As discussed earlier in relation to ANT, metaphors are narrative tools with which we can describe the material world and its entanglement in social assemblages. The metaphorical approach for my examination of the logbook's movements comes from the recent idea, or metaphor, of 'object itinerary', developed from the concepts of 'life history' and 'object biography', defined in the next before I move onto the metaphor of itinerary itself.[31] In life history, the existence and duration of an object is likened to a human life. In archaeology, 'life history' is a term that has been used to explain 'the sequence of interactions and activities that [an artefact] goes through during its existence or "lifetime"', as Hollenback and Schiffer explain. They note further that 'this process begins with procurement of raw materials, goes through manufacture and use, and ends with deposition in the archaeological record' (2010, p. 320; see also Hodder 2012, p. 192; see also Ingold 2012). Margaret Kovach, who in this instance is discussing how stories can be used in 'methodologies valuing contextualized knowledge, such as feminism, autoethnography, phenomenology, and narrative inquiry', explains that terms, such as '*life history* and *oral history* are familiar to these forms of qualitative inquiry'. She notes further that '[l]ife history is associated with a study of the totality of a person's life, while oral history concerns a particular aspect of an individual's experience

[31] Morris, C. 2017, Joy 2012, Herle 2012, Hoskins 2006, Kopytoff 1986; for critique of 'object biography', see e.g. Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, Hahn and Weiss 2013a, Pétursdóttir 2014; for 'life histories', see e.g. Hicks 2010, p. 82.

that pertains a particular topic at hand' (2009, p. 96). Story and narrative are thus central to recounting a life history of a person, or of an *object*. Hahn and Weiss, who emphasise that drawing on the life history of an object can be used as a method to examine those instances of an object's life that have 'personal value', such as that of the logbook. They note further that '[t]he ways in which histories of objects and people inform each other can be described through closer examination of the moments of transformation of objects and also of people themselves' (Hahn and Weiss 2013a, p. 3). The task is then to find and follow the traces of the objects and people with which they come into contact during their so-called 'life'. The life of an object or an artefact is not confined to the social life of an object, determined thus by its use function within human societies: 'Life histories of things at any scale, however, routinely accommodate what we might term material histories, rather than purely social histories' (Hicks 2010, p. 82). Biography, on the other hand, is a term that has been developed from life history to accommodate the social aspect of objects.

Biography, which in literary studies is 'an account of a person's life', but it is also considered to be 'a branch of history' (Cuddon 1998, p. 83). Biography is a method that investigates the past, to uncover any evidence that might shed light on a person's life. As such, it is a metaphor that provides an analogue for the existence and duration of objects. In the biographical approach, although material objects are not 'alive' in the same way as human beings are, they have been considered to have a point of origin, their so-called birth, and an end point when they cease to exist. [32] As with life history, biography has been used for decades by anthropologists and archaeologists as a narrative tool to explain the life of material objects; that is, their life from so-called birth to death (see e.g. Poulter 2013, Hicks 2010, Hoskins 2006, 1998, Gosden and Marshall 1999, Appadurai 1986). In this approach, the biographer investigates the past for any evidence that might illuminate a person's life. Kopytoff, in his seminal essay 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', explains that the 'theoretically aware biographical model […] presents the range of biographical

[32] See e.g. Morris, C. 2017, Joy 2012, Herle 2012, Hoskins 2006, Gosden and Marshall 1999, Kopytoff 1986; for critique of object biography, see e.g. Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, Hahn and Weiss 2013a, Pétursdóttir 2014; for 'life histories', see e.g. Hicks 2010, p. 82; see also Wehner and Sear 2010.

possibilities that the society in question offers and examines the manner in which these possibilities are realized in the life stories of various categories of people' (1986, p. 66; see also Appadurai 1986). He suggests further that when drawing a biography of an object, we should ask the same questions as we would when writing the biography of a person:

> What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its 'status' and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's life, and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?' (1986, pp. 66-67)

Thus, Kopytoff's model of biography concentrates on the 'status', provenance, origins, 'career', "ages", and 'usage', and end-life of a thing. Such questions reveal much of the cultural, social and use history of an object or artefact, much like the metaphor of life-history. Yet, the biographical model suggests that an object's (or thing's) so-called 'life' would come to an end when it is no longer useful. The idea of an object having such a terminal life has recently been contested by, for example, Tim Ingold, who points out that objects existed as materials before they acquired their forms as object and the materials continue to exist after the object loses its form (2012, p. 87). For example, it can be construed that origins in the logbook existed in the animals and trees – along with other materials – from which it was constructed. And as those living organisms have their origins in their ancestors, the starting point of the logbook's itinerary is impossible to pinpoint. Ingold points out that 'to understand movement we must abandon the way of thinking that goes from A-B' (2011, p. 13), which is how the metaphor of object biography is arranged. Joyce and Gillespie suggest that object biography needs a complement, *object itinerary*, to explain the life and especially the entangled movements of objects (2015a, p. 3. My emphasis. See also Hahn and Weiss 2013a).

It has already been noted that biography is not a sufficient metaphor to describe the lives of objects and itinerary bridges the gaps left by biography; for example, biography does not count the materials of an object before it is formed, or after its so-called 'life' comes to an end (Ingold 2013; see also Hahn and Weiss 2013a). However, as the illustrations and descriptions of the movements of objects in Ingold and others show, the concept need to be complemented with another metaphor for it to work, *object itinerary*, which is a narratological and methodological tool with which to investigate the movements of, for example, objects. An itinerary is a metaphor for telling the story of an object as an agent (Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, p. 29; Hahn and Weiss 2013a, pp. 4 and 7). The noun 'itinerary', derived from the Latin *Itinerārium*, is a useful term for describing and scrutinising the movements of objects, as is evident from the dictionary definitions: as a noun, an itinerary can be 'a line or course of travel; a route'. It can also be 'a record or journal of travel, an account of journey' or 'a book describing a route by land or sea'. Moreover, it refers to 'tracing the course of the roads in a region or district, with measurements of distance, accounts of places and objects of interest, and other information for travellers; a road book, or a guide-book'. As a rare form, an itinerary can also refer to the 'one who itinerates, an itinerant' – the person, or object, as in this case, who travels.[33] All of these definitions are useful in considering how the concept of itinerary could be deployed in order to trace the journey of a material object from assemblage to assemblage in the past, present, and in the future (for a fuller descriptions of object itinerary, see Chapters 2 and 3).[34] Itinerary is also a useful metaphor for describing the logbook, which is *technically* a sales ledger, as it was used in the tannery's shop to record sales and purchases of leather and leather goods. However, I call it a *lokikirja* (*Eng*. 'logbook'), because in it are logged not only transactions of the business from 1928 to 1940 but also the movements of people and animal hides including when and from where they travelled. Hence, the name also is associated with journeys and movements of objects and people, that is, *itineraries*: the definitions of the logbook refer to journals in which itineraries of nautical and aeronautical journeys are logged.[35] The logbook thus defined is in itself an itinerary of the tannery in 1928-1940 (see Chapter 3). Moreover, object itinerary in this thesis is a *method* which helps us trace where the object has been and to where it travels. Unlike life-history or biography, object itinerary takes into account more than the past of an object as it suggests also

[33] *OED*, *s.v.* 'itinerary', n., 1., 2., 3.a., 3.b., and 4. respectively.
[34] E.g. archaeologists provide diagrams to illustrate the movements of objects; see e.g. Bauer 2015, p. 155, Blair 2015, p. 83.
[35] OED, s.v. 'log-book', n., 1.a. and b.

where the object might travel in the future. That is, object itinerary is a methodological and narrative tool with which to trace where the object has been and to where it travels. The movements mean not just physical travels, although those are part of the object's itinerary. Furthermore, it is important to note that

> Itineraries have a collective aspect: whereas each individual object follows a unique path over time, segments of similar routes may be followed by multiple things… Itineraries […] have a life of their own, as routes that can be followed by individual or multiple objects. (Joyce 2015, p. 29)

As Joyce and Gillespie explain, the 'complex construct, "itinerary," […] traces the strings of places where objects come to rest or are active, the routes through which things circulate, and the means by which they are moved' (2015, p. 3; see also Joyce 2015a, Hahn and Weiss 2013a). Furthermore, '[h]uman and material lives are routinely intertwined' (Hicks 2010, p. 83). Yet, as Joyce and Gillespie point out, it is important to remember that

> The itineraries of things need not be limited to the physical travel of an object, but the concept allows us to recognize that the relations between things and their representations in story, song, image and memory continue to create new sites, including specialized locales like museums. (2015a, p. 14)

Thus, object itinerary is a metaphor that takes into account more than just the physical movements. The *representations* of an object extend the object's itinerary as it continues to make new connections beyond the physical routes it takes and the human and non-human networks with which it comes into contact. Furthermore, Gillespie suggests that 'people and things are mutually transformed'. This transformation means that people and things become 'entangled,' 'enchained,' or 'allied with each other' (2015, p. 40). As a transitive verb, 'to entangle' means 'to cause to stick fast in *coils*, network or anything tangled or *interlaced'* (*OED s.v.* 1.a. My emphasis.) 'To enchain' is another verb that describes how an object's itinerary can extend beyond the material world: in its figurative sense it means 'to bind, attach (the *emotions*) closely to an object. Hence with personal object.' (*OED s.v.* 2.b. My emphasis.) The third, transitive verb, 'to ally with' means 'to unite, combine, or join in kinship, friendship, association etc., especially for a common purpose or mutual benefit' (*OED s.v.* 1.a.). As we shall see in the course of this thesis, the logbook's itineraries allied with mine as this project progressed. Tim Ingold has likened the kind of entanglement described by the aforementioned verbs to 'meshwork' which consists of lines, along which people and material objects move and are connected to each other as well as to time and place (2015, p. 3, 2007b, p. 82-5, 2011a, pp. 62-94). Ingold's meshwork of lines is thus an apt metaphor for describing the process of how itineraries become entangled, as he describes the 'real lines of life' in his book, *Being Alive* (2011a). He suggests further that 'behind the conventional image of a network of interacting entities' is what he calls 'the meshwork of entangled lines of life, growth and movement'. That is, the metaphor of '"web of life" is precisely that: not a network of connected points, but a meshwork of interwoven lines' (2011a, p. 63). Elsewhere he points out that 'If every thing is itself a confluence of lines of flow, then the world of things would appear as a vast labyrinth of entangled lines', which, when looked closely appears as the "meshwork" and when seen from a distance, we can detect 'discrete entities bound by discernible shapes and patterns', that is, objects (Ingold 2015, p. 5, 2007b: 80-2). Carl Knappett, who offers criticism of Ingold's idea of the meshwork, makes an important point about the tension between an 'object' and 'thing' and the tension between 'network' and 'meshwork':

> If 'object' refers to an artefact that is named and transparent, then 'thing' is an artefact that is opaque and resistant to categorisation. Object and thing can easily be aspects of the selfsame artefact, the perception of which changes accordingly to circumstance or the user: the hammer is a thing when used seamlessly as if part of the body, but is an object when lying unused on a bench. Object and thing are thus different modes of material being. A similar distinction holds between network and meshwork. A network is a series of identifiable nodes with connections between them, while a meshwork is a maze of overlapping and intersecting lines. (Knappett 2011, p. 45)

In this thesis, the discussion is grounded on this distinction or tension between 'object' and 'thing' as well as that between 'network' and 'meshwork' (for discussion of 'network', see e.g. Fowler and Harris 2015, Wingfield 2011, Hicks 2010, Latour 2007; see also Gell 1998, Ingold 2011). 'Network' and 'meshwork' can be useful concepts to describe such a complex process as the movement of a material object in time and place. Network, however, can be too rigid a concept to describe the interlacing of the human and non-human agents that become interlaced as they move in the world, although it has its usages. The advantage of using the metaphor of meshwork over the metaphor of network in this context, is that it better illustrates the movements of objects and people in the material world. Ingold uses two examples to distinguish 'the contrast between two modalities of travel, namely wayfaring and transport'. He points out that humans and objects do not move in direct lines from point to point; instead, they wander about:

> Like the line that goes out for a walk, the path of the wayfarer wends hither and tither, and may even pause here and there before moving on. But it has no beginning or end.... The inhabited world is a reticulate meshwork of such trails, which is continually woven as life goes along them. (2007b, p. 85)

Meshwork works better, but when representing it in a visual form to illustrate the entanglements of movements of museum objects, it can be too complex, too knotty, or impenetrable to unravel when trying to demonstrate the movements of these agents. Similarly, when discussing the different networks and assemblages along which the logbook travels, the concept of an itinerary is insufficient on its own to represent such a complex process, especially in visual form. For example, any diagrams of the movements of an object are too simplified as many of other itineraries it comes into contact with will have to be left out (see Chapter 3). Yet, the aforementioned tension between 'object' and 'thing' (see Knappet 2011, p. 45) is evident in the logbook's itinerary, which coils and interlaces in and out of view, when its movements are investigated. It is important to note that although the logbook is a moveable object, it stayed in the tannery during when it was used as a tannery's logbook. However, it does not mean that it was dormant. As Humphries and Smith observe, 'Once objects are embedded in practices, they may become silent or taken for granted in the dramas that unfold. Nevertheless, they still influence and extend the performances in which they participate.' (2014, p. 486) The question is, then: how can we *represent* this 'labyrinth of entangled lines' in which materials move and grow and where we can detect objects? Ingold suggest that texts, such as this thesis, 'begin as a meshwork of interwoven threads' and offers visual analogies from, for example, Indigenous art to illustrate the movements of lines and threads that create the meshwork. Another metaphor that he uses to depict the meshwork of lines is 'embroidery', the weaving of textiles that creates an image in which lines crisscross in a regimental manner or an image of a ball of threads (2007b). The descriptions of meshwork and itinerary recall the way early medieval visual art is described and lead me to the 'familiar image' of interlace patterning with which to represent the itinerary of a material object.

Complementing the Itinerary: The Interlace Patterning

The idea of entanglement, enchaining movement, fragmentation, stoppage, and continuation of object itineraries recalls the interlace patterns with which early medieval manuscripts and artefacts were decorated. Therefore, drawing on my previous experience and knowledge of early medieval culture, I suggest that another metaphor, provided by visual arts and narrative theory, helps us visualise and represent the fragmentation and non-linear movement of objects and people in time and place more accurately than itinerary alone: early medieval interlace technique used in illustrations of, for example, the Lindisfarne Gospels or in the decoration of the great belt buckle in the Sutton Hoo ship burial (see Figure 3). Such 'familiar images' can be used to understand and interpret not only linguistic signs, such as texts, but also, for example, the material

Figure 3: The great golden belt buckle from the Sutton Hoo boat burial, The British Museum. Wikimedia commons. Photography by Jononmac46.

world (Koppinen 2009, 2013b; see also Koppinen 2020). Such an autoethnographical approach to understanding concepts is also relevant to, for example, archaeology, as Arne Emil Christensen notes: the 'imagination and experiences' govern how archaeological models are produced (1982, p. 336). On the other hand, the idea of using the interlace patterns as a visual and conceptual analogy to describe something which is intangible, such as the structure of literary texts, was first put forth by John Leyerle in 1967. He explains, for example, how in the non-linear structure of the different narrative strands that make the epic poem *Beowulf* resembles 'the interlace designs common in the early medieval English art of the seventh and eight centuries' (p. 1). 'Interlace' is also a transitive verb frequently used in material culture studies to describe how the human and non-human agents are entangled. The *OED* defines the verb 'to interlace' as such: 'To unite two (or more) things by intercrossing laces, strings, or threads; hence, to connect or bind together intricately; to entangle, involve, mix up'. Furthermore, in its figurative sense, 'to interlace' means to 'To cross, vary, or diversify a thing with interwoven or intermixed elements; to intersperse, mingle, or mix with' (1. and 5.a. respectively). It is in all these senses that the early medieval English and Celtic interlace technique has become to be known. Like with the narrative of PhD theses (and networks), underneath the surface of the interlace patterning of narratives detailing ideas and analyses is a rigid structure – a guide or planned itinerary – upon which new interlace patterns are drawn layer upon layer, for example, with ink or gold on vellum or parchment manuscript pages. The underlying structure – the original sketch underneath upon, which the finished interlace image is created – may be obscured from view, only larger patterns of its outline may be visible. The end result is often asymmetrical and may look as it is created free hand without any particular aim. The interlace stands are drawn separately but together they illustrate the way a single itinerary converges with others. As with these medieval interlace patterns on manuscript and other illustrations, we can follow the line or strand of an individual itinerary, including the stoppages and gaps that are hidden from view. In this thesis, the interlace provides a visual analogy, a way of representing and describing the logbook's itinerary as it intersects and entangles with other itineraries. With the interlace as a metaphor for the logbook's journey into a museum object, we can demonstrate how it accrues layers of meaning and information and how it transformed in the process. I will discuss the interlace and the logbook's itinerary in more detail in Chapter 3 and in my conclusion, but I will now explain the methods of data collection I used to gather material during my research.

Methods of Data Collection

I will discuss my qualitative and quantitative methodology throughout this thesis and analyse it in relation to the theoretical assumptions governing this study and the data I have collected. The plan for the fieldwork was created organically and is loosely based on ethnographical field methods. As McCann, who investigates the role of the museum in social progress, points out, '[e]thnographic methodology allows for the type of exploratory, fluid and flexible research' that was needed in such a museological intervention as this (2017, p. 42). This fluidity was paramount when gathering data in Finland, especially in a self-reflexive study as this. Sluka and Robben explain that the fieldwork for cultural anthropologists 'hinges on the dynamic and *contradictory* synthesis of subjective insider and objective outsider'. They note further that '[a]s an insider, the fieldworker learns what behaviour means to the people themselves. As an outsider, the fieldworker observes, experiences, and makes comparisons in ways that insiders can or would not' (2012, p. 2. My emphasis). The dichotomy of outsider/insider in autoethnographical research, such as this, dissipates as the ethnographer is both part of the contributing community and researcher, who enters the museum context during the fieldwork. Therefore, guided by ethnographic methodologies, I used a mixed method approach led by the material and changing circumstances to collect data for my study. Therefore, I used both qualitative and quantitative methods to gather data during my field trips to Finland, in addition to research into archives and relevant literature in the fields of museology, material culture and heritage studies.

Archival Research

In order to find evidence of the official history of the tannery and investigate its possible links with the local shoe factory, I considered it important to investigate the local archives. On 7 July 2016, I visited the local public archive is in the local library, Mäntyharjun Kirjasto, where one of the librarians introduced me to the museum's newspaper archives held at the library as well as to the Finnish national digital archives: *DIGI – Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot*, which holds the digitized contents of Finnish National Library (Digitointi- ja Konservointikeskus 2001-2017) and *Finna:*

Suomen Arkistojen, Kirjastojen ja Museoiden Aarteet Samalla Haulla, where the digital contents of Finnish archives, libraries, and museums are held (Kansallinen Digitaalinen Kirjasto 2013-2017). I used these archives to find public information about Alexander Mikonpoika Myyryläinen and his tannery and they were also useful in detecting some of the networks and social assemblages to which they, along with the logbook, belonged. In addition to digital archives, I studied textual sources to uncover the history and workings of the tannery (Karjalainen 1990, p. 122, Favorin, II, 1986, pp. 26 and 71). Some of the material, such as the photographs from inside a working beam house (Staf 1938) and the advertisement of the Myyryläinen's leather shop in *Kouvolan Sanomat* (Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot 1910), were used in the tannery display at the exhibition (see Chapter 5). These findings also became important historical material which I used when I wrote the story of the tannery for the text panel that accompanied the logbook display in the summer of 2017; the story was also published in the museum's blog (discussed in more detail in Ch. 5).

Qualitative Methods

The qualitative methods used in the research included preliminary semi-structured interviews, conversations, photography, volunteering, and observation. I also gathered sensory data of the logbook and the tannery. The semi-structured interviews were conducted both face to face at the museum and over email. I interviewed the culture secretary Anu Yli-Pyky and the resident researcher Susanna Helminen on 15 August 2015 in the exhibition space of the main building at Iso-Pappila. I also interviewed Susanna Helminen on 8 July 2016 at the *Tallikahvio*, the cafe at Iso-Pappila's barn. These interviews were not recorded, instead, I took notes by hand and confirmed any details via email. I also had informal conversations with Yli-Pyky and Helminen at Iso-Pappila on 9 August 2016, 5-9 June 2017 (when building the exhibition), 1 July 2017 (during the open day), 8 August (during the open day), and 14 August 2017 (when the exhibition was taken down). These conversations continued over email with Yli-Pyky and Helminen between 28 July 2015 and 20 October 2017 during which we planned and curated the tannery display. These emails are not included in the appendices because they contain personal information and I do not have the permission to publish them. However, I discuss the contents of the emails at relevant junctions during this thesis.

My project is 'a qualitative study with exploratory aim' (Kovach 2009, p. 51). That is, in choosing participants, since the generations contemporary to the operational tannery (1891-1964) have mostly passed away, I talked to those members of the family who had the strongest connection to the tannery – and who were available. In that sense, my research methods followed the same trajectory as described in Kovach (for an introduction to fieldwork in anthropology, see Sluka and Robben 2012; for obtaining heritage values, see e.g. Mason 2008; for sensory ethnography, see Pink 2015). For example, she explains that '[h]aving pre-existing relationship with participants is an accepted characteristic according to tribal paradigms'. In her research into Indigenous methodologies, she had met all the participants through academia (2009, p. 51). I too have 'a pre-existing and ongoing relationship' with some participants in my study, my relatives. The autoethnographic methodology I used in my study included informal discussions – *conversations* – with family members, which are field methods that resonate with Indigenous methodologies. As Kovach explains, such an approach is 'relational' and involves 'story and narrative by both the researcher and research participant' (2009, pp. 34 and 35 respectively). The tannery is part of me, part of the network of assemblages I belong to, and which connects me to the logbook. As such, I have made myself the subject of my research – as an agent that influences the logbook's itinerary and who, in turn, is affected by that research. It is important to note that such 'inquiry', as Kovach puts forth, 'is a relational methodology' (2009, p. 174). The result is that there is no one methodology that would fit all cultures; instead, we should look at cultures from a situational point of view; that is, I come from Finland, the place from where the logbook originates belongs to my family, therefore I am uniquely situated to research the tannery and the logbook's movements. That is, the field methods adopted in my primary research for this study were guided by Kovach's methods described in the *Indigenous Methodologies*, especially in terms of 'preparation' and 'conversations' with members of my family and the locals who attended the 'reminiscing session' at the museum (8 August 2017. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of a contributing community). In keeping with this approach, the main method of collecting data from the members of my family was '*conversation*', an approach that takes into account the sensitive nature of dealing with one's relatives, who may be reluctant to impart with personal information. It was 'a combination of reflection, story, and dialogue. Thus, in my framework participating in the participants' stories – their experiences [of the tannery and our joined past] – was a primary method of the research' (Kovach 2009, pp. 14 and 51 repectively. My emphasis). These conversations included reminiscing about the tannery with members of the family. I had conversations with my mother's cousin, Ilari Ahonen, whose mother had worked in the tannery's shop in mid-twentieth century. Some of these conversations took place by chance, as was the case with the first of these encounters on 9 July 2016, which took place at our summer cottage in Mäntyharju. The second conversation on 5 August 2016 was arranged and took place at Ahonen's home in Mäntyharju. I also had a telephone conversation with Ahonen on 6 April 2017. On 6 August 2016, I had a conversation with my second cousin Jarmo Laari, who spent time at the tannery as a child and later worked there with his grandfather, Otto Myyryläinen. These conversations, during which I was presented photographs and documents relating to the tannery, acted as preparation for the more public engagement at the museum when I gave a lecture and held a conversation with the audience at the museum. These were recorded and I shared the recording with the museum (see Appendices 1 and 2 respectively; for the discussion of these public engagements, see Chapter 4). In these public performances I used the pedagogical methods I had learnt when teaching medieval literature. That is, I did not have a rigid structure or topics, instead, I acknowledged gaps in my knowledge and thus encouraged the audience to share their memories. If the conversation stalled, I asked questions and kept my replies short, as not to discourage the audience. Although such an approach can be risky, I have used it successfully in my teaching and it worked in the museum setting, too.

Elizabeth Edwards in her seminal book, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, notes that ethnographic and museological knowledge is made through photographing objects that creates discourse concerning them (2001, p. 51). With this notion in mind, I photographed parts of the logbook before and after it was cleaned and restored by the conservationist. I also created a photographic archive of the tannery in situ – or what is left of it – on 7 July 2016. During this photographic documentation

I also recorded my sensory experience of the tannery as a way of thinking about and understanding it in multisensory way. (Pink 2015 [2009]). I also used photography in my study both 'as a *research practice* and *research material*' (Grewcock 2014, p. 204. Emphasis in the original.) That is, the photographs that I took during my fieldtrips became an ethnographic archive that I used to examine the logbook, the tannery, and exhibition at the museum. I also used photographs as prompts during my conversations with the family on 6 August 2016, 9 July 2016, and 5 August 2016 and at the reminiscing session at the museum on 8 August 2017. The photographs inspired participants to produce stories and share their memories.

Denscombe notes that ethnographic research into peoples 'requires the researcher to spend considerable *time in the field* among the people whose lives and culture are being studied' (2017, p. 83. Emphasis in the original). Grewcock, on the other hand, highlights the ethnographic method of 'visiting as a way of knowing', (2014, p. 228). Such method '*direct observation*' allows 'direct evidence of the eye to witness events at first hand', which differs from 'questionnaires and interviews, which base their data on what informants tell the researcher, and [is] in contrast to documents where the researcher tends to be one step removed from the action' (Denscombe 2017, pp. 224-225. Emphasis in the original). The data thus produced is subjective, but it is part of the reflexive methodology I used in my project. My original plan was to spend several weeks observing visitors at the museum; however, after consulting with Yli-Pyky, I decided that this plan was not viable. As Iso-Pappila is an open-air museum, it became apparent that weather played a part in the visitor numbers. For example, when it rained, very few people visited the museum – sometimes none at all, as happened when I visited the museum on 8 July 2016 to interview Susanna Helminen. Hence it was impossible to make any consistent observations of visitor behaviour and I decided to concentrate my observation mostly on those days when the museum held free events: the *Museoilta* (*Eng*. 'museum evening') on 9 August 2016, and *Maalla on Mukavaa!*-event on 1 July 2017, and the museum evening on 8 August 2017. I also visited the museum on 7th and 8th July 2016. Such method is '*participation in a normal setting*' (Denscombe 2017, p. 235. My emphasis.) That is, on 9 August 2016, I was a visitor observing other visitors during the Lamponen's talk and reminiscing session and the guided tour in which Yli-Pyky explained the history of the museum. On those days, when I read a fairy-tale to children on an open day, 1 July 2017, or gave a lecture at the museum on 8 August 2017, I *participated as an observer*, my 'identity as a researcher [was] openly recognized'. Such a method also gave me 'an advantage of gaining informed consent from those involved' (Denscombe 2017, p. 235. My emphasis).

Pink points out that '[t]he idea of the ethnographer playing the role of a apprentice who learns about another culture by engaging and learning first-hand the practices and routines of local people has long since been part of the participant observation' (2015 [2009], p. 103). As my project is an anthropological intervention, I deemed that the use of such qualitative methods as observation of the museum's processes was integral to the study. Volunteering has been and still is one of the cornerstones of Finnish local history museums; for that reason, I offered to volunteer to build the exhibition which created the kind of immersive experience that was necessary to gather as much data and material as possible. This volunteering extended not only to the physical building of the exhibition 5-9 June 2017 and dismantling the exhibition on 14 August 2017, but also to public performances at the museum when Yli-Pyky asked me to perform in a storytelling session on an open day on 1 July 2017 and to give a lecture at the museum evening on 8 August 2017. As a researcher with limited knowledge of the workings of a museum, I played the part of an 'apprentice' who learnt 'the practices and routines' at the museum in Iso-Pappila during my volunteering and visits. As such, although I did not spend a long time observing the museum, my autoethnographical experience of the museum's performance was immersive and comprehensive and the resultant narrative has a creative component that reflects the autoethnographic method. That is, I used creative writing as a method to experience the tannery and the museum and wrote my field notes into stories, which I used in this thesis (Kovach 2009).

One of the duties of museums is to preserve the objects in their collections. As the logbook was dirty and mouldy after its long dormant stay at the tannery's storage and our summerhouse, it needed cleaning and treatment for mould before it could enter the exhibition. It was imperative that the logbook was treated by a professional conservationist in preparation for its display. The conservation process, which took part

18 January to 24 February 2017, was part of the material-led methodology; in this case, the material, the logbook's physical condition was such that it required the cleaning, but it also provided an opportunity to witness the logbook's transformation. With the permission of the conservationist, Ann-Marie Miller at Codex Conservation, I also observed parts of the conservation process when I collected the logbook on 24 February 2017.

Quantitative Method

The museum does not usually collect data of the visitors, apart from the number of ticket sales and the use of the *Museokortti* (*Eng*. 'museum card'), although museum visitors and locals are invited to state their opinions on social media, the museum blog, email, or by post (Yli-Pyky 2017c; Uusitalo 2017a). It became necessary to adjust not only the timetable and adopt a targeted approach to observation that concentrated on specific days when visitors were likely to be present but also include a quantitative method in the form a survey. The aim was to gather information about the museum's operations for this study and how visitors received the exhibition and especially the tannery exhibit and its perception in the exhibition at large. Therefore, I created a written questionnaire in 2017, after discussing the matter with the museum professionals and observing the museum visitors which was distributed in the museum especially on the open days. The questionnaire was designed with minimal instructions to the participants and included open-ended and 'personal, progressive questions' which were aimed at gauging the visitors' experience of the logbook and the exhibition at large (Simon 2010, p. 144).

I provided three hundred questionnaires to the museum to hand out to visitors at Iso-Pappila between 1 July 2017 and 13 August 2017. The visitors were asked to return the filled questionnaires at the reception. The museum added their own incentive for the visitors by giving a small gift in the form of a packet of salted liquorice in exchange for each completed questionnaire. Fifty-four of the three hundred questionnaires were returned to me completed (18% in total), of which thirty-one questionnaires were fully completed. First, I introduced myself as the researcher from Kingston University who is conducting a study on the exhibition on the local industry at Iso-Pappila. The questionnaire was divided into general and subject specific questions. The survey consisted of three single option questions on the gender, age, and place of residence. The four open-ended questions that the respondents were asked to answer in their own words (see Appendix 5), the aim which was to collect data of the visitors experience of the tannery display in relation to the rest of the exhibition. Nineteen respondents did not answer the question about the tannery display (35% of the total 54 responses). The survey also included a question that asked for general feedback, which was not taken into account when analysing the data.

The first four questions asked the visitor for general information: age, gender, place of residence, and their reason for visiting the exhibition. Thirty-one of the participants were female and seventeen male (57% and 42% respectively). The age of the participants varied from 10 years to 80 years, of which 40% were between 60 and 70 years and 20% 50 to 60 years. The furthest place from where someone visited the exhibition was Perth, Australia, although the majority of participants came from Mäntyharju (40%). As Mäntyharju – and the South-Eastern Finland in general – with its lakes and summerhouses is a popular destination for holiday makers from the South of Finland, the second largest percentage of visitors came from the capital region (Helsinki (13%), Espoo (7.4%), Järvenpää (3.7%) and Vantaa (1.8%)), 26% in total. Mikkeli, the nearby city, provided the third highest number of participants (7.4%). It is important to note that not everyone, who was offered the questionnaire, wanted to take part, as I witnessed on the day of the '*Maalla on Mukavaa!*'-event on 1 July 2017 (for the discussion of the results, see Chapter 5).

It is important to note at this point that such an anthropological and ethnographical intervention as this one has its challenges. Some of these challenges were logistical, such access to the site, which was restricted to summer months, the geographical distance between the museum and me, personal and professional time constraints, and difficulties obtaining permissions. As noted earlier, the field methods changed according to the challenge: that is, instead of a fully ethnographic research, I decided to use targeted observation in which I incorporated a quantitative method in the form of a survey to complement and document review. Another challenge that affected my research is that I am not a trained anthropologist or ethnographer. Therefore the research acted as a training opportunity. However, this lack of formal training provided me with 'fresh eyes' with which to observe the museum's processes and analyse the data.

Ethical Considerations

This was a low-risk project that conforms to the regulations set by the Ethics Committee at Kingston University, London, that were in place when I conducted the primary research in Finland in 2016-2017. All participants at the museum and elsewhere were made fully aware that they were partaking in my research project and what that project meant. Before the lecture at the museum, articles in local newspapers also alerted the audience to my research – the format was already familiar to the locals from previous years' lectures and question and answer sessions. In terms of ethical consideration and good research practice, the questionnaire stated that the results were anonymous and only used in my research (Appendix 5). When distributing the surveys, the museum staff and I made clear to the participants by explaining for what the survey was and that it was entirely voluntary and anonymous. Those participants, who are named in this thesis, took part voluntarily and freely in this project and have given their full consent to mention them by name. The family members who contributed to my project were not involved in the decision making; that is, it was solely my own decision to take the logbook into the museum and offer it to its collections, although I did seek permission from the owner, my brother, Marko Suopelto. All other participants' verbal and written contributions are anonymised so that they cannot be identified. As for the public events, before I started the recording of my lecture, I explained what my research consisted of and how they contributed to my project and that the recording was. The actual recording of the museum evening was shared with the museum, who added it to their collections. The filled questionnaires will be kept safe until such time that they are no longer needed after the viva. As explained earlier, I conducted parts of the observation as a visitor, in which case I observed how visitors interacted with the exhibition; that is, I did not approach them or declare myself to the visitors and ask their permission to observe them. The individual emails between the museum staff and I are not published in this thesis because they contain personal information, although I discuss their content at relevant junctions of the thesis with permission of the participants. The next chapter, on the other hand, focuses on the logbook, which is at the heart of this thesis.

Chapter 3: A Museum Object *in-the-making*: A Tanner's Logbook

> Things endure and outlive, change and move and thus allow for new, unforeseen associations and new, but different lives.
>
> (Pétursdóttir 2014, p. 345)

The focus of this chapter is a material object, *nahkurin lokikirja*, a tanner's logbook (see Figure 4) and its itinerary before it becomes a museum object in an exhibition at a local history museum in Finland in an anthropological intervention (for the logbook as a museum object in the exhibition at Iso-Pappila, see Chapter 5). The aim of this chapter

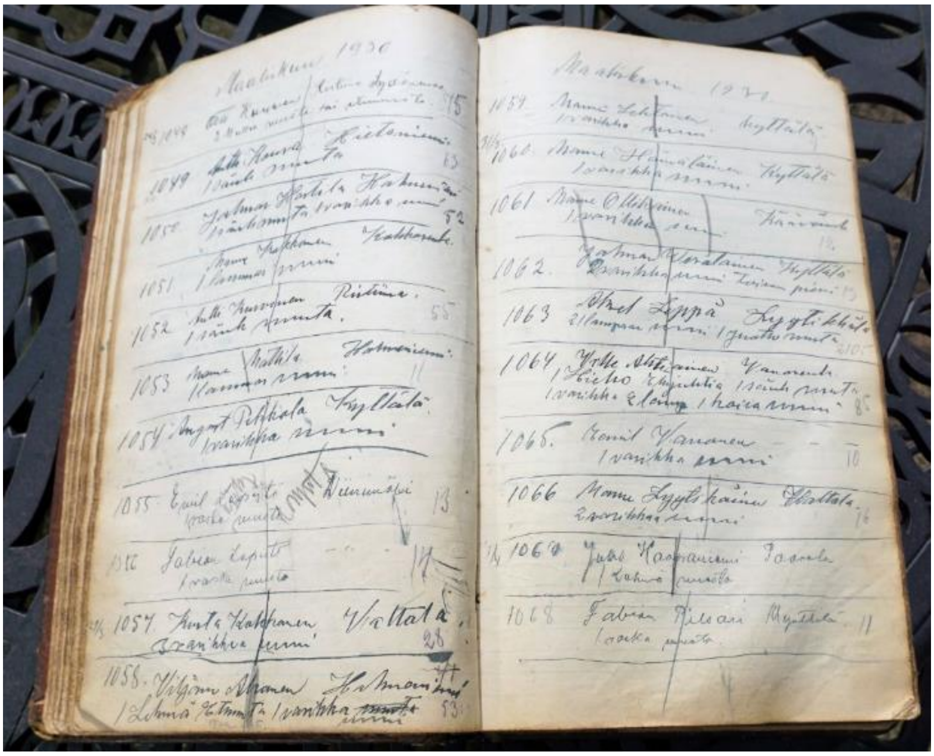


Figure 4: The logbook open at March 1930. A large leather-bound manuscript containing handwritten notes of the sales at the Myyryläinen's tannery 1928-1940. Photography by author. 12 September 2016.

is twofold: first I will unpack the materiality of the logbook, the museum object *in-the-making*, and use the concept of object itinerary to map the logbook's movements and examine the way those can be represented. Second, I will compare the logbook's itinerary, which is part of a rich tapestry of numerous itineraries that are entangled and interlaced, to a visual analogy from an early medieval interlacing patterning, especially the Chi Rho page from the Book of Kells, to develop further the concept of object itinerary. I argue that object itinerary on its own is not enough to represent the movements of museum objects from assemblage to assemblage.

The Logbook: A Material Artefact

The museum object I discuss in this thesis, the logbook, is a large old leather-bound manuscript, the provenance of which is unknown and, as far as I know, it is the only witness of many such books used in the tannery during the time it was a functioning business from the 1891 to the 1964. There may be another survivor, but its

Figure 5: The front cover of the leather-bound logbook (left) and the back cover (right) show the damage before conservation. Photography by Ann-Marie Miller, Codex Conservation, 19 January 2017.

whereabouts are unknown; hence, I have not seen it (Laari, J., pers. comm. 8 August 2017). In terms of its quantitative characteristics, the logbook is a large leather-bound hardcopy with ruled paper leaves with their top corners torn off to create bookmarks

(36.7cm x 23.5 cm x 5.2 cm).[36] It is rather heavy and weighs over three kilograms. As for its qualitative characteristics, when the book first came to me, I could see that its brown leather covers were under a layer of dirt and dust. The leather binding, which feels rough to touch, is made from the skin of an unknown animal.[37] There is no writing

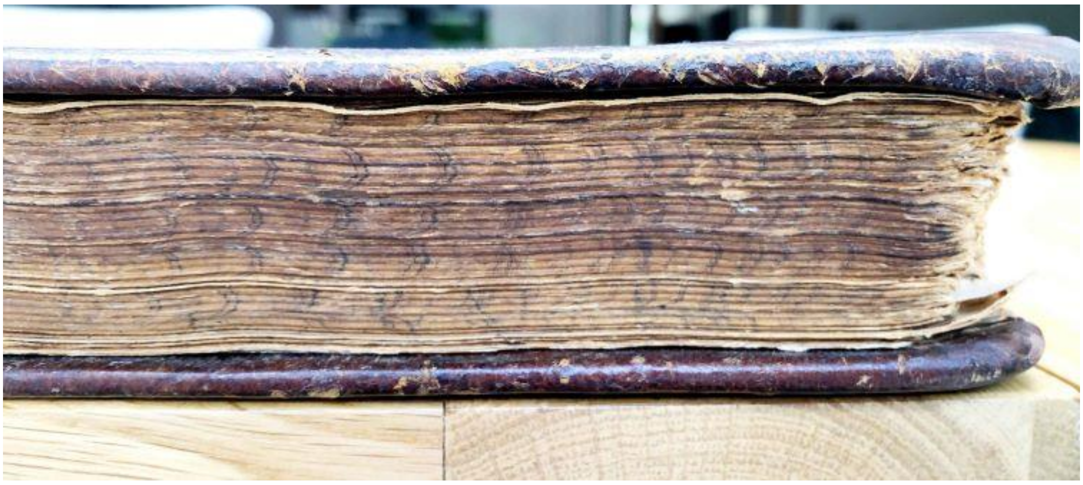


Figure 6: A photograph of the fore-edge of the logbook, which shows the wavy patterns at the edge of the text block and the corners that have been cut off. Photography by author, 24 February 2017.

on the spine, the back or front covers of the book. Over the years the text block has turned brown, but there is a kind of systematic patterning or decoration visible on the fore-edge of the book (Figure 6). The front cover has been cut with a sharp object at least twelve times; that is, there are long slits and several stab marks on the cover, all of which penetrate the leather. Thus, I may have been used as a cutting board and also an ashtray, as someone had extinguished a cigarette on it. The back cover is equally damaged with severe staining and accretions (see Figure 5). The marks betray how it had been grown out of its original use and how the attitude towards it had changed – it clearly had been treated as rubbish. Pétursdóttir's essay, 'Things out-of-hand: The Aesthetics of Abandonment' (2014), reminded me how the logbook had eluded me until my brother, Marko, brought it to my attention when I started my research on the tannery. She explains that '[e]veryday, dull, and mundane things are not the things most

[36] See the conservationist Ann-Marie Miller's description in Appendix 6.
[37] The conservationist, Ann-Marie Miller, did not recognise the grain of the leather (pers. comm., 18 January 2017).

eagerly turned to, not to mention the most typical archaeological artefacts; soiled, broken, useless, discarded or abandoned.' (2014, p. 339) The logbook had become expendable, its status reduced. It had been kept in the tannery, most likely in the workshop in the Red House since it had fallen out of use and when it had come to my brother, he had stored it in the summer cottage. Hahn and Weiss, who first suggested the use of 'itinerary' to describe the movement of objects, remind us that 'periods of stasis' are also part of the object itineraries; sometimes the objects experience long periods of inertia 'before becoming engaged in cultural transformations', such as transforming from trash into a museum object. They point out that '[i]t is important to understand extended periods of stasis not as death and resurrection, but as continuity, and as having a specific to transition from an inert state to a state of mobility' (2013a, p. 8). As we shall see, the logbook's itinerary contained long periods of stasis along with transitions between different phases in its itinerary.

Our summer cottage has two bedrooms – an old one that originates from the time when the one of the tannery's barns was turned into a dwelling for one of my great-uncles in 1957, and another one that was built at the end of the 1970s by my father. The old bedroom is furnished with some of A. Myyryläinen's original furniture from the 1900s and, as with so many summer cottages in Finland, it also has a miscellaneous collection of old and new things that are stored there because the main home has either no room for them or they are no longer needed, but which the owners do not want to discard – most of these items are never touched – they are in 'stasis' (Hahn and Weiss 2013a, p. 8). In the old bedroom, there is a small side table with shelves that is used to store old magazines and books, some of which date from the early 1970s. It was on one of these shelves that my brother had stored the logbook and left it there. I stayed at the cottage many a time since the logbook had been placed on the shelf without ever noticing it there. It had become invisible on the shelf, part of the abandoned collection of things that had fallen out of use. Our summer cottage is only used during the short Finnish summers (June-August) and at other times it is left unheated. During those years on the shelf, the logbook had been abandoned and become invisible, waiting for future use (or disposal). There, on the shelf, the logbook changed through the changing seasons – the freezing cold winters and damp springs and autumns – all the while gathering dust and mould, untouched by human hands, but providing shelter for insects. As noted in Chapter 2, I consider the logbook in my thesis first and foremost as a *material object* rather than just as a *carrier* of text. Yet, the text provides evidence of the logbook's materiality and contains material traces of the tannery's itinerary as well as the other actors it came in contact with during its journey. The textual content of the logbook provides thus an autobiography of the tannery and the logbook.

The Logbook's Text: An Autobiography

The very first thing I noticed about it was that it was a mouldy, malodourous book, before I had a chance to examine its contents and physical features (see Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8). I kept the book in Finland at my mother's cupboard wrapped in several layers

Figure 7: The logbook before the conservation. The large tear on the first fly leaf, which has a stamp *T:nimi A. Myyryläinen* (*Eng.* 'the 'Tradename A. Myyryläinen'). The inside cover and first page contain ink smudges, and drawings. Photography by Ann-Marie Miller, Codex Conservation, 19 January 2017.

of plastic to keep the stench at bay – it was too much to bear otherwise. Thus wrapped, it travelled in my suitcase to the United Kingdom where I studied it more closely in September 2016. I was unable to read or peruse it inside the house because of the smell, but as a literary scholar I was compelled by the writing and the text's historical value;

hence, I took the logbook outside into my garden and photographed as many pages as I was able to as an initial record of the logbook's condition and parts of its contents – before becoming too ill from the mould to handle the book. Yet, with the aid of

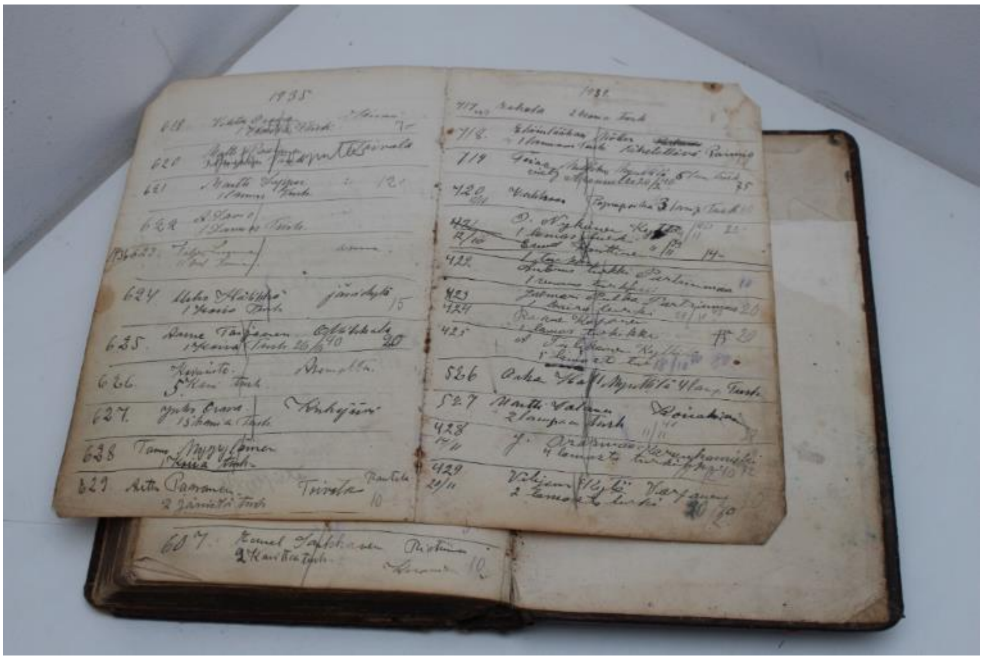


Figure 8: The image of the rear of the logbook. Some of the pages had come loose. Photography by Ann-Marie Miller, Codex Conservation, 19 January 2017.

antihistamine, I was able to examine the logbook's text and transcribed parts of its contents further. The first fly leaf, which is stained and spotted with ink, is stamped on the top right hand corner with the name of the company, 'T:nimi A. Myyryläinen' (*Eng.* 'the Tradename Myyryläinen'; see Figure 7). The same stamp appears upside down on the page with entries no 1811-1820 in July 1931. The tannery, in 1928 already in the hands of my great-uncle, Otto Myyryläinen, still functioned under the same name as it had been originally registered (see Chapter 1 for the description of the tannery). There is a faint number 1928 written in pencil under the stamp and illegible handwriting underneath it. A large chunk of the flyleaf has been torn off. The edges of the pages are worn and stained, but since the logbook was closed for decades, the writing inside the text block had stayed mostly legible (Figure 7). Some of its unnumbered pages were torn off; for example, the *c.* 6000 transactions, which are numbered more or less consecutively, start at number 100, rather than at number 1. The seeming omission of ninety-nine records suggests that there are pages missing at the beginning. One such omission is at a critical juncture of Finnish history: on 30 November 1939, the Soviet Union started a large-scale air raid to Southern Finland at the beginning of what in Finland became to be remembered as the Winter War. The war lasted only a couple of months and the peace agreement was signed on 13 March 1940 (Meinander 2014, pp 226-233). The Myyryläinen's tannery continued functioning during the war, but the logbook – somewhat poignantly, considering the national crisis unfolding at that time – has lost about five pages between 12 May 1939 and January 1940. At the museum exhibition, the logbook was displayed open at October 1939, the month before the war started (for images of the display, see Chapter 5). The first entries recorded in the logbook start in July 1928, which indicates that a new book was started only when the previous book was full, although it is impossible to verify the fact without being able to

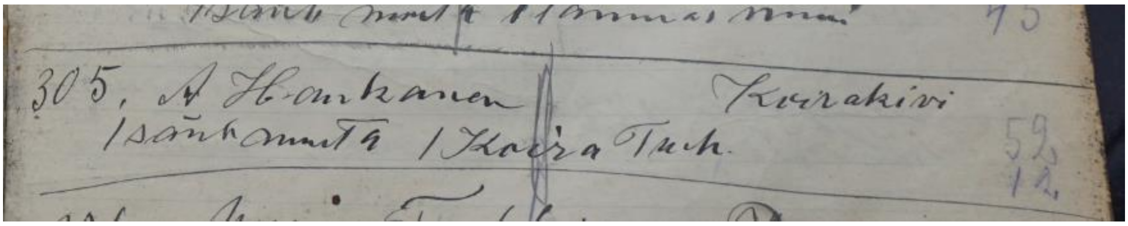


Figure 9: A detail from a photograph of a manuscript with handwritten text. An example of an entry in the logbook, hand-written in black ink. The first line of the text reads: 305. *A. Honkanen Koirakivi*. The second line of the text reads: 1 *sänk musta* 1 *Koira Turk*. The entry is framed with two lines drawn by hand on the top and bottom. On the right, at the edge of the text are two numbers, 52 (top) and 12 (below) in indelible pencil. Vertical lines in pencil in the middle of the page. Photography by author, 1 September 2016.

compare it with another witness.

One transaction that took place in December 1928 (see Figure 9), reads: *305.*, the number in the ticket given to the customer; *A. Honkanen*, which is the name of the customer; *Koirakivi* is the name of the village in Mäntyharju, from where the customer and the hides came; *1* is the number of hides they brought in; *sänk* is an abbreviation for *sänkiäinen*, the term used of a one-year-old calf; *musta* (*Eng*. 'black'), refers to the colour Honkanen wanted to have it tanned; *1* is the number of the other hides they brought in; *Koira* (*Eng*. 'dog') refers to the animal; and *Turk* is an abbreviation for fur, which refers to the treatment. The faint blue numbers *52* and *12* on the right-hand side at the edge of the page refer to the cost of the tanning. The vertical line across the entry tells us that the order was completed and collected. The larger hide, the one-year-old calf, which was to be prepared as black leather, cost Honkanen 52 Finnish Marks and the dog's fur 12 Marks. The numbering of the entries in the logbook is not consistent; for example, the staff in the shop had written down for the entry number 476 in June 1929 at the bottom of the page that a person named Antto Kokkonen from Kokkosenkatu in Mäntyharju had brought in one calf and two sheep hides. The same number is repeated at the top of the next page. In the second entry numbered 476, a person named Hiski Eerikkainen from Niemelä had brought into tannery a fatling on 21 June 1929 (see Figure 15). Elsewhere, for example, number 1591 is skipped in December 1930 and in March 1932 twenty-two numbers were missed between entries 2023 and 2045. The logbook, however, does not tell us *when* the customers collected the pelts (for the instructions of treatments of animal hides in the early twentieth century in Finland, see e.g. Vuolle-Apila 1910).

Two hundred seventy-eight pages remain of the logbook's original text block, including the fly leaves. The peculiar number of pages suggests that originally there may have been three hundred pages and twenty-two (or twenty-four) pages have been lost, although it is impossible to tell with any certainty. Some pages were loose, some faded in places, some smudged with ink, and some have brown marks from the rusty binding (see Figure 7 and 8). The last twenty-three pages are dedicated to animal hides prepared as furs. The entries start unusually at number 319 on 8 November 1928; yet, fur is also mentioned throughout the book, for example, in entry number 100 at the beginning and end on 8 February 1940 with entry number 440. In addition to the entries logging in the names, places, animals, the desired treatment of the hides, and prices, the text also reveals other information of how the business functioned in its day to day operations. The logbook contains notes covering, for example, the condition of the hides brought in by customers; completed orders; reminders to contact the customer when the pelts were finished; phone numbers; which orders were taken without a ticket or by someone else than who had brought them in; post deliveries; references to a diary (containing the accounts of the tannery); which pelts were bought from customers; which orders had not been paid; and which orders had ended in debt collection. The logbook evinces a snapshot of history a particular social assemblage, which is a network that combined certain people (e.g. members of my maternal family, who worked and lived at the tannery, servants, visitors, and customers), animals (e.g. cows, sheep, dogs, cats, badgers, horses, and pigs), and businesses (e.g. Kymmene OY, Köyhäintalo, Etelä-Savon Työlaitos, the post, debt collectors, and the tannery with its shops).[38] The

Figure 10: Three of the inserts found inside the logbook. A photograph of a man sitting on logs by an unknown photographer, a torn cover of *Aku Ankka* cartoon and a torn cover of *Friitalan Nahkalastuja* magazine. Photography by Ann-Marie Miller, Codex Conservation. 20 February 2017.

logbook's contents show that all the actions carried out in relation to the tannery, and the wider social network, the interlaced local, regional, and national meshwork to which these actors belonged, came together in the assemblage recorded in the logbook.
The spelling of the names and places reveals the ages of the different people who wrote on it. There is a hand that starts strong in the early years of the book, but towards the

---

[38] Kymmene Oy is a forest industry company, Köyhäintalo is an alms-house, and Etelä-Savon Työlaitos is a workhouse.

end of the book it becomes shaky, almost illegible. That hand uses abbreviations throughout, perhaps because they knew the trade so well that they did not have to write the words in full and they also used an old-fashioned spelling (e.g. the use of W for the more modern V; see entry 475 in Figure 15). Other hands vary in both spelling and abbreviations, but not consistently. Some hands appear to be younger, if strong, neat handwriting and use of modern spellings can be used as criteria. Although the transactions end in 1940, the logbook was used years later, even though not for its original purpose. A child has drawn on the inside cover and the first and last fly leaves (see Figure 7). Between the cover and the first fly leaf was a torn front cover of the trade publication *Friitalan Nahkalastuja*, inside which the editor wishes its readers 'Merry Christmas and Happy New Year 1954'.[39] At the end of the book, between the last fly leaf and the cover was a torn cover of *Aku Ankka*, the Finnish version of *Donald Duck*, from 1955. In the middle of the book was a copy of the execution record of *Mäntyharjun Kihlakunnanoikeus* (*Eng*. 'the District Assize Court), which contained the last testament and will of my great-grandmother, Hilda Myyryläinen from 5 October 1956. The will shows that after my great-grandfather died in 1925, the tannery with all the buildings belonged to her until her death in 1956 when she bequeathed them to their son, Otto, who carried on after his father's footsteps as a tanner (private collection). The last item placed inside the book was a photograph of the grandson of Otto Myyryläinen, my second-cousin, taken by an unknown photographer in 1994, judging by the year stamped on its back (for the image of the inserts, excl. the will, see Figure 10).[40] He gave the book to my brother around that time (M. Suopelto, pers. comm., 17 March 2015).

Materiality of the Logbook

Latour observes that '*any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making difference as an actor–or, if it has any figuration yet, an actant.[41] Thus, the questions to ask about any agent are simply the following: Does it make a difference in the course of some

[39] *Eng*. 'Leather Particles of Friitala'. The company, Friitala, established in 1892, a year later than Myyryläinen's tannery in 1892, specialises in leather clothing (*Friitala Finland* 2018).
[40] I shall discuss contributing community in more detail in Chapter 4.
[41] For ANT, see Chapter 2.

other agent's action or not?' (2007, p. 71. Emphasis in the original.) Daniel Miller maintains further that 'Where material forms have consequences for people that are autonomous from human agency they may be said to possess the agency that causes these effects. A computer that crashes and thereby prevents a form being submitted in time, an illness that kills us, a plant that "refuses" to grow the way we meant it to when we planted it, are the agents behind what subsequently happen.' (2005b, p. 11) The logbook certainly had 'consequences for' me before I even touched or read it. The logbook had a powerful effect on my body, which reacted to it as my immune system attacked the mould spores, the uninvited intruders made my nose run and eyes itch. Latour notes that the 'implements, according to our definition, are actors, or more precisely, *participants* in the course of action waiting to be given configuration'. (2007, p. 71. Emphasis in the original). Just like the mould spores on my immune system, the logbook, when, for example, its contents are read, acts upon its readers and becomes a participant in a complex network between the people, who used it to log the transactions on it, the people and objects, who were recorded on it, and the people viewed it at the museum, and who read and use it now. As described above, in terms of the historical past, it tells a story of the tannery between 1928 and 1940. But it is much more than that – not only a network or meshwork of social assemblages but itineraries in a complex web of interlace structure.

Object materiality, the physical constitution of the logbook shows traces of the social networks of which it was once part and reveal parts of its itinerary. As Humphries and Smith point out, 'physical objects are not mere accessories to narrative that stand-in for meaning [as in semiotics]. They also act through their material relations to bodies, events and time within the organization', such as the tannery. They note further that 'The entanglements between objects and humans are far more complex where an account of materiality can offer narrative traction into these complexities and multiplicities.' (2014, p. 485) They also offer a useful framework within which to discuss the materiality of objects and the narratives they tell. This framework is organised along three definitions of materiality that also inform my discussion of the logbook. First, they define 'the physical constitution of objects […] as *object materiality*'. The second definition is '*object practice*', which 'is revealed through the intra-action of objects and people during [the object's] use' that reveals traces of networks in and out of which the logbook moves. The third definition concerns the second half of this chapter, '*object biographies*' or, as in this case, object itineraries. (2014, p. 478. Emphasis in the original.) This framework shows how materiality is more than just the physical dimensions of an object: materiality is 'a *cultural process'* in which a material object has agency and partakes in the creation of narratives. (Buchli 2007a, p. 18. Emphasis in the original.) Of course, we can never recover all the information of the networks and meshworks the logbook belonged to and connected with, but, for example, especially because of its original function as a sales ledger, the text tells us about some of the social networks it belonged to, as described earlier. Furthermore, the logbook is also a material artefact. The decay, the dirt, stains, and rust marks tell us about the logbook as an intermediary, which was waiting in cold storage before it became an object of research and a museum object. Depner, who discusses 'our thing-oriented actions, a phenomenon we constantly encounter in our everyday lives and upon we rarely reflect' argues against 'semiotic approach to things' and illustrates

> how and object is situationally newly defined by coincidentally encountering it. Analysing how things emerge due to what we know or what we think we know about them provides us with the hermeneutic key to the question of how the relationship between human beings and things is constituted…. this knowledge is not only text-bound, not only socio-cultural dimension, but also haptic knowledge, knowledge about corporal interaction with material objects and their physical constitution.' (2013, p. 80 and 78 respectively.)

The question then arises: How to represent this knowledge? My encounter with the logbook produced the kind of 'haptic knowledge' of its materiality, which is often denied from visitors in a museum setting, especially with books that are meant to be handled. As Goldman points out, books stop being books when on display in a museum because you can only see 'a single opening or cover', whereas 'a pot or bronze can be seen in its entirety in a glass case. The same is true of a picture on a wall.' (1995, p. 103) Furthermore, pages of printed books and manuscripts are intended to be handled and perused individually, but when a book is placed intact behind a glass in a display cabinet, a book will lose this functionality and becomes a different kind of 'thing' with a different function and agency (Cf. Knappett 2011, p. 45 and Chapter 2 in this thesis). Manuscripts are sometimes displayed unbound in museums, as was the case with the Macclesfield Psalter, the leaves of which were exhibited individually 15- 25 February 2005 in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (University of Cambridge 2005). Such a method of displaying books removes some of the obstacles of experiencing books as books in museums, whereas digital exhibitions and editions of manuscripts and books more than eliminate this hindrance as viewers are able to zoom in and examine manuscripts much closer than they would be able to when handling physical books. The experience of the material object, however, is different in each of these cases. The agency of objects is defined in the previous chapter and discussed at relevant junctions, so it suffices to highlight briefly at this point that the agency of the logbook and the physical environment and humans, such as myself, that it comes into contact with is *reciprocal* (Humphries and Smith 2014, p. 486). That is, as I affect the movements of the logbook, it affects my research. Furthermore, material objects can have powerful sensory and emotional effects on our bodies, including objects in museums. For example, Sarah Dudley reminds us that

> The quantitative (height, weight, etc.) and qualitative (colour, texture, shape, smell, sound) characteristics of the object, and their internal relations with it […] simultaneously physically define the object and inform the sensorially derived date processed in the perceiving subject's mind (2012, p. 7).

She recounts a powerful experience, 'a personal impact' when she encountered a Chinese horse in a museum before she had any knowledge about the history and provenance of the object. She points out that 'as a result of sensory and emotional engagement with [a museum object's] physicality before necessarily knowing anything at all about it, is itself a powerful component of what museum experience can offer'. She notes further that the human encounter 'with the object will partly be determined by its material characteristics – [humans'] *reactions would not be as they are (whatever they may be), if the object were not what it is*' (2012, pp. 2-3 and 7 respectively. Emphasis in the original). Similarly, as described earlier, the logbook had a strong effect on my body because of its material features. Indeed, I had a 'powerful experience' of the logbook before I knew what it was, but mine was powerful for different reasons than what Dudley mentioned earlier. She reminds us that 'before we formulate any (sociohistorically and historically contingent) ideas about an object, we can and do experience more fundamental physical and emotional responses to it – feelings that can include awe, disgust, hilarity, horror, sadness, and much more.' She calls attention to how at times the combined material features and the viewers existing associations of the object bring about the effect (2010, p. 7). My bodily, sensory experience of the logbook included both wonder and repulsion, but also curiosity, because the logbook was part of my family's heritage – and because it is a *book*, the latter is a characteristic which appeals to me as a literary scholar.

The Logbook and its Connections

As already discussed in the previous sections, the examination of the logbook's contents

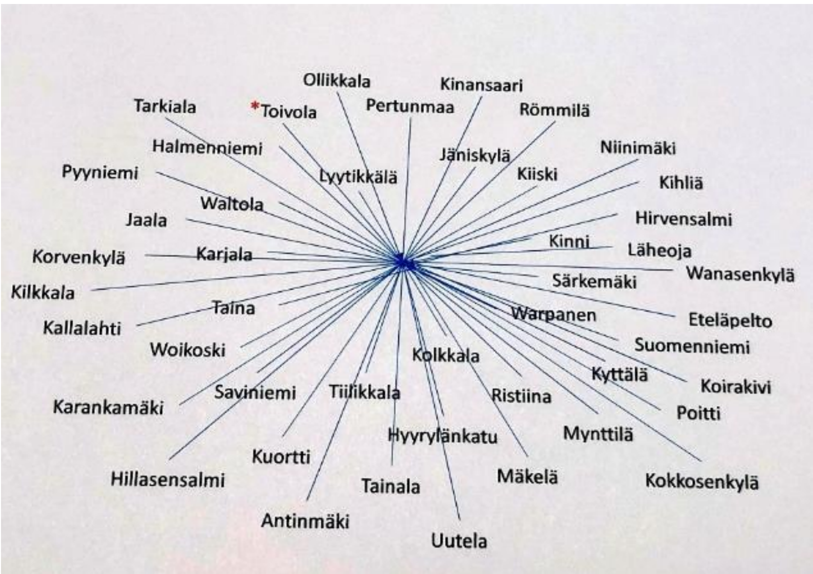


Figure 11: A diagram of the places from where the tannery's customers came in 1928 according to the logbook. The red asterisk marks the village that is used as an example for the kind of social assemblages are recorded in the logbook (see Fig. 12).

revealed that it had been a functional object in the tannery. The function of the logbook I have described thus far is mainly its 'technofunction', which Preston, following Schiffer, defines as its 'utilitarian function'; that is, I have described the logbook – at this point a museum object *in-the-making* – as a functional object in the tannery and as an archive. Furthermore, the social connections to, for example, the farmers and businesses in the area recorded in the logbook refer to its 'sociofunction' that tells us about 'the manifestation of social facts', such as tanning and people's habits. Yet, the logbook has also an 'ideofunction' that refers to the 'abstract ideas' the logbook symbolises, and which became visible when the book entered the museum exhibition (discussed in Chapter 5). The logbook can also be defined as a 'memory object'

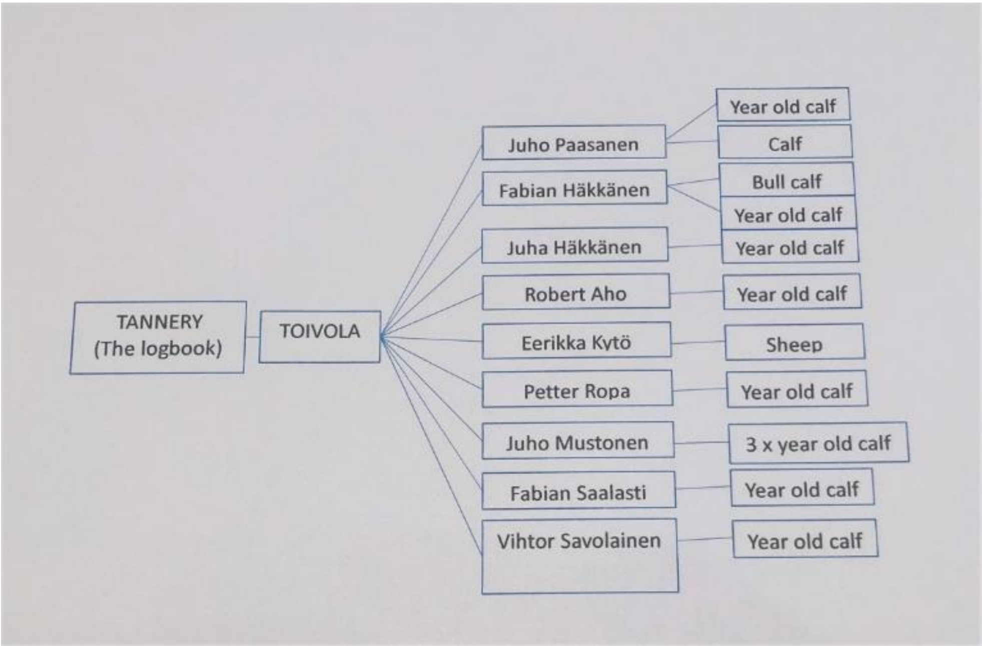


Figure 12: A diagram. An example of a social assemblage recoded in the logbook: Toivola, the second box from left, is one of the villages connected to the tannery (far left) in 1928. The third column lists the names of the persons who that brought in the animal hide, which are listed on the column on the right.

described by Hahn and Weiss, which remind the owners about specific events in their life, in this case, the life in the tannery (2013a, p. 3; for photographs as memory objects, see Chapter 4). Thus, as Preston points out, 'it is clearly the exception rather than the rule for a thing to have only one function' (2000, pp. 29 and 30 respectively). The logbook's text represents an autobiographical record of the networks to which the tannery and the logbook were connected and with which it was entangled at the time. Using this information gleaned from the text, I created a diagram that illustrates of the networks drawn from places from where customers visited to the tannery in 1928 (see Figure 11). According to the logbook, the tannery was connected to forty-seven places and several customers in that year. For example, the (necessarily) simplified diagram of the network of social assemblages in Figure 12 shows how nine different customers came from one village, Toivola, and brought thirteen animals into the tannery to be treated into leather during 1928. There is no evidence that these customers knew each other or were connected to each other (although it is highly probable, as Toivola is a very small village), but their itineraries and that of the hides of the animals they brought in assembled at the tannery and in the logbook. Similar diagrams of the travels of people and animals could be drawn of each place recorded in the logbook. The logbook does not give any indication where the animals originated, although it is safe to assume that the farm animals came from a domestic environment and game animals as the result of hunting from the nearby forests of South-Eastern Finland. We also do not know what happens to the customers or finished pelts after the orders are collected. Thus, the logbook tells us only about a ephemeral moments when the tannery came into passing contact with the various actors. The nexus between these different actors is the logbook, in which the different paths of the customers, animals and the tannery's own actors interlace. Tim Ingold describes 'life […] as a manifold woven from the countless threads spun by beings of all sorts by human and non-human, as they find their ways through the tangle of relationship in which they are enmeshed'. He asserts further 'that to study both people and things is to study the lines they are made of' and, I would like to add, the traces of the lines they create (2007b, pp. 3 and 5 respectively). Within this 'manifold' countless itineraries of, for example in the case of the tannery, the customers, animals, tannery workers, horses that drew the carriages, the carriages, the pencils, colours, the Lake Vuorijärvi and all other actors meet. Although the logbook stayed in the tannery until the 1990s, its itinerary already extended beyond the tannery's confines through the connections it made with the different agents that connected with it. Then, for years after the tannery was closed down, the logbook lay unused in the slowly decaying tannery's storage as an intermediary waiting to be reconfigured (Latour 2007, p. 71).

The Logbook's Transformation: A New Extension of Its Itinerary

The logbook has been touched by many hands, many of which have left permanent marks of the book's travels in the form of, for example, writing in ink and pencil, knife cuts, stains, and patina. A recent study on the York Gospels have shown that people leave more than just writing and stains on books. The study shows that the users of the Gospels left behind their DNA (Teasdale *et al.* 2017, esp. figure 2a at p. 6). No such study of the tannery's logbook is possible to conduct, as it is beyond the scope of this

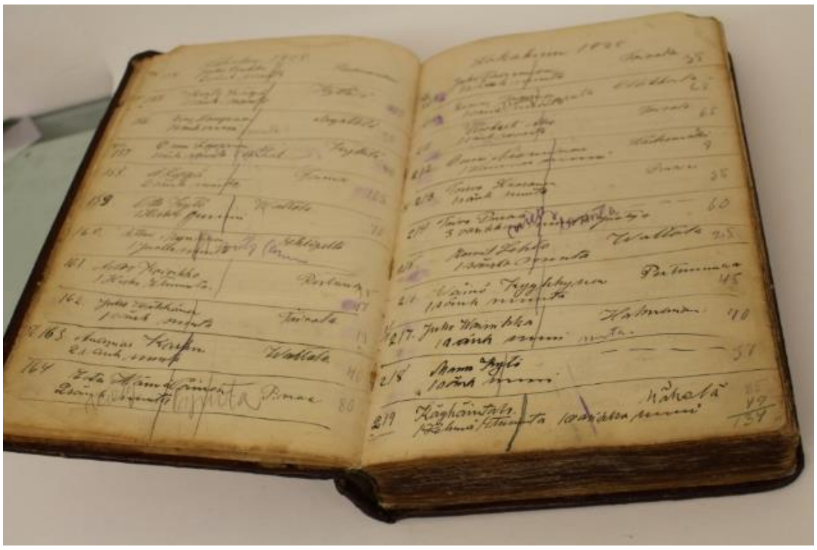


Figure 13 The logbook after the conservation. Loose leaves have been reattached, tears have been repaired, rust marks are reduced, and the text is more legible. Photography by Ann-Marie Miller, Codex Conservation, 21 February 2017.

thesis and my expertise, but the case of the York Gospels gives us an indication what materiality can tell us of the use history of a book. In terms of the logbook, we have to rely on olfactory, visual, and tactile clues, such as the smell, and the visible marks left by its previous handlers, which can also be felt. I have already discussed the marks left by time, by physical decay and by the hands in the tannery, but the conservation process left traces on the pages of the logbook of this new assemblage in London, the United Kingdom, into which it had entered as part of its itinerary as a research object and a museum object. As I mentioned earlier, when the logbook first came to me it was mouldy and noisome and needed cleaning before it could be handled and enter the museum exhibition. Once the museum had confirmed that the logbook would enter the exhibition (Yli-Pyky 2016a), I took it to Codex Conservation in Peckham Rye to the conservationist Ann-Marie Miller, who specialises in books manufactured after 1700.

She assessed the logbook's condition and suggested 'a minimal level of intervention' to remove the mould and clean the binding and pages (Miller 2017; Appendix 6). The conservation process took seven hours and was followed by a four-week observation period (for the logbook after conservation, see Figure 13). The fact that I had to wear a mask to filter out the mould spores indicates how poor the condition of the logbook was – a physical example of my bodily response and sensory experience to it. When I picked it up a month later, I was finally able to be in the same room with it without the mask and study its contents. Her report explains what was included in the conservation process, the aim of which was to remove active mould spores and its possible sources without disturbing the binding. The logbook was cleaned thoroughly by using a museum vacuum with a HEPA filter, which improved its appearance. Miller then applied Isopropyl alcohol twice by brushing to dehydrate the mould and make it dormant. She reattached loose pages with adhesives that are not readily digestible to mould, straightened the corners and humidified them locally. Finally, she created a 2-layer archival book board for the safe storage of the logbook. When I went to pick up the logbook, Miller kindly allowed me to observe and photograph parts of the conservation process. As noted earlier, the edges of the pages had become torn over the years which Miller had repaired during the conservation process. When she was showing me the condition of the logbook after conservation, she noticed a tear on the top edge of one of the pages. She then demonstrated how the restoration took place and gave me instructions for what to do once I arrived home. Miller applied a chemical on the tear and supported it with the Tengu tissue, which was left in place for twenty-four hours (see Figure 14). When I removed the tissue the next day, the tear had all but disappeared but the adhesive could be felt. I thus witnessed first-hand the transformation the logbook went through during the conservation process.

The conservation process undid some of the damage of time, decay, and human hands, but it also revealed a previously undetected example of writing technology which had not been visible before the pages were treated. Some of the writing, which at first seemed to have been made with an ordinary graphite pencil, were in fact made with an indelible pencil. When the conservationist had brushed the paper with the cleaning product, isopropyl alcohol, 'the silver-nitrate' formula in the indelible pencil was

Figure 14: The conservationist Ann-Marie Miller from Codex Conservation applies an adhesive to a tear. Photography by author, 24 February 2017.

released thus making the writing a permanent blue or green (Miller 2017; for a discussion of the indelible pencil, see Dube 1998). Although Miller had used solvent barriers, some of the permanent colour bled through the paper and made blueish stains on the other side of the page. If we compare the before and after images of the logbook, (Figures 4 and 15, the indelible pencil is indicated with yellow arrow in Figure 15), we can see how the conservation process revealed that they were written originally with an indelible pencil. The treatment of the book thus left behind traces of the conservation process and parts of its itinerary. The point I wish to make is with this brief discussion of the logbook's conservation is that we interfere with objects and in the process affect their itineraries (Brown, B. 2010, esp. pp. 192-193). In this case that interference revealed a kind of palimpsestic writing that originally was made permanent, but which remained hidden until the conservation process revealed the presence of the ink of the indelible pencil.[42] It is important to note that this physical transformation of

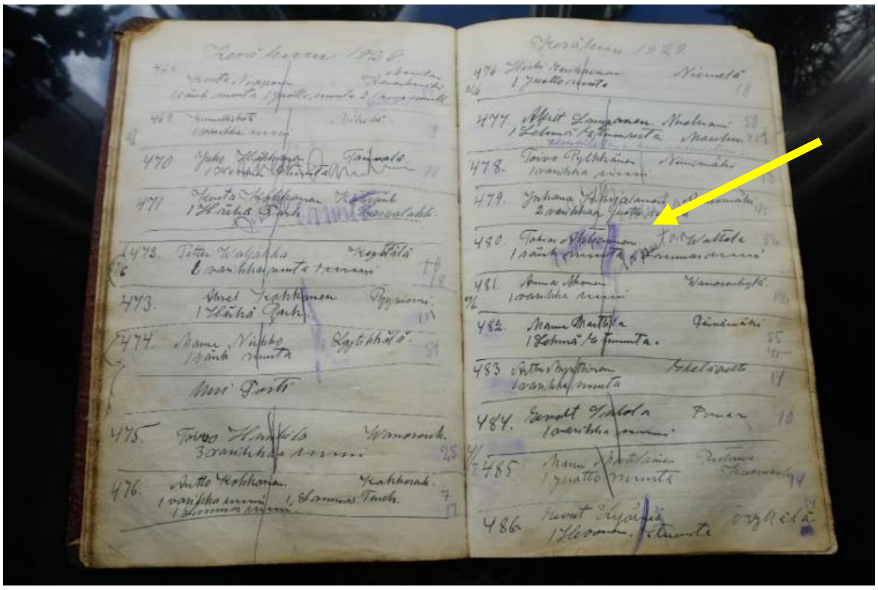


Figure 15: The logbook open at *kesäkuu* (Eng. 'June') 1929. The cleaning process revealed indelible pencil marks indicated by the yellow arrow. Photography by author, 25 February 2017.

the logbook was necessary so that it could become a museum object.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, my study is concerned with a single artefact, a lived object that was used in an everyday context as it connected people, places, and animals. I came to the logbook in *medias res*. It had lived several lives, or rather its itinerary had taken part in many itineraries that had crossed its path. First it was a functional object at the tannery; then, discarded from its original status, it became a child's drawing book and an archive; afterwards, it was abandoned and slowly turned

[42] *OED*, *s.v.* 'palimpsestic', adj., 'That is or involves a palimpsest; esp. having a form in which traces of an earlier form or forms can still be discerned. Also (in quot. 1836): that creates a palimpsest.'

into trash; then, rediscovered, it became a valued memento – or a *souvenir* – of my family's past; when it came to me, it changed into a research object; then it became an object of worthy of conservation; and finally, it achieved the status of a museum object in an exhibition. During all of these phases of its itinerary, the logbook transformed physically in response to the human actions and the material world. Its material qualities changed as these transformations left their marks on the book. I have already noted earlier that the logbook is both an object and a thing. As a thing, the logbook has been transmuted, weathered, aged, and decayed, but the conservation erased some of the signs of these processes (Grosz 2009, p. 124). Gillespie notes that 'manifold efforts and resources are deployed to preserve certain classes of things (heirlooms, artworks, archaeological artifacts)' (2015, p. 43), which are endeavours that stop 'the inherent tendency of things to move on to some new state of their social lives' (Appadurai 2006, p. 16). Yet, thanks to the conservation, the logbook was able to move onto its next 'state' in its 'social life' as a museum object. Since the logbook came to my attention in 2015, it has changed its status as an actor. The logbook, initially an intermediary, as used in the ANT, lay dormant for decades in my mother's summerhouse, before becoming a mediator in my study of the trajectories of museum objects. The logbook became the nexus between the tannery's past, present and future and is now a participant in an interlaced meshwork or network that connects my maternal family's tannery, myself, and the museum. The book speaks to me, tells me stories about the tannery and the people that visited it and the hides that entered it and were transformed there, it is a 'memory object' (Hahn and Weiss 2013a, p. 3; for memory and the logbook, see Chapter 4). The writing with ink and pencil on the pages tells of the people that worked in the shop and hands that wrote on it. One such record written in November 1931, entry number 2343 mentions a person only by their surname, Tefke, who came from a nearby village called Mynttilä and brought in six sheep skins. Four of them were to be treated into fur and two as brown leather. It is interesting – especially to me, who is part of the source community – that Tefke is my mother's maiden name and a member of her father's family, who lived in Mynttilä at the time, is thus mentioned in the logbook. That record thus joins the itineraries of the two families in one transaction – my mother was born eight years later.

Representing the Itinerary of the Logbook

In the narrative of my thesis, the logbook is ‘a key protagonist’ (Humphries and Smith 2014, p. 478) as an object of my research, which transformed from a sales ledger into trash and finally became a museum object. This anthropological intervention on following the itinerary of the logbook into a museum exhibition concluded in the summer of 2017, when it was displayed in the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum’s exhibition on local industry as part of Finland’s one hundred years of independence celebration (for the discussion of the logbook in the museum, see Chapter 5). In order to test the metaphorical tool of object itinerary, I tried different methods to represent the logbook’s itinerary: in addition to the stories this thesis tells about the movements

Figure 16: The logbook at the top centre moves through these locations. The arrows indicate the direction of its movements between the locations: the logbook at the centre; the tannery in the early 20th century, (photographer unknown); the Red House; our summer cottage; my research at Kingston University London; the conservationist Ann-Marie Miller at Codex Conservation; Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum; and its digital and material extensions. Unless otherwise noted, the photography is by author.

of the logbook, I created a hand-drawn sketch, wrote a geographical timeline, along with two diagrams in my attempt to represent the movements of the logbook. These attempts show how complex itineraries are and how difficult it is to represent them in two-dimensional media. For example, the decaying process during which the logbook’s physical qualities transmuted, can be described, but it is impossible to include each minute step of that process. Some media are better suited for that kind of representation, such as film or video installation. Demos explains how the 'time-lapse digital video, Sam Taylor-Wood's *Still Life* 2001, shows a Caravaggesque display of fruit, which soon transforms before our eyes into a collapsed mass of rotting matter, the food of flies' (2007). Even the digital video does not show the process of decaying in

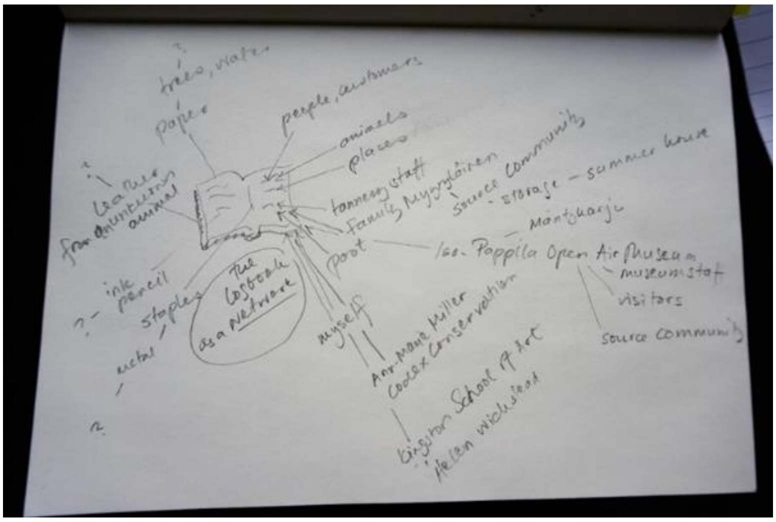


Figure 17: My hand drawn sketch of the logbook's itinerary that indicates the kind of networks and social assemblages to which the logbook belongs and contributes.

real time; instead, Taylor-Wood manipulates the duration of time. The mesmerizing video, which I saw several years ago in the Tate Modern Gallery, plays in a loop and shows the quickened rotting process over and over. When the video restarts, the fruits are restored back to their healthy state. Joyce points out that while 'object accrue histories, they can do so while changing state radically or while staying fundamentally the same in material properties' (2015, p. 28). The conservation process did not store the logbook back to its original state, but it erased some of the ravages of time that had changed the logbook's physical qualities. I had no video of the logbook's transmutation and movements at my disposal, therefore I had to rely on other ways of representing its itinerary.

Early on in my research, I created a visual image of the logbook's itinerary by using the photographs I had either taken or discovered (see Figure 16). The resultant visual representation illustrated the larger connections my research had either revealed or created of the logbook's movements, but much was left out. The arrows in Figure 16 indicate the logbook's movements: first it was used at the tannery in the early 20th century; then it lay dormant in the Red House (at the workshop); then it journeyed to our summer cottage (the grey building); then it became my research object in Kingston University, London; then it travelled to Codex Conservation, where Ann-Marie Miller (pictured) restored it; then it travelled to the museum exhibition at the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum in Mäntyharju, Finland; and finally, its extensions, for example, in print, photographs, handwritten notes in my notebooks, and as text and images online expand its itinerary. I then tried to sketch out by hand the itinerary of the logbook, which shows how becoming an object of research has sent the logbook into paths that stretch beyond its original use function (Figure 17). However, it became evident quite soon that such ways of describing the complex movements of the logbook were inadequate. In such mediums it became impossible to show the complex entanglements the logbook enters in during its itinerary. In the written outline of the logbook's geographical itinerary, on the other hand, it was possible to shows a wider network of locations, with which it connected, and show how the logbook moved physically between different locations. The logbook's point of origin is unknown, but its first known geographical location was the tannery in Mäntyharju, where it was used at the shop between 1928 and 1940, then stored presumably somewhere in the Red House (see Table 1). The geographical itinerary I have drawn in writing, stems from the idea that 'all things in motion reference places' (Gillespie, 2015, p. 45).

Date	**The timeline of the logbook's geographical itinerary**
?	The logbook is created at an unknown location from materials, including paper and leather.
1928-1940	The logbook is the nexus of the tannery's operations when it is used at the tannery's shop in Mäntyharju, Finland.
1940-1990s	The logbook lays dormant at the Red House.
1990s-2015	The logbook is gifted to my brother and travels to our summer cottage on foot and lays dormant there.
15 May 2015	The logbook changes the direction of my PhD and travels physically in a car with my brother to my mother's flat in Tusku, Mikkeli.

3 June 2015	The itineraries of the logbook and I meet at my mother's flat and it becomes a (potential) research object. It lays dormant there.
7 August 2015	The logbook has been brought to the attention of the museum staff, who wish to see it; therefore, the logbook and I travel by taxi to the rail station in Mikkeli, where we board a train and travel to Mäntyharju rail station. I take the logbook on foot to the museum where I show it to the museum staff. The resident researcher gives us a lift to the marketplace at the centre of Mäntyharju, where we wait for the train. I take the logbook on foot to the rail station where we board a train to Mikkeli. We travel by car from the rail station to my mother's flat.
13 August 2015	After the museum shows interest in exhibiting the book, the logbook becomes a research object. We travel by car to the rail station where we board a train to Tikkurila rail station in Vantaa. There we alight and board another train to Helsinki Airport where it is checked in a suitcase and travels to the plane's hold. We arrive at Heathrow Terminal 3, from where we travel by car to my home in Hampton, Greater London.
22 June 2016	The research into the logbook's movements starts, as I enrol into Kingston University London. I start reading the documenting the logbook, which affects my health.
18 January 2017	The logbook and I travel on a bus to Teddington rail station where we board a train to Clapham Junction. There we take the Overground train to Peckham Rye station. I take the logbook on foot to Codex Conservation, where it is cleaned and treated for mould.
24 February 2017	The logbook leaves Codex Conservation. I take it on foot to Peckham Rye rail station where we board the Overground train to Clapham Junction. There we board a train to Teddington where we take a bus to Hampton.
22 May 2017	I take the logbook to Kingston University, London. We travel by bus to Penrhyn Road campus, from where I take on foot the logbook to Knight's Park campus. Afterwards, I take the logbook to the centre of Kingston upon Thames on foot where we board the bus to Hampton. The logbook is stored at my home until it travels to the exhibition.
4 June 2017	The logbook and I travel by car to Heathrow Terminal 3, where the logbook travels onboard a plane in my hand luggage to Helsinki Airport. We take a train to Tikkurila from the airport and then another train to Mikkeli rail station from where we travel by car to my mother's flat in Tusku.
5 June 2017	We travel by taxi to the rail station in Mikkeli and board a train to Mäntyharju. There we take a taxi to the Villa Aurora Bed and Breakfast place. I take the logbook on foot to the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum next door. The logbook is displayed at museum until the exhibition ends.

12 June – 13 August	The logbook is displayed as a museum object in a glass cabinet in the tannery exhibit where it is viewed by visitors and where it affects their experience of the exhibition.
14 August 2017	I pick up the logbook from the museum and travel by car to the rail station where we board a train to Tikkurila. We change trains and travel to the Helsinki Airport and fly back to Heathrow Terminal 3. We travel by car to Hampton, where the logbook stays until it is moved again.
25 October 2018	The logbook and I move to Weybridge, where it affects my research.

Table 1: The geographical timeline of the logbook's itinerary in which the logbook travels from the tannery in Mäntyharju beyond Finland's borders to the United Kingdom and then back again to the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum in Mäntyharju.

I also attempted to illustrate network, which the logbook's geographical movements created, in a PowerPoint diagram (see Figure 18). Networks, such as the transport I describe in the table, are typically represented in pictorial form with straight lines going from location A to location B to location C, and so forth (see e.g. Ingold 2007b, p. 84). However, roads, on which the logbook travelled, are not straight; instead, they wind and curve in the landscape, as do rail tracks. Aeroplanes, on the other hand, change their altitude and direction mid-air and circle around in the air waiting for the permission to land. Therefore, to illustrate the way the logbook moves, I used curved instead of straight lines to show how its interlaced itinerary in lines that loop and entangle between points and locations. In the log entries of the logbook's written narrative, the book itself may appear passive, but that was not the case. Although I was the prime mover in the movements of the logbook, *every step* in these journeys was affected by the logbook – our agency in our joined research journey was reciprocal. For twelve years, between 1928 and 1940, the logbook was the nexus of all the activities and itineraries of people, animals hides, and places in the tannery. These itineraries are interlaced in its written notes – which themselves are both an itinerary as a whole and also fragments of itineraries that entangle with the logbook. Afterwards, both its itinerary and agency changed, as it became and archive and a child's plaything. Then, for years, it remained at the tannery seemingly dormant, waiting for reconfiguration, and slowly turning into trash, but its itinerary was not over. What is missing from both the written itinerary and the diagram are also what I call the *micromovements* of the logbook along with its physical change, its changing itinerary and changing agency; that is, neither illustration shows the small-scale physical movements of the logbook within these locations. For example, when it was used as a sales ledger at the shop in the tannery's Red House, it was handled, moved about, and stored on a shelf within the shop when not in use, or how I removed it from its storage place in the bedroom cupboard, took it outside to study, and returned it to its the shelf again inside my mother's flat. Or, the illustrations do not count for the physical movements of the logbook at the museum, where it was moved about when the exhibition was being built. Yet, Gillespie also points out that 'an object itinerary should not just focus on movement. Periods of inertia – for example, as a result of being buried or unused – must also be included (2015, p. 43; see also Hahn and Weiss 2013a, p. 9; Gosden 2006, p. 431). Joyce makes another important observation about 'the itinerary [which] traces things through time and space and [is] an analytical object in its own right, something more than mere connections between places' (2015, p. 30). A written account of the itinerary can achieve that focus, but it is

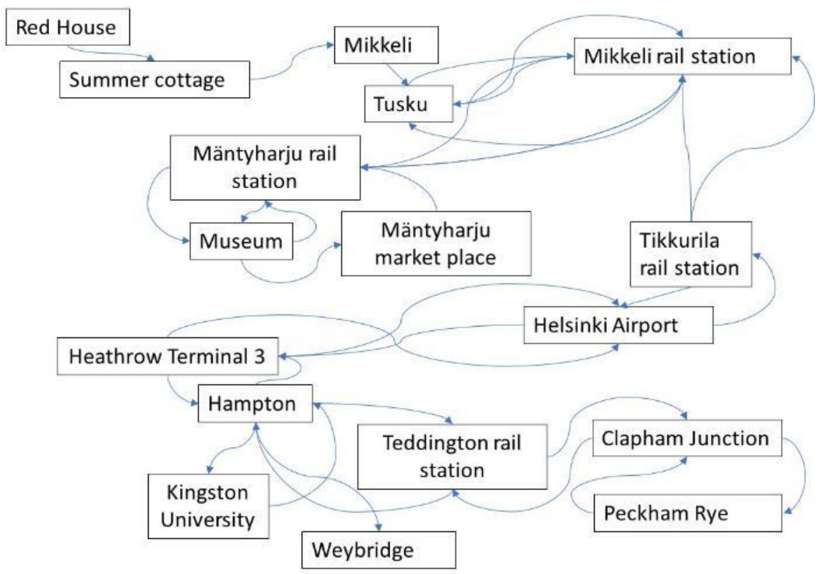


Figure 18: A diagram showing the logbook's movements from location to location. The curved blue arrows indicate the direction of the travel.

more difficult with a two-dimensional visual representation, such as the sketch and diagrams, in which the itinerary takes the form of a rigid network. Larson, Petch, and Zeitlyn, who use database analysis to investigate networks of donors in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, point out that

> ‘network’ is a word that has been strongly criticized even as it comes into regular usage in anthropological circles. It tends to imply a static situation, when in fact social relationships are in constant flux and endlessly subtle and complicated. A network depicted in two dimensions can give the impressions of flattened time, suggesting that all the relationships shown are operating simultaneously. (2007, p. 217)

Indeed, the concept of a network is not very useful when trying to demonstrate movement in social assemblages, ‘Theoretically, a network is a useful metaphor only so far as it allows you to track assemblages of people and things through small-scale, concrete links that constantly shift….the network metaphor should be a starting point not an end point’ (Laron, Petch, and Zeitlyn 2007, p. 217). I will return to this important point later, when discussing how to develop the concept of itinerary further. What are missing from the necessarily simplified sketch, geographical outline, and diagram of the logbook’s itinerary, are not only those connections the logbook came in contact with that I did not notice or know about – for example, people, places, material objects, and animals – but also how its itinerary continues *in its extensions* in, for example, my hand-written and word-processed notes, blog posts online, newspaper articles in both print and online, and in digital photographs. Furthermore, none of the representations of the logbook’s itinerary I created show how it became a ‘national treasure’ when I entered it to the Finnish National Museum’s online campaign, *Kansallisaarteen Etsintä* (*Eng*. ‘The Search for the National Treasure’; see Kansallismuseo 2017).[43] The museum asked the Finnish public to share online what they consider to be their personal treasures that they thought deserved to be shared and preserved for future generations. The museum gave a broad definition of what they were looking for: ‘A national treasure is a personal, important and valuable thing or item.’ The instructions advised that neither ‘monetary’ nor ‘the traditional historic value’ of an item were important criteria for a treasure. The museum included such intangible examples as stories told by family members, places where families go foraging for berries, memories of places or events. At the end of 2017, some of these treasures that were then exhibited in the National Museum and a treasure trove travelled across

[43] The competition was brought to my attention by Yli-Pyky (pers. comm. June 2017).

Finland showcasing the different treasures Finnish people had shared. The variety of treasures included *Suomen Pystykorva* (*Eng*. 'the Finnish Spitz'), which is the Finnish national dog; *pesäpallo*, the form of Finnish baseball; Christianity; the Nuuksio National Park; *suomi*, that is, the Finnish language; a path to a lake; and material objects, such as an axe or the ski jumping tower in Jämsä (Kansallismuseo 2017). The wide range of intangible and tangible things Finnish people entered into the campaign indicates how Finns consider their cultural heritage. Nostalgia and sense of a place seem to have been strong reasons for many of the choices, including those of myself. I entered the logbook under the title 'Nahkurin tilikirja' (*Eng*. 'A Tanner's Logbook') and explained why I chose it to be included:

> Vuonna 1891 nuori nahkurin kisälli Alexander Myyryläinen perusti nahkimon Vuorijärven rannalle Mäntyharjulle. Siitä sai alkunsa minun kansallisaarteeni, nahkurin tilikirjan matka verstaasta tutkimuskohteekseni Lontooseen, Englantiin. Aarteeni on iso-enoni nahkuri Otto Myyryläisen tilikirja vuosilta 1928-1940, joka kertoo oman kertomuksensa suomalaisesta yrittäjyydestä, käsityötaidosta, ja perheestä. Se kertoo talvisodan aikaisesta sisusta, jolloin nahkoja käsiteltiin, vaikka taistelu jatkui rintamalla. Se kertoo tarinoita Etelä-Savon maataloudesta, metsästyksestä ja ihmisistä. Mutta ennen kaikkea se kertoo kaipuustani Suomeen, kotimaahan, joka jäi taakse yli kaksikymmentä vuotta sitten.' (Koppinen 2017c).
>
> (In 1891, a young tanner's apprentice Alexander Myyryläinen founded a leather factory at the shores of lake Vuorijärvi, in Mäntyharju. Thus started the journey of my national treasure, a tanner's logbook, from the tanner's workshop into my research object in London, England. My treasure is the logbook of my great-uncle from 1928-1940, which tells its own story about Finnish enterprise, craftsmanship, and family. It tells about *sisu* [*Eng*. 'the grit'] during the Winter War when pelts were tanned although the fighting continued in the frontline. It tells stories about the farming in Southern-Savolax, hunting, and people. But above all, it tells of my longing for Finland, my homeland, I left behind over twenty years ago.)

The text was accompanied by a photograph of the logbook, which I took before the conservation, in which the opening showed the pages covering March 1930 (see the Figure 4 at the beginning of this chapter). Thus, the itinerary of the logbook extends beyond its physical dimensions. Its journey continues and extends in digital form not only in the photographs I have taken but also online in the National Treasure campaign website, newspaper articles, and in the blog entries I wrote for the museum (for a newspaper article that mentions the logbook, see e.g. Keskitalo 2017; for the blog entries, see Koppinen 2017b, 2017d). Moreover, the diagrams and the sketch –

understandably – do not and cannot show how multiple and complex itineraries interlace through the logbook and in which the logbook moves. In the interlace decorations of the early medieval manuscripts, such as the Book of Kells, especially in the Chi Rho page, we have an example of a visual analogy that matches the non-linearity of the movements of material objects and which can be used as an analytical tool that helps us to not only represent the way itineraries work but also to examine them. In the second part of this chapter, I will discuss the way the Chi Rho page helps us understand how object itinerary works and explain how the manuscript of the Book of Kells fits into the methodology put forth in this thesis.

An Analogy from Early Medieval Interlace Art for Object Itinerary

In this part of this chapter, I interrogate the concept (or metaphor) of object itinerary with the aid of the interlace structures of the Chi Rho page in the early ninth century decorated Gospel book, the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 58, fol. 34r). It develops the idea of 'entanglement' (Hodder 2012) and 'enmeshment' (Ingold 2007b, 2011a, 2015) and explores the concept of interlacing, in which humans and material objects become part of the same rich interlace pattern. Therefore, as I argue in this thesis, itinerary needs a complement, such as the Celtic interlace structure provided by the Book of Kells, in order to represent and analyse the complex ways objects, such as the logbook, move within social assemblages in networks and meshworks. An interlace structure, however, shows how the physical layering of the itinerary, the networks and meshwork in which the logbook and its extensions move, come together into a complex whole. Interlace is not just a visual illustration, but also an analytical tool with which to examine itineraries. Before I examine the Irish Gospel book in more detail, I describe one of the most distinctive characteristics of the early medieval aesthetic from where the Book of Kells emerged, the interlace patterning.

Interlace: The Early Medieval Interlace Aesthetics

One of the striking features of early medieval English and Celtic art, was the use of interlacing animals to decorate bone carvings, metalwork, sculpture, and manuscripts. John Leyerle explains that 'Interlace designs go back to prehistoric Mesopotamia; in one form or another they are characteristic of the art of all' peoples (1967, p. 2). He explains further that these early medieval artefacts 'are so prolific that the seventh and eight centuries might just be known as the interlace period. In one artefact after another the complexity and precision of design are as striking as the technical skill of execution.'

Figure 19: The Chi Rho page (folio 34r) from the Book of Kells. Interlaced illustrations in colour featuring humans and animals. (The Yorck Project 2002) Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

(1967, p. 3) There are several different kinds of interlace patterning. Leyerle who has likened the structure of the early English epic poem, *Beowulf*, to interlace patterns, describes how interlace in knot form is created: bands are turned back on themselves to form knots or breaks that interrupt […] the linear flow of the bands' (1967, p. 2). Famous examples decorated with such knot interlace patterning include the Franks Casket in the British Museum, made from whale bone *c.* 700 (see e.g. Paz 2017, pp. 98-138), and folio 94v, a carpet page in the Lindisfarne Gospels (the British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.iv; see e.g. Brown, M. P. 2003). Leyerle explains further that 'when the bands are cut, the free ends are often elaborated into zoomorphic heads'. In more intricate designs the stylized heads take on a pronounced zoomorphic character, often derived from eagles and wolves; the bodies of these creatures extend into curvilinear ribbon trails that form the interlace design. The heads often bite into the bands or back on to a free end (1967, p. 2). Some interlace patterns are more organised and form symmetrical structures, such as the carpet pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels (e.g. folio 94v; see e.g. Brown 2003, plate 16). When viewed as a whole, large patterns emerge, but finer details are only discernible in close up. One of the characteristics of interlace patterning is that it is impossible to comprehend it all at once, just as with itineraries. One of the finest examples of the use of interlace patterning, comes from the Chi Rho page in the Book of Kells, which I use as an analogy for the logbook's itinerary (Figure 19).

The Book of Kells and the Interlace Structure of the Chi Rho Page

The Book of Kells, 'the giant Gospel of Columkille, chief relic of the Western world', as the Annals of Ulster describe it (cited in Lewis, 1980, p. 139), is an opulent Irish illuminated Gospel book, which has had a varied itinerary. It was made probably at the end of the eight century in the Hiberno-Saxon scriptorium of the monastery in Iona to celebrate the death of St Columba two hundred years earlier in 797.[44] The text is from the 'Irish family' of the Vulgate, commissioned by Pope Damascus in the second half of the fourth century (Meehan 2015, p. 31). During the Viking raids in the early ninth

[44] For the long-standing debate of the date and provenance of the Book of Kells, see e.g. Lewis 1980, p. 139; Farr 1997, pp. 14-15; and Meehan 2012, p. 21.

century, the gospel book travelled to the Columban monastery at Kells, co. Meath, which gives it its modern name. In 1007, the book was stolen but it was found again covered in sod, although without its valuable binding. The Book of Kells was given to Trinity College Dublin sometime in the second half of the seventeenth century where it

Figure 20: A detail from folio 34r, the logenze of the Chi, which shows an entangled mass of lions, peacocks, and snakes. Next to it (on the left) angels and a moth. (The Yorck Project 2002) Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

is on display in its own special exhibition.[45] The manuscript is lavishly illuminated throughout. It took three or four scribes, three illuminators, and 185 calves' skins to create the magnificent gospel book, which was intended to be displayed at altar (Whitman Coleman 2013). According to Meehan, the decorative design of the Book of Kells seems 'to have been that each Gospel should begin with a page of Evangelist

[45] I visited the exhibition on 12 October 2018. For the history of the Book of Kells, see e.g. Brown, T. J. 1972, Farr, C. 1997, Meehan 2015, 2002, Lewis 1997.

symbols, a portrait depicting the particular Evangelist, and an elaboration of the opening words or letters' (2015, p. 63). One of these elaborations includes the so-called Chi Rho page, which is thus named because the first two letters of the Greek word *Christos*, the Greek initials XP, dominate the overall design of the page. Lewis explains how the Chi Rho page (folio 34r; for the image, see Figure 19) is 'the most celebrated and enigmatic image in the book'. She points out further that

> Within its matrix of its giant letters a distracting microcosm of animated miniscule figures engages our interest. The convoluted strands of interlace are suddenly transformed into the tangled extremities of bearded men and beasts. The curving upper terminal of the Rho ends unexpectedly in a human head with tousled yellow hair. Below, a small black otter has caught a hapless fish in its jaws. Nearby, two sleek cats crouch in heraldic symmetry, catching in their forepaws a pair of mice, while two more mice perch on their arched backs. Angels emerge from behind the sweeping stem of the Chi, as two moths or butterflies appear riveted to a tiny lozenge near the summit. (Lewis 1980, p. 140)

The Chi Rho page finds parallels in other similar early medieval Gospel books, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Durrow, but none of them quite compare to the Chi Rho page in the Book of Kells. The large elongated Chi in the Book of Kells extends across the page on the left of the page with the Rho underneath it. The Chi Rho page acts as *incipit*, the page marking the beginning of the Gospel of St Matthew. All the available space on the page, which does not have images of, for example, animals, is filled with interlace decoration. The design of the Chi Rho page represents the story of the gospels in the Book of Kells. Suzanne Lewis, who offers an interpretation of the Christian symbolism represented on the page, points out that the imagery of the Chi Rho page 'has often been regarded s playful ornament without content. But the decorated incipit forms a sacred riddle which invites closer scrutiny.' She suggests further that

> an investigation of some of its patristic and early medieval textual sources, as well as the analysis of the Chi Rho design to the other full-page illuminations in the Kells codex, suggest that those majestic pages may have been intended to confront the initiated eye with an awesome array of Christological and Eucharistic allusions consonant with the liturgical use of the book. (1980, p. 141)

That is, the Chi Rho page presents us with an itinerary that maps the Christian narrative in the Book of Kells. As with material objects that are relational and connected in social and material networks and meshworks, everything on the Chi Rho page is connected in terms of both its physical space and sense (Figures 19 and 20). That is, every part of the page is filled with either a narrative scene (e.g. the cats and mice next to the lower part of the stem of the Chi) or interlace patterns. Everything on the page represents a Christian symbol. Style II interlace with its recognisable birds fills the lozenge in the upper half and stem of the letter Chi on the left-hand side of the page. On the right of the stem of the Chi is a tangled mass of lions, snakes, and peacocks – each of which is a symbol Christ – which create the interlace (Lewis 1980, p. 140).[46] This interlace is constructed of strands that intersect with other strands; they twist and turn, disappear from view, and then appear at another place again (for a discussion of Style II, see Webster 2016; Høilund 1998, 1999; Hicks, C. 1993; Speake 1980). Object itineraries resemble the interlace patterns and have similar characteristics to the aforementioned metaphor of meshwork, which informs my understanding of the concept of itinerary (Chapter 2; for meshwork, see Ingold 2011, 2007b).

Interlace versus Meshwork

As I have explained earlier in this thesis, the itinerary of the logbook is 'fragmentary, filled with gaps' (Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, p. 3). The interlace technique, illustrated by the Chi Rho page, has similar features as the definition of itinerary, provided by Joyce and Gillespie:.

> Itineraries of objects are spatial and temporal, and they converge with sites and routes singular, multiple, virtual and real. They have no beginning other that where we enter them and no end since things and their extensions continue to move. (2015a, p. 3)

As with an interlace pattern, an object itinerary can be described as 'absence of any visual centre, luxuriant and coiling repetitions, an elusive patterning, which defies the attempts to perceive the whole design at once' (Shippey 1972, p. 28). Nordenfolk points out further that such interlacing has 'an inherent power of expansion', much like the

[46] For the significance of the lions, snakes, and peacocks along with other animals in Christian mythology, see e.g. Lewis 1980, Meehan 2015, 2002.

itineraries of material objects that expand with the connections they make with other itineraries, as I have shown with the logbook's movements and extensions. He explains further that interlace, '[n]ever at rest, it has elasticity for expansion or contraction so that, like liquid in a contained, it is able to adapt itself to the passages in must fill, if necessary changing shape from one design to the next.' (1977, pp. 18 and 19 respectively) Similarly, Ingold draws an interlace image with his words:

> When, drawing a sketch map for a friend, I take my line for a walk, I retrace in gesture the walk that I made in the countryside and that was originally traced out as a trail along the ground. Telling the story of the journey as I draw, I weave a narrative thread that wanders from topic to topic, just as in my walk I wandered from place to place. This story recounts just one chapter in the never-ending journey that is life itself, and it is through this journey – with all its twists and turns – that we grow into a knowledge of the world around us. (2007b, p. 90)

Just as with the meshwork, the interlace patterning, for example in the Chi Rho page in the Book of Kells, is a way of seeing one metaphor with another, it takes 'a line for a walk', as Ingold notes in the quotation. Overing, who offers a pragmatic semiotic reading of the complex narrative structure of the Old English epic, *Beowulf*, traces 'a partial outline of the poem's indexically connected networks', including the swords. She then likens the threads and traces of the narratives detailing the stories of the swords to interlace: 'The object signs are always expanding, cross-referring, resonating, accruing, and continually translating meaning, breaking the boundaries of the text as the spirals of interlace spill over the page.' (1990, pp. 36 and 64 respectively).[47] Hers is a semiotic enquiry, which investigates how the signs in the text mean, but it resonates with the idea of the expanding itinerary of material objects, such as the logbook, which expands as it moves from assemblage to assemblage. The interlace is a hermeneutic tool that can be used to show us *how* itineraries converge, combine, entwine, twist, and loop like the lines in Ingold's quotation earlier. Itineraries tell us stories of not only the movements of objects, such as the journey of the logbook into a museum object and beyond, but also of the social and cultural changes, just as the interlace images on the Chi Rho page that recount and represent the story of Christianity.

---

[47] I have elsewhere discussed the interlacing of the wild boars in *Beowulf*, see Koppinen 2009, pp. 254-284.

Conclusion

Thus far I have described the logbook's movements, and some of the other itineraries it crossed along the way. The logbook's changing status and use-life show also how its itinerary changed: over the years, the logbook had overgrown its original use as a sales ledger and changed from a valued and functional object in the tannery to a makeshift archive of a will, photograph, magazine covers, before becoming a child's drawing book. Then, it was forgotten and abandoned before it was gifted to my brother, who gave it to me to study. Without efforts to preserve and conserve the logbook, it slowly changed to trash over the years. These movements, and lack thereof, took place at the tannery – first in the shop and workshop, then at our summer cottage. Then, when it became a research object in my study, its geographical sphere widened as it physically travelled first to Mikkeli in Finland, where my mother used to live, then to the United Kingdom as my research object. For me, as a researcher, it is also a textual archive that evinces the social network of which it was once part and to which it reconnected when it entered the museum exhibition (discussed later in detail in Chapter 4) and became a part of a wider social network that reached beyond Finland's boarders.

Thrift points out that 'Things come alive, prodding us into action unforeseen ways' (2010, p. 639). In this chapter, I have considered the logbook as a material object, a transformed actor, that affects bodily senses and whose itinerary expands and interlaces with other actors, but which is never complete. Such fragmentary process is difficult to represent, as there is always something left out, or unknown. When faced with such a task, we reach for analogies, to the familiar images that help us to comprehend and convey metaphors and abstract ideas (Koppinen 2009, 2014). For me, as a scholar of early medieval literature and culture, the idea of the interlace came naturally, suggested by the language used to describe object itineraries as entanglement and interlace (see e.g. Smith, P. H. 2019, Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, Díaz-Guardimo 2015, Hahn and Weiss 2013a). P. H. Smith observes that the authors in the anthology, *Entangled Itineraries*, which offers case studies of materials and objects moving across Eurasia and time, 'found that the span of itineraries expanded as [the authors] followed them'. She points out further that 'materials and things altered as they moved and were mobilized in new systems of production and new regimes of attention and knowledge-making and as they were codified in tools, techniques of production, objects, and writing' (2019b, pp. 16 and 5 respectively). The logbook gathered knowledge as it moved from context to context and from assemblage to assemblage. This knowledge expanded as its itinerary gathered pace (and is still expanding). Like the Chi Rho page with its complex interlace patterns represents the complex ideology of Christianity, the logbook's itinerary represents our reciprocal agencies, our heritage, and our place in the world – its journey is that of mine. In this chapter I have discussed the logbook as a museum object *in-the-making*, which is part of the formation of museum objects that start their lives outside museums and then, when selected, enter the museum context. The itinerary of the museum object needs to take into account its journey before the museum – the knowledge that accompanies the object in the museum is part of the museum object: the knowledge and experience of the logbook adds 'empirical, informational layer' to the logbook as a museum object (Grewcock 2014, p. 155) That is, the logbook, its journey and transformation are also knowledge-producing, just as the earlier quotation from P. Smith states, that provide us with fuller understanding of the movements of objects – and ourselves.

What the interlace brings to our understanding of object itinerary, is that it provides a model for visualising and representing the complex ways itineraries build up during the movements of people and things within social assemblages. An object's itinerary may start with a rigid structure, like that of a traveller's plan for future travel, but then as the object moves within the material world, it accrues more and more layers of information and connections to other, equally interlaced itineraries. As such, it becomes more and more complex representation of the movements and difficult to comprehend – just like a strand that entangles with and weaves through other strands in an interlace pattern, the itinerary of the logbook gathers extensions as it journeys through time and space. When tracing the logbook's itinerary, it is difficult to comprehend it in its entirety, parts of its itinerary disappear out of view and then reappear, like the snakes and peacocks on the Chi Rho page of the Book of Kells (see Figures 19 and 20). One of the characteristics of the interlace patterning is the way it can convey dynamic movement, which resembles that of the logbook's itinerary within the world. The different strands and threads painted with care and extraordinary skill on the page can be compared to the multiple itineraries with which the logbook has interlaced. For example, anthropologists, museologists, and medievalists may find the interlace-analogy useful in considering movements of museum objects, as it is not only a visual metaphor but also a narrative and hermeneutic tool with which to unpack the movements in the itineraries of museum objects (and objects in general) and how to represent these movements so that we can comprehend how to come to a fuller understanding of the complexity of itinerary. The analogy of interlace will re-emerge in my conclusion, while in the next chapter, the logbook's itinerary loops back to its place of origin, the tannery. Its itinerary expands in stories, memories and images contributed by not only by members of my family, but the wider contributing community in Mäntyharju, the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Logbook's Itinerary and the Contributing Community

> Each object is a material fragment from its community of origin. (Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007, p. 3).

On 7 July 2016, I travelled to our summer cottage with my older brother. After the usual chores (i.e. my brother and I ventilated the rooms, brought out the oars for the rowing boat and the barbeque from the sauna where they had been stored, and switched on and filled the refrigerator), I set out to the neighbouring tannery to see whether my second-cousin, Jarmo Laari (JL) was at his summer cottage. At the background I heard the familiar sound of the aspens that line the shore of Lake Vuorijärvi rustling in the

Figure 21 A photograph of the foundation stones of the beam house covered in moss and lichen by the Lake Vuorijärvi. Photography by author. 9 July 2016.

wind. The foundation stones of the tannery's beam house were visible from the yard of our summer cottage. Covered in moss and lichen, they were obscured by vegetation (Figure 21). The path to the tannery's yard was overgrown and I had to squeeze through the dense vegetation to get to the other side from our yard. The yard had changed so much since I had seen it last (it had been a couple of years) and indeed since I had played there as a child in the 1960s and 1970s when the beam house still existed by the lake. There was an old bed frame, plastic water butt, blue tarpaulin, wooden planks, and old, wheeled wooden frame where the entrance to the tannery's beam house had once stood. The objects had been there for a while, judging by the wildflowers that grew through and around them. A boat, two caravans, and trailer were parked on the yard

Figure 22: A colour photograph of an old, red, wooden building among green vegetation. A view of the Red House from Grandpa Flink's Cottage. Photography by author. 9 July 2016.

between the ruins of the beam house and the shop. Nothing there betrayed to the onlooker what once had stood there and the busy work that had taken place in the tannery. Those only exist in memories, stories, photographs – and the logbook. I walked past the caravans to the white cottage at the other end of the tannery – now the summerhouse of JL and his family – to see if he was in and ask for permission to photograph the shop and interview him. The cottage had originally been built to house Hilda Myyryläinen's father, *Taata Flink* (*Eng.* 'Grandpa Flink' – my great-great grandfather) and it was called *Taata Flinkin Mökki* (*Eng.* 'Grandpa Flink's Cottage') ever since. Later, the cottage became first the home for JL's aunt, my mother's cousin, before it was converted into JL's summer house. The lights were on, but when I knocked on the door, no-one answered. Walking back from Grandpa Flink's Cottage, I saw the Red House, which had been there since the beginnings of the tannery in the late nineteenth century, in the process of being restored. The Red House had a new green tin roof and there were signs that it was being repainted with *punamulta*, the traditional red ochre, at least the bottom half of the wooden wall. The shop had been built on a slope with an impressive stone foundation of Finnish red granite (see Figures 23 and

Figure 23: A detail of the damaged, termite-eaten wooden wall of the Red House. Photography by author. 9 July 2016.

25). Next to it stood a skip full of wooden planks partially covered with a blue tarpaulin I had seen earlier, both signs of the ongoing work on the site. The day was overcast, and the building looked darker than I remembered it. Some of the windows were covered with thin sheets of plastic. I noticed one window in particular, as it was the one of the *kamari*, the drawing room where I was only allowed to enter in special occasions as a little child. The sensory walk brought back ephemeral memories of the tanner Otto in his retirement when he was living in the Red House. Just as the logbook, the building had weathered and decayed. Termites had eaten parts of the rough, dry wood and the part of the Red House where cobblers had made leather goods had become separated from the rest of the building (see Figure 23). I walked closer and saw that the entrance to the wood shed in the foundation was open, in fact, there was no door – it, slightly rotten, was inside on the floor on the left leaning against a pole that had been erected to store wooden planks. I entered the doorway and smelt the dry wood and I was instantly transported to my childhood. The sensation was so strong that it took me a while before I remembered that I was supposed to photograph and document what I see, hear, and feel. I walked further in expecting to smell mould, but instead there was the wonderful fragrance of dry wood evocative of vanilla, which reminds me of old vellum manuscripts. The woodshed, although it still had the earthen floor and the stone walls of my childhood, had transformed since my childhood (see Figure 24). At the back was

Figure 24: A photograph of the inside of a woodshed with assorted objects. Photography by author. 9 July 2016.

what looked like a folded plastic dinghy, some plastic piping, broken bricks, wooden planks strapped together with a blue, plastic cord, green garden hose, white electric cable, bidet, and modern toilet complete with a cistern. The latter two seemed especially out of place, since there has never been a water closet on site; instead, as is typical of Finnish summerhouses, there is an outhouse, which is still in use. The woodshed had become storage for unused things, intermediaries waiting to be reconfigured, just as the logbook had been previously, when it had resided in the tannery after it had fallen out of use. Next to the outhouse is the sauna, which has a jetty so familiar from my childhood. At each step memories flooded back, and I found it difficult to experience the tannery as it was that day in 2016. I remembered how one of my great-uncles (I cannot remember who) picked up a leech from the lake and let it suck blood from his hand. The leech grew bigger and bigger and when it was sated, it let go and fell into the lake with a plop. The ruins of the beam house brought back memories of the guard dog, Turre, which kept intruders – including us children – at bay. I remembered my grandmother telling that the dog was already old at the time I met him – nearing twenty years. I tried to construct an image of the beam house from my childhood in my mind, but the change in the tannery's appearance and the ongoing signs of renovation interfered with my memory. I remembered the exterior of a dark wooden building with few windows, but I never saw it from the inside. During my sensory experience of the tannery on 9 July 2016, I tried to experience the material fabric of the tannery and see it with fresh eyes, although the place is remarkably familiar to me; however, my memories of the tannery from my childhood had faded and I needed help from the members of my family to reconstruct the early itinerary of the tannery.

Situating the Study of Contributing Communities

The epigraph at the beginning of this chapter crystallises the subject matter of this chapter: 'each object is a material fragment of its community of origin' (Goden, Larson, and Pecth 2007, p. 3). That is, in this chapter I examine the role of the contributing community in the creation of museum objects and take the approach delineated in Kovach's book, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* as a starting point (2009). I have already redefined the concept of a 'source community' as a *contributing* community in Chapter 2, but it is useful to reiterate that the contributing community is more than just a source from which an object originates; rather, it is an assemblage that *actively contributes* much more than just the material object to the process by which they enter into museums. As the narrative of my sensory experience of the tannery in 2016 in the previous section indicates, in this chapter I return to the tannery and to the people who experienced it first-hand. Thus, the non-linear itinerary of the logbook loops back to its origins – this thesis is a representation of the logbook's itinerary or rather one of its many itineraries – and mine. As Joyce and Gillespie point out,

> The itineraries of things need not be limited to the physical travel of an object, but the concept allows us to recognize that the relations between things and their representations in *story*, song, *image*, and *memory* continue to create new sites, including specialized locales like museums. (2015a, p. 14. My emphasis.)

Taking the above quotation as a starting point, I argue in this chapter that memories, stories, and images contributed by my family and that of the museum audience are integral to the itinerary of the logbook when it transformed into a museum object.

The gap between the museum and the so-called source communities, I mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, has been considered to exist between Indigenous communities and Western museums.[48] Recently, there have been several anthropological studies that have attempted to bridge this gap by connecting museum objects with the source communities.[49] A more recent example comes from Sudan, according to Neil Spencer in the *British Museum Magazine*. He explains how the fieldwork conducted by the museum staff 'opened new insights into the entanglement of ancient Egyptian and Nubian cultures in the later second millennium BC, and especially perspectives on the local inhabitants' experience of daily life under pharaonic rule'. The museum surveyed the local community and found out that locals were not only interested in their past but also wanted 'a space to celebrate their "memory and heritage". That space became 'the "Abri House of Heritage"'. One of the two rooms dedicated to displays, was curated by the community (2019, pp. 40-41 respectively). I mention this collaborative project between the local residents and the staff of the British Museum, because it is an example of how local communities can be involved the curation of exhibits. Iso-Pappila started much in the same way – the museum was created out of the local residents' interest in their own heritage (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of the museum's origins). I must stress that my project, although in terms of reacquainting the logbook with the immediate contributing community, is *not* a post-colonial enquiry, it has been informed by the understanding of such power relations (Phillips 2003; for the Sámi people as a contributing community in Finland, see e.g. Enqvist 2014, Magnani,

[48] See e.g. Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007, p. 5; see also e.g. Ames 1994 [2006], Gosden and Knowles 2001, Fiendup-Riordan 2003, Kovach 2009, Kreps 2009, Varutti 2013.
[49] See e.g. Fienup-Riordan 2003, Bolton 2003, Allen and Hanby 2015, Knowles 2015, Hays-Gilpin 2015, Chambers *et al.* 2014

Guttorm, and Magnani 2018). Yet, the Abri House of Heritage is an example of how community curation works with the help of museum staff. My project followed a similar itinerary, although on smaller scale. Moreover, the exhibition of local industry at Iso-Pappila was what Phillips, in relation to Indigenous objects, calls a 'community-based exhibit'. That is, much like in the case study from Sudan, the museum professional in such exhibits acts as 'a *facilitator*, who puts his or her disciplinary and museological expertise at the service of community members so that their messages can be disseminated as clearly and effectively as possible'. In that case, the community decides 'the content, text, and other key components, and the museum becomes an extension of its space, a place in which its own images of its members' life-styles, values, and concerns are projected'. (Phillips 2003, p. 163. My emphasis.) The exhibition of local industry at Iso-Pappila at large was created in collaboration with members of local communities; moreover, the tannery exhibit at Iso-Pappila was a collaborative 'community-based exhibit' that Phillips describes:

> the collaborative exhibit becomes recognizable as a typical hybrid product of the post-colonial era…. Both the indigenous community member and academic professional (the two, of course, are often found in one body) are hybrid beings, and the decision to engage in collaborative projects only intensifies this process of hybridization by promoting new dialogic exchanges. (2003, p. 166)

She provides an example of such a way curating from the Heiltsuk exhibit in Royal Ontario Museum in Canada and notes that '[t]he privileging of community ways of knowing and the identification of community members as a primary audience [are] the two hallmarks of the community-based exhibit' (2003, p. 164). It is the latter point where my exhibit in Finland differs in intention, if not in execution. The logbook in the tannery exhibit spoke especially, although not exclusively, to the members of my family and created a meeting place for the contributing community to engage with their own past in the museum space. Phillips makes another astute point about the collaborative exhibit that pertains to my experience: as an academic researcher, guest curator at the museum, and a member of the contributing community, I am a 'hybrid being'. This hybridity meant that I became the nexus in a dialogue between the different stakeholders, the museum and the communities.

My museological intervention united the part of the contributing community – in this case my maternal family – with an object that has a personal significance to our family. Such results have been documented elsewhere when Indigenous or minority groups have been reconnected – either in the museum or in the field – with objects that originate from their communities, although those case studies are instigated by the museum.[50] One of the effects of my anthropological and autoethnographical intervention was that the contributing community became re-energised when the logbook was reunited with them at the museum. Furthermore, as I found out later, some members of my maternal family, who were not involved in my project, had visited the exhibition to witness part of their heritage displayed in the tannery exhibit. Such results echo those discussed by Fienup-Riordan, who describes how 'native elders travelled to one home of anthropology – the museum – to do their own fieldwork' and the other examples of such 'Fieldwork turned on its head'. She notes further how the visits helped the Yup-ik elders 'to re-own the knowledge and experiences that the objects [the elders handled] embodied' (2003, p. 39). Such results were equally evident especially at the 'reminiscing' session at Iso-Pappila when my relatives shared their memories and told stories about the tannery. But before I turn to the analysis of the evening at the museum, I shall first discuss how the conversations with family members acted as 'a prelude' to the public event (Kovach 2009, p. 8).

Building an Itinerary from Memories

Itineraries extend in narratives; for example, my sensory experience of the tannery in 2016, the story of which I narrated at the beginning of this chapter, became part of the logbook's itinerary. The ruins of my maternal great-grandfather's tannery hold dear memories for me. That is, my memories, emotions, and knowledge have become part of the logbook's and the tannery's itineraries. The tannery ceased to operate and fell into disrepair when I was a little girl, yet the aura of the place was increased in my grandmother's stories about her growing up in the tannery.[51] She made me smell goods

[50] See, e.g. Cole and Brooks 2017, O'Reilly and Parish 2017, Peers and Brown 2003, Fienup-Riordan 2003, Nightingale and Swallow 2003, Phillips 2003.

[51] 'Aura' in this context means my personal relation of the lived past evoking certain feelings; for a discussion of aura of artworks, see Benjamin 1998 [1955]; for discussion of authenticity in material culture

made of leather to distinguish the real thing from a fake. She often repeated the saying she had learnt from her father, *Missä voi sulaa, siinä nahka palaa!* (*Eng.* 'Where butter melts, there leather burns!'). I never fully grasped the meaning of this maxim until I researched the tannery and learnt how easily leather is damaged in warm temperatures. Although I cannot recall all of her stories, the tannery in her stories is a place where I have returned often in my mind during my voluntary exile from my native country. As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, in 2012-2013, when I was studying for my master's degree in Heritage, I studied the permanent collections of Suur-Savo Museum, a folk life museum in Mikkeli, Finland. The objects were mainly related to farms, fishing and folklife from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. Many of these objects were familiar to me from the tannery, which was founded at the time when the objects were in use, and also from another property, *Ilvesmäki* in the village of Särkemäki, Mäntyharju, a house which was part of the Alexander Myyryläinen's estate (Koppinen 2013a).[52] These memories and experiences of the places and material objects colour and affect my current research journey, including that of the tannery which in its material form has transformed since my great-grandfather built it in the later nineteenth century. Ulla Brück, a Swedish ethnographer, astutely describes this process of change by using the analogy of a bicycle:

> I bought a bicycle. Beautiful blue and yellow. I rode it for a long time. Every now and then a part of it broke: a wheel, pedal, saddle, and I bought new ones to replace them. Until one day I noticed that all the other parts had been replaced, except for the frame. Is that the same bicycle that I bought? If not, at which point did it become another bicycle. (1984, p. 68, cited in Saressalo 2012, p. 45)

The palpable tannery is mostly in ruins: the Red House has been extended and changed many a time, it now has a new roof and parts of it have been demolished; the beam house is gone; and the barn by the lake is now our summer house. However, the place is a tannery regardless – the intangible memory of a place dear to my heart. The tannery is 'a process' in which the man-made things, the buildings of the leather factory, have been changed by 'other-than-human engagements with matter, climate, weather and biology', as DeSilvey explains (2006, p. 323). The question is then, how to 'read' this

---

and heritage studies, see e.g. Ikäheimo and Äikäs 2017, García-Esparza 2016, Díaz-Guardimo 2015, Fowler and Harris 2015, Holtorf 2013, Hill. K. 2011, Martinez 2008, Smith 2006.

[52] The name *Ilvesmäki* translates as 'Lynx Hill'.

tangible object of heritage, which is both the one in the past and the one to which it has been changed today. The material fabric may have changed, but what I experience is the tannery in all its different forms. Furthermore, all my memories, knowledge and emotions influenced how I experienced that world marked out of material reality, as Knell, who in this instance is discussing objects in museums, points out:

> this object is actually two, one tangible and real but not always present, the other intangible, the product of experience and negotiation, which seems to us to be the real object but is not. The intangible object exists in our world but is made in our thoughts; it is ever present and inescapable. The material object also exists in our world but it never exists in our thoughts. (2012, p. 326)

This tension between the object in the world and the object in my thoughts became evident when I recorded my sensory data of the tannery. As noted earlier, my study is an autoethnographical enquiry, which relies on memories and narratives of the tannery. However, these were not only my memories and stories but also that of those who shared the memories of the tannery with me.

Memories of a Tannery: Informal Discussions with the Family

Scholfield points out that '[t]he landscape is full of stories, and stories make memories. It is those memories that create our conceptions of heritage, and which make it inevitable that we attach value to the places that matter to us.' (2014, p. 2) Yet, my sensory experience of the tannery I recounted at the beginning of this chapter shows how negligible my memories of the tannery are. Therefore, it was imperative to turn to those members of the family who have first-hand experience of the tannery. The research on the tannery and its social assemblages during the curatorial process continued with informal discussions with members of my maternal family. The aim was to build and extend a picture of the tannery as the contributing community remembered it and gather material from my family for the purposes of curating the logbook's exhibit and this thesis. It is important to emphasise that the part of contributing community, which at the height of the tannery's operations had consisted of at least eleven immediate family members along with other relatives, had shrunk to only few individuals, if we discount the younger generations, most of them born long after the tannery had ceased its operations. The preparatory conversations resulted in a wealth of material, including memories and stories prompted by photographs, some of which entered the exhibition. I shall first discuss the informal conversations I had about the tannery with my mother, because it set a precedent for the conversations with IA and JL, both of whom had first-hand experience of the tannery's operations.

A Prelude: In Conversation with my Mother

As noted earlier, I first approached my family when I was writing my research proposal about the tannery for my PhD in 2015. In one of my visits to Finland, I chanced to

Figure 25: The tannery by the Lake Vuorijärvi in the 1970s. A faded colour photograph with buildings on the other side of a lake and trees at the front. Photographer and date unknown. Private collection.

mention to my brother, Marko Suopelto, that I was looking for any material pertaining to the tannery. In the summer of 2015, he lent me the logbook, which became the focus of this thesis. The next natural step was to ask my mother, Raili Anneli Suopelto (née Tefke), whether she had any stories about the tannery. She had lived most of her life outside Mäntyharju and therefore did not have many recollections of the tannery when it was operational. However, she had inherited photographs from her mother, Kirsti Saara Mäntynen (formerly Tefke, née Myyryläinen), the youngest of Alexander's children (pers. comm. 7 June 2016). Those photographs were stored in an old chest along with other memorabilia from my grandmother's life. We perused these mementos and reminisced about the tannery and our family. This informal conversation in my mother's living room was the first step in the process that culminated in the reconnection of the contributing community with the logbook at the 'reminiscing' session at the museum and continued after the exhibition ended. Furthermore, the convivial session with my mother about her childhood and her mother established the kind of sensitive approach I used when gathering information from other family members in their own homes (following Kovach 2009). The photographs included pictures of the Myyryläinen's family and photo albums that documented the life history of my grandmother from a young girl at the tannery to the old woman I used to know – her itinerary that extended in the memories, stories, and photographs beyond her death three decades ago. The photographs feature life events, such as funerals and weddings as well as leisure activities, in which my then young grandmother and her siblings were taking part in around the tannery and elsewhere. Often the photographs had

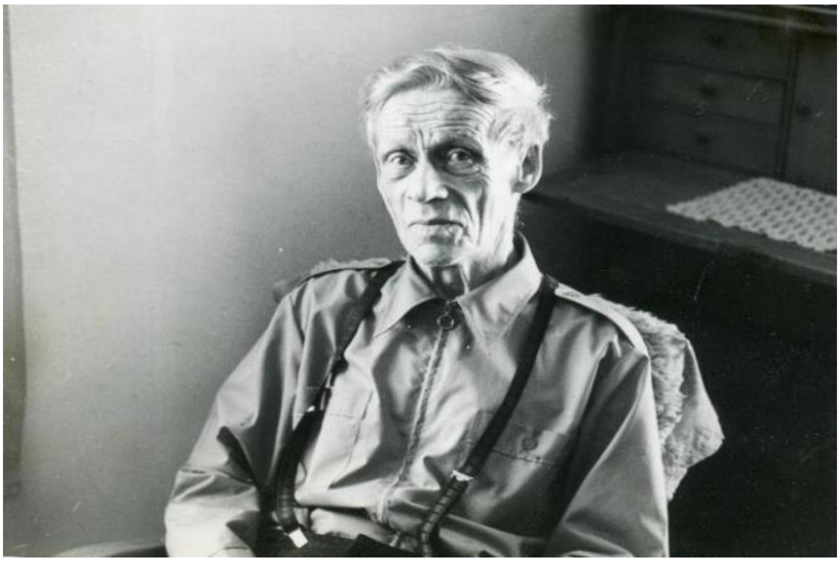


Figure 26: A black and white photograph of the retired tanner Otto Myyryläinen sitting in a chair in a domestic setting. Photographer and date unknown. Private collection.

handwritten captions that described either who was in the picture or where it was taken, and sometimes they included a date. Although most of them were irrelevant for the curation of the logbook's display (or indeed for this study), they provided me with material evidence of the social assemblage of which the logbook was part – pieces of the logbook's fragmentary itinerary I was building.

One of the photographs featured the retired Otto Myyryläinen, Alexander's son (b. 2 February 1899, d. 3 February 1974), who became the tanner after his father in 1925. It is a picture of him as I remember him from my childhood and it was used for the text panel that accompanied the logbook's display in the museum to give a face to the tannery (see Figure 26). Another photograph in my mother's archives, a faded and stained colour image of the tannery in the 1970s became a panel that divided wall between the logbook display and the rest of the exhibition (see Figure 25; for the

Figure 27: A black and white photograph of the brothers Ilmari and Otto Myyryläinen reaping hay at the tannery. Photographer and date unknown. Private collection.

discussion of the curation and the display, including the panels, see Chapter 5). Thus, these family mementoes, the photographs of the tannery and that of the retired Otto, changed their status when they were included in the museum exhibition: they became museum objects when they moved – albeit *digitally* – from the personal context of my mother's photo album to the museum context and part of the logbook's display.[53] Another photograph of an unknown date by an unknown photographer featured the bothers Ilmari and Otto Myyryläinen reaping hay on the field next to the Myyryläinen's home (Figure 27). There is nothing extraordinary about the image; it could have been taken at any farm in Finland in the first half of the twentieth century. The photograph was used in the text panel to illustrate the fact that the tannery was also a working farm,

Figure 28: Four black and white photographs taken on 27 June 1966 featuring a jetty on the Lake Vuorijärvi where a family is washing rugs. Private collection. Photographer unknown.

which is how I described it in the text panel (see Figure 41 in Chapter 5). 'Within the practice of history exhibitions, photographs have been most often used as a secondary level of interpretation, providing context and support for the physical objects' (Edwards

[53] For photographs as museum objects in digital form, see e.g. Edwards 2010, Sassoon 2004.

2010, p. 27, cited in Katz 2012). Yet, as Edwards notes the materiality of the photographs matters as it 'gives sensory and embodied access to photographs'. She makes an important further point, which also resonates with my experience of the photographs during this project: in the fusion of materiality and image, 'photographs become memory texts, trigger emotion, elicit feeling, create affect, not merely through visual apprehension of content but through their material and sensory qualities as objects' (2010, p. 23).

In our family album, there were also four black and white photographs of an everyday activity that takes place around the lakes in every summer in Finland: the washing of rugs on a jetty of a sauna at a lake. Elizabeth Edwards points out that 'photographs express a desire for memory and the act of keeping photographs, like other souvenirs, an act of faith in the future. They are made to hold a fleeting, to still time, to create memory' (2009, p. 332). Indeed, my first memories of the tannery are not mine. Instead, they are shared memories from a day fifty-four years ago, captured on four black and white photographs, which I found in my mother's album, and they are embellished with stories my mother and grandmother have told me of that day. The photographs feature a family enjoying a day at the tannery's jetty, taken around *Juhannus*, the time Finland celebrates Midsummer. The photographs have the date 27 June 1966 stamped at the back. The scenes in the pictures are typical of Finnish summer house living. In the first image (Figure 28, the top left), taken above from the balcony of the sauna, a little boy is crouched on the narrow jetty with his right hand in the water. At the end of the jetty, a woman is washing a rug. The second photograph (Figure 28, top right) is taken from the shore. A little girl wearing a bikini is running on the jetty with her arms stretched, as if to steady herself, while her mother looks on. The water reflects and distorts their dark silhouettes. The trunk of a birch tree obscures what appears to be an older person. The sun's rays glisten on the calm lake and the branches of the birch trees are in a leaf, a sure sign of Finnish summer. In the third photograph (Figure 28, bottom left), the young mother is in a crouching position on the partially submerged jetty washing a rug. A little girl stands perilously at the end of the jetty behind her, grinning at the camera. In all of these three photographs an older child is playing in the water behind her. The last photograph (Figure 28, bottom right) is a still image of the little girl alone on the jetty washing a rug in a crouching position. The camera is not focused on the girl, however, but on the jetty and a bench, on which is a metal bucket. In front of it is what appears to be a box washing powder. A rug has been placed on the railing to dry along with another piece of textile. The girl's hair is wet, and she is holding a small bucket, with which she wets the rug. That little girl is me.

In the first three of the images, you can see the parts of the album on which the images are mounted. The paper is torn and there are stains on the pages. Some of the images have come lose, like the one in which I am washing the rug. Edwards notes that such family albums are 'performative'; that is, they impose a narrative on the images, or structure the photographs into a narrative (2004, p. 11). When I was younger, my mother, grandmother, and I often perused this album with these four photographs of us on the jetty. A photograph between the third and fourth scenes, which was not taken, would have told how that day almost ended in tragedy. I was four years old and a wild child, as everyone kept telling me, and I was always running about, as in the second image. I had not learnt how to swim yet, but as the photographs testify, I insisted that I help my mother wash the rugs. The end of the jetty was under water and slippery and I kept falling into the lake and my mother had to rescue me. However, as the last image shows, I was not deterred. But I have no memory of the day, except the one I have been told by my mother and grandmother and what these photographs have preserved of a day at the jetty of the tannery's sauna. I mention these photographs because they acted as prompts for memories and stories about the tannery for both myself and my mother; indeed, they were what Hahn and Weiss call 'memory objects' (2013a, p. 3). Newman astutely observes that to consider a photograph 'is to engage in an act of remembrance. Remembering, rather than simply repeating something fixed, yields the contingency of the trace, attributing potentiality to it once again. We don't necessarily have to know the origin of the trace, since memory is also a reconstruction' (2012, p. 110). The stories prompted by these photographs, which were arranged in a certain sequence on the album, are part of the oral history of my family and such reminiscences are an important the process by which the logbook became a museum object. I remember seeing the photographs many times in my childhood and they had become traces of memories that I no longer have; instead, I remember the images and stories I have heard many a time. As mentioned earlier in this thesis (see Chapter 1), such an autoethnographic study as mine, in which I research my own family and myself in the process, is self-reflexive. It is the first story and memory prompted by these photographs that I associate with the tannery. It is also part of my itinerary and that of the logbook, which all the while when I was running about the jetty lay dormant in the Red House.

Along with the stories and memories, these conversations with my mother produced documents from my grandmother's archives, which included another copy of the original execution record of the *Mäntyharjun Kihlakunnanoikeus* (*Eng*. District Assize Court of Mäntyharju) from 5 October 1956, which contains the will of her mother, Hilda Maria Myyryläinen (née Flink; private collection).[54] The document delineates the estate of the tannery as it was bequeathed to her from her husband, Alexander, and which was to be divided to the children according to her wishes. It provided important information about the tannery during its operations, which I used in the curation of the tannery exhibit along with the lecture, although the document did not accompany the logbook in the exhibit as it contained financial and personal information pertaining to my relatives that I had no permission to make public. As noted earlier, the informal discussion with my mother established the field method with which I approached my family, such as my mother's cousin, Ilari Ahonen (IA), who provided further pieces to my jigsaw of the tannery's past I was building from memories, photographs, and stories and which elucidated the itinerary of the logbook further.

In Conversation with Ilari Ahonen (IA)

I noted in Chapter 2, how the plan for the field methods grew organically and some conversations with members of maternal family took place by chance. The next informal discussion with a family member, who became a participant in my study, happened first by chance at our summerhouse on 9 July 2016, when IA visited my brother and I there. During the conversation, IA explained that he had inherited documents and photographs pertaining to the tannery from his mother, Kerttu

---

[54] The other copy of the document was found at the middle of the logbook.

Vesterinen (formerly Heinemann and Ahonen, née Myyryläinen). She was my grandmother's older sister and had also grown up in the tannery. More importantly for my purposes, she had worked in the tannery's shop (Ahonen, pers. comm. 9 July 2016). The next field trip was organised as a lunch at IA's home in Särkemäki, Mäntyharju on 5 August 2016 where I travelled with my brother and mother. As with the earlier conversations with my mother and IA, this trip took the form of a family gathering, rather than a formal interview. On the day, we had lunch IA had cooked, explored the grounds and the old house, *Ilvesmäki*, which had been part of tanner Myyryläinen's estate and where I spent summers as a little girl. Then IA showed me Kerttu's photo albums and historical documents, which included the rental agreement from 1891 when Alexander Myyryläinen with his brother Otto founded the tannery by the lake Vuorijärvi in Mäntyharju along with other documents pertaining to the tannery, such as the notary records and records of the District Assize Court of Mäntyharju (e.g. *Mäntyharjun Kihlakunnanoikeus* 1932). These documents were not used in the tannery display at the museum because they are fragile and contain sensitive information, although they provided historical evidence of the tannery's operations that became part of the logbook's itinerary into the museum exhibition.

IA also told me how the Red House functioned when the tannery was in operation. In addition to the shop, in which the hides and pelts were brought in and sold, part of the Red House was a dry handling section and there was also a workshop, in which cobblers worked. IA shared memories of a steam engine in the beam house, the several cobblers and the leather goods that were produced in the workshop as well as the living quarters that were rented out to generate further income. IA also shared his personal memories of how when his mother had been working in the shop, while he as a little boy played nearby. As noted earlier, these memories and stories are part of the itinerary of the logbook – even when the memories are not about the logbook *per se.* These photographs, memories, and stories I gathered from IA are part of a rich tapestry of interlace, which is entangled with the logbook's itinerary and provided material for the tannery display. They are part of the same social and material assemblage – the tannery – as JL, Otto's grandson, who provided me with further important material that advanced my research and revealed extensions of the logbook's itinerary. I will now discuss the conversation I had with him about the tannery and the memories of the tannery at the time of his grandfather.

In Conversation with Jarmo Laari (JL)

The further pieces to the interlaced itinerary of the logbook came from an informal conversation with JL at the summerhouse (his summerhouse, Grandpa Flink's cottage, is next to ours) where he and his family spend their summers. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the tannery's site is almost inaccessible during winter months. My relatives and I also all live at different places, some of us far from Mäntyharju. It is thus usual to our family to meet at different points of the summer in our respective summerhouses at the site of the tannery by the lake Vuorijärvi. These meetings are often unplanned and casual, as was the time when JL showed me his photo archives featuring his grandfather and his family at the time when Otto was running the tannery (pers. comm. 6 August 2016). JL explained how Otto Myyryläinen had lived with his family in a house called *Nelikulma* (*Eng*. 'Four Corners') thus named because of the shape of the house. A photograph of the house is displayed in the exhibit of the photographer Nestori Kurvinen at Iso-Pappila's *väentupa* (*Eng*. 'staff quarters'). In addition to the home of the family, the building also had a *Nahka- ja Valjasliike* (*Eng*. 'Leather and Harness Shop'), along with a coffee shop and bus station. I learnt that Kyllikki Myyryläinen, JL's aunt, had lived at the former cobblers' workshop in the Red House before she moved to the cottage by the lake. JL also remembered how his grandfather had been a keen photographer, but there were no pictures of the interior of the beam house or the cobbler's workshop, just one image of what seemed two tanners or tanner's apprentices in their leather aprons outside a wooden building by a lake, but its origins are uncertain. Just like the logbook, the photo albums showed their age. They were torn and tattered – traces of their itineraries as material objects – and contained old, treasured images of the family and some outside shots of the tannery. Most of them had been taken by unknown photographers, except those taken at studios which had a stamp of the photograph. There were many duplicates of photographs I had seen in both my mother's archives as well as in that of IA, such as an image of the wedding photograph of the oldest daughter of Alexander and Hilda, in which the family had gathered around the wedded couple outside what looks like the beam house by the lake. These photographs are material fragments of the contributing community, the tannery's past, and the logbook's itinerary. The albums also create or strengthen personal relationships (Edwards and Hart 2004, p. 11).

Figure 29: A black and white photograph featuring wintry scene of the tannery taken from the frozen lake Vuorijärvi. The beam house is on the right. Photographer and date unknown. Private collection.

During the informal conversations I amassed information that grew from, for example, field notes into an itinerary of the logbook, a text panel, then into a lecture at the museum, and finally into this thesis. One of the photographs of the tannery in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century accompanied the logbook into the museum. It is a black and white photograph of the tannery in winter taken from the frozen lake by an unknown photographer, although in the text panel it became sepia coloured (Figure 29; see also Figure 41 in Chapter 5). When we compare the two photographs of the tannery – the summery scene from the 1970s I had found in my grandmother's chest and the wintry scene taken decades earlier – we can see the transformation the tannery over the years (Figures 25 and 29 respectively). Some of the buildings featured in the earlier photograph have disappeared and new ones have been erected on the site (for a map of the site in the 1957, see Appendix 2). These two photographs became museum objects along with the logbook, although they did not physically travel into the exhibition; however, their digital extensions did become part of the tannery exhibit. The conversations I had with my family also acted as a 'prelude' to the public performance at the museum, discussed in the next section (Kovach 2009, p. 8).

A Public Lecture: Relinquishing my Authority

Schofield makes an important point about heritage and memory that pertains to this chapter and my thesis in general:

> Heritage is a diverse field, and diverse in extremis as it is one of those rare things that involves *everyone*, and in which everyone may have a legitimate view an informed opinion, whether on the basis of intellectual context and historic knowledge and memory. (2014, p. 10. Emphasis in the original.)

The museum of Mäntyharju regularly holds 'reminiscing' sessions on the theme of the current or forthcoming exhibitions, in which *everyone* is invited to share their memories. These events are publicised in press releases (see e.g. *Mäntyharjun Matkailulehti* 2017, p. 19; Uusitalo 2017, p. 20; Häkkinen 2017, p. 11; and *Länsi-Savo* 2017, p. 26) and advertised on social media for maximum coverage. Furthermore, these events are recorded and the memories are used as anonymised quotations in text panels and, for example, the museum blog and social media (for the digital museum and blog, see Mäntyharjun Museo (2012-); on Facebook and Instagram, see the accounts of 'Mäntyharjun museo'; and on Twitter see the handle, '@MntyharjunMuseo'). Such 'active stakeholder involvement' is established in the Finnish heritage sector. It is assumed that listening to people's stories about their past and heritage can help awareness of knowledge of local heritage, although such a 'bottom-up' approach is not without its challenges, as Kovanen points out: there is a division between those stakeholders that impart with their information but have no say in the way it is used and the authority that uses the information (2018, p. 127). In the case of the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum, the culture secretary and the researcher, the curators in the Museum of Mäntyharju, are the facilitators and final authority who decide which memories are quoted and where. My case differed from the usual practice in the museum as I was invited to take part in the decision-making at the museum along with other activities (see Chapter 5). For example, Yli-Pyky invited me to give a lecture in such an event, the museum's customary *Museoilta* (*Eng*. 'Museum evening'; see Mäntyharjun Museo with P. A. Koppinen 2017, 8 August), but before I discuss my lecture, I shall describe a preceding museum evening I observed in 2016.

Figure 30: *Muistelutilaisuus* (*Eng*. 'Reminiscing session') on local industry at the hall of Iso-Pappila's main building. Photography by author. 9 August 2016.

The format of the evening when I gave my lecture in 2017 was familiar to me from the previous year when I had attended the museum evening on 9 August 2016 as an observer in the audience (Figure 30). On the open days, the exhibition stayed open longer than usual (until 8 pm instead of the usual 5 pm). The museum had invited Tuomo Lamponen to give a talk on the local industry in Mäntyharju, after which the floor was opened to the public, who had a chance to share their memories of local industry. The session was recoded and selected quotations from members of public were anonymised and used in text panels in the second year of the biennial exhibition. The evening concluded with another two talks and a guided tour of the open-air museum.[55] In his talk, Lamponen gave instructions to the audience on what kind of information the museum was looking for and noted that there are no correct or incorrect memories, just *different* ones. He emphasised that there must be a research element in what is shared (i.e. *Ei höpö höpö juttuja*, *Eng.* 'no tosh'). He reassured the audience that dates may be inaccurate, but those could be checked later. Moreover, the

Figure 31: Tuomo Lamponen (sitting at the desk) convenes a reminiscing session on local industry at Iso-Pappila. Photography by author. 9 August 2016.

museum wanted to hear the person's own experiences. Then he gave a list of the topics, such as 'Health and Safety', 'Product Development and Innovation', 'Daily Routines', and 'Pay' (Lamponen 2017; Figure 31). These topics then featured in the second year of the exhibition in 2017. The audience shared willingly their memories of the topics. For example, one man shared his life history as a cobbler in the local shoe factory, including a detail of how the cobbler's knife was the most dangerous tool he worked with: *Kun huitaisi kärpästä, niin osui korvaan* (*Eng*. 'When shooing a fly [you] hit [your] ear.') Thus, memory played a key part in building the exhibition, which was a curated encapsulation of local memories – the collective memory of the industry in the area.

---

[55] The Museum of Mäntyharju's approach to visitor participation will be discussed in more detail in reference to the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' (Smith, L. 2006, p. 4) in Chapter 5.

Moreover, the memories recorded by the museum became part of the museums' collections and therefore not only intangible museum 'objects' but also tangible in the form of the physical recording.

The evening, when I gave my lecture on the following year, followed a similar format, although the focus was different from Lamponen's reminiscing session as it took place at the end of the exhibition – the exhibition closed five days after my talk. After my session, Yli-Pyky announced the theme for the exhibition of 2018, *Sisällissota 1918*, the Finnish civil war of 1918. Instead of having a similar exploratory aim as Lamponen's talk (which was to crowdsource material information for the following year's exhibition), the information gathered during the reminiscing session after my lecture was intended to further my own research, which I pointed out at the beginning of my lecture when I explained how their answers were to be used (for the Finnish and English text, see Appendix 3). The lecture was advertised on social media and newspapers, which mentioned the reminiscing session: *Luennon jälkeen pidetään muistelutilaisuus, jossa yleisöllä on mahdollisuus kertoa ja jakaa omia muistojaan lähiseudulla toimineista nahkureista* (*Eng*. 'After the lecture there will be a reminiscing session in which the audience has a chance to tell and share their memories of the tanners, who had worked in the area'. *Mikkelin Kaupunginlehti* 2017, p. 19). I used the information I had gathered from the members of the immediate contributing community – along with that found in digital archives – not only for the curation of the display at the museum exhibition (discussed in Chapter 5), as mentioned earlier, but also for the body of my lecture in which I thanked those individuals who had shared that information. The format of the lecture differed from that of Lamponen's talk. Instead of giving a list of topics I was looking for, I pointed out in the lecture the gaps in my knowledge and asked the audience to respond after the lecture. For example, after describing the logbook and its contents, I noted that I was no expert: *Tässä vaiheessa täytyy tunnustaa, että kaiken mitä tiedän nahkurin työstä olen oppinut tutkimukseni myötä – tilikirja on jännittävää tutkittavaa.* 'At this point I have to confess that everything I know about tanning is what I have learnt during my research – the logbook is an exciting subject to study.' (See Appendix 3) I also revealed another gap in my knowledge, this time about an animal mentioned in the logbook, *sänkiäinen* in Finnish:

> Ja yksi jännittävä eläin on tuo Otto Savanderin ja Ida Karjalaisen nahkimolle tuoma *sänkiäinen*, joka mainitaan kirjassa useammin kuin mikään muu eläin. Se on pieni arvoitus tällaiselle nahkurintoimintaan ja kieleen vihkiytymättömälle. Esimerkiksi vuonna 1929 kirjaan oli merkitty 444 *sänkiäistä*. *Sänkiäisellä* saatetaan tarkoittaa montaa eläintä: se voi olla jäniksen *sänki*poika, joka syntyy keväällä hangelle, vaikka jänis taitaa olla liian pieni eläin siihen hintaan verrattuna, mitä nahkurin asiakkaat *sänkiäisen* valmistuksesta maksoivat. Mutta sillä voidaan myös tarkoittaa *sänkiäisnaudikasta* eli nuorta nautaa. Se voi myös olla noin puolitoistavuotias hirvenvasa. Ja se voi myös olla juhta, kuten jotkut merkinnät tilikirjassa kertovat. Jos kellään on ratkaisua *sänkiäis*ongelmaani, niin ottaisin sen mielelläni vastaan.
>
> ('One exciting animal is the *sänkiäinen* that Otto Savander and Ida Karjalainen brought into the tannery and which is mentioned more than any other animal in the course of the book. It is a conundrum for someone who is not initiated in the language of tannery or its operations. For example, in 1929 the logbook contains 444 *sänkiäinen*. The term may mean many animals: it could be a leveret, which is born on the snow banks in the spring, although a hare might be too small of an animal compared to the price the tannery's customers paid for the tanning of *sänkiäinen*. But it can also mean a one-year old calf. Or it can be about a year and a half year old elk calf. And it could be an ox, as some of the entries in the logbook specify it. If anyone has a solution to my *sänkiäinen*-problem, I would be very grateful.' Appendix 3)

I thus relinquished my authority as the expert I had been advertised in the media (for experts in the heritage field, see e.g. the essays in Schofield (ed.) 2014). Instead, I became a 'humble expert', who gave part of my authority to the audience (Wolferstan 2014, p. 50). Although such an approach can be risky, I did this on purpose to allow the participants to reclaim and assert their voice. My use of colloquial Finnish also helped to make the audience at ease and take part in the conversation. It is important to note that Finnish people are famously quiet in public gatherings and it usually takes a while before they open up, if they do. Of course, not all Finnish people are quiet and shy, but the older demographic that attended the lecture are usually reticent, especially in public (see e.g. Alho with Launis 2010 [2002]). My admission of ignorance in the matters of tanning triggered a strong reaction. Not only did the audience respond to my questions, but in addition to sharing their stories and memories they asked questions from me and other members of the audience – the result was a lively conversation punctuated with the silences that for outsiders might seem baffling but for Finns they are integral part of our communication. Such 'oral history', as Kovach points out, 'concerns a particular aspect of an individual's experience that pertains a particular topic at hand' – as opposed to life history, which is 'associated with the totality of a person's life' (2009, p. 96). The members of the audience, then shared stories in the form of oral history, and when I transcribed the recording, I learnt that the session turned out to provide a life history of Otto Myyryläinen (see the next section).

Reminiscing about Tanneries of Mäntyharju

The lecture was attended by over thirty people, including my brother Marko, IA, JL and other members of the immediate contributing community, some of whom I had not seen in decades. I also received messages from other members of my family, who expressed regret that they could not be there (pers. comm., 13 July 2017). As with the session Lamponen had convened in the previous year, this 'reminiscing' session with the audience was also recorded in order to preserve the audience's memories and stories. I transcribed the recording and shared it with the museum (for the translation of the transcript, see Appendix 4), thus it became part of the museum's collections of intangible heritage. The transcript of the session reveals how the audience responded when I relinquished my authority as an expert. The conversation method ebbed and flowed through different topics, including 'story and narrative from both the researcher [myself] and research participant[s]', the audience (Kovach 2009, p. 35). One of the questions I asked pertained to the meaning of *sänkiäinen* I had highlighted in the lecture. The question was quickly answered by Male 1, who explained that '*sänkiäinen on semmonen, joka on keväällä syntynyt se on [kasvanu?] kesällä … sitä ei oo jätetty talveks, syksyllä tapettu, et tämä kyl on sänkiäinen.*' (*Eng*. '*sänkiäinen* is that what was born in the spring, brought up in the summer … it was left for winter, slaughtered in the autumn, so this is *sänkiäinen*'). He responded to my follow-up question, *Onks se niinku nautakarjaa?* (*Eng*. 'Is it cattle?') with '*Nautakarjaa, ei mikään muu ole sänkiäinen, kun tämä nautakarja, joka se on keväällä syntynyt ja sitte kesällä ollu laitumella ja kasvanu, eikä oo talveks sitte jätetty, se on syksyllä tapettu.*' (*Eng*. 'Cattle, yes, nothing else is *sänkiäinen* except for cattle which is born in the spring and then spent summer on pasture and grown and not left for winter, it was slaughtered in the autumn'). My admission of ignorance meant that I relinquished my authority (typically people giving lectures in Finland are seen as experts) – the power shifted to the audience who felt emboldened to interrupt me and impart with their knowledge of local tanneries. For example, Male 2 had recognised in my lecture a reference to his grandfather, Viitanen, and shared the story of his grandfather:

> 'Muutaman sanan haluan sanoa. Hän oli syntynyt 1862 ja kun tämä ala sitten kiinnosti, niin lähti opiskelemaan tän työn kautta Keski-Eurooppaan [...] Saksaan ja siellä vaelteli eri paikoissa ja sai siitä rahaa ja eli sillä lailla ja muun muassa oli silloin 1889 maailmannäyttelyt Ranskassa taikka Pariisissa ja tänä vuonna juuri siksi ajaksi Eiffel-torni valmistui. Tämä reissu kesti lähes neljä vuotta ja tämän jälkeen hän lähti sitten etsimään paikkaa, missä voisi asettua tekeen toimintaa ja kirkolta asemaa vastapäätä Sortavalan suuntaan [epäselvää] Enonlahti-niminen tila. Sen omistaja oli kunnallislautakunnan esimies ja liekö sitten ... ei ollut kasööriä kunnassa että, että tämän esimiehen omat ja kunnan rahat meni vähän sekaisin. [Naurua] Ja tuota tämä on historiankirjoissa, *Mäntyharjun Historiassa* ja tämän jälkeen sitten meni pakkohuutokauppaan tai kuitenkin joutui myymään sen ja Viitanen osti sitten tän ja piti sitä nahkurinhommaa ainakin kuolemaan asti 1932.'
>
> (I would want to say a couple of words. He was born in 1862 and when this profession interested [him], then he went to learn it through work in Central Europe in Germany and [he] wandered about there in different places and was given money for [tanning] and lived in that manner and, for example, there was a world exhibition in France or Paris and in that year just for that the building of the Eiffel Tower was completed. This trip lasted almost four years and after that he started looking for a place where he could start working [as a tanner] and at the centre [of Mäntyharju] opposite the station towards Sortavala [unclear] a farm called Enonlahti. The owner was the head of the municipal board and perhaps ... there was no cashier in the council so that the head's and the council's moneys became mixed. [Audience laughs] And this is in the history books, *Mäntyharjun Historia* and afterwards it [the farm] was auctioned off or at least he was forced to sell it and Viitanen bought it for himself and acted there as a tanner until his death in 1932. (See Appendix 4)

Thus he drew the life history of his grandfather, his itinerary, in his story that became thus entwined with that of Otto Myyrläinen and his tannery. I responded by asking questions; that is, I used the 'conversation' as a method to interact with the audience, which was similar to the method I used when having a conversation with my family members. For example, I asked Male 2 whether he had visited the tannery. He replied that '*No, se ei enää ollu toiminnassa sillon. Rakennus oli ja ne isot paljut ja meikäläinen pieni poika varotettiin, että vaan ei polskahda niihin paljuihin.*' (*Eng.* 'Well, it wasn't functioning back then. The building was and the large tubs and myself a little boy, I was warned [not to go near] so that not to fall into the tubs.' Appendix 4) He then offered more information on his grandfather's tannery: '*Että vielä tästä nyt siitä Tyystjärven ... päiväkirjoihin 1950-luvulla löydetty tuolta. Ne on sellasena vihkona sitten tallessa.*' (*Eng.*

'So a bit more about the Tyystjärvi … in the diaries found in 1950s from there. They are preserved in a notebook.' Appendix 4) Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to see the notebook, which in itself is comparable to the logbook as a historical witness of a tannery in Mäntyharju that was operational at the same time as that of Otto Myyryläinen. Hence, the conversation between myself and the audience progressed in a fluid manner, because they were no fixed topics, apart from the ones I had raised in my lecture, nor did I introduce any limitations what topics or material the audience could bring up. These included stories about animals, hunting, fishing, tanning, and the quality of skins. The audience, the contributing community, offered information about not only about the tanneries that had operated in Mäntyharju in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also stories about Otto Myyryläinen. For example, Male 4 asked a question from me about the name Otto: '*Oliko niitä Otto nahka Myyryläisiä kaks kappaletta?*' (*Eng*. 'Where there two of the tanner Otto Myyryläinen?' Appendix 4) I explained that one of them was Alexander's brother, the businessman, and the other was his son, the tanner, who followed his father's footsteps.

For some participants, it took longer to open up and part with their memories of the Myyryläinen's tannery. About forty-two minutes into the reminiscing session, Male 6 told that '*Minä olin kaheksan tai kymmenen vuotta kun olin isän kanssa mukana viemässä nahkoja Myyryläiselle*.' (*Eng*. 'I was eight or ten when we took hides to Myyryläinen with my dad.' Appendix 4) He then told how cobblers would come to your home and make boots from the leather you had in your home. Male 7 and Male 8 joined in the discussion and told their memories or cobblers at their homes. I kept my replies short so as not to discourage them and only offered a question when the conversation was lagging. As noted earlier, the session was fluid on purpose, which is evident in the way the audience brought up topics that did not follow a logical (or linear) route, instead, the stories interlaced and curved back to an earlier topic or moved forward before the conversation had come to a logical end. For example, Male 1 explained after the exchange between JL and I that '*Vuosisadan alussa täällä ei ollu hirviä, hirvet oli kuollu sukupuuttoon sillon sata vuotta sitten, ei niitä ollu*.' (*Eng*. 'At the beginning of the century there were no elks [in Finland]. Elks had become extinct a hundred years ago, there were none.' Appendix 4) This statement was followed by a story about the hunting of elks in the early twentieth century. I had mentioned elks in my lecture and that may have prompted Male 1 to share the memory of his father hunting elks. This story was then followed by an exchange between Male 1, JL, and me about the animals that were treated in the tannery – and what they were (e.g. *metsäsika* can mean both a 'wild boar' or a 'badger' in colloquial Finnish). Relinquishing my authority as an expert during the lecture – confessing of my ignorance of tanneries – had emboldened the audience who felt that they could correct me and offer suggestions. This strategy worked the same way as it had when I had admitted my ignorance of certain aspects when teaching medieval literature; that is, when the expert, or the researcher in my case, admits that they do not know everything in the chosen subject, the power shifts and becomes more equal than in a top-down power balance. Furthermore, what was remarkable how the session re-energised the contributing community, including my family. The chance to reminisce about the tannery and the tanner Otto Myyryläinen brought back memories members of my family did not remember during our preparatory conversations, such as the bark as dye and the notebook with instructions that JL mentioned. In this case, the lecture and the ensuing conversation had acted as prompts – just like the photographs had during the initial conversation – for further memories and stories. Then after JL and IA had contributed this information to the conversation, Male 11 brought up Otto Myyryläinen again

> 'Oton harrastuksista vielä sen verran ettei pelkästään tätä nahkurin hommaa ammattia. Hän oli innokas kalamies ja hänellä oli nuotta tuossa Kallavedellä ja minäkin muistan pienenä poikana olin kerran siellä yön läpikin näiden aikamiesten kanssa sitten sitä nuottaa vetämässä.'
>
> (*Eng*. 'About Otto's hobbies, not just this tanning job, profession. He was an eager fisherman and he had a seine there at Kallavesi [lake] and I too remember as a little boy how I was overnight with these grown men pulling the seine.' See Appendix 4)

He remarked that how Otto had been not only a tanner, but also a fisherman concluding with '*Se on jääny tosi kivasti mieleen.*' (*Eng*. 'It has stayed nicely in my mind.' Appendix 4). That memory prompted another strand of discussion about Otto, which concluded with JL noting *'Mä muistan. Että 1964 vaari halvaantui, olisikohan ollu, siihen se loppu.'* (*Eng*. 'I remember. That in 1964 Grandad was paralysed, was it then, that's how it ended'). During the discussion we drew a life history, or rather the itinerary of Otto Myyryläinen, the tanner, who used the logbook that was displayed in the next room while we reminisced about him. Although he had passed away fifty-three years earlier, the collective memories, stories, and images the contributing community shared extended his itinerary. Therefore, in addition to the material I found in historical documents and printed sources, the transmission of knowledge of the tannery partly carried through oral stories, for example, through my grandmother's and her sister's stories of their growing up at the tannery, the stories my other relatives told me, and the narratives the audience parted with during the reminiscing session – which all became part of the itinerary of the logbook and which expanded at each step of my research.

The reminiscing session revealed the sense of self and sense of the place, Mäntyharju, of the contributing community at large – that of the members of my family along with the rest of the audience. There was a strong sense of nostalgia of the past voiced by several members of the community. As mentioned earlier, the logbook's and the tannery's contributing community is defined by not only by our family ties, or the fact that the logbook originates from our family's tannery, but also from the community's 'sense of belonging' to the social assemblage that consists of the material remains of the tannery (Kadoyama 2018, p. 8). These are the fragments of the 'community of origin' (Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007, p. 3) that twist and loop with our memories in and out of the interlace pattern of our itineraries. The contributions of the community to my research continued long after the exhibition had ended. For example, when I visited the tannery on 2 July 2018, Kaija Laari and JL showed me an old child's shoe made from leather presumably in the tannery (Figure 32). It had been found during the refurbishment of their summerhouse. During another visit earlier in the summer, they had showed me a leather briefcase that had been found at the attic of their summerhouse (2 June 2018, pers. comm.; see Figure 33). Inside the briefcase was an accounting book from the 1954 that contained the inventory of the tannery that year. Such books are often mentioned in the logbook, in which they are called *päiväkirjat* (*Eng*. 'diaries'). The writing was my grandmother's, who worked as an accountant at the time. The logbook's itinerary thus proliferated even after it had travelled to the United Kingdom with me and its physical movements had paused; yet it continues to connect to other itineraries, stories and memories of its past, while waiting to be reconfigured for another purpose in the future.

Its ever-expanding itinerary can be considered a looping interlace patterning that keeps moving. The memories and contributions from different members of the community are itineraries that became interlaced and entwined into my itinerary and therefore that of the logbook.

Conclusion

In this chapter I used methods set out in Indigenous methodologies, such as 'preparation' and 'conversation' (Kovach 2009). Central to this methodology is 'situating

Figure 32: Kaija and Jarmo Laari showed me this old child's shoe they had found at their summer cottage (2 July 2018, private communication). Photography by author.

self', which I did using methods from sensory ethnography as a way of preparation and remembering a place, the tannery, which in turn provided reflections used in this thesis (for sensory ethnography, see e.g. Pink 2015). Furthermore, Indigenous methodologies emphasise stories via oral submission, stories that are not available in written form (Kovach 2009, p. 14). What we can take away from this method of sharing narratives and general conversations as way of transmitting knowledge about the tannery is that it works until there is a disruption – that is, those who lived and worked at the tannery have passed away. I noticed how difficult it was to attain information of the tannery when the older generation is no longer available for an interview and those who were

Figure 33: The contents of the briefcase, which included the diary (accounts) of the tannery from 1954 and the inventory also from 1954 along with other textual material. Private collection. Photography by author. 2 July 2018.

available sometimes had trouble remembering, as was the case also with myself.[56] Therefore, Indigenous methodologies provide useful tools for approaching participants in such sensitive situations, such as interviewing one's own family (for the a description of this methodology, see Chapters 1 and 2). The contributions from the conversations with my family and from the reminiscing session at Iso-Pappila took different forms: my family members contributed photographs, memories, and stories during our informal conversations both to my research and to the curation. Along with other members of the local communities of Mäntyharju my family also contributed further memories and stories at the reminiscing session at Iso-Pappila. Some members of the

[56] The stories die with people if they have not been actively submitted orally – or written down. We see this with oral cultures that have vanished; for example, we have very little knowledge of the colloquialisms used in the early medieval England as the language is no longer spoken.

audience also participated in my survey, the results of which I shared with the museum. In 2003, Peers and Brown noted that

> While consultation with source communities is fundamental to the new ways of working that [they] describe, it is of a kind that goes beyond simply asking for knowledge and advice, but not otherwise altering the traditional relations of power between museums. (2003, p. 2)

The Museum of Mäntyharju not only consults the local communities, but also offers a way for members of public to participate in the decision making in the museum, as my case study of the 'community-based exhibit' (Phillips 2003, p. 163) exemplifies (the museum exhibition is discussed in detail in the next chapter). That is, it provides an example of collaboration 'in which both parties [were] held to be equal and which [involved] the sharing of skills, knowledge, and power to produce something of value to both parties' (Peers and Brown 2003, p. 2). This situation is by no means uncommon to local history museums in Finland, where not only community consultation and participation in equal terms are the norm, rather than exception.[57] These are just few of the ways in which the contributing communities affect and are involved in putting forth museum exhibitions at Iso-Pappila and elsewhere in local history museums in Finland (for the latter, see Salonen *et al.* 2012 and Lonardi, Niemelä, and Koski 2017). In the next chapter, I will discuss the exhibition in more detail and the political discourses the logbook and I entered.

[57] Lonardi, Niemelä, and Koski 2017; such equal partnership extends beyond museums to other heritage fields, see e.g. Kovanen 2018, Kahila-Tani, Kyttä, and Nummi 2018; see also Seitsonen 2017, Enqvist 2014.

Chapter 5: Intersecting an Authorised Heritage Discourse at Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum

Kun joku ulkopuolinen tarjoaa museoon jotain uutta, tartu tilaisuuteen!

(*Eng*. 'When someone offers something new to the museum, seize the opportunity!' Isokyrön Kotiseutuyhdistys, cited in Hirvonen 2017a, p. 12.)

Thus far in this thesis I have discussed the concept of itinerary of a material object, the logbook, a museum object *in-the-making* (Chapter 3) and the role of the contributing community in the logbook's itinerary when entered into the public context of museum (Chapter 4). However, my case study revealed that the logbook entered not only the public space of a museum but also a political discourse, which Laurajane Smith has termed as 'the Authorized Heritage Discourse' (2006, p. 4; henceforth AHD). I have already introduced the AHD in Chapter 2, but it is useful to return briefly to the term in this chapter, as it is central to my argument. L. Smith defines heritage as 'a cultural performance that occurs at, and with, heritage sites or museum exhibitions'. She suggests further that '[h]eritage is a process or a performance, in which certain cultural and social meanings and values are identified, reaffirmed or rejected, and should not be, though it often is, conflated with sites or places.' For her, 'heritage is a way of seeing and feeling', although a dominant discourse, defined in official agreements and documents by, for example, institutions and agencies, explicate how heritage *should* be seen and felt, also in Finland, which is a country with its own authorized heritage discourses, one of which pertains to local history museums (2011, p. 69). This chapter examines what happens when the logbook's itinerary intersects and interrupts that AHD. I argue that despite this dominant discourse, which prescribes the decisions made in local history museums, such as Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum in Mäntyharju, there was evidence of what Enqvist calls an emerging 'Democratised Heritage Discourse' (henceforth DHD) in which local communities are beginning to be on an equal footing with experts in the creation of heritage.[58] The DHD Enqvist describes is 'pluralist, multivoiced, inclusive and dynamic understanding of heritage' (2014, p. 102). This 'New Heritage' means to share heritage with the whole society in a dialogic manner. It can 'be experienced without regard to categories set up by organisational or disciplinary boundaries'. Furthermore, '[e]veryone should also be free to create their own understandings and representations of heritage, if a more multivocal and democratic heritage is to be promoted.' (Enqvist 2014, p. 114)

In the Museum of Mäntyharju – and the rest of the museum fields of the Western world – community and public participation is beginning to change the face of AHDs from 'top-down' discourses to more democratic, reciprocal processes in which different communities – that is, members of the public – can co-operate in museum making and in the creation of heritage. It is important to note that the aim of my case study – even though it was an intervention – was *not* to disrupt or 'offer a concrete challenge to the AHD' that affects Finnish local history museums (L. Smith 2006, p. 35); yet, the logbook's entry to the museum ended up intersecting that AHD and revealing parts of its workings. That is, my investigation into the movements of the logbook uncovered parts of how an AHD affects the operations at a local level where a local history museum works together with local communities. The aim was also to inspect how the museum negotiates between the needs and interests of the local communities, the AHD, and the national discourse of heritage. It is understood in this thesis that although the Museum of Mäntyharju – akin to many local history museums in Finland – relies on experts, it also depends on the knowledge of the local communities to bring forth its temporary exhibitions and to preserve intangible heritage of the municipality (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 8; Lonardi, Niemelä, and Koski 2017, p. 30; see also Chapter 4). Indeed, as I will discuss later in this chapter, local history museums were born out of people's interest in local heritage. The interpretation of the information, however, is often at the hands of the museum officials and follows authorised policies, as is the case with the Museum of Mäntyharju. As my study shows,

---

58 Enqvist 2014, p. 117. See also, e.g. Kotiseutuliitto 2019 (*Eng.* 'The Finnish Local Heritage Federation'); Enqvist 2016, pp. 113-117; Salonen et al. 2012; and Lonardi, Niemelä and Koski 2017, p. 30; Marsio 2017, p. 31; and ACHS 2008.

the AHD of which the museum is part, can be intersected, but this interlacing process can work for the benefit of all. In my case, the process benefitted not only my research but also the museum and the logbook's contributing community. Such a disruption also reveals parts of how the AHD that affects local history museums in Finland impacts the itineraries of museum objects. I shall first discuss the Finnish museum field and the AHDs that affect it, before turning to my case study, the Museum of Mäntyharju and the temporary exhibition in which the logbook entered.

Finnish Museum Field

Anyone can open a museum in Finland, as there is no legal requirement to register museums. This thesis, however, discusses an *authorised* museum owned and run by a local council. Benton and Watson point out how the way the concept of a museum is defined has changed since the first half of the twentieth century and the founding of *The International Council of Museums* (henceforth *ICOM*) in 1946. Its first definition concentrated on the material contents of a museum and not on 'the potential interest of the general public' (2010, p. 128) – or indeed that of the contributing (source) communities. In 1974, *ICOM* provided a new definition, which is still in use today:

> A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment. (2007, Article III, section 1)[59]

Although *ICOM* attempts to define a museum, recent developments in museology and museum studies indicate that museum is a changeable concept. Museums throughout history have taken on different guises, depending on the available technologies, fashion and thinking of the time.[60] For the purposes of this thesis, I use the definition provided

---

[59] The definition is currently under revision, but has not been changed at the time of writing this thesis (see e.g. Adams 2019).

[60] Koppinen 2013a; see also Hooper-Greenhill 2001, p. 1; Bennett 1995, p. 10; Hudson 1999, p. 371; Greenberg 2005, p. 227; Parry and Sawyer 2005, p. 39; Friman 2006, p. 57; Hetherington 2006, pp. 597-598; Morris, S. 2012, p. 5; and Findlen 2004, p. 25. The history of museum is discussed in detail in, e.g. Findlen 1994, 2004, Bennett 1995, pp. 92-105, Lapidge 2006, Benton and Watson 2010, Abt 2011. For the history of museums in Finland, see e.g. Petterson and Kinanen 2010, Kostet 2010, Vilkuna 2010, Härö 2010, Heinonen 2010, Heinonen and Lahti 2007, pp. 47-72.

by *ICOM*, which is used in the Finnish museum field, including in the museum I investigate.

The seeds for the first museum in Finland were sown when the country was under the colonial rule of Sweden when in 1652 the collections of portraits in *Kuninkaallinen Turun Akatemia* – the Royal Academy of Turku were born. Sweden was the first European country to have the legislation of ancient monuments in the seventeenth century, which also affected Finland (Kinanen 2013, pp. 2-3).[61] Yet, the beginning of museum activities is related to the romantic nationalism at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (Kostet 2010, p. 20). Kinanen notes the while in the rest of the Europe royalty and wealthy section of the population amassed collections, in Finland collecting was carried out by citizens and societies interested in their history (2013, p. 3). Kostet describes how *suomen kieli* (*Eng.* 'Finnish language') and the mythical past of Finland created the strongest impetus for creating a national identity and an indigenous culture for Finns. The source material for this mission of forming a national identity came in the form of unwritten, intangible heritage, and archival material in the form of myths, spells, stories, and material objects. Finland now has the world's largest archive of intangible heritage, the collection of which started during the eighteenth century.[62] As the basis of the national identity rested on language, collectors travelled to the Finno-ugric tribes to record the folklore during 'scientific' field trips. The most notable of these field-collectors were Elias Lönnrot, who composed the Finnish epic poem *Kalevala* using the folklore poems he had recorded during his trips, and the folklorist and author Zacharias Topelius (Kostet 2010, pp. 21-23; see also Meinander 2014, pp. 179-180; for an English translation of *Kalevala*, see e.g. Bosley's translation in Lönnrot 1989). *Kansallismuseo,* The Finnish National Museum, formerly *Valtion Historiallinen Museo*, the State Historical Museum, opened to the public in 1916, a year before Finland gained her independence from Russia. Yet, the first

---

61 The Swedish state emerged in the fourteenth century with Finland as one of its heartlands (Meinander 2014 [2006], p. 21). For the description of the development of Finnish museums, see e.g. Kostet 2010, Kinanen 2010, Härö 2010, Heinonen 2010, Heinonen and Lahti 2007.

62 Kostet uses the adjective *henkinen* to describe heritage, which does not quite translate to English in the meaning he uses the word. The dictionary definitions for the word *henkinen* include 'mental', 'characteristics', 'intellectual', 'spiritual', or, in plural, 'resources' (Hurme, Malin, and Syväoja 1988), but I prefer the adjective 'intangible', which better describes the meaning of *henkinen* in this context.

museum that opened in 1862 in the town of Raahe in Finland was a local history museum, or rather a curiosity cabinet, the collections of which were largely brought in from abroad (Heinonen 2010, p. 153). Other local history museums, one of which is the focus of this study, started appearing outside Helsinki from the 1880s onwards (Kinanen 2013, p. 3; see also Heinonen 2010). Today, there are 150 professional museums in Finland that are in charge of over three hundred museums sites. Finland also has three nationals museums: the aforementioned *Kansallismuseo*, the National Museum of Finland; *Kansallisgalleria*, Finnish National Gallery, which consists of three institutions: *Ateneumin Taidegalleria*, Ateneum Finnish National Galleria, *Kiasma Kansallisgalleria*, The Museum of Contemporary Art Kiasma, and *Sinebrychoffin Taidemuseo*, Sinebrychoff Art Museum; and *LUOMUS Luonnontieteellinen Keskusmuseo*, the Finnish Museum of Natural History. However, the focus of this thesis is a local history museum, which differs in its operations from professional museums. Salonen *et al.* note that there are over 1000 local history museums in Finland, which have been born out of interest in cultural heritage, love of native place, and the result of active collecting. They point out further that Finnish local history museums provide a particular way of preserving the local history and sense of community. These museums, which were created and supported by volunteers and amateurs, and often operate part-time, foster especially local cultural heritage and identity. Often these museums are only open during the summertime and weekends, yet they attract almost 1000000 visitors annually and employ *c.* 600 people, many of them young summer employees. Local history museum offer versatile activities, ranging from, for example, events, bazaars, concerts, lectures, demonstrations, activities for school children, to theatre productions (2012, p. 9-11), also in *Mäntyharjun Museo*, the Museum of Mäntyharju, which is the focus of this thesis. Museums in Finland are affected by their own AHDs, discussed in the next section.

AHDs in Finland

In Finland, *Opetus- ja Kulttuuriministeriö*,

> The Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for culture policy and, as part of this, the implementation of museum and cultural heritage policy. The Ministry's goal is to promote the development of requirements for museum operations and expertise as well as facilitate the preservation of our cultural heritage and dissemination of information. (Ministry of Education and Culture 2017b)

Intrinsically, the Ministry of Education and Culture is the national body that produces authorised discourses that govern the museum and heritage fields in Finland. However, it is important to note that professional museums, which differ from the local history museums in their funding, operations, and policies, are affected by different AHDs, which are not discussed in this thesis. The survey of the governing bodies and policies of the Finnish heritage field uncovers an AHD that works at international, national, and local levels and affects the operations of the museums throughout the country, regardless of their size.[63] Finland has ratified most of the major charters and conventions that affect the heritage field, such as the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in 1987, the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2013, and the *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* in 2018 (*UNESCO* 2019). In addition to these international agreements, Finnish museum and heritage field is governed – among other legislation – by *Museolaki* (*Eng*. 'the Finnish Museum Law'; see *Opetus- ja Kulttuuriministeriö* 1992; for the legislation governing local history museums, see Mattila, Kaukonen, and Salmela 2005, pp. 18-29) and several heritage actors listed by *Opetus- ja Kulttuuriministeriö*, the Ministry of Education and Culture. That is, its own *Kulttuuri- ja Taidepolitiikan Osasto*, the Department of Culture and Art Policy, oversees museum and cultural heritage affairs, whereas *Museovirasto*, The Finnish Heritage Agency (formerly the National Board of Antiquities) is the 'national expert, developer and authority on matters related to museums, cultural heritage and cultural environment' (*Ministry of Education and Culture* 2017a). In addition, *Museoliitto*, the Finnish Museums Association – much like its counterpart in the United Kingdom (*Museum Association* [no date]) – provides training and advances the nation's museums' development. The Ministry of Education

---

[63] The so-called 'vernacular museums' or 'amateur museums' are excluded, but they are affected to some extent by the authorized national discourses (Mikula 2015).

and Culture has selected twenty-two regional and sixteen national special museums the mission of which 'is *to steer and promote museum operations in their respective regions*' (2017a; my emphasis.) *Suomen Kotiseutuliitto*, The Finnish Local Heritage Federation supports *kotiseututyö* (*Eng*. the 'local heritage work'), including that carried out in the local history museums, such as in the Museum of Mäntyharju. The responsibilities of other actors, which promote the AHDs in Finland, fall into different fields and are shared as follows: the education of cultural heritage and environment falls under the remit of *Suomen Kulttuuriperintökasvatuksen Seura*, the Association of Cultural Heritage Education in Finland (*ibid*.). The mission of *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys*, the Finnish Antiquarian Society, is to advance 'a scholarly society for the purpose of promoting archaeological, ethnological, art-historical and cultural-historical research concerning Finland and where possible other Finno-Ugrian regions and peoples' (*Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys* 1999), while *Suomen Kulttuuriperinnön Säätiö*, the Finnish Cultural Heritage Foundation 'preserves and manages historically and culturally valuable landscapes, buildings and collections of valuable objects' (*Suomen Kulttuuriperinnön Säätiö* [no date]). Finland is also a member of *ICOM* (*ICOMOSin Suomen Osasto r.y.* 2009) and *Konservointiliitto* the Nordic Association of Conservators (*Pohjoismaisen Konservointiliiton Suomen Osasto ry* 2019.). The latter educates and promotes conservation of cultural heritage in Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (*Pohjoismaisen konservaattoriliiton Suomen osasto r.y.* 2019). *Museopedagoginen Yhdistys Pedaali r.y*, The Finnish Association for Museum Education, 'aims to promote museum pedagogy and support the professional identity and development of museum educators' (*Pedaali* 2001). In addition to these international and national heritage and museum actors that engage in propagating the AHDs in Finland, *Etelä-Savon Maakuntaliitto*, the Provincial Council of Southern Savo, and *Etelä-Savon Maakuntamuseo*, the Museums of Southern Savo, of which the Museum of Mäntyharju is part, act as authorities that regulate, control, and help develop the operations of local history museums in the province of Southern Savo in South-Eastern Finland. For example, the Finnish Heritage Agency offers self-evaluation tools for professional museums, such as *Museoiden Arviointimalli* (*Eng*. 'The Assessment Model for Museums'), the goal of which is to evaluate the impact of a museum and how it can profile its salient characteristics in order to find its strengths and weakness for further development (*Museovirasto* 2016). The Museum of Southern Savo covers fourteen municipalities and forty-two museums and heritage sites, including Mäntyharju, of which four are professionally run museums (Tyrväinen, Aho, and Makkonen 2007). These heritage actors and policies engage in an authorised discourse that affects the way local history museums operate.

In 2010, the Ministry of Education and Culture appointed a committee to create a policy and proposals 'for the development of non-professionally managed local and home district museums and specialised museums and for ways to uphold local cultural heritage' in Finland (Salonen *et al.* 2012, p. 5). The committee distributed questionnaires and surveyed museums for such statistical topics as their finances, employees, visitor numbers, collections, exhibitions, and use of volunteers. The results were published in 2012 in a report that unpacks the workings of the over 1000 local history museums in Finland, none of which are funded by the government. Instead, municipal councils, associations, and foundations own and maintain *c.* 730 of these museums which consist of over 865 museum destinations. The report reveals an emerging DHD in local history museums: these museums were created from citizens' interest in their cultural heritage, love of local milieu, and the activity of collectors. The report also reveals that, in general, local history museums in Finland are short of resources and need and deserve national attention and support, such as money, advice, training and appreciation (Salonen *et al.* 2012, pp. 9-11). The initial need for this reassessment of local history museums came in the wake of the local government reform in 2011-2014 in which smaller municipalities that were struggling financially were merged with larger ones to secure the access of services for the ageing population (Vuorinen 2012). Salonen *et al.* note that local history museums are the way to preserve the history and culture of the small localities that had become larger municipalities and a way to build the common history and identity of the new larger local governments (2012, p. 9). The report prompted local history museums to start thinking about their own missions and collections policies. In 2017, Finnish Heritage Agency, the remit of which is to collect and distribute information about Finnish museums every five years, published a follow-up report about the state of local history museums in 2015.

Vahvuudet (*Eng.* 'Strengths'):	***Heikkoudet*** (*Eng.* 'Weaknesses'):
Paikallisen perinteen tallettaja, välittäjä ja asiantuntija (*Eng.* 'Archiver, disseminator, an expert of local heritage') *Aktiiviset, motivoituneet toimijat* (*Eng.* 'Active, motivated providers') *Joustava toimintakulttuuri mahdollistaa uudet toimintamuodot* (*Eng.* Flexible operational culture enables new modes of operation) *Paikallisen yhteisön tuki ja verkostot* (*Eng.* 'Support and networks of local community') *Työpaikkojen, palveluiden ja elämysten tarjoaja ja mahdollistaja* (*Eng.* 'Provider of jobs, services and experiences')	*Heikko näkyvyys, arvostus ja saavutettavuus* (*Eng.* 'Poor visibility, appreciation and availability') *Toiminta avustusten varassa ei pitkäjännitteisyyttä* (*Eng.* 'Operations depend on grants, no sustained long-term operations') *Puutteelliset taloudelliset, henkilöstö- ja osaamisresurssit* (*Eng.* 'Inadequate financial, human and knowledge-based resources') *Laajemman kontekstin puute, toiminta liian aika-, paikka- tai henkilösidonnaista* (*Eng.* 'Lack of wider context, operations too fixed to time, place or human resources')
Mahdollisuudet (*Eng.* 'Potentialities'): *Lähikulttuurin arvostukesen nousu* (*Eng.* 'The rise of appreciation in local culture') *Rooli kulttuuriperintökasvatuksessa* (*Eng.* 'Role in cultural heritage education') *Alueellisen tasa-arvon ja elinvoimaisuuden edistäjä* (*Eng.* 'Promoter of regional equality and livelihood') *Kulttuurimatkailun lisääntyminen* (*Eng.* 'Increase in cultural tourism') *Resurssien vahvistaminen verkostoitumalla* (*Eng.* 'Strengthening resources through networking') *Aineistojen digitoinnin myötä saavutettavuuden ja palveluiden lisääntyminen* (*Eng.* 'Availability and increase of services through digitisation of material')	***Uhat*** (*Eng.* 'Threats'): *Resurssit vähenevät entisestään* (*Eng.* 'Diminishing resources') *Museoita ei nähdä mahdollisuutena ja vetovoimatekijänä vaan menoeränä* (*Eng.* 'Museums are not seen as potentialities and attractions but instead as expenses') *Toimintamuodot eivät uusiudu, uusia toimijoita ei saada sitoutettua mukaan* (*Eng.* 'Modes of operation are not renewed, new operators are not engaged') *Kuntarakenteen muutokset johtavat museoiden lakkautuksiin* (*Eng.* 'Structural changes in municipal governance lead to closing museums') *Osa kokoelmista ja rakennuksista tuhoutuu* (*Eng.* 'Parts of collections and buildings are destroyed')

Table 2. 'Paikallismuseotoiminnan vahvuudet, heikkoudet, mahdollisuudet ja uhat' (*Eng.* Finnish 'Local History Museums' Strengths, Weaknesses, Potentialities, and Threats'; Salonen *et al.* 2012, p. 13).

As with the 2012 report, the survey in 2015 was aimed at museums that are not funded by the government and included museums run and owned by the government, municipalities, foundations, private citizens, parishes, and associations (Lonardi, Niemelä, and Koski, p. 5). Its findings were similar to the earlier report, but it highlighted the local communities' role in propagating heritage in Finnish local history museums. The report provided a scenario report of the strengths, weaknesses, potentialities, and threats facing local history museums (see Table 2). These two reports provide an insight into the operations of non-professional museums in Finland. The strengths of the Museum of Mäntyharju parallel those listed in the report. For example, the museum is an expert that archives and disseminates local heritage of Mäntyharju, also digitally in the form of a virtual museum; it also actively supports local community (such as schools and youth services) and providers services and experiences, such as the hobby horse competition I witnessed during the *Maalla on Mukavaa!*-event, and offers a place and equipment for families to enjoy yard games, such as frisbee or croquet, which are available from the cafe (Mäntyharjun Kunta 2018). The museum also offers work opportunities during the summer, although its permanent staff is limited to one person, the culture secretary. As for the potentialities, I witnessed first-hand the appreciation of local culture during the event where I gave my lecture (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 3). The weaknesses and threats are common to all local history museums, including the Museum of Mäntyharju. Thus, the table sums up that although local history museums are considered as valuable cultural assets that benefit local communities, lack of money and resources affect and threaten their operations, including those of the Museum of Mäntyharju. Nevertheless, this disparity engenders ingenuity and encourages co-operation with local communities and therefore the democratisation of heritage discourses, as my research also uncovered. Before I discuss the way the logbook's journey into the museum's exhibition intersected the local history museum AHD, I will discuss the museum, a journey that also illuminates the development of the emerging democratisation of museums in Finland.

The Museum of Mäntyharju

Mäntyharjun Museo, the Museum of Mäntyharju in South-Eastern Finland, is a combination museum that includes two separate museums: *Miekankosken Uittomuseo*, a log floating museum in Miekkakoski, Mäntyharju, and the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum (henceforth Iso-Pappila; see Figure 34), a house museum comprising of an old vicarage and its outbuildings all of which are listed as important architecturally or valuable for the preservation of image of the village. The museum also has a meadow that has a protected status as a heritage landscape (for the description of the two museum sites, see Mäntyharjun Museo 2012, Närhi, Hytönen and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 8).

The parish of Mäntyharju was established by the decree of Karl, the Duke of Svealand (later King Karl IX of Sweden) on 28 October 1595 (Favorin 1986, II, p. 93). The current vicarage was built in 1812 and extended in 1933 (Helminen 2016a). The vicarage, owned by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church until the council purchased it in 1987, first became a museum in 1970 when the council of Mäntyharju

Figure 34: The yellow building in the centre of the photograph is the main building of the former vicarage of the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum and used as an exhibition space. The site also has many outbuildings, such as the staff quarters, the larger red wood red wooden building on the left. Photography by author. 8 July 2016.

and the parish signed an agreement to found a local history museum in the municipality and Iso-Pappila was rented for the museum's use (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 9; see also Petterson and Kinanen 2010, p. 406). Yli-Pyky writes in the museum blog that in the 1960s and 1970s interest in local history was flourishing in Finland and the museum was the result of that concern (2016b). Initially, the museum's collections were established largely at the help of the volunteers from local communities. The museum's object acquisition was managed according to school districts: local people of Mäntyharju were asked to bring any material suitable for a museum to local schools from where the museum board collected them. Volunteers also helped catalogue and prepare the objects and material for storage and exhibitions in the 1970s (Yli-Pyky 2016b). The Museum of Mäntyharju, therefore, was the result of the democratic effort of the local people and borne out of their interest in local heritage, in keeping with the early development of Finnish museums, although today it is run by the council

(Kinanen 2013, Kostet 2010, Heinonen 2010). A couple of decades of lively museum activity followed, then Iso-Pappila was rented to the Art Gallery Salmela from 1992 until 2007, after which then the museum operations returned to Iso-Pappila (Yli-Pyky 2016b). As noted earlier, today Iso-Pappila is a local history museum, a community museum, and an open-air museum, which comprises of several buildings, and which can

Figure 35: A kind of mimetic display of the farmhouse kitchen at the staff quarters at Iso-Pappila. Photography by author. 8 July 2016.

be best described as an ecomuseum.[64] These include the manor house, the main building which was the official residence of the local vicar and is now the venue for the temporary themed exhibitions that take place from mid-June to mid-August along with a permanent exhibit of an old school room. There are also several outbuildings, such as a barn and granary, which are now spaces for seven other exhibitions, in addition to the two in the main building, the temporary exhibition and the school room. For example, the upstairs of the *graniittimakasiini* or *kivinavetta* (*Eng*. 'stone barn or storehouse') has a collection of horse-drawn farming vehicles. The downstairs of the storehouse houses the nearby Art Centre Salmela's exhibition of Nina Terno's sculptures and parts of

[64] Examples of community museums are discussed in Bolton 2003, Golding and Modest 2013. Ecomuseums as community museums are discussed in, for example, Davis 2016, 2008.

previous temporary exhibitions are displayed in various rooms (until they are taken down to make room for new exhibits). The servants' quarters exhibits have permanent exhibitions, such as the mimetic display of a typical *maalaistalon tupa* (*Eng*. 'farmhouse kitchen'; Figure 35), and a milk room exhibiting equipment from the time the vicarage was a working farm. At the other end of the building is an exhibition of the four decades in Mäntyharju by Nestori Kurvinen, a local photographer, who recorded the everyday life of the region, including Mäntyharju and its nearby villages. There is also a drying barn on the grounds. During winter, the museum is closed, but the main building is used by local schools and craft societies (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 8; see also *Mäntyharjun Kunta* 2018). The Museum of Mäntyharju takes its mission from the *ICOM* and concentrates on educating, studying, and providing enjoyment to the general public (Närhi, Hytönen, Yli-Pyky 2012). Despite this mission, as with museum in general, objects have been central also to Iso-Pappila: the museum collections consisted of just under 2000 objects in 1974 and at present there are almost 6000 objects in the museum's catalogue (Yli-Pyky 2017b). Today, it is mainly the themed temporary exhibitions that see a 'flow of objects' come and go through the museum (Larson, Petch and Zeitly 2007, p. 213; see also Chapter 5).

The Museum of Mäntyharju as a 'Memory Organisation'

The museum of Mäntyharju currently is considered to be a *muistiorganisaatio* (*Eng*. 'memory organisation') that is devoted to preserving the recent history of the locality from 1950s until present (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 6), which is in keeping with the remit of Finnish local history museums as outlined in *Opas Paikallismuseoiden Hoitoon* (*Eng*. 'the Guide to Running Local History Museums'), the official document that delineates how local history museums should operate, including the laws, policies along with practical advice and instructions on cataloguing and collection care (Mattila, Kaukonen, and Salmela 2005). Iso-Pappila preserves this history in the form of material objects, photographs, and stories, the latter often crowdsourced via e-mail, social media, and specific events during open days at the museum and elsewhere (see Chapter 4).[65] The collections policy of the Museum of Mäntyharju explains that

> Mäntyharjun museo on Mäntyharjun kunnan omistama, sivutoiminen ja ei-ammatillisesti hoidettu paikallismuseo. Paikallismuseotoiminta on usein perustunut *kulttuuriperinnöstään ja historiastaan kiinnostuneiden kansalaisten aktiivisuuteen*. Nämä museot tarjoavat tasavertaisia kulttuurin lähipalveluja. Ne toimivat oppimisympäristöinä, työllistäjinä, palveluntarjoajina, kulttuurimatkailukohteina, asiantuntijoina sekä vapaaehtoistyön ja osallistumisen areenoina. Monipuolisuudestaan huolimatta paikallismuseo ei kykene tuottamaan palveluita tai järjestämään museotyötä ammatillisesti hoidettujen museoiden tapaan. Tämä osa-aikaisuuden aiheuttama resurssipula on joiltakin osin paikattavissa vapaaehtoistyövoiman ja Museoviraston myöntämien harkinnanvaraisten valtionavustusten avulla.' (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 6. My emphasis.)
>
> (The museum of Mäntyharju is a non-professional local history museum, which is owned by the council and operates part-time. Local history museum operations have often been built on the *active involvement of members of public, who are interested in their heritage and history*. These museums offer coordinated local cultural services. They act as learning environments, employers, service providers, cultural tourism destinations, experts and arenas for volunteering and participation. Despite its versatility, a local museum is unable to provide services or museum employment on par with a professional museum. A museum's part time operations result in lack of resources which can be supplemented partly with volunteers and government subsidies granted by Finnish Heritage Agency on discretionary basis.

The emphasis in the above translation of an extract from the collections policy highlights that local history museums are often built from down upwards. As explained earlier, although the Museum of Mäntyharju is owned and run by the council, it has always relied on volunteers. As highlighted in aforementioned the scenario report of the local history museums, without the keen interest and aid of local communities, they would have little chance of survival, even with grants from official bodies. For example, in 2017, the museum of Mäntyharju was granted 5000 euros for the development of collections policy, valuation rating, and photography of the objects in the collections. However, these grants are allocated for special projects, not for the daily running of

[65] Cf. the folklorists, who recorded much of the intangible heritage of the Finnish people during the nineteenth century, the material that then became part of the building blocks of Finnish identity, see Kostet (2010), pp. 21-23.

museums (Helminen, S. 2017b).[66] The operations, exhibitions and events in the council owned museum are the responsibility of the culture secretary, Anu Yli-Pyky, who acts as the museum service officer and is its only permanent member of staff with one month of her time allocated to the running of the museum (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 8; see also Salonen *et al.* 2012, pp. 25-26 and Lonardi, Niemelä, and Koski 2017, 10 and 21). Yli-Pyky's responsibilities include making sure that any laws and regulations are followed and, as such, she represents the Finnish sub-AHD, which affects Finnish local history museums. The focus of this thesis is the temporary exhibition at Iso-Pappila, in which the logbook entered in 2017. These exhibitions are discussed in the next section.

Temporary Exhibitions at Iso-Pappila

The museum's collection policy focus on two themes that are considered to define the municipality's recent past: its vibrant summerhouse culture and local industry, both of which grew from the 1950s onwards and distinguished Mäntyharju in the cultural and technological map of Finland. Both themes have been exhibited in the museum recently (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, pp. 15-16). In 2014-2015, the theme of the exhibition was *Mökkielämää* (*Eng.* 'Summerhouse living'). In 2016-2017, the theme of the biennial exhibition was *Mäntyharjun Teollisuus* (*Eng.* 'The Industry of Mäntyharju'). This study concentrates on the latter exhibition, into which the logbook entered in its second year. That exhibition culminated in the celebrations of one hundred years of Finnish independence in the summer of 2017 and which put Mäntyharju in the national map of Finland as an innovative and important locality (see Figure 36 for the official flag of the national celebration). Most heritage actors in Finland, including museums, took part in these celebrations in the form of different events and projects (Timonen *et al.* 2018) and those in Mäntyharju were no exceptions. For example, the municipality's community college organised a song writing competition and history tours of local barns; there was also a pre-demolition art exhibition *Katajainen Kansa* (*Eng.* 'The Sturdy Nation') at a block of flats at the centre of Mäntyharju; and *Sikakaalikarnevaalit*,

[66] For information about the grants application and awarding system, see Salonen *et al.* 2012, p. 29-31 and Museovirasto 2019.

a festival featuring the local heritage delicacy, *sikakaali* (*Eng.* 'pork and cabbage stew'), at the market place. The culture secretary had challenged local villages to cook their own versions of the traditional delicacy so that those who were not able to attend the festival could take part (Uusitalo *et al.* 2017b). The art gallery Salmela exhibited Finnish masters along with modern art and organised concerts and a Big Band festival (Uusitalo 2017a and 2017b).

Observing the First Year of the Exhibition at Iso-Pappila (2016)

As I mentioned earlier, the regional and museum specific policies affect the itineraries

Figure 36: The official flag of the Finland's 100 years of independence celebrations flying at Iso-Pappila. Photography by author. 1 July 2017.

of objects in and out of the museum. The first point of contact in my research with the Finnish sub-AHD that concerns local history museums came early in the logbook's itinerary on 15 July 2015, when I approached the museum an asked whether the logbook and I could be included in the museum context for a research project. That is, in preparation for writing a research proposal for my doctoral study, I asked whether they had any interest in acquiring the logbook into the museum's permanent collections. I also requested whether I could conduct an ethnographic study of the processes by which the logbook becomes a museum object. The museum's resident researcher Susanna Helminen replied to my email with tentative interest and a request to see the logbook. A meeting was arranged between the Helminen, the culture secretary Any Yli-Pyky, and me. During our face to face meeting at Iso-Pappila on 7 August 2015, Yli-Pyky and Susanna Helminen handed me their collections policy, the foremost text in the museum that explicates how the Finnish AHD concerning local history museums is realised in the museum. The restrictions on object acquisition elucidated in the collections policy that the logbook was not eligible to be included in the museum's permanent collection. It was already clear then that, although an object's journey into the museum's collection is not necessarily a complex one, the museum's collections policy stipulates that any object considered for an exhibition must have a known history or story (Helminen 2015a). Furthermore, as with many museums, including local history museums, Iso-Pappila only accepts objects into its permanent collections if they are either directly linked to the vicarage or if they fit into the museum's acquisition policy, which concentrates on the recent past of the municipality from the 1950s until the present (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, pp. 15-16; for acquisition in local history museums, see Lonardi *et al.*, pp. 14-15; Salonen *et al.* 2012, pp. 31-36; and Mattila, Kaukonen, and Salmela 2005, pp. 47-86). As such, the logbook was not only too old an object, as it dates from before the 1950s, but it also had no direct connection to the vicarage. Therefore, it was not accessioned into the museum's collections. However, Yli-Pyky tentatively suggested that there was potential to include the logbook into one of the museum's temporary exhibitions – even as a separate themed display (pers. comm. 7 August 2015). I was also shown around the museum and the exhibition on summer cottage living in the area. During this private tour, Yli-Pyky explained the history of the museum, how temporary exhibitions were created, and what visitors' reactions to the very popular exhibition had been.[67] An initial plan to include the logbook in the exhibition was devised to during that first meeting in 2015, when the

[67] Apparently, the most overwhelmingly popular memory was of the jetty at a summer cottage, just like my own from my childhood (see Chapter 4).

museum had just started thinking about the themes for the 2016 exhibition that included industrial heritage, craft, family run industries, and the intangible side of industry. Yli-Pyky asked whether there were any possible links the tannery may have had with local industry. She added that, if there were no links, then the logbook could be considered as evidence of early industrial practices (discussed in the next section). The curation and creation of the community-based exhibit was reciprocal and co-operative from the start. The Finnish Local Heritage Federation encourages local history museums to grab the opportunity when someone outside a museum offers something new (Hirvonen 2017a, p. 12), a guideline that is also followed in the Museum of Mäntyharju. That is, Yli-Pyky and Helminen welcomed my input to the museum's blog and social media and I offered myself as a volunteer, a proposition which they accepted. Helminen, on her part, promised to research for any material of the tannery and my great-grandfather in the museum's archives. During the emails exchanges and meetings, it became clear that I – in my role a researcher and member of contributing community – would become woven into the museum context just as the logbook would. The logbook changed its status: its future itinerary as a museum object was starting to take shape during that meeting and it gained different kind of agency from when it was, for example, a functional object in the tannery or family heirloom (or trash) at our summerhouse. I, on the other hand, entered into an unwritten contract with the museum, as Dr Chris Horrocks pointed out (pers. comm. 4 March 2019). Thus, I became part of the museum context and consequently inscribed into the AHD that affects Finnish local history museums.

As explained in Chapter 2, I devised methods of observation and participation during the first year of the biennial exhibition in the summer of 2016. I orientated myself in the museum's workings, interviewed Yli-Pyky and Helminen, and photographed the exhibition which concentrated on the tangible side of industry, such as logistics, industrial sites, material (e.g. wood and hydropower), and production. That is, in its first year, the exhibition celebrated the physical side of local industry, which is considered be a strong component of the local identity (Yli-Pyky2017a). According to L. Smith, such focus of the tangible characteristics of heritage is a marker of an AHD (2006). That is, much of the exhibition consisted of material objects produced in local factories, such shoes, bathroom cabinets, or glassware, and their success in national and international arenas was highlighted, as it had been in Lamponen's talk (Mäntyharjun Museo 2016b; see also Chapter 4). I also observed how the museum crowdsourced objects for the

Figure 37: The exhibition of local industry at Iso-Pappila in 2016. Visitors stamped their tickets in the clocking machine next to the door. Next to it, a display of lockers with a mannequin in work clothes representing a factory worker. Text panels frame the exhibition space. Photography by author. 9 August 2016.

exhibition. The museum, in accordance with their mission statement invited in their press releases the audience not only to impart their memories but also lend to the exhibition any objects relevant to the local industry, such as shoes made in the local shoe factory, *Askel*, or skis and ski poles from the Excel factory that specialised in sports equipment (for such an invitation, see e.g. Rihu 2015, p. 11). In that sense, the logbook's entry into the temporary exhibition was a commonplace at the museum, although my intervention made it into a special case. The exhibition consisted of several loaned objects; for example, I witnessed one member of the audience, who was visiting the exhibition on 9 August 2016, approach Helminen and offer shoes from the *Askel* factory in their original box for the exhibition. She was asked to leave her details at the reception and the museum later contacted her and displayed the shoes in their box in the exhibition in the *Askel* display. Objects thus contributed to the exhibition were later returned to the owners, the contributing community after the biennial exhibition closed. The role of the local people, the wider contributing community, was evident also in the text panels.

In addition to the symbolic, material objects, the exhibition also used informative text panels that displayed direct quotations from members of public and described, for example, what it was like to work in local factories – examples of intangible heritage included in the exhibition. These panels, which also included enlarged photographs, not

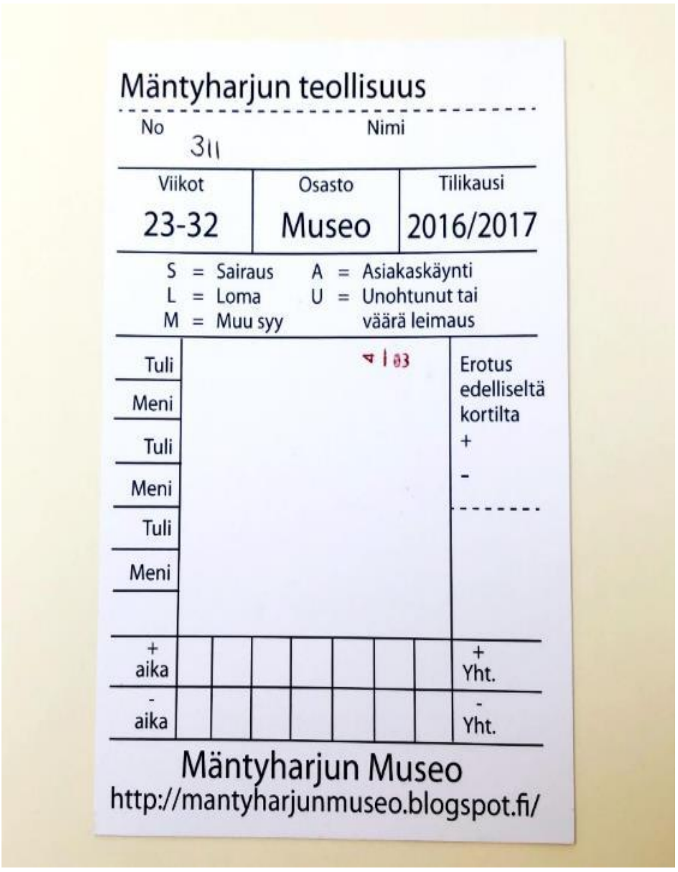


Figure 38: The ticket to the exhibition of local industry in Mäntyharju in the form of a clocking card. Photography by author. 9 August 2016.

only informed the visitors, but they were also used to frame the exhibition space (Edwards 2010). The displays included a female mannequin dressed in work clothes and standing by lockers in the main room. She stood by two text panels, *Töissä* *teollisuudessa* (*Eng*. 'Working in industry') and *Työvaatteet* (*Eng*. 'Work clothes'), which had quotations from members of public explaining their experiences of these two topics (Figure 37). By the entrance to the exhibition space was an authentic clocking card machine which was very popular with visitors who used it to 'clock in' and stamp their timecards – their tickets – when entering the exhibition (see Figures 37 and 38). Also heavily represented in the exhibition were fêted products of local factories, such as

Figure 39: Coldthermobyl exhibit at the exhibition of local industry at Iso-Pappila, which features a demonstration banner, a video installation, newspaper articles, and a text panel that explains why people were against the factory. Photography by author. 9 August 2016.

those of the internationally known shoe factory, *Askel*, and, the glassworks, Mäntyharjun Lasi – the latter objects are classified as 'pearls' of the museum's permanent collections (Närhi, Hytönen, and Yli-Pyky 2012, p. 17. However, in contrast to these exhibits that celebrated the achievements of local industry, a display called 'Coldthermobyl' (a take on the Chernobyl nuclear disaster that had happened in 1986, two years before Coldtherm was founded) exhibited the negative aspect of impact industry could have. The text panel of the exhibit titled *Tapaus Coldthermobyl* (*Eng*. 'The Case of Coldthermobyl'; on the right in Figure 39) explained that in 1988 a factory called Coldtherm was founded in Mäntyharju that produced foam by using Freons, which harm the ozone layer. The industrial enterprise was founded one year after an international agreement on the protection of the ozone layer was signed. There were demonstrations which ended in national news and the case was even debated in the parliament. The factory closed among controversy. The display, curated as a demonstration against the notorious factory, was exhibited in the same corner where the logbook exhibit would be in the following year. What is remarkable about the Coldthermobyl display is that it showed a negative episode in the history of the local industry and how divided people could be over industry. The quotation from the mayor of Mäntyharju at the time stated that

> Siihen aikaan oli kova tarve teollisista työpaikosta ja yritystoiminnasta. Me katsottiin, että sinänsä kaikki laillinen yritystoiminta on Mäntyharjuun tervetullutta ja kyllä kunnan päättäjissä oli aivan samaa henkeä. Tämä oli aivan vapaata yritystoimintaa ja katsottiin, että laillista ja vapaata yritystoimintaa on kyllä Mäntyharjun kunnassa hyvin hankalaa ruveta vastustamaan.
>
> (At the time, there was a great need for industrial jobs and businesses. We thought that, as such, all legal businesses are welcome in Mäntyharju and the municipal decision-maker were thinking in the same lines. This was entirely free enterprise and it was thought that legal and free enterprise was very difficult to oppose in the municipality of Mäntyharju.)

Yli-Pyky noted how politically delicate some exhibits can be even in such a small museum as Iso-Pappila. Some members of the public had found Coldtherm a sensitive subject. Some of them asked the culture secretary how the museum was going to display the factory, and even though Yli-Pyky had reassured them that the exhibition would only contain facts, some had refused to talk about it much (pers. comm. 9 August 2016). That museum space, the corner where both the Coldthermobyl and the tannery displays were exhibited, became a countercultural space as both displays contrasted with the rest of the exhibitions. Although, as we shall see, the tannery display was not political as such, anyone who had seen the exhibition in the summer 2016 would be able to compare the displays (although whether anyone else than I made that connection, is unknown). These visits to the exhibition gave me an overview of the way the museum creates their exhibitions. Although the theme of the exhibition was local industry, especially the tangible industry in the form of factories and businesses, the contributions of the local communities were clearly displayed in the text panels and the loans were labelled as such.

Co-curating a Community-Based Exhibit

On 7 July 2016, I interviewed the resident researcher, Susanna Helminen, who was in charge of planning and curating the second year of the exhibition. When I asked her about the overarching narrative of the exhibition, she replied that the initial plan followed no particular narrative. Instead, the material and objects in the collections determined or dictated the story they wished to represent in the exhibition. That is, it depended what kind of objects and information the public and local industrial sites were able to contribute. These contributions were emphasised even more strongly in the second year the exhibition in 2017 that concentrated also on the intangible side of industry, such as the everyday life of factory workers and family businesses.[68] Some topics were considered inappropriate for the exhibition and were therefore not included, such as people's memories of illegal distillation. The AHD thus affected the exhibition narrative and topics, which were defined by the museum and celebrated the local industry. However, although the physical exhibition did not contain references to moonshine, Helminen wrote a piece that was included in the virtual museum and in which she explained that

> Muistoja on tullut tehtaiden ja teollisuuslaitosten arjesta, teollisuuden tuotteista ynnä muusta. Välillä teollisuus on kuitenkin ymmärretty *laajemmin kuin alunperin itse ajattelimme*. Sahojen, kenkätehtaiden ja muun teollisuuden lisäksi myös viinan kotipolttoon on nimittäin viitattu teollisuustuotantona ja viinanpolttopaikkohin tehtaina. (2017d)
>
> (*Eng*. 'Memories of the everyday life of factories an industrial plants and so forth have arrived [to the museum]. Sometimes industry has been *understood in a more wider sense than what we initially intended*. In addition to sawmills, shoe factories and other industry also the distillation of booze at home has been referred as industrial production and home-distillation places as factories. My emphasis.)

The piece describes the history of moonshine in Finland. The practice was made illegal in 1865 but it carried on until the 1950s, as someone who had contributed to the museum their memories had noted (Helminen 2016d). Such exclusion of the controversial heritage is one the markers of the AHD that affects museums in Finland,

[68] For the crowdsourcing of the memories and stories from the contributing community, see Chapter 4.

including local history museums. In that case, the decision to exclude the memories from the exhibition was made by the authority, the museum, because it was deemed unsuitable. The tannery, however, was welcomed into the exhibition, although it did not fit the parameters set in the collections policy, or the date range of the temporary exhibition.

Much of the curation of the logbook's display was conducted remotely via email, mainly because the building is inaccessible during autumn, winter, and spring when the exhibitions are planned and curated, as it was used by schools when the exhibition was in its planning stages. These emails, an ethnographic resource, show that both the logbook and my contribution to the exhibition were welcomed at the museum. Furthermore, although the final decisions were mainly in the hands of the culture secretary, the process was co-operative and dialogic – the museum staff acted as facilitators in my community-based tannery exhibit (Phillips 2003, p. 163). Yet, this email dialogue also illustrates how the AHD controlled and defined my role in public and how the DHD and AHD were in contention depending on the context and situation. Yli-Pyky explains on an email of 18 January 2017 how the curation of the second year of the exhibition worked: the planning of the exhibition commenced in January 2017. Helminen finalised the script for the exhibition in mid-March, while Yli-Pyky planned the practical side of the curation, such as the text boards and other materials that were to be included in the exhibition. Also, the preforms of the exhibition displays had to be ready by then. As noted earlier, the theme of the exhibition in 2016 had been mostly the physical characteristics of industry, such as logistics, industrial sites, and materials (e.g. wood and hydropower) whereas the theme of the exhibition in Finland's one hundredth centenary summer of 2017 focused also on '*Teollisuuden Henkiset Kulmakivet'* (*Eng*. 'the intangible cornerstones of industry'; Yli-Pyky 2017a). These themes included inventions, family businesses, and handicraft. Yli-Pyky noted that as a family business the tannery fitted into this theme. She noted further that my case study showed how a business can start from small, if the entrepreneur is brave and daring, and added that the tannery exemplifies how many businesses in Mäntyharju had developed (Yli-Pyky 2017a). Thus, unlike the illegal distilleries, the logbook and the tannery fitted into the narrative in the second year of the exhibition even though it was *not* of the time-period on which the museum focused. The logbook thus defined along with the other material from the tannery became part of the larger interpretation of the local industry of Mäntyharju, the process during which it was appropriated into the national agenda – the celebrations of Finland's centenary.

Yli-Pyky invited my input in the planning of the tannery exhibit and asked whether I had a vision for it. She then explained how the museum usually created different settings for different exhibits, such as putting up wallpaper on a wall as a background in order to create a feeling of a working-class home (2017a). Such use of settings suggests an attempt for a mimetic display, although only a suggestive one (Hill, K. 2011, p. 217). For the tannery exhibit, she suggested dark log or wooden boards as a background to indicate the age of the tannery. As I was in the United Kingdom at the time and had no access to the resources and materials the museum had and, furthermore, at that time my aim was to *observe* the process rather than be in charge of it, I replied that the wooden logs or boards would work well in the display. In her email, Yli-Pyky also enquired whether there were any 'symbolic' objects that could accompany the logbook (2017a). As discussed already in Chapter 4, the material from my relatives' private collections came in the form of stories, memories, and photographs – some of which ended up as museum objects, if not physically, at least in the content of the text panels and in the virtual museum (Koppinen 2017b). As noted in the previous chapter, the photographs were mostly images of the members of the family Myyryläinen; for example, there were no photographs from the inside of the tannery that could have been included in the exhibition. Otto Myyryläinen had been an active amateur photographer, but there was no evidence that he had recorded the tanners at work inside either the cobblers' workshop, the dry handling section, or the beam house, where the wet tanning processes took place (Laari, J., pers. comm. 6 August 2016). However, I was able to find photographs of tanners at work in *Finna.fi*, a service that offers free access to museums', libraries', and archives' collections (*Kansallinen ja Digitaalinen Kirjasto* 2013-2017), which were used in the panel that accompanied the logbook (e.g. Aaltonen, E. 1928-1930; see Figure 41). As for the 'symbolic' objects, the hide of an elk (moose) calf, which my father had shot and which had been treated at a tannery in Heinola, Finland, in the 1980s, provided a suitable object that exemplified the finished products of a tannery.[69] Elk or moose (*Alces alces*) hides were treated in the tannery, but later than the when the logbook was in use, as JL explained during the reminiscing session (8 August 2017; Appendix 4).[70] Other 'symbolic' objects came from the museum's collections, such as the horse harness similar to the ones made in the tannery and sold at the Myyryläisen *Nahka- ja Valjasliike* (*Eng*. 'Myyryläinen's Leather and Harness Shop') – first at the shops at Nahkurintie in Mäntyharju and by the market place in Kouvola and later in *Nelikulma* where the tanner Otto Myyryläinen had several businesses and lived with his family (Laari, J., pers. comm. 6 August 2016). With the permission of IA, I also offered to the exhibition the original rental agreement, which refers to the founding of the tannery in 1891, but in the end I decided not include it because it is very fragile and might not have survived the exhibition as it would have required special display cabinet which was not available at the time. As for Yli-Pyky's invitation to lecture at the museum, I was happy to speak to the audience about the tannery, as it gave me a chance to hear the locals' stories about tanneries that had operated in the municipality and observe first-hand how the particular AHD affected the museum in the public context, such as media (for my public performance at the museum, see Chapter 4). The example of these objects, such as photographs and the elk hide, becoming part of the exhibition show the complex processes of the entanglement that create the interlace patterning of the logbook's itinerary which connected with multiple actors along with its journey. Although the starting point was to offer just the logbook into the museum, not only did I but also other members of the immediate contributing community, along with the material they contributed to the museum exhibition, become part of the fragmented and entangled itinerary of the logbook as a museum object.

The practical curation took place remotely in the spring and early summer of 2017, but lack of human resources affected the progress of the curation. In an email of 27 January 2017, Yli-Pyky explained that the planning of the exhibition had been put on hold until

---

[69] I also assumed at the time that the Finnish word *sänkiäinen* that was repeated numerous times in the logbook referred to a young elk (erroneously, as it turned out; see Chapter 4). Elks were treated in the tannery, but only after the logbook had fallen out of use.
[70] Elks or moose were hunted into extinction in Finland at the end of the 19th century, but were reintroduced in the early 20th century (Kauppinen 2007, pp. 166–172).

Helminen started working on it again in mid-March. As with most exhibitions, the timetable of its physical construction was tight and could not start until schools had stopped using the venue at the end of May. Therefore, it was built between 5 and 9 June 2017 and the exhibition opened on Monday, 12 June 2017. As noted earlier, Yli-Pyky invited me to build my own display for the logbook and explained that the text and other panels had to be ready for the graphic designer by mid-April and other material and objects were researched and sourced in April and May. Although the AHD controlled and defined my role in the exhibition at large, the email exchange shows that tannery exhibit was distinguished as my project in the exhibition. I researched the material, such as photographs, museum objects, and information, for the display, and wrote the texts for the panel, which Helminen then edited. Yli-Pyky and Helminen at their end designed the tannery exhibit to fit the plan for the rest of the exhibition, but, in the true spirit of a community-based curation, they kept me informed and asked for my opinion throughout the process. For example, the section was framed with large panels, of which one was a photograph of the tannery from the 1970s and the other the text panel, so that inside the space would convey the feeling of a small tannery workshop (Yli-Pyky 2017e and Helminen 2017c; see Figures 44 and 45). I, on my part, provided the photographs that the members of my family had contributed, which Helminen and I then chose together for the panels; for example, Helminen suggested that we use the image of the retired Otto Myyryläinen (see Figure 41), because 'it was very lively', and thus we put a personal face to the tannery (2017c). The curation of the tannery exhibit was collaborative and conducted in dialogue with the museum staff. My contribution was acknowledged not only in the text panel but also in the credits. Not only did the museum welcome my research and the object, the logbook, in the exhibition but they also sought my opinion throughout the process. The museum, on their part, advertised this special case study in the exhibition – both parties benefitted from the partnership. Moreover, the process is evidence of the emerging Democratised Heritage Discourse in Finnish local history museums.

Publicity: The Creation of an Expert

The logbook's itinerary extended beyond the museum context even before it had physically entered the exhibition. On 3 February 2017, I received an email from Yli-

Pyky explaining that a local journalist Susanna Uusitalo had visited the museum. Uusitalo wrote an article '*Mäntyharjun Kulttuurikesässä Tapahtuu*' (*Eng.* 'Things are Happening at Mäntyharju's Summer of Culture') in the free magazine, which was distributed to both local households and to those households elsewhere in the country who own of a summerhouse in Mäntyharju, including my family (2017b). Yli-Pyky, the task of whose is to publicise the cultural events of Mäntyharju, had mentioned the logbook and my research project to the journalist and asked for my approval of the part of the text that concerned mentioned me. The article not only highlights the public's input in the exhibition and mentions my research in the museum, but it also sums up how my research was seen at the museum and in the press. Moreover, it explains how I fitted into the museum context and the exhibition that focused on the recent history of local industry:

> Teollisuuden ensiaskeleita otettiin käsityöläisyyden kautta. Mitä yksi esine voi kertoa yritystoiminnasta? Lontoossa tutkijana toimiva Pirkko Koppinen tutkii sukunsa nahkuri Myyryläisen tilikirjan innoittamana nahkuriverstaan toiminnan ensiaskeleita Mäntyharjulla. Tutkimustaan Koppinen esittelee sekä museon näyttelyosiossa että luennon muodossa. 12.6.-13.8. välisenä aikana päivittäin avoinna oleva Mäntyharjun teollisuusperintö - näyttely on koottu pitkälti paikkakuntalaisten kokemusten ja muistojen pohjalta. (Uusitalo 2017a, p. 20.)
>
> (*Eng.* The first steps of industry were taken through craftsmanship. What can one object tell about enterprise? Pirkko Koppinen, a London-based researcher, is studying the first steps of a tannery in Mäntyharju, inspired by the tannery Myyryläinen's logbook belonging to her family. Koppinen presents her research both in the form of a museum exhibit and a lecture. The exhibition *Mäntyharjun Teollisuusperintö* [*Eng.* 'Mäntyharju's Industrial Heritage'], which is open daily between 12 June and 13 August, is based largely on local experiences and memories.)

The text of the extract shows how I became a publicly acknowledged 'expert' in the museum, the kind of which are mentioned in the local history museum surveys (Lonardi, Niemelä, and Koski 2017, Salonen *et al.* 2012). The article emphasises that I am a researcher based in London and mentions the lecture, which I gave at the museum on 8 August 2017.[71] As in the magazine article cited earlier, other instances of publicity that advertised my part in the exhibition presented my role in the exhibition and with

[71] At the time the interview had taken place in the spring, the lecture was still in the future. However, I relinquished this authority in my lecture, see Chapter 4; for the expert in the surveys, see Hirvonen 2017b, p. 19; Marsio 2017, p. 31; and Salonen *et al.* p. 25.

this public acknowledgement of my research, I became part of the AHD governing the local history museum. Uusitalo highlights the question that underscores the narrative that shaped the tannery exhibit: What indeed can one object tell about enterprise? The question is a reminder of the logbook's agency as an object that not only can tell stories of the past, but also as an object that affects and shapes the world around it.[72]

At another occasion, when we were building the exhibition in June 2017, the local newspaper came to interview us. One of the photographs in the newspaper article showed me holding the logbook and the text explained what part the logbook and myself as a researcher played in the exhibition:

> Näyttelyn erikoisuutena on tänä vuonna paikallisen nahkurin Otto Myyryläisen tilikirja vuosilta 1928-1940. Kirja on Mäntyharjun museossa näytillä osana Kingstonin yliopiston Pirkko Koppisen tutkimusta. 'Tutkimuksen kohteena on henkilökohtaisen esineen kaari museoesineeksi,' Koppinen valottaa tutkimustaan. Koppisen mukaan Myyryläisen nahkuripaja Vuorijärven rannalla saattoi olla alusta asti tehdasmainen, sillä siellä oli mahdollisesti jo perustamisvuonna 1891 höyrykone. Höyrykoneen lisäksi paikalla oli myös käsityöverstas. *Tutkimus otetaan mielellään osaksi kesänäyttelyä*. (Häkkinen 2017, p. 11)
>
> (The speciality of the exhibition in this year is the local tanner Otto Myyryläinen's logbook from the years 1928-1940. The book is exhibited at the Museum of Mäntyharju as part of the research of Pirkko Koppinen from Kingston University. 'The focus of the research is the trajectory of a personal object into a museum object,' Koppinen illuminates her research. According to Koppinen, the tannery by the Lake Vuorijärvi may have been industrial from the start because there may have been a steam engine already in 1891 when the tannery was founded. In addition to the steam engine, there was also a workshop. *The research is gladly welcomed at the museum's summer exhibition*. My emphasis.)

In these two articles, the logbook and I were presented as a 'speciality' in 2017. In the texts, I am described specifically as a researcher, my ancestral roots in Mäntyharju are acknowledged, and both articles highlight certain aspects of my research: my role as a researcher and the international dimension of the exhibit (i.e. Kingston University and London). That is, I am both an insider, part of the local contributing community whose family has contributed to the local industry scene, and an outsider, who lives elsewhere

---

72 See e.g. Joyce and Gillespie 2015a, Byrne *et al.* 2011, Allen and Hanby 2011, Latour 2007, 1999a, Tilley 2006a, Gosden 2005, 2006b, Miller 2005b.

and examines the local industry from an international point of view. Elsewhere in Häkkinen's article, Yli-Pyky explained the link between the tannery and local industry in the article: '*Teollisuushan on lähtenyt tällaisita nahkurin kaltaisista käsityöammateista ja pienteollisuudesta*' (*Eng*. 'Industry has indeed started from these professions and small-scale industries, such as that of a tanner'.) Helminen, on the other hand, clarified further that '*Tässä meidän näyttelyssä se on poimittu tapausesimerkkinä sieltä teollistumisen alkupäästä*' (*Eng*. 'In this exhibition of ours, [the Myyryläinen's tannery] has been included as a case study of that early industrialisation'. Häkkinen 2017, p. 11). The DHD may not be visible outside the museum context, as I was presented as an expert in the media and therefore as an *authority* who represents an AHD and promotes the national values that were celebrated in the exhibition. However, Häkkinen's article gives a hint of the collaborative project: the article shows that the museum was happy welcome my project into the museum. The tannery exhibit in the exhibition was highlighted as a particular case study also on social media. Yli-Pyky and Helminen kept the public informed of the progress of exhibition on the museum's blog, , Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter (for the blog, see Mäntyharjun Museo 2012-; on Facebook and Instagram, see the accounts of 'Mäntyharjun museo'; and on Twitter see the handle, '@MntyharjunMuseo'). The images of the tannery exhibit's text panels and photographs were used to entice the public to the exhibition. I was also invited to write guest blog entries, as is the custom at the museum (Koppinen 2017a, 2017n, 2017d). The word 'invitation' is important in this context:

> To build a community, we [the museum] seek conversations where people show up by *invitation* rather than mandate, and experience an intimate and authentic relatedness. We have conversations where the focus is on communal possibility and there is a shift in ownership of this place, even though others are in charge. (Block 2008, p. 93, cited in Kadoyama 2018, p. 34. My emphasis.)

The blog itself is part of 'museum-community involvement', just as the reminiscing sessions I discussed in the previous chapter (Kadoyama 2018, p. 45). As we have seen, the roles and agency of both the logbook and I changed depending on where and how we were represented inside or outside the museum context. I have examined my changing role as a researcher and member of contributing community elsewhere in this thesis (Chapter 4), hence it suffices to note in this instance that like that of the logbook's agency changed during its itinerary as a museum object, my agency shifted similarly – depending on my role as a researcher, expert, a member of the contributing community, and a volunteer, the latter of which is discussed in the next sections.

What my experience showed was that the lines between the museum insider and outsider blurred in practice (Graham and Howard 2008, pp. 2-3, Sluka 2012, p. 2). In contrast to the perception of me as an outside expert that the newspaper articles conveyed, I became an insider in practical terms – thus there was a disparity between the public image of an external authority and that of a volunteer, who was invited to access all areas of the museum (that is, apart from administration and finance, although the collections policy is on the public domain as are the council documents that delineate the museum's finances). The museum wanted to share with me everything they could of the processes by which not only objects are accepted to the museum's exhibitions but also everything that the process entails. It is important to note that the contract between the museum and I was based entirely on *trust* – no forms were signed, although the collection policy stipulates that a *lainaustodiste* (*Eng.* 'loan certificate') should be filled in duplicate detailing the terms of the loan, the loan period, and any material that exits the museum. The loan certificate should also be attached with a photograph of the condition of the loaned object taken beforehand (Närhi A., Hytönen, J., and Yli-Pyky, A. 2012, p. 28). This procedure was not followed in the case of the logbook's loan into the exhibition. Instead, the logbook along with other items that accompanied it were an exception; normally the person who loans the object does not enter the museum context as was the case with me.[73] The logbook and I went together in the museum – our itineraries interlaced with those of the museum and all who visited it – and although I left the book there, I did so willingly trusting that the museum would look after the logbook, just as they had looked after me. In a sense, the logbook extended *my* itinerary into museum for the duration of the exhibition even when I was not there.

[73] Cf. the story of the man donating in the broadaxe in Chapter 1; donors do work with and in museums, especially when the donation is a collection or several objects, see e.g. Gosden and Larson 2007, Warrior 2013.

The Exhibition of Local Industry of Mäntyharju Takes Shape

As the curation of the tannery exhibit had already been conducted remotely during the previous winter and spring and Helminen and Yli-Pyky had already created a plan for the exhibition, part of my volunteering included the physical building and dismantling of the exhibition in addition to writing blog posts for the virtual museum, lecturing, and reading the fairy story to children. As for volunteering to build the physical exhibition, most of the physical construction of the exhibition was carried out by Helminen, the summer employee Eemeli Manninen, and me. Yli-Pyky, in her role as the culture secretary of the municipality, was overseeing also other culture projects in the area, such as the aforementioned pre-demolition art exhibition, *Katajainen Kansa*, but she was involved whenever she could. The exhibition at Iso-Pappila had a strong community-based element: according to the acknowledgements, fifty-five local people contributed to the creation of the exhibition, in addition to those who had wished to remain anonymous. Some tasks needed special skills or tools; for example, the council's maintenance workers built the wooden backgrounds to exhibits (Figure 43) and screwed the text panels in place. Although my research focused on the tannery display, I took part in building and dismantling the rest of the exhibition and was therefore able to evaluate how the tannery exhibit differed from other displays. When I began my volunteering on Monday, 5 June 2017, the clearing of exhibition space had already started with moving the craft school's materials and furniture into the storage and bringing out the already existing exhibition material. As the exhibition rooms emptied, the text panels, which arrived three days late, were uncovered. It was then that the differing colour schemes of the panels were exposed – not only that of the pre-planned brown of the tannery display versus blue and white colours of the rest of the exhibition panels, but also the differing blues in the panels of 2016 and 2017 (Figure 40). As noted earlier, the exhibition of local industry at Iso-Pappila was part of the celebration of the centenary of Finnish independence and the colour scheme of the panels – blue text on a white background similar to the colours of the Finnish flag – was to reflect that point. Thus the exhibition was a celebratory display of Finnish national identity and heritage. The official flag of 'Suomi-Finland 100' flew over Iso-Pappila as sign of the museum's official status as the designated site for the celebrations, an outward sign of an AHD at work (Figure 36). However, the new panels were more teal rather than the blue of the previous year's text panels (Figure 40). However, the text panel for the tannery exhibit different from this scheme. The brown colour scheme – chosen by the museum – signified the special status of the tannery exhibit. Helminen explained that the brown was chosen to indicate that the tannery belonged to an earlier era than the rest of the exhibition. She also pointed out another reason for the difference in the colour scheme: the tannery exhibit was a 'mini-exhibition' of within the exhibition that differed from

Figure 40: An image of the text panels titled (from the left) *Saavutuksia ja Palkintoja* (*Eng*. 'Achievements and Awards') *Teollisuutemme Maailmalla* (*Eng*. 'Our Industry Abroad') and *Perheyritykset* (*Eng*. 'Family Businesses) leaning against the wall of the hall at Iso-Pappila waiting to be hung . Photography by author. 5 June 2017.

the rest as it concentrated on one particular business rather than multiple enterprises. The brown colour scheme reflected the age of the tannery, which was older than the other industries displayed in the exhibition. Another reason for distinguishing the exhibit with a differing colour scheme was the special way the information about the tannery had been sourced for the text panels; that is, although the tannery exhibit fitted into the exhibition's overall theme, it was a *special case study*, as I had researched and provided the material rather than the museum and therefore it merited being distinguished from the rest (Helminen 2017aa).

Figure 41: The text on the panel is written by the author in co-operation with S. Helminen. The image of the Red House (top left corner) is from the museum's collections. The images featuring the inside of a beam house (top right corner) are sourced from *Finna.fi*. The image of the two men reaping hay is from private collection (photographer unknown). The image of Otto Myyryläinen underneath is from private collection (photographer unknown). The image of the tannery that is used as the background is from private collection (photographer unknown). The image of the newspaper is from *DIGI* archives. The image of the text panel provided by the Museum of Mäntyharju. 18 May 2017.

The text panel titled *Myyryläisen Nahkatehdas – Pienteollisuutta Mäntyharjussa* (*Eng*. 'the Leather Factory of Myyryläinen – Small-scale Industry in Mäntyharju') for which I wrote the text with the help of Helminen, who created also the layout, told the story of the tannery from its founding in 1891 (Figure 41). One of the subheadings, *Nahkurin Myyntikirja* (*Eng*. 'the sales ledger of a tanner'), highlighted the logbook and the text beneath explained from where the customers came, what kind of hides they brought in, and how the logbook functioned. The other section, *Nahan Käsittely* (*Eng*. 'the treatment of leather'), contained text from a trade magazine which explained how leather was tanned (*Suomen Nahkurilehti* 1910). This text did not only appear in the text panel, but also in my lecture and the blog entry I wrote for the museum blog which is available at the virtual museum of Mäntyharju (see Appendix 3, Koppinen 2017b). Three of the photographs came from the family archives: the image of Otto, the brothers Myyryläinen reaping hay, and the wintry image of the tannery (see Figures 26, 27, and 29 in Chapter 4). Otto's and the image of the brothers personalised the tannery exhibit. The image of the Red House came from the museum's collections – which then

Figure 42: The corner where the tannery exhibit was built. The grey boards that provided a background to the exhibit have already been attached to the walls. The display cabinet is ready for the logbook, which, still in its packaging, is placed on top it. Photography by author. 7 june 2017.

already was connected to the logbook and the tannery via the photograph. The two other images of tanners at work in a beam house I found in the digital archive *Finna.fi*, the permission of which the museum purchased (i.e. Aaltonen 1928-1930, Staf 1938). Photographs in museums

> are used in a didactic way, to show how this or that 'works', 'is used', 'made', they are seen as providing context, they explain, authenticate and, on occasion substitute the real object. Alternatively, they are used as establishing mechanisms, to create the total environment in the representation of a people and place, establishing social reality, denoting the environment, and the 'look' of the place (Edwards 2001, p. 186)

The photographs in the tannery display were used just as such Edwards describes in the above quotation. In addition to the colour scheme the purpose of which was to distinguish the tannery display as an example of 'old' industrial practices, such use of photographs not only historicised the tannery but also established a narrative of a family business. The way the panel is laid out creates at least two different layers of meaning. First, the images of the members of the Myyryläinen's family underneath the Red House tell a story of a *family business*, highlighted with the use of the page from *Kouvolan Sanomat* which has an advertisement of the tannery (see Figure 2, Chapter 1). On the right, underneath the two photographs that illustrate tanner's at work, the two texts focus on the actual tanning profession in a leather *factory*. The text of the panel also fits into the larger narrative of the local industry and its topics, which included family businesses. The background with its sepia coloured watermark of the wintry tannery connects the two – the personal and the professional views on tannery. It is difficult to analyse one's own writing, but I can hear the conversations with my relatives when reading the text, which contains their memories and stories. Some of those are printed on the text panel, which in itself is an exhibit of the tannery with all the visual and written information it offers to the viewer (for text in museums, see e.g. Ravelli 2006). With the text panel so prominent with its separate colour scheme, the other objects in the tannery exhibit seemed to have become secondary interpretations. In addition to the colour scheme, the tannery exhibit was to be distinguished by its background, too. Yet, the old, reclaimed boards Yli-Pyky had earmarked as a backdrop to the tannery exhibit had been stolen and the tannery exhibit ended up with fresh wooden boards that were painted grey (see Figures 42 and 43). Yli-Pyky noted that the result had been more clinical than anticipated (2017i). Yet, the effect of the grey background was strangely familiar to me, as the background turned out to be the same grey as our summer cottage, where the elk hide and the logbook had stayed for years in separate rooms, as intermediaries waiting to be reconfigured as museum objects.

The construction of the tannery exhibit caused some other practical issues for the museum. Yli-Pyky had tried to find a suitable display cabinet for the logbook from elsewhere without success (2017e); in the end we used a cabinet that was found from the museum's storage (Figure 42). The cabinet had a white wooden frame and

Figure 43: The text panel of the tannery exhibit being attached to the wall while Helminen supervises. Photography by author. 7 June 2017.

detachable glass top. At the bottom of the cabinet was a board covered in green felt that emitted a distinct smell of mildew. We tried to prise the felt board out of the cabinet, but in vain. Yli-Pyky suggested that we borrow an ionization machine from Villa Aurora, the bed and breakfast place next door. I was staying there during the construction of the exhibition and volunteered to ask whether the museum could borrow it. One of the keepers of the bed and breakfast hotel not only promised to loan the machine to the museum but also kindly drove it and me to Iso-Pappila, as it was too large for me to carry. The ionization machine was placed overnight inside the cabinet along with the horse harness and the logbook. As noted in Chapter 3, the ionization process made some of the indelible ink bleed on the pages of the logbook, but otherwise it came to no immediate harm. The smell of mildew was eradicated in this process. I mention this detail because it shows how the network of the logbook's relations extended beyond the museum during the construction process and interlaced with other itineraries. Furthermore, the requirements for the safety of objects within local history museums is repeated in the texts of which that the AHDs affecting museums are comprised.

In Chapter 3, I discussed the 'micromovements' of the logbook and how although it stayed in the same space, it moved around within that location without leaving that space. In this case, the result one of the micromovements change the logbook's status from the centre of the exhibit into a symbolic object in the tannery exhibit. During the

Figure 44: The tannery exhibit, a mini-exhibition within an exhibition. My brother Marko Suopelto, the logbook's owner, views the tannery exhibit. Photography by author. 8 August 2017.

construction of the display, the logbook's display cabinet was placed centrally against the wall where the elk hide was to be hung; thus, it was visible from the door and the main focus of the mini-exhibit (Figure 43). However, after the elk hide was attached to the wall and after I had left the museum, the display cabinet was placed against the photograph of the lake view of the tannery (Figure 44). Thus, it was hidden from view unless the visitor stepped into the exhibit. When I queried the rationale of this placement, Yli-Pyky and Helminen gave me three reasons: firstly, as a special case, the museum wanted a different kind of atmosphere for the tannery exhibit than in the rest of the exhibition (Yli-Pyky 2017i). Secondly, since the exhibit was rather small, the placement of the cabinet against the photo panel, instead against the elk hide, created a roomier atmosphere to the exhibit than it had been when the cabinet had been placed centrally. Thirdly, it was placed in that position because of preservation and safety purposes; that is, the photo panel protected the logbook from sunlight (Helminen 2017aa). Consequently, the logbook, which initially was supposed to have been the focal point of the exhibit, became a symbolic object that signified the tannery – a secondary interpretation.

Figure 45: The view of the tannery exhibit from the side of the factory office exhibit. The photograph panels act as a wall between the two exhibits. Photography by author. 8 August 2017.

The tannery exhibit's special status in the exhibition was further enhanced by the way the traditional display was juxtaposed with a modern factory office, where visitors could interact and handle with office paraphernalia from the 1970s and 1980s (Figure 45). Two large photographs hung back to back from the ceiling divided the room into two time periods: the exhibit of a small family industry from the early twentieth century and the modern office, including old landline telephones and electric typewriters. As noted earlier, the logbook was not visible when a visitor entered the room as the photographs hid the top of the display cabinet from view. Instead, the visitor was faced with the text panel with its images of, for example, Otto Myyryläinen, the tannery, and the image of the page from the newspaper *Kouvolan Sanomat* (1910, p. 5; Figure 44). The tannery

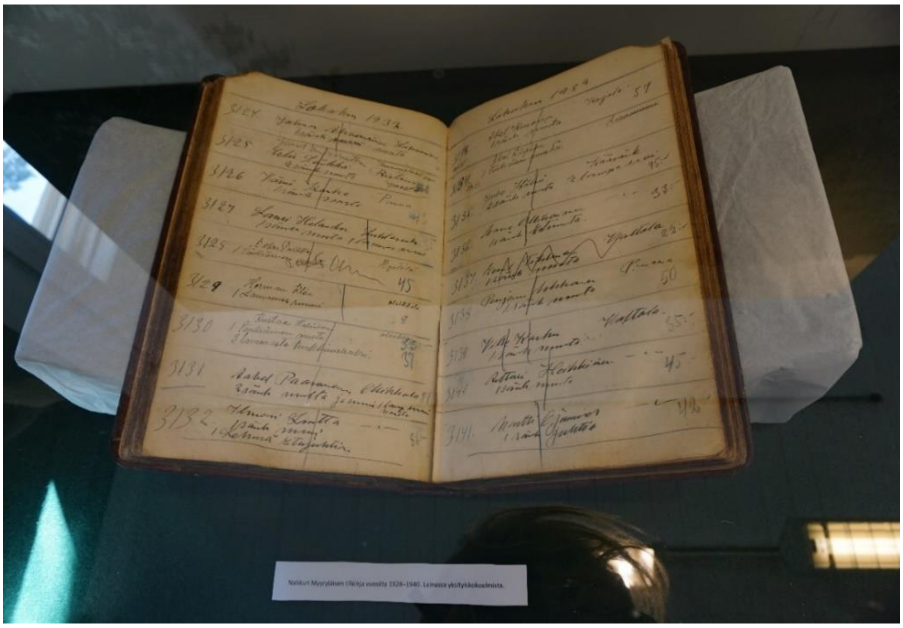


Figure 46 The logbook in the display cabinet. The label says: *Nahkuri Myyryläisen tilikirja 1928-1940. Lainassa yksityiskokoelmista*. (*Eng*. 'The tanner Myyryläinen's logbook 1928-1940. On loan from private collection.') Photograph by author. 8 August 2017.

exhibit was thus isolated from the rest of the exhibition by its colour scheme, text, framing, and positioning, which were aspects that highlighted its special status in the exhibition. During the planning and curation of the exhibition at large, my intellectual access was limited to the curation of the tannery exhibit, which was emphasised by the addition of my name on the text panel. It is important to note, however, that this limitation of my role in the curation followed from my request to follow the process by which logbook's journey made it into a museum object. Yet, my input during the construction of the exhibition at large was welcomed and acknowledged along with others in the exhibition, as noted earlier. I was both an insider and an outsider at the museum, but such binary opposition seemed to diminish during my itinerary at the museum.

Edwards notes that 'both photographic and display forms work to transform objects and construct meanings through their presentation as visual spectacles' (2001, p. 63). In the display cabinet, the logbook invited visitors to consider it as a museum object. The label, written by the museum, merely stated: *Nahkuri Myyryläisen tilikirja 1928-1940. Lainassa yksityiskokoelmista*. (*Eng*. 'The tanner Myyryläinen's logbook 1928-1940. On loan from a private collection.' Figure 46) The text panel on the opposite side provided context and explanation of the logbook, but the viewer invited to make their own interpretation with the minimal labelling (Goldman 1995, p. 110). In Chapter 3, I discussed the way the logbook as a material object affects the world around it, including people. My personal experience of the logbook in the tannery exhibit was an emotional encounter. I knew what was written on its pages that were hidden from view. I knew how it smelled, how heavy it was, and how it felt under my touch. This bodily, and especially haptic experience, was denied from me as I could not pick it up when it lay under the glass sheet. But, I had my familiar images from the time I handled it, but those were denied from the other visitors, although they were able to touch and use the office equipment in the same room.

How the Visitors Viewed the Tannery Exhibit

In order to find out visitors' reactions to the logbook display and the rest of the exhibition, I conducted participant observation during the open days and the visitors also had an opportunity to take part in a survey that I designed specifically for the purpose (see Appendix 5). I shall first discuss the results of the participant observation as a visitor, before analysing the answers to the questionnaire. I concentrated the observation on open days when it was guaranteed that there would be visitors. The first of these, the country fair *Maalla on Mukavaa*! (*Eng*. 'Countryside is Fun!'), took place on 1 July 2017 and I wrote in the museum's blog about the experience (Koppinen 2017a). The event was organised in co-operation with the *Maa- ja Metsätaloustuottajain Keskusliitto* (*Eng*. 'The Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest Owners'). There was an outdoor exhibition of old and new farming equipment, such as seed drills and tractors, demonstration of threshing machine, and a café. The weather was sunny on the open day and the event drew a large crowd. The entertainment included demonstrations of a steam machine, hobby horse race for children, horse carriage rides, and crafts table for children, in addition to a free entry to the exhibitions. Local producers sold their products outside. For example, as I wrote in the museum's blog entry, one of the producers was selling sheepskins, which were treated with the same method that was described in the tannery exhibit's text panel (Koppinen 2017a). During the open day I had a chance to see how visitors approached to the tannery exhibit in

Figure 47: The exhibition of local industry at Iso-Pappila's main room, featuring text panels on the left, the glassware from *Mäntyharjun Lasi* under the mobile, the group photographs of the staff at *Askel* shoe factory behind it, and the shoe design booth for children (and adults) on the right. The office exhibit can be seen through the doorway. On the left, Helminen distributes the survey. On the right, a young man reads a text panel. Photography by author. 1 July 2017.

relation to the rest of the exhibition. The temporary exhibition was displayed in three rooms: the visitor entered first *sali* (*Eng.* 'the hall') which had an exhibit of the glassworks, *Mäntyharjun Lasi*, in the middle of the room (Figure 47). Bathroom cabinets from the local factory were mounted on one wall next to a text panel titled *Markkinointi* (*Eng.* 'Marketing'), *Tuotanto* (*Eng.* 'Production'). One wall had a large map of the region, in which where pinned flags of, for example, local factories and other industrial sites. One the corners of the room displayed a film of *Rahtikone*, the former local mechanical engineering business. Next to it, there was an enlarged group photograph of the staff at *Askel* shoe factory, I mentioned in the previous chapter (on the left hand side of the doorway at the backwall in Figure 47). The room next to the hall displayed the tannery exhibit and the modern factory office. The room on the other side of the hall exhibited a film on local industry, the text panels *Töissä Teollisuudessa* (*Eng*. 'Working in Industry') and *Työterveys* (*Eng.* 'Occupational Health'). The mannequin was placed by the lockers, which had changed place from the previous

Figure 48: The schoolroom exhibit with old desks. Photography by author. 7 July 2016.

year's exhibition (2016) when it had been in the hall next to the entrance. There was also a glass display cabinet which exhibited shoes and other leather goods. The room next to it, adjacent to the kitchen, concentrated on export, family businesses, and the boardroom. The main building also had a permanent exhibit, *Koululuokka* (*Eng*. 'School Room'), which exhibits old desks, maps, and other objects from the local schools and which was the most popular exhibit in the building (Figure 48). Apart from the school room, interactive exhibits seemed to be the most popular. Many of the visitors enjoyed interacting with the office paraphernalia, especially children, who wondered how to use the old rotary phones or what typewriters were. The exhibit also included office pads on which the visitors could use stamps from local industry. The interactive booth in the hall also proved extremely popular with children. The walls of the 'design' booth were made of plexiglass and the museum provided non-permanent felt tip pens, with which the little visitors drew their shoe designs on the walls (Figure 47 on the right). The tannery exhibit both competed with the office display, which visitors found compelling with its strong interactive content, but the office also brought visitors into the tannery exhibit and I observed people reading the logbook and the text panels.

During my archival research, I had found a fairy tale called *Saapas ja Sukka* (*Eng*. 'The Boot and the Sock') in which a leather boot tells a sock how it was made from raw hide into a child's shoes (A. M. 1894). The museum thought it would be a good idea to have a story time session and have the fairy tale read for children. When Yli-Pyky was looking for someone to read the story, I volunteered, as it provided a chance to observe how children reacted to the material and provided another way of immersing myself in the museum experience. The story times were scheduled at 11 am and 1.45 pm on 1 July 2017. The first story time session was attended by five and the second by two children – most of the children stayed outside enjoying trips on the horse drawn carriage and practicing for the hobby horse competition. The museum had set up a place for the story time and framed it with rugs on front of the tannery exhibit. The language of the fairy tale was old fashioned, and I found that I had to explain some of the words that were over hundred years old and no longer in common use. The logbook, within the glass cabinet, could not be handled, but I saw one little girl, who took part in the second story session, stroke the elk hide.

On the same day, 1 July 2017, Helminen and I were distributing the questionnaires at the entrance of the main exhibition space, which also gave me a good opportunity to observe how visitors reacted to the exhibition. As the results of the questionnaire show, many of visitors were local people who had worked in the industry themselves, such as one female visitor who told me. She was viewing the glass objects, classified as the museum's 'pearls' in the catalogue, which were at the centre of the room. I introduced myself and asked her why she was interested in the objects. She told me that she had worked at *Mäntyharjun Lasi*, the glassworks, where the objects had been made and was interested in seeing them in the exhibition. Other visitors spent much time in front of the enlarged photograph of the staff at *Askel* shoe factory trying to identify the people in the image. I also overheard visitors changing personal stories of their time working at the shoe factory. Nostalgia was a strong component in the visitor experience. In addition to participant observation as a visitor, I also wanted to find out how visitors reacted to the tannery exhibit in relation to the rest of the exhibition. Therefore, I created a written survey, the results of which were used for my study, although I shared the data with the museum, who do not collect information from the visitors in that form.

The Survey: A Sense of Place, a Sense of Identity

The results from the survey were similar to my observations (for the questionnaire, see Appendix 5) – many visitors came because of interest in their own heritage, which gave them a sense of identity. Salonen *et al.* note in their report on Finnish local history museums that *Paikallismuseotoiminnan ytimessä ja sitä ajavana voimana on [...] nimenomaan identifioituminen omaan kylään, pitäjään tai kuntaan – omaan lähiympäristöön, kotiseutuun* (*Eng.* 'At the heart and the driving force of local history museum operations are [...] the identification to own village, parish, or municipality – own neighbourhood, native place'; 2012, p. 12). Many of the answers explicitly mentioned the respondent's interest in the history of Mäntyharju, their native place. The open-ended questions 5.-8. were directed at assessing visitors' views of the content of the exhibition and their experience of it. Question number five asked the visitor 'What do you think is the most memorable part of the exhibition?' The *Askel* shoe factory (7%), the Mäntyharjun Lasi (*Eng.* 'glassworks'; 11%), and local industry in general (9%) had stayed in the visitors' minds the most after the exhibition (27% in total), just as I had found out during my observation. Many answers to the follow up question, 'What made it attractive?', mentioned personal experience of working at the local industry, or that their relatives had worked at the shoes factory or the glassworks. Some noted familiar landscapes and the contrast between the past and today. The events at the museum also influenced the visitors' behaviour. On 1 July 2017, the exhibition of farming machines outside had attracted visitors to the site. The interactive the time-card machine was very popular feature in the exhibition, and general interest in local history had brought visitors to the museum. Seven visitors found the school room, which is a permanent exhibit and was not thus part of the exhibition of local industry, the most memorable exhibit (13%). Similarly, during my observation, I saw visitors sit at the desks or peruse the old maps in the room and explain to their children how schools had been in the past. The 'oldness' of the schoolroom and the objects displayed in the exhibitions was mentioned twelve times in the surveys. The three themes that can be identified from the answers, 'familiarity', 'history', and 'stories', reflect the reports on local history museums. These answers show that many visitors came to the exhibition because of nostalgia and the sense of place, the latter an indicator of a community, as noted in the previous chapter. As Graham and Howard point out, identity 'markers [are] heritage; language; religion; ethnicity; nationalism; and shared interpretations of the past[, which] are used to construct narratives of inclusion and exclusion that define communities and the ways in which these latter are rendered specific and differentiated' (2008, p. 5). These markers were the driving force when Finnish museums first were born, and they still are valid for Finnish local history museums, including for the Museum of Mäntyharju.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to gauge how the visitors viewed the logbook in the exhibition. As the tannery had been highlighted as a speciality of the exhibition in 2017, I expected the answers to reflect that point, but the respondents mostly saw the tannery exhibit as part of the rest of the exhibition. Seven visitors noted in response to question number six that the tannery exhibit was the most memorable display of the exhibition (13%). Question number seven was directed specifically at the visitor's experience of the tannery display: 'If you saw the display of Tanner Myyryläinen, what part of it do you remember?' It is notable that eighteen people had *not* seen the tannery exhibit (33%). For those who had viewed the tannery display, the logbook had attracted twelve participants in the exhibit (22%). Some of the answers to the questionnaire reflected the logbook's changed status. Other reasons included the tanner's work described in the text panel; its age, as the tannery was from the from the nineteenth century; the horse harness; the large bear's [*sic.*] hide on the wall; the content of the text panel; it mentioned the cat fur; how it had brought to mind a childhood memory of a kitten that had drown in a vat in a beam house; the story; the place was familiar and the person was glad to learn what it was used for; craftsmanship in the past; both the tanning process and the logbook; the longevity of the family business and the tanning process; how hard the tanning process was; the tannery was near the participant's summer house and they were interested in stories of local history; the small size of the business; learning something new about the tannery; it was great; the fleeting time and continuity requires a successor and investment; the organisation and accounting along with the description of different tanning processes; the profession; interesting execution of the exhibit; and the photograph of a familiar person. One participant (Male 19 years old) stated that the logbook was *vaikuttava aikalaislähde; ikään kuin taloushistoriallinen kirkonkirja* (*Eng*. 'impressive historical source of its time, almost like an economic parish register'). The answers then varied from personal memories to interest in the profession and history. Some answers, or rather lack thereof, revealed that the participant had not seen the exhibition at all. This may have been because after the participants were handed the questionnaire, they were told to use the pencils in the design booth. Some of them then went straight to the booth and filled in the form before viewing the exhibition. The tannery exhibit was also seen as part of the exhibition at large, rather than a curiosity. It is also notable that *all* aspects of the tannery exhibit, the text, the objects, and photographs attracted visitors interest. It may be surmised, although not verified, that the logbook's appearance in the local newspapers and magazines may have influenced the participants, as was the intention of the museum (Helminen 2017v). However, not everyone reacted to the tannery exhibit in a positive way; that is, I observed one man, who refused to take part in the survey, stopped at the entrance of the office/tannery exhibit. He looked at the tannery's text panel, said that '*Minä tunsin tuon miehen*' (*Eng*. 'I knew that man'), and walked away without viewing the tannery exhibit.

The survey produced tentative results that suggest that visitors were interested in seeing themselves in the museum. Although the factories, including the leather factory, were of interest as part of the municipality's heritage, visitors were also interested in the intangible heritage – the memories and history. Local history museums are not built on monumentalism, even though at least in this instance, given that Finland's centenary was celebrated with the exhibition, nationalism was highlighted outwardly in the exhibition with the blue and white colour scheme and the flag flying over Iso-Pappila

(Cf. Smith 2006). What the community-based tannery exhibit and contributions of the community – in both tangible and intangible sense – suggest, local history museums partake in a democratic discourse that benefit local communities. That is, they from their part give a voice to the contributing communities.

Conclusion

After the exhibition ended on 13 August 2017, my brother Marko and I volunteered to help dismantle it. The work started on the next day. My brother detached the elk hide from the wall, I placed the logbook in its support folder in readiness for its next leg of its itinerary. The dismantling was the same process as the construction, except much

Figure 49: The text panels moved to the storage at the end of the exhibition. Photography by author, 13 August 2017.

faster. We took down text panels and put them in storage where they, now intermediaries are waiting for other reconfigurations, perhaps as part of another exhibition in another space. The tannery's text and photograph panels were wrapped in tissue and stacked with other panels – they stayed at the museum. The logbook, which was initially the deictic centre of the exhibit during the curation – and this research – had become part of a larger whole, the tannery exhibit and the exhibition at large, its itinerary had expanded exponentially since it became a museum object – notably in three different museums: not only as a physical object in the museum exhibition but also in a ditigal form in the Museum of Mäntyharju's virtual museum *and* in the National Museum of Finland during the National Treasure competition (Koppinen 2017c).

In this chapter I have examined the way the logbook's itinerary interlaces with people and the material world and how its inclusion in the exhibition of local industry intersected the AHD that affects local history museums in Finland. In this chapter, I traced how the logbook's itinerary – and mine – revealed the workings of an emergent DHD that affects local history museums in Finland that work closely together with local communities. The movements of objects into such temporary exhibitions as the one of local industry in Iso-Pappila, provide an example of how the routes of objects converge and connect. The material objects, such as the text panels, photographs, glassware, shoes, and office paraphernalia that were exhibited in the exhibition, followed a similar route as the logbook. Each of their itineraries, however, was unique, they had 'a life of their own' even when they came together in the same assemblage in the museum context (Joyce 2015, p. 29). My findings suggest that there not only an AHD affects the local history museums, such as that in my case study, the Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum (and the Museum of Mäntyharju at large), but there is a more democratic heritage discourse at work in the heritage field in Finland that affects Finnish local history museums, as my case study exemplifies. My study shows that there is tension between the Finnish AHDs and DHDs in local history museum – the two sets of discourses intersect and interlace within this setting and are constantly negotiated in local history museums. I wish to reiterate that my initial aim had *not* been to take part in the decision-making, but to observe how the museum approached the logbook and made it into a museum object. Yet, as I became part of the decision-making process – rather than stayed a passive observer – my agency changed. As a member of the contributing community, was actively involved in the production of the exhibition. Helminen and Yli-Pyky instructed me throughout the curation and building of the exhibition. This situation is by no means atypical. Such a collaborative process is at the heart of Finnish local history museums, as the epigraph to this chapter acknowledges: *Kun joku ulkopuolinen tarjoaa museoon jotain uutta, tartu tilaisuuteen!* (*Eng*. 'When someone offers something new to the museum, seize the opportunity!'). Furthermore, as my agency changed, so did that of the logbook's agency, because our agencies are inextricably linked to each other during my research – one would not exist without the other. Each of the actions both the museum and I took during this project in relation to the tannery exhibit happened *because* the logbook affected our actions. Hence, although the logbook seemed passive during the curation and throughout the exhibition, it was 'actively involved in the reproduction of social relationships', as Díaz-Guardamino notes in reference to Iberian stones, the logbook's 'capacity to have an effect on people, may be seen in the ways [it has] triggered memories and *actions*'. (2015, p. 120. My emphasis.)

Chapter 6: Conclusions

In this study, which is grounded in museology, anthropology, heritage studies, and material culture studies and utilises autoethnographical and anthropological methods, I have investigated what happens during the journey of an everyday object, a tanner's logbook, from the personal context, the contributing community, to the public context of a museum exhibition when I, as the researcher, am both part of the contributing community *and* a guest curator and a volunteer in the museum. The case study for my intervention consisted of my maternal family's tannery, its logbook, and the Iso-Pappila Open-air Museum in Mäntyharju, South-Eastern Finland. My research on object itineraries in this thesis was based on the idea that material objects, including museum objects, have agency and they affect the both the tangible and the intangible world around them (Latour 2007, 2000, 1999a, 1999b; Law 2004, 2002, 1999, 1992). The research question this thesis considered is, How can we use the concept of object itinerary to investigate the formation of museum objects? For that purpose, I conducted an open-ended museological intervention, in which I offered the logbook to the Museum of Mäntyharju's collections, initially as what Szczepanski calls a 'passive acquisition' (2017). The logbook did not fit the museum's collection policy, therefore it was not accessioned; however, it entered the museum's temporary exhibition of the local industry in Mäntyharju as an early example family businesses in a special tannery exhibit in the summer of 2017. This thesis is a representation of that journey. In Chapter 1, I laid out the autoethnographical foundations for this study with an autobiographical introduction of my research journey as a medievalist that has led to this project. I also recounted my autobiographical journey as the great-granddaughter of the tanner Alexander Myyryläinen, which was also central to this project. These two selves, which encompass two geographical domains: one self of an academic in the United Kingdom and writing in English, and the other self of a native Finn thinking in Finnish, competed throughout this project. As my maternal family is the subject of my research, this study is necessarily self-reflexive, and has to acknowledge not only the biases but also the strengths that come from being intimately connected to research subject (Robben ' (2012 [2007], p.89). As a member of the Myyryläinen's family, I had unique access to the tannery that probably would have been denied from outsiders, but being so close to my subject was also a hindrance. That is, I struggled with the task of discussing myself in the academic genre of a PhD thesis that is expected to be formal and have distance from the topic at hand. Therefore, on the one hand, this thesis consists of autobiographical creative writing pieces, which are based on my fieldnotes I accumulated in Finland and stem from my personal relationship with my subject, and, on the other hand, it is written in the more formal language, which is expected of a PhD thesis. These two genres, like my two selves, create tension that I wanted convey in my writing about itineraries of material objects that affected both my research and my personal journey.

In addition to offering a new case study from the Finnish heritage and museum field, this thesis makes three original contributions to the fields of heritage and museum studies, the first of which is the complement I added to the metaphorical and narrative tool of object itinerary, the early medieval visual analogy and metaphor of *interlace patterning*. As explained in Chapter 2, the methodological tool I used in this thesis to explore the movements of the logbook (and myself), was the concept of object itinerary, which I used to unpack the materiality of the logbook and examine the way its movements can be represented. I found that my thesis concerned not only the objecthood of the logbook and its materiality but also how we interpret the logbook and ultimately how we can represent that interpretation, the metaphor of object itinerary, especially when it became a museum object. In Chapter 3, I unpacked the materiality and agency of the logbook as a museum object *in-the-making*; that is, I explored it physical qualities and how they affected me and my research before the book entered in the museum context, although it had *already* started its formation into a museum object as soon as the museum had accepted it in the exhibition. Initially, the logbook was a functional object in the tannery for twelve years between 1928 and 1940, before it was discarded and forgotten and slowly turned into rubbish – into a weathered and decayed object. When it came to my attention, it changed my research and I changed its itinerary – our agencies reciprocating and changing each other's itineraries and statuses throughout the process. As discussed in Chapter 3, my sensory experience of the logbook, which was mouldy and malodorous after its long sojourn at the mercy of elements, hindered my research attempts at first. This physical impact on my body changed the logbook's itinerary. As rubbish, it was unsuitable for a museum exhibition, it need a transformation initiated by the logbook's material qualities and the museum's regulations. During its treatment, its material characteristics changed, as the conservationist reversed some of the ravages of time and decay. That transformation was part of the museum-object *in-the-making*, which acted as a prelude to its journey into the exhibition. As I illustrated with images and narratives of the logbook's itinerary in Chapter 3, its journey from the tannery into the museum entwined not only with that of mine, but also with those of other itineraries with which came into contact. My itinerary, which made a connection with the logbook in 2015, became inextricably interlaced with it – it is difficult to separate the two. In a sense, out journeys to the museum and back are the not only equal but also inseparable and our agencies are reciprocal. As the logbook moved from assemblage to assemblage, it gathered new information and meaning, just as I did. We no longer were 'things' – human and non-human – that originated from the tannery, we were assimilated into the museum context – the logbook as an object in the exhibition and I as a guest curator, a volunteer, and an expert. I also tested the concept of the itinerary and explored the way object itinerary could be represented in a two-dimensional medium, such as in a sketch, writing, and diagrams. As the representations of its itinerary I have used show, the logbook's itinerary connected with multiple agents and its itinerary expanded in its digital, material, and textual extensions – including this thesis. That is, it will continue to move and transform even after the physical logbook will succumb to earthly decay. Such complex itineraries are difficult to represent in visual and textual form; that is, our renderings of object itineraries are necessarily fragmented and incomplete. Therefore, we reach for analogies, the familiar images that help us comprehend and convey such metaphors of material journeys. Furthermore, the material qualities of an object, such as the logbook, determine parts of its itinerary. I considered the logbook as a material object, an agent that affects the world around it – including both my body and my research. As Pamela H. Smith notes, although '"itinerary" can connote linear movement,' they often

> are looping, circuitous, and sometimes circulatory, returning again to the same relational nodes, to be transformed once more. It would be misleading to imagine these routes as threading across planar space, in the way we have been taught to see it ... and to imagine the movement of materials and ideas following linear, flattened itineraries, without boundaries, hindrances, filters, or blockages. (2019, p. 9)

Similarly, the itinerary the logbook I traced in my thesis is characterised by 'the lack of steady advance' (Klaeber 1950 [1922]], p. lvii). My investigation into the logbook's journey into a museum object, a physical object in an exhibition, followed an entangled, nonlinear path of the book – a path that is echoed in the nonlinear and nonchronological arrangement of this self-reflexive thesis. In my Introduction, I returned to my own past, and to the 'familiar images' from early medieval culture, which first provided me with the visual metaphor of interlacing. That metaphor helped me understand the workings of the central metaphor in my thesis, the narrative tool of object itinerary, which is used to study the movements of material objects in archaeology, anthropology, and also in museums (see the essays Joyce and Gillespie (ed.) 2015b, Hahn and Weiss (ed.) 2013b). Lakoff and Johnson note that 'a metaphor works when it satisfies the purpose, namely, understanding an aspect of the concept. When two metaphors successfully satisfy two purposes, then overlaps in purposes will correspond in the metaphors.' (1980, p. 97) Such use of metaphors is also useful to considering the agency of objects, as Latour does with ANT, as agency is also central to object itineraries (2007; Joyce and Gillespie 2015a and Hahn and Weiss 2013a). In that sense, metaphor is more than a figure of speech, or a representation of the material world, it is the effect of the material world (Veivo 2007, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). As Díaz-Guardamino suggests,

> Itineraries are suitable metaphors to examine the entanglement of people, things, and places as constitutive of different kinds of socialities and spacialities with diverse temporalities, since the account for objects move from place to place through time, from their collections as raw materials to contemporary engagements, providing more complete accounts of their life histories (2015, p. 111; see also Joyce 2015, Joyce and Gillespie 2015a)

As a complement, object itinerary overlaps with life history and object biography to create a metaphorical construct that satisfies the purposes of examining how material objects move in and out of networks and social and material assemblages (see the essays in e.g. Joyce and Gillespie (ed.) 2015b and Hahn and Weiss (ed.) 2013b). In my museological intervention, I investigated the fragmentary itinerary of a tanner's logbook, as it journeyed from a personal context to a museum exhibition. Similarly to Díaz-Guardamino, I found that object itinerary alone did not fully satisfy my purposes in this thesis. I have argued in this thesis that object itinerary, the metaphorical tool used, for example, in archaeology and anthropology, is not a sufficient method on its own to describe the multiple movements of an object through the assemblages it enters and exits. Therefore, I married object itinerary with a visual analogy of interlace in order to see how we can understand the formation of a museum object by following its movements from the personal context into the public context of a museum. The Chi Rho page from the Book of Kells, a book which is also a museum object displayed at the Trinity College Dublin in its own exhibition, provided a suitable analogy with which to understand how itineraries are entangled in material and social assemblages in and out of a museum (see Figures 22 and 23 in Chapter 2).

As time moves inexorably forward, material objects, such as the logbook, continue their material journey and transform in the process, yet their extensions in, for example, stories, memories, photographs digital forms continue their journey and sometimes loop back to the time and space where the object originated. In this study, I appropriated a concept of the interlace structure that in early medieval Europe was used to represent complex ideas in texts and manuscript illustrations. Underneath the interlace patterning is an understanding that comprehension of something as complex as Christianity, which is illustrated in the example used in this thesis, the Chi Rho page of the Book of Kells, can only been presented to us in a form that shows us our gaps in our knowledge. Christianity, a powerful myth for the early medieval people, was shown in signs and symbols that needed to be interpreted. The fragmented images represent the fallible human understanding of the Christian God who is omniscient and omnipotent. I am not suggesting that object itinerary should be compared to God, but that when we investigate itineraries of material objects, these itineraries can only be perceived in fragmented form. They interlace in a complex manner with other itineraries and many of the connections they make with other agents are unrecoverable and never known to us. The familiar image of the interlace, inspired by Leyerle's examination of *Beowulf*'s structure, is an autoethnographical tool for me, which provides a parallel to the object itinerary by showing the 'critical usefulness' of the interlace design in investigating texts (1967, p. 7).[74] Similarly, the Book of Kells' Chi Rho page has crucial

[74] The interlace technique has been used to examine texts, such as the structure of Old English narrative poem *Beowulf* (Leyerle 1967, Nicholson 1980, Overing 1990; see also Koppinen 2009, pp. 220-284), but

usefulness for grasping how object itineraries work. That is, if we were to draw the itineraries that interlaced at the museum when the logbook was exhibited there, the design thus produced could have a semblance of, for example, the Chi Rho page of the Book of Kells. In the overall design, we could distinguish larger patterns – perhaps the themes present in the exhibition that visitors followed or the political discourses that affect the museum operations, which were communicated to the public with colour schemes, flags, and press releases and articles in the media. Furthermore, as Nordenfalk explains, the early medieval interlace technique has 'an inherent power of expansion', an idea that resonates with the concept of object itinerary. Like the itinerary, interlace is '[n]ever at rest, it has an elasticity for expansion or contraction so that, like liquid in a container, it is able to adapt itself to the passages it must fill, if necessary changing shape from one design to the next' (Nordenfalk 1977, 18-19). The itineraries of material objects have also similar 'elasticity for expansion or contraction' as they can be in stasis waiting to be reconfigured – or waiting to affect the world around them when they come in contact with other agents. Or, their itineraries can expand, possibly exponentially, as when they become museum objects and become in contact with museum materialities and social assemblages, including visitors. Furthermore, as Overing notes, '[i]n a manner that recalls the immediate impact of the metonymic mode in language, interlace produces an *experience* – a dynamic, essentially kinetic, effect.' (1990, p. 36. My emphasis.) That experience is impossible to comprehend at once. As Niles explains that Old English verse, from where my familiar images of interlace comes from,

> the Old English poets [...] rarely subject the physical world to sustained or systematic description. Instead, characteristically, certain elements of the natural or crafted world are named in passing, in a dynamic 'now-you-see-it, now-you-don't' technique that bears comparison to the energetic way in which a viewer's eye is invited into early Germanic metalwork, whose crowded surfaces often feature animalesque designs set into a background that offers the eye no stable resting place (2016, p. 4).

---

not itineraries of objects or social assemblages (but for other analogies, see e.g. Joyce and Gillespie 2015, Ingold 2016, Latour 2007, 2005).

The interlacing, for example, on the Chi Rho page of the Book of Kells, is difficult to comprehend all at once, there is too much detail. When viewed from afar, we can see larger patterns, such as the large letters Chi and Rho, or the roundels that are dotted around the page (Figure 19). We can see also images of animals and angels that stand out among the interlace created with lions, peacocks, and snakes (Figure 19). But, when we concentrate on the larger patterns, we miss the detail, the threads and lines that disappear from view and reappear somewhere else. And when we take a closer look at the detail of the interlace that fills in most of the page, especially that in the lozenge in the upper part of the Chi, the strands appear to be moving in front of our eyes (Figure 20). In the following quotation, Pamela H. Smith describes itineraries in a map form, although she might as well be referring to interlace patterns:

> But even such itinerary maps are flat, linear, and inert, and instead we must imagine their space alive with human beings acting in multiple communities and urban hubs, along sometimes intersecting, sometimes diverging routes – always replete [fully imbued with a quality or property] – with the traces of other systems of knowing, pieces of manuscripts and texts carried along to alight on new in fragments to be understood partially and translated into new languages and systems of knowing. These convoluted, collapsing, and crisscrossing routes perhaps resemble more a woven textile, or a textual palimpsest, in their intercalated, interwoven character. But textile and paper may also be too flat to make clear that the itineraries in this volume have peaks, hanging valleys, even cul-de-sacs. (Smith 2019, p. 11)

It is this dynamic movement of the interlace that makes it such an apt analogy for the concept of the itinerary. Just as the interlace structures are useful in discussing object itineraries, the object itinerary as a narrative tool is a useful method for investigating the material culture in, for example, Old English poetry, as I did in a recent conference paper 'The Concept of Object Itinerary, Hrothgar's Hilt in *Beowulf*, and Interlace Patterns in the Book of Kells', in which I traced the nonlinear journey of a sword hilt within the poem's episodic narratives (International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 1 July 2019). I found that the two metaphors, object itinerary and interlace, complement each other when faced with fragmentary and incomplete narratives – whether texts or the movements of objects. The interlace structures and patterns has been coupled with the semiotic method of deconstruction, which, like itinerary, take into account gaps and stoppages (see e.g. Overing 1990, Koppinen 2009). But the concept of itinerary is useful in examining also more modern contexts and museums, in which objects move physically and from assemblage and context to another with their particular processes, including displays, catalogues, and exhibitions. Itinerary is also a useful concept in examining the movements within social assemblages, such as contributing communities in museums.

The second original contribution my thesis makes to the discussion of museum communities in the fields of museology and heritage studies, is the new concept, the *contributing community* (following Kovach's Indigenous methodologies 2009), which I use instead of the s-called source community. Scott points out that 'the term "source communities" is inherently problematic. It can mean different things to different people, including members of so-called communities who may not see themselves as belong to such an entity'. Despite her uneasiness with the term, she does not offer a more suitable one (2012, p. 1; see also Curtis 2006). I also found the term troubling, because it has created a binary opposition of Western/other. Therefore, I proposed the term *contributing community*, which acknowledges the way communities – whether Indigenous, local, or otherwise – actively contribute to a museum. The verb 'contribute' is typically used in reference to donors, who are often wealthy Westerners, in contrast to source communities, which stands for Indigenous peoples from faraway places (see e.g. Golding and Modest 2013, Herle 2012, Curtis 2006, Peers and Brown 2003; for source communities in Finnish context, see e.g. Magnani, Guttorm, and Magnani 2018). Yet, as I found with the community-based exhibit I helped to create at the Museum of Mäntyharju, neither donor nor source community were adequate terms to describe the way the museum and I, along with the rest of the contributing community, participated in the museum. This term, however, is not an end in itself, but a start of a wider enquiry into the discussion of communities in the museum field. In Chapter 4, I examined the role of the contributing community in the formation of museum objects and in the museum. The contributing community acted as a starting point for my examination of the way the logbook and I impacted the assemblages we entered in when we moved from the personal context to the public domain of the museum. The contributing community is by no means a homogenous group; rather, it consists of different groups of people and communities that come together in different settings – as, for example, volunteers, audiences, participants, and other contributors to museum. The contributing community that I examined included my family, which I call the immediate contributing community because they are part of the community that are intimately linked to the tannery and made special contributions to the exhibit. That is, within the contributing communities of a museum there are different, shifting levels of power and hierarchy. What does unite the communities is their connection and contributions to the museum, whether they be, for example, as visitors, researchers, or volunteers. As Wall and Kovach point out, autoethnographical research *is* difficult and when it includes one's own family members, it becomes even more so (2008 and 2009 respectively). My problem as how to approach members of one's family without alienating them. Traditional ethnographic methodologies, although they are now understood to acknowledge the subjectivity of the researcher, are aimed at studying participants from other communities than those of one's own. But Indigenous methodologies (Kovach 2009), provided me with the sensitive methodology that was needed to approach my family. I used 'conversation' as a method' and utilised the chance meetings at places where we usually meet, instead of arranging structured interviews in formal settings (Kovach 2009, p. 51). The members of my family were fully aware how these conversations were used in my research. This methodology helped me overcome my reticence as a researcher, who is both an insider and an outsider in the museum and in the field. After I gathering material for the museum exhibit from the logbook, tannery, and my relatives, I found that the logbook gained new meaning and layers of information need for the exhibition. Furthermore, I found that the logbook did not enter the museum exhibition alone. I too entered the museum context and partook in the processes by which material objects become museum objects. We were accompanied with the memories, stories and images of the logbook and the tannery, which were integral in the logbook's formation into a museum object. Furthermore, we made connections with the local communities, and the logbook's entry into the museum exhibition along with my contribution to it re-energised my family, the immediate contributing community (Chapter 4).

The third original contribution this thesis makes in the fields of museology and heritage studies, shows how the itineraries of logbook and mine interrupted an Authorized Heritage Discourse (L. Smith 2008) that affected the exhibition at Iso-Pappila and revealed the workings of another, more *Democratic Heritage Discourse* in action at the local history museums in Finland (Enqvist 2014). In Chapter 5, I discussed the physical and practical processes by which the tannery exhibit, in which the logbook was displayed, was created. I found that as the logbook and I entered the public context of the museum, we intersected two political discourses that affect local history museums in Finland, an Authorized Heritage Discourse (L. Smith 2006) and an Democratic Heritage Discourse (Enqvist 2014) both of which affected our movements and performance at the museum. The AHD concerning local history museums works on an authorized level through policies, laws, and other official guidance. These impacted how I and the logbook were presented at the museum. In practical terms, my intervention took the form of a 'community-based exhibit', in which I was in charge of the tannery exhibit, in which the logbook was displayed along with other material the my family had contributed, including photographs, memories and stories. As Phillips points out, a 'community-based exhibit', initially used in Indigenous settings, means to privilege 'the community ways of knowing and the identification of community members as a primary audience' (Phillips 2003, p. 164). This community based exhibit of the tannery revealed an Democratic Heritage Discourse that is emerging in the Finnish local history museum field (Enqvist 2014; *ACHS* 2008). Although outwardly my role at the museum was affected by an AHD, as the publicity of my role at the museum exemplified, I was on equal footing the decision-making process, at least when it came to the tannery exhibit. Yet, looking from inside the process I could detect constant negotiation of between the two discourses taking place where the community's wishes and the authorised stakeholders came together in the exhibition. As a volunteer, I found that there is a DHD at work that impacts the way communities can have an effect in the museum's operations. Yet, I was seen both as an outsider and an insider: a researcher, who had come from abroad to study the museum's operations, and someone who was part of the local communities both as a summer house owner and a former *Mäntyharjulainen* (*Eng.* 'one from Mäntyharju'). The two discourse also affected the way the logbook entered the museum. The logbook represented the early local industrial past of Mäntyharju, but did not fit the collections policy because it was too old, yet it was accepted into the temporary exhibition. As special cases, we *both* were granted access that otherwise would have been denied. The binary opposition of outsider/insider thus dissolved along with that of the two political discourses. That is, during my intervention, the logbook's itinerary – and mine – uncovered an emergent DHD that affects local history museums that work closely together with local, contributing communities. On the one hand, the exhibition was a display of national agenda, the centenary celebration of Finnish independence from Russian rule, an example of how AHDs impact the museum and heritage field. On the other hand, the tannery exhibit was instigated by a member of a contributing community (myself), who became to be in equal footing with the authorities in charge of the exhibition at large, an example of how DHDs can change the way museums operate and share the decision-making with communities (Magnani, Guttorm, and Magani 2018; see also the essays in Peers and Brown (ed.) 2003 and Golding and Modest (ed.) 2013). The movements of objects into such temporary exhibitions as the one of local industry in Iso-Pappila, provide an example of how the routes of objects converge and connect with different stakeholders. As I only concentrated on the local history museum field, I cannot draw general conclusions on the Finnish museum field in general, including the professional museums and heritage institutions, but, as Kovanen notes in her article, 'Good Ways to Listen to People – Finnish Projects Point the Way', 'the inclusion of stakeholders is relatively well established in accordance with the legislation in Finland' (2018, p. 124).

Suggestions for Further Research

This thesis has but touched upon research into small museums, such as the local history museums in Finland, and the field warrants further research. One fruitful subject is the relationship between permanent collections and temporary exhibitions. For example, the Museum of Mäntyharju has large number of objects in its permanent collections, which have not been studied. Moreover, apart from my research, the temporary exhibitions the museum mounts every summer have not been studied. A comparison between local history museums in Finland and, for example, in the United Kingdom could provide an insight into museum and heritage fields in the two countries and in general. Also, the research into the power relations between the AHDs and DHDs in small museums calls for further research. The surveys into visitor behaviour or community participation in local history museums in Finland are at the hands of official bodies and conducted by authorised stakeholders, such as the Ministry of Culture and Education, the museums rarely have resources to conduct such surveys. The survey I conducted during my research was welcomed at Iso-Pappila, but it would be useful to conduct other studies that would provide information of visitors and the museum's performance for the benefit of the museum. The responses to my survey I conducted for my project merit textual analysis, such as close reading or Critical Discourse Analysis, and could provide an insight to the participation in museums.

As a sign of history, the logbook triggers 'memories about concrete events of the past; evokes relationships with people, things, and places; and also inspires further practices' (Díaz-Guardamino 2015, p. 109). For example, the logbook's future itinerary includes the digitisation of its text, a production of an archive for future research, which hopefully makes into the virtual Museum of Mäntyharju and thus makes the text accessible to those who wish to study its contents. As such, it 'actively [contributes] to the reproduction of already known relationships and knowledge', and as Díaz-Guardamino points out, it 'can trigger change, encouraging people to do things involving the creation of new memories and relationships not anticipated by the creators of' the logbook. (2015, p. 109). The logbook's interlaced itinerary represented in this thesis and compared to the complex interlace structure of the Chi Rho page in the Book of Kells, have contributed to the knowledge and understanding of the formation of museum objects, as well as the to the role of museum communities and the impact of political discourses. Yet, it has also been autobiographical journey into knowing and finding more about myself and my family. Indeed, this project has been very close to my heart. The logbook tells of the time when the tannery of my great-grandfather was still a functioning business where my great-uncles and great-aunts worked and where my grandmother along with her siblings grew up. Therefore, this self-reflexive research journey, which I took together with the logbook, is not only autoethnographical but also autobiographical. Just as the logbook is a kind of autobiography of the tannery between 1928 and 1940, parts of this thesis are autobiographical accounts of my research journey into my past. A PhD thesis is a creative output in itself in which the author puts forth their original ideas on the given subject. Yet, the primary audience of my thesis is an academic audience (although I will distribute it to those in my family who kindly helped me in my research journey). In my chapters, I discussed the contents of the logbook only in passing – the focus was on its movements within the world – but the contents of the book provide a rich historical resource of into the processes of a working tannery: the logbook is *vaikuttava aikalaislähde; ikään kuin taloushistoriallinen kirkonkirja* (*Eng*. an 'impressive historical source of its time, almost like an economic parish register'), as one participant described it (Chapter 5). Yet, as there is only one copy of the book in a private collection, it cannot reach a very wide research community. Therefore, I will have the logbook digitised and share it with the Museum of Mäntyharju where it hopefully will be available for a wider audience and researchers. My thesis, although it conforms to the rules and regulations governing a written thesis, has a strong creative component which I included in places to show my responses to my subject; that is, I used in my fieldnotes to record my sensory experience of the tannery and the museum. These pieces of writing along with the information I gleaned about the tannery and my maternal family during my research have started me on another journey, a novel, in which I reimagine the beginnings of the tannery and my great-grandfather's journey that led to this thesis. The novel will include information about Alexander that was not relevant to my academic project. He was *Uuslestadiolainen saarnaaja* (*Eng*. 'a neo-Laestadian preacher'), who preached the teachings of Swedish Sami pastor Lars Levi Laestadius at Mäntyharju (some of Alexander's children are named after Laestadius, such as the boys called Leevi and Lauri). My research journey will continue in a study into the religion that shaped my great-grandfather's and his children's life. It will also continue in my studies of creative writing that I started at the time when I started this thesis. My itinerary will return to where it started, to Mäntyharju, and my future work will therefore extend the itinerary of the tannery and, as an extension, that of the logbook.

References

Visits to Exhibitions and Events

The British Library (2017) *Russian Revolution: Hope, Tragedy, Myths*, 30 April 2017.

Mäntyharjun Museo (2016a) 'Teollisuusnäyttely', 7-9 July.

Mäntyharjun Museo (2016b) 'Tuomo Lamponen: Muistelua Mäntyharjun Teollisesta Perinnöstä'. *Museoilta*, 9 August.

Mäntyharjun Museo (2017) 'Maalla on Mukavaa!', 1 July.

Mäntyharjun Museo (2018) 'Mäntyharju 1918 Sisällisota [Mäntyharju 1918 Civil War Exhibition, Iso-Pappila Open-Air Museum]', 4 June.

Mäntyharjun Museo (2017a) 'Museoilta', 8 August.

Mäntyharjun Museo (2017b) 'Teollisuusnäyttely', 5-9 June.

Mäntyharjun Museo (2017c) 'Teollisuusnäyttely', 14 August.

The Royal Academy (2017) *Revolution: Russian Art 1917-1932, 11 February – 17 April 2017*, 9 April.

Trinity College Dublin (2018) 'The Book of Kells', 12 October.

Personal communication

Ahonen, I. (2016a) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 9 July.

________ (2016b) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 5 August.

________ (2017) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 6 April.

Helminen, S. (2016a) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 8 July.

__________ (2015a) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 28 July.

__________ (2015b) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 29 July.

__________ (2015c) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 7 August.

__________ (2016a) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 23 June.

__________ (2016b) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 23 June.

___________ (2016 c) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 30 June.

___________ (2016 d) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 29 July.

___________ (2016 e) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 3 August.

___________ (2017a) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 11 April.

___________ (2017b) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 13 April.

___________ (2017c) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 18 April.

___________ (2017d) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 27 April.

___________ (2017e) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 28 April.

___________ (2017f) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 28 April.

___________ (2017g) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 28 April.

___________ (2017h) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 28 April.

___________ (2017i) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 11 May.

___________ (2017j) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 11 May.

___________ (2017k) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 12 May.

___________ (2017l) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 12 May.

___________ (2017m) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 2 June.

___________ (2017n) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 2 June.

___________ (2017o) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 9 June.

___________ (2017p) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 12 June.

___________ (2017q) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 12 June.

___________ (2017r) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 27 June.

___________ (2017s) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 3 July.

___________ (2017t) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 6 July.

___________ (2017u) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 7 July.

___________ (2017v) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 1 August.

___________ (2017w) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 2 August.

___________ (2017x) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 2 August.

___________ (2017y) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 7 August.

___________ (2017z) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 29 September.

___________ (2017aa) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 20 October.

Kauppi, S. (2016) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 7 July.

Laari, J. (2016) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 6 August.

Laari, J. (2017) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 15 May.

Suopelto, R. A. (2016a) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 7 June.

_____________ (2016b) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 8 July.

Yli-Pyky, A. (2016a) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 31 October.

__________ (2017a) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 11 January

__________ (2017b) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 18 January.

__________ (2017c) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 27 January.

__________ (2017d) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 3 February.

__________ (2017e) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 10 March

__________ (2017f) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 6 April.

__________ (2017g) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 7 April.

__________ (2017h) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 7 April.

__________ (2017i) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 27 June.

__________ (2017j) Email to P. A. Koppinen, 19 October.

Yli-Pyky, A. and Helminen, S. (2015) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 7 August.

Yli-Pyky, A. and Helminen, S. (2016) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 9 August.

Yli-Pyky, A. and Helminen, S. (2017a) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 5-9 June.

Yli-Pyky, A. and Helminen, S. (2017b) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 1 July.

Yli-Pyky, A. and Helminen, S. (2017c) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 8 August.

Yli-Pyky, A. and Helminen, S. (2017d) Conversation with P. A. Koppinen, 14 August.

Digital and Internet

Aaltonen, E. (1928-1930) *Nahkuri Salovaara kaapii lammasnahkoja*. Available at: www.finna.fi/Record/musketti.M012:KK1929:324 (Accessed: 28 April 2017).

ACHS (2008) *ACHS: Association of Critical Heritage Studies*. Available at: https://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/ (Accessed: 31 July 2019).

ACHS (2012) *Association of Critical Heritage Studies: History*. Available at: https://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/history (Accessed: 14 July 2020).

Adams, G. (2019) 'Icom Unveils New Museum Definition', *Museums Journal. Museums Association*. 31 July. Available at: https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/31072019-icom-reveals-updated-museum-definition (Accessed: 17 September 2019).

Alho, O. with Launis, M. (2010 [2002]) 'A Guide to Finnish Customs and Manners'. Available at: A guide to Finnish customs and manners - thisisFINLAND (Accessed: 19 July 2021).

A. M. (1894) 'Saapas ja Sukka (Satu)' ['The Boot and Sock (Fairytale)'], *Koitto*, (17) 1 January. Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut aineistot. Available at: http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/898632?page=1 (Accessed 2: May 2017).

The British Library (2017) *Russian Revolution: Hope, Tragedy, Myths*. Available at: https://www.bl.uk/events/russian-revolution-hope-tragedy-myths (Accessed: 27 July 2017).

The British Museum (2021) *Room 41, Sutton Hoo and Europe, AD 300–1100: The Sir Paul and Lady Ruddock Gallery*. Available at: Sutton Hoo and Europe | British Museum (Accessed: 9 August 2021).

Codex Conservation (2017) Available at: http://www.codexconservation.com/ (Accessed: 12 January 2017).

Collections Trust (2017) *Loans in (borrowing objects).* Spectrum 5.0. Available at: https://326gtd123dbk1xdkdm489u1q-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Loans-in-borrowing-objects.pdf (Accessed 23 January 2018).

Demos, J. (2007) 'A Matter of Time', *Tate Etc*, 9(Spring) Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-9-spring-2007/matter-time (Accessed: 16 May 2020).

Digitointi- ja Konservointikeskus (2001-2017) *DIGI – Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot*. Available at: http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/ (Accessed: 02 May 2017).

European Historic Houses Association (2020) [Facebook]. 16 May. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/EuropeanHistoricHouses/videos/863850064096562 (Accessed: 25 May 2020).

FCG Finnish Consulting Group Oy (2016) 'Mökkibarometri 2016'. *Saaristoasian Neuvottelukunta and Maa- ja Metsätalousministeriö*. Available at: *mmm.fi/documents/1410837/2191243/Mokkibarometri+2016/7b69ab48-5859-4b55-8dc2-5514cdfa6000/Mokkibarometri+2016.pdf/Mokkibarometri+2016.pdf* (Accessed: 27 July 2021).

Finna (No date) *Suomen Arkistojen, Kirjastojen ja Museoiden Aarteet Samalla Haulla.* Available at: https://finna.fi/ (Accessed: 26 June 2020).

Finnish Heritage Agency (No date) *Nationally Significant Built Cultural Environments*. Available at: https://www.museovirasto.fi/en/cultural-environment/built-cultural-environment/nationally-significant-built-cultural-environments (Accessed: 1 May 2019).

Friitala Finland (2018) *Historia*. Available at: https://www.friitala.fi/historia?___store=fi&___from_store=fi (Accessed: 13 February 2018).

Gallen-Kallela, A. (1897)*: Lemminkäisen Äiti, 1897* [Tempera on canvas]. Available at: https://www.kansallisgalleria.fi/fi/object/398211 (Accessed: 25 May 2020).

Gobbitt, T. (ed.) (2013) *Gerefa (RSP+Ger). The Early English Laws*. The Project Team, University of London--Institute of Historical Research)/King's College. 2020. Available at: http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/manuscripts/B/ (Accessed: 16 June 2020).

Heikkinen, M-P. (2017) 'Suomi Palauttaa Saamelaisten Aarteita Ylä-Lappiin – Mukana Erittäin Arviokas Lapsen Kehto 1600-luvulta', *Helsingin Sanomat*. Kulttuuri. 5 April. Available at: www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000005155913/html (Accessed: 13 February 2019).

Helminen, S. (2017a) 'Kuukausi Kesään!'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). *Mäntyharjun Museo*. Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/2017/05/15/kuukausi-kesaan/ (Accessed: 27 November 2019).

Helminen, S. (2017b) 'Museolle Avustus Kokoelmatyöhön!'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin.* (2012-). Available at:

https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/2017/04/20/museolle-avustus-kokoelmatyohon/ (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

Helminen, S. (2016c) 'Rakennusperintö'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). Mäntyharjun Museo. Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/kylakuva/rakennusperinto/ (Accessed: 27 March 2019).

Helminen, S. (2016d) 'Tehtailua Metsän Siimeksessä'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin*. (2012-) Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/2016/10/28/tehtailua-metsan-siimeksessa/ (Accessed 13 April 2017).

Hirvonen, S. (2017a) 'Löydä Oman Museon Vahvuudet – Niihin Keskittyminen Tuo Voimavaroja ja Kävijöitä', in Lonardi, P., Niemelä, A. and Koski, M. (ed.) 'Paikallismuseotoiminta Suomessa 2015', *Museoviraston Selvityksiä* 1. Verkkojulkaisu. Helsinki: Museovirasto, pp. 27-28. Available at: https://www.museotilasto.fi/tiedostot/museovirasto/files/Paikallismuseotoiminta%20Suomessa%202015.pdf. Mäntyharju (Accessed: 1 September 2017).

Hirvonen, S. (2017b) 'Paikallismuseot Kiinnostavat – Yhteistyön Avulla Matkailukohteeksi', in Lonardi, P., Niemelä, A., and Koski, M. (ed.) 'Paikallismuseotoiminta Suomessa 2015', *Museoviraston Selvityksiä* 1. Verkkojulkaisu. Helsinki: Museovirasto, pp. 23-24. Available at: https://www.museotilasto.fi/tiedostot/museovirasto/files/Paikallismuseotoiminta%20Suomessa%202015.pdf. Mäntyharju (Accessed: 1 September 2017).

Hirvonen, S. (2017c) 'Paikallismuseoita Ylläpidetään ja Kehitetään Vapaaehtoistyövoimin – Avoimuus Tuo Lisää Työvoimaa', in Lonardi, P., Niemelä, A., and Koski, M. (ed.) 'Paikallismuseotoiminta Suomessa 2015', *Museoviraston Selvityksiä* 1. Verkkojulkaisu. Helsinki: Museovirasto, pp. 11-12. Available at: https://www.museotilasto.fi/tiedostot/museovirasto/files/Paikallismuseotoiminta%20Suomessa%202015.pdf. Mäntyharju. (Accessed 1 September 2017).

Hirvonen, S. (2017d) 'Tapahtumat Luovat Museoon Lisää Kävijöitä', in Lonardi, P., Niemelä, A., and Koski, M. (ed.) 'Paikallismuseotoiminta Suomessa 2015', *Museoviraston Selvityksiä* 1. Verkkojulkaisu. Helsinki: Museovirasto, pp. 19-20. Available at: https://www.museotilasto.fi/tiedostot/museovirasto/ files/Paikallismuseotoiminta%20Suomessa%202015.pdf. Mäntyharju (Accessed: 1 September 2017).

Hynynen, E-L. and Kyyriäinen, H. (2012) 'Mahdoton Kuntauudistus'. *Suomen Kuvalehti*. 2, pp. 22-27. Available at: https://suomenkuvalehti.fi/wp-content/uploads/sk/files/pdf-liitteet/SK0212_22-27.pdf (Accessed: 15 April 2019).

ICOM (2007) 'Museum Definition'. *The World Museum Community* (2010-2018). Available at: http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/ (Accessed: 8 May 2018).

ICOMOSin Suomen Osasto r.y. (2009) *ICOMOS Finland*. Available at: http://www.icomos.fi/media/ICOMOS_Flyer_p%C3%A4ivitetty.pdf (Accessed: 25 April 2019).

Kansallinen Digitaalinen Kirjasto (2013-2017) *Finna: Suomen Arkistojen, Kirjastojen ja Museoiden Aarteet Samalla Haulla*. Available at: https://www.finna.fi/ (Accessed: 2 May 2017).

Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot (1910) *Kouvolan Sanomat* (17) 14 September, p. 5. Available at: http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/659486?page=5 (Accessed: 2 May 2017).

Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot (1898) *Mikkelin Sanomat* (86) 28 July, p. 4. Available at: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/530503?page=4 (Accessed: 14 September 2016).

Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot (1904) *Mikkelin Sanomat* (113) 1 October, p. 2. Available at: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/669445?page=2 (Accessed: 14 September 2016).

Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot (1905) *Mikkelin Sanomat* (62) 3 June, p. 2. Available at: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/669545?page=2 (Accessed: 14 September 2016).

Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot (1906a) *Mikkelin Sanomat* (97) 25 August, p. 2. Available at: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/669727?page=2 (Accessed: 14 September 2016).

Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot (1906b) *Mikkelin Sanomat* (111) 27 September, p. 3. Available at: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/669740?page=3 (Accessed: 14 September 2016).

Kansallismuseo (2017) *Kansallisaarteenetsintä*. Available at: http://kansallisaarteenetsinta.fi/ (Accessed: 26 April 2017).

Kauta, J. (2017) 'Kieltolaki – Susi jo Syntyessään'. *Yle. Historia.* 08 November 2017. Available at https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2017/11/08/kieltolaki-susi-jo-syntyessaan (Accessed 18 April 2019).

Keskitalo, E. (2017) 'Vanha tilikirja kertoo nahkurin arjesta — Mäntyharjun museoillassa kuullaan Myyryläisen . *Länsi-Savo*, 7 August. Lähellä. Available at: https://lansi-savo.fi/uutiset/lahella/66890e02-a491-468c-8cec-20a0638ae639 (Accessed: 30 January 2019).

Koljonen, L. (2018) 'Suomalaisten on Pakko Päästä Mökille – Lue Oletko Keskivertomökkeilijä vai Tilasto-oikku'. *Yle Uutiset*. Available at: https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10270164. (Accessed: 21 July 2012).

Koppinen, P. A. (2017a) 'Iso-Pappilan Museossa ja "Maalla on mukavaa!"'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). Mäntyharjun Museo. Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/2017/08/08/ iso-pappilan-museossa-ja-maalla-on-mukavaa/ (Accessed: 1 May 2018).

Koppinen, P. A. (2017b) 'Myyryläisen Nahkatehdas'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). Mäntyharjun Museo. Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/teollisuus/ myyrylaisen-nahkatehdas/ (Accessed: 30 April 2018).

Koppinen, P. A. (2017c) 'Nahkurin Tilikirja'. *Kansallisaarteenetsintä*. Kansallismuseo. Available at: http://kansallisaarteenetsinta.fi/917/nahkurin-tilikirja/ (Accessed: 10 May 2020).

Koppinen, P. A. (2017d) 'Vierailevana Tutkijana Mäntyharjun Museossa – Kurkistus Kulissien Taakse'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). Mäntyharjun Museo. Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/2017/08/02/vierailevana-tutkijana-mantyharjun-museossa-kurkistus-kulissien-taakse/ (Accessed: 1 May 2018).

Levä, K. (2019) 'Politiikat ja Strategiat Ovat Museotyön Perusta'. *P.S.-blogi*. *Suomen Museoliitto*. 14 March 2019. Available at: https://museoliitto.blogspot.com/2019/03/ politiikat-ja-strategiat-ovat-museotyon.html (Accessed: 11 April 2019).

Lonardi, P., Niemelä, A. and Koski, M. (2017) 'Paikallismuseotoiminta Suomessa 2015', *Museoviraston Selvityksiä* 1. Verkkojulkaisu. Helsinki: Museovirasto. Available at: https://www.museotilasto.fi/tiedostot/museovirasto/files/Paikallismuseotoiminta%20 Suomessa%202015.pdf. Mäntyharju. (Accessed: 15 April 2019).

Mäntyharjun Kunta (2018) 'Mäntyharjun Iso-Pappila on myös Lasten Museo'. *ePressi. Tiedotteet*. *ePressi.com*. 26 June 2018. Available at: https://www.epressi.com/tiedotteet /kaupungit-ja-kunnat/mantyharjun-iso-pappila-on-myos-lasten-museo.html (Accessed: 1 July 2018).

Mäntyharjun Museo (2012-) *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin*. Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/blogi/ (Accessed: 1 May 2018).

Mäntyharjun Museo (2020) [Facebook] 22 May. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/Mantyharjunmuseo/posts/1984176525046037 (Accessed: 25 May 2020).

Mäntyharjun Museo with Helminen, S. (2015) 'Mäntyharjun Teollisuusperintö – Uusi Näyttelyprojekti Käynnistymässä'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/2015/10/06/3322/ (Accessed: 30 April 2018).

Mäntyharjun Museo with Helminen, S. (2016) 'Museopäivässä Muisteltiin Mäntyharjun Teollisuutta'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/ 2016/08/12/ museopaivassa-muisteltiin-mantyharjun-teollisuutta/ (Accessed: 30 April 2018).

Marsio, L. (2017) 'Paikallismuseot Aineetonta Elävää Kulttuuriperintöä Vaalimassa', in Lonardi, P., Niemelä, A., and Koski, M. (ed.) 'Paikallismuseotoiminta Suomessa 2015', *Museoviraston Selvityksiä* 1. Verkkojulkaisu. Helsinki: Museovirasto, p. 31. Available at: https://www.museotilasto.fi/tiedostot/museovirasto/files/Paikallismuseotoiminta%20 Suomessa%202015.pdf. Mäntyharju (Accessed: 1 September 2017).

Mikola, E., Sojakka, P., and Teräs, U. (2011) *Paikallismuseon Työkirja*. Available at: https://www.museovirasto.fi/uploads/Museoalan_kehittaminen/paikallismuseon-tyokirja.doc. (Accessed: 30 July 2019).

Ministry of Education and Culture [of Finland] (2017a) *Museums and Cultural Heritage*. Available at: https://minedu.fi/en/museums-and-cultural-heritage (Accessed: 10 August 2019).

Ministry of Education and Culture [of Finland] (2017b) *Museum Policy Programme*. Available at: https://minedu.fi/en/museum-policy (Accessed: 24 July 2017).

The Ministry of Environment (2014) *Kulttuuriympäristöstrategia 2014-2020*. Available at: https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/43197/Kulttuuriymp %c3%a4rist%c3%b6strategia_2014.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y Helsinki: Opetus- ja Kultturiministeriö and Ympäristöministeriö (Accessed: 16 July 2019).

Museovirasto (2019) *Avustukset Paikallismuseohankkeisiin*. Available at: https://www.museovirasto.fi/fi/avustukset/paikallismuseot (Accessed: 31 July 2019).

Museovirasto (2009) *Valtakunnallisesti Merkittävät Rakennusympäristöt RKY*. Available at: http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r_default.aspx (Accessed: 1 May 2019).

Museovirasto (2009) 'Mäntyharju Etelä-Savo'. *Valtakunnallisesti Merkittävät Rakennetut Kulttuuriympäristöt RKY. Mäntyharju: Mäntyharjun Vanha Keskusta*. 22 December. Available at: http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r_kohde_det.aspx?KOHDE_ID=1142 (Accessed: 1 May 2019).

Museovirasto (2016) *Museoiden Arviointimalli*. Available at: https://www.museoarviointi.fi/files/arviointimalli.pdf (Accessed 30 July 2019).

Museovirasto (2019) *Wiki-Inventory for Living Heritage*. Available at: https://wiki.aineetonkulttuuriperinto.fi/ (Accessed: 1 May 2020).

Museum Association (No date) *About*. Available at: https://www.museumsassociation.org/home (Accessed 3 May 2019).

Opetus- ja Kulttuuriministeriö (1992) *3.8.1992/729 Museolaki*. Available at: http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1992/19920729 (Accessed: 1 May 2019).

Oxford English Dictionary Online (2017) Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oed.com/ (Accessed: 3 May 2017).

Pedaali (2001) *Museopedagoginen Yhdistys Pedaali*. Avalaible at: https://pedaali.fi/fi. (Accessed: 26 July 2019).

Pohjoismaisen Konservointiliiton Suomen Osasto ry (2019) 'Pohjoismaisen Konservointiliiton Suomen Osasto'. Available at: https://www.konservaattoriliitto.fi/ (Accessed: 26 July 2019).

Portaan Nahkurimuseo (2013) *100 Years of Leather Manufacturing*. Available at: https://nahkurinverstas.fi/history.html (Accessed: 15 August 2016).

Puntanen, P. (2014) *Kulttuuriperintö Haltuun – Mikkelin Malli*. Porrassalmi X. Mikkelin Kaupunki. Available at: http://www.ekarjala.fi/liitto/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Pia-Puntanen_-Mikkelin-malli.pdf (Accessed: 28 March 2018).

Raahen Museo (No date) *Finland's Oldest Local History Museum*. Available at: http://www.raahenmuseo.fi/en (Accessed 2 February 2020).

Rauman Merimuseo – Rauma Maritime Museum (2019) *Muistosta Museoesineeksi – From Memory to the Museums Artifact from Rauman Merimuseo on Vimeo. Vimeo.* Film: Salminen, T. Available at: https://vimeo.com/354208367 (Accessed: 3 June 2020).

The Royal Academy of Arts (2017) *Revolution: Russian Art 1917-1932, 11 February – 17 April 2017*. Available at: https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/exhibition/revolution-russian-art (Accessed: 27 July 2017).

Salonen, P. *et al.* (2012) 'Rakkaudesta Kulttuuriperintöön: Paikallismuseotoiminnan Kehittämistyön Loppuraportti (For the Love of Local Cultural Heritage: Report of the Local Museums Committee)'. Opetus- ja Kulttuuriministeriön Työryhmämuistioita ja Selvityksiä 5. Valtioneuvosto. Kulttuuri-, Liikenne- ja Nuorisopolitiikan Osasto. Available at: http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-263-125-1 (Accessed: 5 May 2017).

Saressalo, L. (2012) 'Minä, Museo ja Muutos', in Salonen *et al.* (ed.) 'Rakkaudesta Kulttuuriperintöön: Paikallismuseotoiminnan Kehittämistyön Loppuraportti (For the Love of Local Cultural Heritage: Report of the Local Museums Committee)'. Opetus- ja Kulttuuriministeriön Työryhmämuistioita ja Selvityksiä 5. Valtioneuvosto. Kulttuuri-, Liikenne- ja Nuorisopolitiikan Osasto. Available at: http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-263-125-1 (Accessed: 5 May 2017), pp. 44-46.

Silberman, N. A. (2009) 'Process Not Product: The ICOMOS Ename Charter (2008) and the Practice of Heritage Stewardship', *Selected Publications of EFS Faculty, Students, and Alumni*. Paper 10, pp. 7-15. Available at: http://scholarworks.umass.edu/efsp_pu_articles/10 (Accessed: 14 January 2020).

Staf, E. M. (1938) *Riivaus (sekoitus) nahkurinverstaalla.* Available at: www.finna.fi/Record/siiri.urn:nbn:fi-vapriikkihttp%253A%252F%252 Fmuseosiiri.tampere.fi%253A8080%252FVALOKUVA%252Fcontent%252FSIR_EX

EC%252Fimages%252Fprimary%252F2003092910%252F10648205632960.jpg (Accessed: 28 April 2017).

Suomen Kotiseutuliitto (2019) *Suomen Kotiseutuliitto*. Available at: https://kotiseutuliitto.fi/ (Accessed: 31 July 2019).

Suomen Kotiseutuliitto (2013) *Mäntyharjun Iso-Pappila Savo-Karjalan Paikallismuseokilpailun Voittoon*. 14 June. Available at: https://kotiseutuliitto.fi/mantyharjun-iso-pappila-savo-karjalan-paikallismuseokilpailun-voittoon/ (Accessed 26 July 2019).

Suomen Kulttuuriperinnön Säätiö (No date) *Suomen Kulttuuriperinnön Säätiö*. Available at: https://www.brinkhall.fi/saatio. (Accessed: 26 July 2019).

Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys (1999) *Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys*. Available at: http://www.muinaismuistoyhdistys.fi/. (Accessed: 26 July 2019).

Suomen Teollisuuskalenteri (1923) 'Nahkurinliikkeitä'. 1 January 1923. Available at: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/1722082?page=891, pp. 853-873 (Accessed 28 April 2017).

Suomen Virallinen Tilasto (SVT) (2016) 'Rakennukset ja Kesämökit [verkkojulkaisu]'. ISSN=1798-677X. 2016, Kesämökit 2016 . Helsinki: Tilastokeskus. Available at: http://www.stat.fi/til/rakke/2016/rakke_2016_2017-05-24_kat_001_fi.html (Accessed: 7 May 2021).

Suominen, J., Sivula, A. and Garda M. B. (2018) 'Incorporating Curator, Collector and Player Credibilities: Crowdfunding Campaign for the Finnish Museum of Games and the Creation of Game Heritage Community', *Kinephanos*, Special Issue: *Preserving Play*, pp. 174-196. Available at: https://www.kinephanos.ca/Revue_files/2018_Suominen%20et%20al%20EN.pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2019).

Thomas, N. (2016) *The Return of the Curiosity: What Museums are Good for in the 21st Century*. London: Reaktion Books.

Timonen, P. *et al.* (2018) *Suomi 100 Vuotta. Yhdessä. Suomen Juhlavuoden Raportti.* Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston Kanslia. Valtioneuvoston Julkaisuja 9/2018. Available at: suomi100raportti.fi. (Accessed: 1 August 2019).

Turpeinen, O. (2005) *Merkityksellinen Museoesine: Kriittinen Visuaalisuus Kulttuurihistoriallisen Museon Näyttelysuunnittelussa*. Tampere: Taideteollisen Korkeakoulun Julkaisuja A 62. Available at: https://shop.aalto.fi/media/filer_public/eb/34/eb343659-838e-45c9-ba2b-e69a43fa314a/turpeinen.pdf (Accessed: 3 June 2020).

Tyrväinen, S., Aho, M., and Makkonen, K. (2007) *Etelä-Savon Museot*. Availaible at http://www.etelasavonmuseot.fi/. (Accessed: 26 July 2019).

UNESCO (2019) *Conventions – Finland*. Available at: https://en.unesco.org/countries/finland/conventions (Accessed: 25 April 2019).

United Kingdom National Commission for UNESCO (2018) *Memory of the World*. Available at: https://www.unesco.org.uk/portfolio/memory-of-the-world/#shakespeare (Accessed 21 July 2018).

University of Cambridge (2005) 'Macclesfield Psalter News'. Fitzwilliam Museum. Available at https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/macclesfield/news/index.html (Accessed: 4 February 2020).

Vesanto, A. (2017) "*Paikallishistoria on aika monimutkainen juttu, kuka miten sen nyt tajuaa" – Paikallishistorian Merkitys Paikallismuseoiden ja Kotiseutuyhdistysten Toiminnassa*. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Turku. Available at: https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ adacc8_2c60c052eea94888b9ae2fdfbceaf1dc.pdf. (Accessed: 15 April 2019).

Vilkuna, J. (2012) 'Paikallismuseoiden Yhteiskunnallinen Merkitys', in Salonen, P. *et al.* (ed.) 'Rakkaudesta Kulttuuriperintöön: Paikallismuseotoiminnan Kehittämistyön Loppuraportti (For the Love of Local Cultural Heritage: Report of the Local Museums Committee)'. Opetus- ja Kulttuuriministeriön Työryhmämuistiota ja Selvityksiä 5. Valtioneuvosto. Kulttuuri-, Liikenne- ja Nuorisopolitiikan Osasto. Available at: http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-263-125-1. (Accessed: 15 April 2019).

Vuolle-Apila, V. (ed.) (1910) 'Lammasnahkain, Karitsannahkain, Hirvennahkain, Peurannahkain ja Kissannahkain Valmistuksesta Turkis-, Välly-, Lattiamatto-, Kengänvuori- y.m. Nahoiksi', *Suomen Nahkurilehti: Nahka- ja Kenkäteollisuuden Harjoittajain Äänenkannattaja*, 1 January, pp. 4-5. Available at: http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/1107575?page=6. Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot (Accessed: 27 April 2017).

Vuorinen, N. (2012) 'Näin Kävi Kuntauudistukselle – Pakkoliitoksista ja 70 Kunnan Suomesta Vapaaehtoisiin Jatkoselvityksiin'. *Suomen Kuvalehti*. Talous. 6.6.2012. Available at: https://suomenkuvalehti.fi/jutut/kotimaa/talous/nain-kavi-kuntauudistukselle-pakkoliitoksista-ja-70-kunnan-suomesta-vapaaehtoisiin-jatkoselvityksiin/. (Accessed 15 April 2019).

Whitman Coleman, S. (2013) 'The Book of Kells: The Mother of All Monograms'. *The Art Minute: Short Lessons in Art History*. 19 June 2011. Available at: http://www.the-art-minute.com/book-of-kells/ (Accessed: 22 May 2019).

Yli-Pyky, A. (2016b) 'Hanttihommia vaan?'. *Mäntyharjua Puolin ja Toisin* (2012-). Mäntyharjun Museo. Available at: https://mantyharjunverkkomuseo.com/2016/09/08/ hanttihommia-vaan/ (Accessed: 27 November 2019).

Ykspetäjä-Remes, T. (2008) 'Keräilijän Kokoelma Paikallismuseossa: Lauri Nautelan Kokoelma Osana Nautilankosken Museota'. Proseminaariesitelmä. Turun Yliopisto. 29

October 2008. Available at: https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/adacc8_34bef573797546599d0037ef6425b132.pdf (Accessed: 11 April 2019).

Ykspetäjä-Remes, T. (2017) 'Oikeus Oppia – Vapaus Valita'. *Pikkumuseon Haasteet. Liedon Museo.* 29 December 2017. Available at: http://nautelankoski.blogspot.com/ (Accessed: 11 April 2019).

The Yorck Project (2002) 'Chi Rho Iota Page, The Book of Kells, c. 800'. *10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei* (DVD-ROM), distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. Available at: http://www.the-art-minute.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Chi-Rho-Iota-Book-of-Kells-Wikimedia.jpg (Accessed: 29 March 2020).

Bibliography

Abt, J. (2011) 'The Origins of the Public Museum', Macdonald, S. (ed.) *A Companion to Museum Studies*. Blackwell Companions to Cultural Studies 12. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 115-134.

Ahmad, Y. (2006) 'The Scope of Definitions of Heritage: Froom Tangible to Intangible', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(3), pp. 292-300. doi: 10.1080/13527250600604639.

Alberti, S. J. M. M. (2005) 'Objects and the Museum', *Isis*, 96(4), pp. 559-571.

Alberti, S. J. M. M. (2012) 'Preparing and Conserving', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museums Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 90-94.

Allen and Hamby (2011) 'Pathways to Knowledge: Research, Agency and Power Relations in the Context of Collaborations Between Museums and Source Communities', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 209-230.

Alivizatou, M. (2012) 'The Paradoxes of Intangible Heritage', in Stefano, M., Davis, P. and Corsane, G. (ed.) *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Heritage Matters, vol. 8. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, pp. 9-21.

Appadurai, A. (1986) 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in Appadurai, A. (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-63.

Arnold, K. (2006) *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking back at Early English Museums.* Farnham: Ashgate.

Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), pp. 216-224. doi: 10.1080/01944366908977225.

Assmann, J. (1995) 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', Czaplicka, J. (trans.) *New German Critique*, 65(2), pp. 125-133. (Originally published in Assmann, J. and Höllsfer. T. (ed.) (1988) *Kultur und Gedächtnis*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 9-19.)

Atkinson, D. (2008) 'The Heritage of Mundane Places', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 381-295.

Bagnall, G. (2003) 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites', *Museum and Society*, 1(2), pp. 87-103.

Bann, S. (1998) 'Shrines, Curiosities, and the Rhetoric of Display', in Cooke, L. and Woollen, P. (ed.) *Visual Display: Culture beyond Appearances*. Discussion in Contemporary Culture 10. New York: New Press, pp. 15-29.

Bauer, A. A. (2015) 'The *Kula* of Long-Term Loans: Cultural Object Itineraries and the Promise of the Postcolonial "Universal" Museum', in Joyce, R. A. and Gillespie, S. D. (ed.) *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, pp.147-160.

Benjamin, W. (1998) 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Rivkin, J. and Ryan, M. (ed.) *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Routledge, pp. 282-289. (Originally published (1955) *Illuminations*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag. Translated by Zohn, H. (1968 [1996]) San Diego, CA.: Harcourt Brace).

Bennett, J. (2010) *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press.

Bennett, T. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Benton, T. and Cecil C. (2010) 'Heritage and Public Memory', in Benton, T. (ed.) *Understanding Heritage and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 7-43.

Benton, T. and Watson, N. J. (2010) 'Museum Practice and Heritage', in West, S. (ed.) *Understanding Heritage in Practice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 127-165.

Bingham, M. and Thrift, N. (2002 [2000]) 'Some New Instruction for Travellers: The Geography of Bruno Latour and Michel Serres', in Bingham, M. and Thrift, N. (ed.) *Thinking Space*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 281-301.

Bjerck, H. B. (2014) 'My Father's Things', in Olsen, B. and Pétursdóttir, Þ. (ed.) *Ruin Memories: Materiality, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 109-127.

Black, B. J. (2000) *On Exhibit: Victorians and their Museums*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press.

Blair, E. H. (2015) 'Glassbeads and Global Itineraries', in Joyce, R. and Gillespie, S. D. (ed.) *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 81-99.

Blunt, A. (2003) 'Collective Memory and Productive Nostalgia: Anglo-Indian Homemaking at McCluskieganj', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21, pp. 717-738.

Blythe, S. G. and Palley B. (2011) '"Reading the Walls": A Study of Curatorial Expectation and Visitor Perception', in Fritsch, J. (ed.) *Museum Gallery Interpretation and Material Culture*. London and New York: Routledge. Routledge Research in Museum Studies 2, pp. 222-233.

Bodenstein, F. (2014 [2012]) 'A Show of Generosity: Donations and the Intimacy of Display in the "Cabinet des médailles et antiques" in Paris from 1830 to 1930', in Hill, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 13-27.

Bolton, L. (2003) 'The Object in View: Aborigines, Melanesians, and Museums', in Peers L. and Brown A. K (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 42-54.

Boon, J. A. (1991) 'Why Museums Make Me Sad', in Karp, I. and Lavine S. D. (ed.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 255-277.

Booth, A. (2014 [2012]) 'Houses and Things: Literary House Museums as Collective Biography', in Hill, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 231-246.

Bouquet, M. (2004) 'Thinking and Doing Otherwise: Anthropological Theory in Exhibitionary Practice', in Carbonell, B. M. (ed.) *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 193-207.

Brigham, L., Brigham, L. and Graham, H. (2018) 'Curiosity Can Fuel Democracy', in Halme, A-M. *et al.* (eds) *Heritage is Ours: Citizens Participating in Decision Making*. Helsinki: Europa Nostra, pp. 20-29.

Brown, B. (2010) 'Objects, Others, and Us (The Refabrication of Things), *Critical Inquiry*, 36(2), pp. 183-217.

Brown, B. (2001) 'Thing Theory', *Critical Inquiry*, 28(1), pp. 1-22.

Brown, M. P. (2003) *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*. London: The British Library.

Brown, M. P. (2007) *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age*. London: The British Library.

Brown, M. P. (2016) 'Imagining, Imaging, and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures', in Niles, J. D., Klein, S. S. and Wilcox, J. (eds) *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 461; Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 6. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, pp. 49-84.

Brown, S. D. and Capdevila R. (2005 [1999]) '*Perpetuum mobile*: Substance, Force and the Sociology of Translation', in Law, J. and Hassard, J. (ed.) *Actor Network Theory and After*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 26-50.

Brown, T. J. (1972) 'Northumbria and the Book of Kells', *Anglo-Saxon England* 1, pp. 219-246.

Buchli, V. (2007a [2002]) 'Introduction', in Buchli, V. (ed.) *Material Culture Reader*. Rev. edn. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 1-22.

Buchli, V. (ed.) (2007b [2002]) *The Material Culture Reader*. Rev. edn. Oxford: Berg.

Buciek, K. and Juul, K. (2008) '"We Are Here, Yet We Are Not Here": The Heritage of Excluded Groups', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 105-123.

Burch, S. (2012) 'Introducing Mr Moderna Museet: Pontus Hultén and Sweden's Museum of Modern Art', in Hll, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge, Boydell Press, pp. 29-44.

Byrne D. (2008) 'Heritage as Social Action', in Harrison, R. *et al.* (ed.) *The Heritage Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 149-173.

Byrne, S. (2011) 'Trials and Traces: A. C. Haddon's Agency as Museum Curator', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 307-325.

Byrne, S. *et al.* (2011a) 'Networks, Agents and Objects: Frameworks for Unpacking Museum Collections', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 3-26.

Byrne, S. et al., (ed.) (2011b) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer.

Candlin, F. and Guins, R. (ed.) (2009) *The Object Reader*. London: Routledge.

Carbonell, B. M., (2005 [2004]), 'Introduction: Museums/Studies and the "Eccentric Space" of an Anthology', in Carbonell, B. M. (ed.) *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 1-13.

Carman, J. (2002), *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction*. London and New York: Continuum.

Carman, J. and Sørensen, M. L. S. (2009) 'Heritage Studies: An Outline', in Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (ed.) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 3-10.

Carreau, L. (2014 [2012]) 'Individual, Collective and Institutional Biographies: The Beasley Collection of Pacific Artefacts', in Hill, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 201-214.

Certeau, M. de (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Rendall, S. (trans.). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Chalk, H-L. (2012) 'Romancing the Stones: Earth Science Subjects as Material Culture', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 18-30.

Chambers, I. *et al.* (ed.) (2014) *The Post-Colonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressures of History*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Chandler, D. (2003 [2002]) *Semiotics: The Basics*. London: Routledge.

Christensen, A. E. (1982) 'Viking Age Boatbuilding Tools', in McGrail, S. (ed.) *Woodworking Techniques before A.D. 1500: Papers Presented to a Symposium at Greenwich in September, 1980, together with Edited Discussion*, BAR, International Series 129. Oxford: B.A.R., pp. 327-338.

Christensen, K. (2011) 'Ideas versus Things: The Balancing Act of Interpreting Historic House Museums', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(2), pp. 153-168.

Classen, C. and Hawes, D. (2006) 'The Museum as a Sensescape: Western Sensibilities and Indigenous Artifacts', in Edwards, E., Gosden, C., and Phillips, R. (ed.) *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 199-222.

Cole, A. J. and Brooks, E. (2017) 'Inclusive Indigenous Australian Voices in the Semiotic Landscape of the National Museum of Australia', *Museums & Social Issues*, 12(2), pp. 126-139.

Conn, S. (2010) *Do Museums Still Need Objects?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Cook, I. *et al.* (2005) 'Positionality/Situated Knowledge', in Atkinson, D. (ed.) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*. London: Tauris, pp. 16-26.

Coole, D. (2013) 'Agentic Capacities and Capacious Historical Materialism: Thinking with New Materialisms in the Political Sciences', *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*, 41(3), pp. 451-469.

Crinson, M. (2001) 'Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 13(2), pp. 231-250.

Crooke, E. (2008) 'An Exploration of the Connections among Museums, Community and Heritage', in Graham, B. And Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 415-424.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. and Halton, E. (2006 [1994]) 'Home Interview Questionnaire, with Coding Categories and Definitions', in Pearce, S. M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 144-154.

Cuddon, J. A. (1998 [1976]) *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. 4th rev. edn. Preston, C. E. (rev.). London: Penguin.

Curtis, N. G. W. (2006) 'Universal Museums, Museum Objects and Repatriation: The Tangled Stories of Things', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 21(2), pp. 117-127.

Davis, P. (2011) *Ecomuseums: A Sense of Place*. London: Bloomsbury. 2nd edn. London: Continuum (prev. publ. (1999) Leicester: Leicester University Press).

Davison, G. (2008) 'Heritage: From Patrimony to Pastiche', in Fairclough, G. *et al.* (ed.) *The Heritage Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 31-41

Davies, S. M. (2011), 'Plumes, Pipes and Valuables: The Papuan Artefact-Trade in Southwest New Guinea, 1845-1888', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 83-115.

Denscombe, M. (2017 [1998]) *The Good Research Guide For Small-scale Social Research Projects*. 6th edn. London: Open University Press.

Depner, A. (2013) 'Worthless Things? On the Difference between Devaluing and Sorting out Things', in Hahn, H. P. and Weiss, H. (ed.) *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformation of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 78-90.

Derrida, J. (1997 [1974]) *Of Grammatology*. Rev. edn. Translated by Spivak, G. C. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. (Originally publ. (1967) *De la Grammatologie*. Paris: Minuit.)

DeSilvey, Caitlin (2006) 'Observed Decay: Telling Stories with Mutable Things', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11(3), pp. 318-338.

Díaz-Guardamino, M. (2015) 'Stones in Movement: Tracing the Itineraries of Menhirs, Stelae, and Statue-Menhirs in Iberian Landscapes', in Joyce, R. A. and Gillespie, S. D.

(ed.) *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 101-122.

Dicks, B. (2003) 'Heritage, Governance and Marketization: A Case Study from Wales', *Museum and Society*, 1(1), pp. 30-44.

Dicks, P. (2007) Book Review. *Uses of Heritage*. Laurajane Smith. London and New York: Routlegde, 2006. *Museum and Society* 5(2), pp. 58-59.

van Dijk, T. A. (1995) 'Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Japanese Discourse*, 1(1), pp. 17-27.

Dorset, C. (2012) 'Things and Theories: The Unstable Presence of Exhibited Objects', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 100-116.

Dube, L. (1998) 'The Copying Pencil: Composition, History, and Conservation Implications', *The Book and Paper Group Annual*, 17 (http://cool.conservation-us.org/coolaic/sg/bpg/annual/v17/ bp17-05.html). (Accessed 13 February 2018).

Dudley, S. H. (2012) 'Introduction: Museums and Things', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 1-11.

Dudley, S. H. (ed.) (2010a) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London: Routledge.

Dudley, S. H. (2010b) 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-17.

Dudley, S. H. (2010c) 'Objects', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London: Routledge, pp. 19-20.

Dudley, S. H. (2012) 'Encountering a Chinese Horse: Engaging with the Thingness of Things', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museums Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-15.

Eastop, D. (2006) 'Conservation as Material Culture', in Tilley *et al.* (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: SAGE, pp. 516-533.

Edensor, T. (2007) 'Mundane Mobilities, Performances and Spaces of Tourism', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8(2), pp. 199-215.

Edensor, T. (2001) 'Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism: (Re)producing Tourist Space and Practice', *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), pp. 59-81.

Edwards, E. (2001) *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*. Oxford and New York: Berg.

Edwards, E. (2009) 'Photographs as Objects of Memory', in Candlin, F. and Guins, R. (ed.) *The Object Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 331-342.

Edwards, E. (2010) 'Photographs and History: Emotion and Materiality', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 21-38.

Edwards, E., Gosden, C. and Phillips, R. B. (2006) 'Introduction', in Edwards, E., Gosden, C. and Phillips, R. B. (ed.) *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 1-31.

Edwards, E. and J. Hart (2004) 'Introduction: Photographs as Objects', in Edwards, E. and J. Hart, J. (ed.) *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge, pp. 1-15.

Edwards, E. and J. Hart, ed. (2004) *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, London: Routledge.

Enqvist, J. (2014) 'The New Heritage: A Missing Link between Finnish Archaeology and Contemporary Society?', *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*, 31, pp. 101-123.

Enqvist, J. (2016) *Suojellut Muistot: Arkeologisen Perinnön Hallinnan kieli, Käsitteet ja Ideologia*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Helsinki.

Fairclough, G. (2014) 'What Was Wrong With Dufton? Reflections on Counter-Mapping: Self, Alterity and Community', in Schofield, J. (ed.) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 241-248.

Fairclough, G. *et al.* (ed.) (2008) *The Heritage Reader*. London: Routledge.

Farr, C. (1997) *The Book of Kells: Its Function and Audience*. London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press.

Farr, I. (2012) 'Introduction: Not Quite How I Remember It', in Farr, I. (ed.) *Memory*. London: The Whitechapel Gallery and Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, pp. 12-27.

Favorin, M. (1973-1983) *Mäntyharjun Historia* (2 vols). Mäntyharju: Mäntyharjun kunta.

Feintuch, B. (2007) Book Review. Uses of Heritage. Laurajane Smith. London and New York: Routlegde, 2006. *Museum Anthropology Review* 1(2), pp. 181-183.

Fenton, A. (1995) 'Collections Research', in Fahy, A. (ed.) *Collections Management*. London: Routledge, pp. 224-234.

Fienup-Riordan, A. (2003) 'Yup'ik Elders in Museums: Fieldwork Turned on its Head', in Peers L. and Brown A. K (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 28-41.

Filippucci, P. (2009) 'Heritage and Methodology: View from Social Anthropology', in Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (ed.) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 319-333.

Findlen, P. (2004) 'The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy', in Carbonell, B. (ed.) *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 23-50 (orig. publ. (1989) *Journal of the History of the Collections* 1, pp. 59-78).

Fink, L. M. (2006) 'Museum Archives as Resources for Scholarly Research and Institutional Identity', in Marstine, J. (ed.) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 293-305.

Fitzgerald, L. (2005) 'Building on Victorian Ideas', in MacLeod, S. (ed.) *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 133-45.

Follas, E. J. (2008) '"It Belongs in a Museum": Appropriate Donor Incentives for Fractional Gifts of Art', *Notre Dame Law Review*, 83(4), pp. 1779-1810.

Fontijn, D. (2013) 'Epilogue: Cultural Biographies and Itineraries of Things: Second Thoughts', in Hahn, H. P. and Weiss, H. (ed.) *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformation of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 183-195.

Fowler, C., and Harris O. J. T. (2015) 'Enduring Relations: Exploring a Paradox of New Materialism', *Journal of Material Culture*, 20(2), pp. 1-22.

Friman, H. (2006) 'A Museum without Walls', *Museum International*, 58(3), pp. 55-59.

Françozo, M. (2014 [2012]) '"Dressed like an Amazon": The Transatlantic Trajectory of a Red Feather Coat', Hill, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 187-199.

Fulk, R. D., Bjork R. E., and Niles J. D. (ed.) (2008) *Klaeber's 'Beowulf' and the 'Fight at Finnsburg'*, 4th edn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

García-Esparza, J. A. (2016) 'Re-thinking the Validity of the Past. Deconstructing What Authenticity and Integrity Mean to the Fruition of Cultural Heritage', *Vitruvio* 1(1), pp. 21-33. doi: 10.4995/vitruvio-ijats.2016.4595.

Gell, A. (1998), *Art and Agency: Towards a New Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

George, R. S. (2010) 'Material Culture in Folklife Studies', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 123-149.

Gillespie, S. D. (2015) 'Journey's End(?): The Travels of La Venta Offering 4', in Joyce, R. A and Gillespie, S. D. (ed.) in *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 39-61.

Golding, V. (2010) 'Dreams and Wishes: The Multi-sensory Museum Space', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London: Routledge, pp. 224-240.

Goldman, P. (1995) 'Books as Museum Objects', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 1(2), pp. 103-110. doi: 10.1080/13527259508722137.

González-Ruibal, A. (2013) 'Houses of Resistance: Time and Materiality among the Mao of Ethiopia', in Hahn, H. P. and Weiss, H. (ed.) *Mobility, Meaning and Transformation of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 15-36.

Gosden, C. (2005) 'What Do Objects Want?', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 12(3), pp. 193-211.

Gosden, C. and Larson, F. with Petch, A. (2007) *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gosden, C. and Marshall, Y. (1999) 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology*, 31(2), pp. 169-178.

Graham, B. and Howard P. (ed.) (2008) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Graham, B. and Howard, P. (2008) 'Introduction: Heritage and Identity', in Graham, B. And Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 1-15.

Graves-Brown, P. M. (2000) 'Introduction', in Graves-Brown, P. (ed.) *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-9.

Gray, L. (2012) 'Sydney Pavière and the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston', in Hill, K. (ed.) *Museum and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 45-57.

Greenberg, S. (2005) 'The Vital Museum', in MacLeod, S. (ed.) *Reshaping Museum Space: Architechture, Design, Exhibitions*. London: Routledge, pp. 226-237.

Greenblatt, S. (1991), 'Resonance and Wonder', in Karp, I. and Lavine, S. D. (ed.) *Exhibiting Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 42-56.

Grewcock, D. (2014) *Doing Museology Differently*. Routledge Research in Museum Studies 7. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Groote, P. and Haartsen, T. (2008) 'The Communication of Heritage: Creating Place Identities', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 181-194.

Grosz, E. (2009) 'The Thing', in Candlin, F. and Guins, R. (ed.) *The Object Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 124-138.

Grydehøj, A. (2010) 'Uninherited Heritage: Tradition and Heritage Production in Shetland, Åland and Svalbard', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2), pp. 77-89. doi: 10.1080/13527250903441796.

Haanpää, R., Puolamäki, L. and Karhunen, E. (2018) 'Local Conservation and Perceptions of Heritage in Old Rauma World Heritage Site', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(1), 1-19. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2018.1552611.

Hahn, H. P. (2012) 'Words and Things: Reflections on People's Interaction with the Material World', in Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P.W. (ed.) *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 4-12.

Hahn, H. P. and Weiss, H. (2013a) 'Introduction: Biographies, Travels and Itineraries of Things', in Hahn, H. P. and Weiss, H. (ed.) *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformation of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 1-14.

Hahn, H. P. and Weiss, H. (ed.) (2013b) *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformation of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Häkkinen, H. (2017) 'Kesänäyttely Avaa Kyläläisten Kokemuksia Teollisuudesta', *Pitäjänuutiset*, 15 June, p. 11.

Halme, A-M. *et al.* (2018) 'Introduction', in Halme, A-M. *et al.* (ed.) *Heritage is Ours: Citizens Participating in Decision Making*. Helsinki: Europa Nostra Finland, pp. 6-9.

Halme, A-M. *et al.* (2018) *Heritage is Ours: Citizens Participating in Decision Making*. Helsinki: Europa Nostra Finland.

Halonen, J. *et al.* (2009), 'Etelä-Savon Kulttuuriympäristöohjelma: Tavoitteet ja Strategiset Linjaukset Vuosille 2009-2014'. Etelä-Savon Ympäristökeskuksen Raportteja 5. Mikkeli: Etelä-Savon Ympäristökeskus.

Harbus, A. (2012) *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry*. Anglo-Saxon Studies 18. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Härö, M. (2010) 'Maan Museotoimen Kivijalka eli Museoviraston ja Suomen Kansallismuseon Historiaa', in Petterson, S. and Kinanen, P. (ed.) *Suomen Museohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1265. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 129-152.

Harris, J. G. (2001) 'Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 52(4), pp. 479-491.

Harrison, R. (2006) 'An Artefact of Colonial Desire?: Kimberley Points and the Technologies of Enchantment', *Current Anthropology*, 47(1), pp. 63-88.

Harrison, R. (2011), 'Consuming Colonialism: Curio Dealers' Catalogues, Souvenir Objects and Indigenous Agency in Oceania', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 55-82.

Harrison, R. (2013) 'Forgetting to Remember, Remembering to Forget: Late Modern Heritage Practices, Sustainability and the "Crisis" of Accumulation of the Past', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), pp. 579-595. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2012.678371.

Harrison, R. and Schofield J. (2010) *After Modernity: Archaeological Approaches to the Contemporary Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, R. *et al.* (2008) 'Introduction: Heritage, Memory and Modernity', in Fairclough, G. *et al.* (ed.) *The Heritage Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-12.

Harvey, D. C. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), pp. 319-336. doi: 10.1080/13581650120105534.

Harvey, D. C. (2008) 'The History of Heritage', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 19-36.

Hatakka, M. (2010) 'Museo Muistojen Paikkana', in Petterson, S. and Kinanen, P. (ed.) *Suomen Museohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1265. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 113-124.

Häyrynen, M. (2018) 'Cultural Heritage and Participatory Governance', in Halme, A-M. *et al.* (eds) *Heritage is Ours: Citizens Participating in Decision Making*. Helsinki: Europa Nostra Finland, pp. 12-17.

Hays-Gilpin, K. (2011) 'Crafting Hopi Identities at the Museum of Northern Arizona', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 185-208.

Heinonen, J. (2010) 'Kotiseutumuseoiden ja Muiden Paikallismuseoiden Synty', in Petterson, S. and Kinanen, P. (ed.) *Suomen Museohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1265. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 153-167.

Heinonen, J. and Lahti, M. (1988 [2001]) *Museologian Perusteet*. 3rd rev. edn. Suomen Museoliiton Julkaisuja 49. Helsinki: Suomen Museoliitto.

Herle, A. (2012) 'Objects, Agency and Museums: Continuing Dialogues between the Torres Strait and Cambridge', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museums Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 295-310.

Hetherington, K. (1999 [2005]) 'From Blindness to Blindness: Museums, Heterogeneity and the Subject', in Law, J. and Hassard, J. (ed.) *Actor Network Theory and After*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 51-73.

Hicks, C. (1993) *Animals in Early Medieval Art*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hicks, D. (2010) 'The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 25-98.

Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (2010) 'Introduction: Material Culture Studies: A Reactionary View', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-21.

Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) (2010) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hills, C. M. (1997) '*Beowulf* and Archaeology', in Bjork, R. E. and Niles, J. D. (ed.) *A 'Beowulf' Handbook*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 291-310.

Hill, J. (2007) 'The Story of the Amulet: Locating the Enchantment of Collections', *Journal of Material Culture* 12(1), pp. 65-87.

Hill, K. (2011) 'Collecting Authenticity', *Museum History Journal*, 4(2), pp. 203-222. doi: 10.1179/mhj.2011.4.2.203.

Hill, K. (2013) 'Whose Objects?', *Museum History Journal*, 4(2), pp. 127-138. doi: 10.1179/mhj.2011.4.2.127.

Hill, K. (2014 [2012]) 'Introduction: Museums and Biographies – Telling Stories about People, Things and Relationships', in Hill, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 1-9.

Hill, K. (ed.) (2014 [2012]) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Hodder, I. (2012) *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Høilund Nielsen, K. (1998) 'Animal Style – A Symbol of Might and Myth: Salin's Style II in European Context', *Acta Archaeologica* 69, pp. 1-52.

Høilund Nielsen, K. (1999) 'Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite', in Dickinson, T. and Griffiths, D. (ed.) *The Making of Kingdoms*, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 10. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, pp. 185-202.

Holtorf, C. (2013) 'On Pastness: A Reconsideration of Materiality in Archaeological Object Authenticity', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 86(2), pp. 427-444.

Holtorf, C. and Kristensen, T. M. (2015) 'Heritage Erasure: Rethinking "Protection" and "Preservation"', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21(4), pp. 313-317.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2001) *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*. London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992) *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Hormia-Poutanen, K., Kautonen, H. & Lassila, A. (2013). 'The Finnish National Digital Library: A National Service Is Developed in Collaboration with a Network of Libraries, Archives and Museums', *Insights*, 26(1), pp. 60–65. doi: 10.1629/2048-7754.26.1.60.

Hoskins, J. (2006) 'Agency, Biography, and Objects', in Tilley, C. *et al.* (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: SAGE, pp. 74-84.

Hoskins, J. (1998) *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*. New York and London: Routledge.

Hudek, A. (2014) 'Introduction: Detours of Objects', in Hudek, A. (ed.) *The Object: Documents in Contemporary Art*. London and Cambridge, MA: Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, pp. 14-27.

Hudek, A. (ed.) (2014) *The Object: Documents in Contemporary Art*. London and Cambridge, MA: Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press.

Hudson, K. (1999 [1977]) 'Attempts to Define "Museum"', in Boswell, D. and Evans, J. (ed.) *Representing the Nation: Histories, Heritage and Museums*. London: Routledge with the Open University), pp. 371-380.

Hudson, K. (1993) 'The Great European Museum', *Nordisk Museologi* 2, pp. 51-60.

Hughes, P. (2010) *Exhibition Design*. London: Lawrence King.

Humphries, C. and Smith, A. C. T. (2014) 'Talking Objects: Towards a Post-social Research Framework for Exploring Object Narratives', *Organization*, 21(4), pp. 477-494.

Hurme, R., Malin, R-L., and Syväoja, O. (1988 [1984]) *Uusi Suomi-Englanti Sanakirja Finnish-English General Dictionary*. 3rd rev. edn. Porvoo: WSOY.

Hutchinson, M. (2013) '"Shared Authority": Collaboration, Curatorial Voice, and Exhibition Design in Canberra, Australia', in Golding, V. and Modest, W. (ed.) *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections, and Collaboration*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 143-162.

Ingold, T. (2007a) 'Anthropology is *Not* Ethnography', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 154, pp. 69-92.

Ingold, T. (2007b) *Lines: A Brief History*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ingold, T. (2011a) *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. London: Routledge.

Ingold, T. (2011b) 'Introduction', in Ingold, T. (ed.) *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-20.

Ingold, T. (2012) 'Toward an Ecology of Materials', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, pp. 427-442.

Ingold, T. (2013) 'The Future Past of Archaeology and Anthropology', in Shankland, D. (ed.) *Archaeology and Anthropology: Past, Present and Future*. London and New York: Bloomsbury. ASA Monographs 48, pp. 77-90. (Originally publ. (2012) Oxford: Berg).

Ingold, T. (2015) *The Life of Lines*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ikäheimo, J. and Äikäs (2017) 'Constructing a Trumped-up Future with the Pastness of Present? Neo-relics and Archaeological Heritage', *World Archaeology*, 49(3), pp. 388-403.

Irigaray, L. (1985) *This Sex Which Is Not One*, Porter, C. and Burke, C. (trans.) Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Jackson, S. (2014) 'Contesting the "Expert" at the Former Bradford Odeon, West Yorkshire', in Schofield, J. (ed.) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 203-214.

Janes, R. R. (2009) *Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse?* Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Jay, M. (2012) 'The Crisis of the Ancien Scopic Régime', in Farr, I. (ed.) *Memory*. London and Cambridge, MA: Whitechapel Gallery and The MIT Press, pp. 41-45.

Jenkins, D. (1994) 'Object Lessons and Ethnographic Displays: Museum Exhibitions and the Making of American Anthropology', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 36(2), pp. 242-270.

Johnson, N. C. (1996) 'Where Geography and History Meet: Heritage Tourism and the Big House in Ireland', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86(3), pp. 551-566.

Jones, A. M. and Boivin, N. (2010) 'The Malice of Inanimate Objects', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 333-351.

Joy, J. (2009) 'Reinvigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives', *World Archaeology*, 41(4), pp. 540-556.

Joyce, R. A. (2013) 'Life with Things: Archaeology and Materiality', in Shankland, D. (ed.) *Archaeology and Anthropology: Past, Present and Future*. London and New York: Bloomsbury. ASA Monographs 48, pp. 119-132.

Joyce, R. A. (2015) 'Things in Motion: Itineraries of Ulua Marble Vases', , in Joyce, R. A. and Gillespie, S. D. (ed.) *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 21-38.

Joyce, R. A. and Gillespie S. D. (2015a) 'Making Things out of Objects That Move', in Joyce, R. A. and Gillespie, S. D. (ed.) *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 3-19.

Joyce, R. A. and Gillespie S. D. (ed.) (2015b) *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Juuramo, J. et al. [Vuotatoimikunta] (1944) *Kansanhuoltoministeriön Asettaman Vuotatoimikunnan Mietintö*. Helsinki: Kansanhuoltoministeriö.

Juutilainen, J. (1957) 'Kartta Toimitus No 32983'. Mäntyharju: Mäntyharjun Maanmittauslaitos (private collection).

Kadoyama, M. (2o018) *Museums Involving Communities: Authentic Connections*. New York and London: Routledge.

Kahila-Tani, M., Kyttä, M. and Nummi, P. (2018) 'Crowdsourcing Place-Based Memories', in Halme, A-M. *et al.* (eds) *Heritage is Ours: Citizens Participating in Decision Making*. Helsinki: Europa Nostra Finland, pp. 128-137.

Karjalainen, M. (1990) *Maaseudun Kehityksen ja Hajoituksen Vuosisata*. Juva: WSOY.

Karttakeskus (2016) 'Suomi 1917: Vuonna 1917 Julkaistun Suomen Kartan Näköispainos'. Espoo: Karttakeskus.

Katz, M. S. (2012) 'Using the Farm Security Administration Photographs as Objects in History Exhibitions', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 324-337.

Kauppinen, J. (2007) *Hämmästyttävä Monimuotoisuus. Luonnon tapahtumia, Kansan Tietoa, Museohavaintoja*. Kuopion luonnontieteellisen museon julkaisuja 7. Kuopio: Kuopion kaupunki.

Kean, H. (2008) 'Personal and Public Histories: Issues in the Presentation of the Past', in Graham, B. And Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 55-69.

Keane, W. (2013 [2006]) 'Subjects and Objects: Introduction', in Tilley, C. *et al.* (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage, pp. 197-202.

Kinanen, P. (2010) 'Suomen Museoliitto Museokentän Rakentajana', in Petterson, S. and Kinanen, P. (ed.) *Suomen Museohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1265. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 62-93.

Kinanen, P. (2013) 'Tuhannen Suomalaisen Museon Tarina', *Museo*, 51(2), pp. 30-34.

Klebesadel, H. (2006) 'Reframing Studio Art Production and Critique', in Marstine, J. (ed.) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 248-62.

Knapp, S. (1989) 'Collective Memory and the Actual Past', *Representations*, 26(Spring), pp. 123-149.

Knappett, C. (2013) 'Imprints as Punctuations of Material Itineraries', in Hahn, H. P. and Weiss, H. (ed.) *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformations of Things*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 37-49.

Knappett, C. (2011) 'Networks of Objects, Meshworks of Things', in Ingold, T. (ed.) *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 45-64.

Knell, S. J. (2012) 'The Intangibility of Things', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museums Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 324-335.

Knowles, C. (2011) '"Objects as Ambassadors": Representing Nation Through Museum Exhibitions', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 231-247.

Klaeber, F. (ed.) (1950 [1922]) *'Beowulf' and 'The Fight at Finnsburg'*. 3rd end. Boston: Heath.

Koppinen, P. A. (2013a) *Collecting, Preserving, and Interpreting' Anglo-Saxon Heritage: The Old English 'Gerefa' as a Museum*. Unpublished MA dissertation. Kingston University London.

Koppinen, P. A. (2020) 'The Materiality of Fire in *Legbysig* and *Ligbysig* (R.30a and b) and an Unexpected New Solution', in Cavell, M. and Neville, J. (ed.) *Riddles at Work in the Early Medieval Tradition: Words, Ideas, Interactions*. Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture 32. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 265-276.

Koppinen, P. A. (2013b) 'Solving Riddle 14 as *Wudu* 'Wood', in Bintley, M. and Shapland, M. (ed.) *Trees and Timber in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 158-74.

Koppinen, P. A. (2009) *'Swa þa Stafas Becnaþ': Ciphers of the Heroic Idiom in the Exeter Book Riddles, 'Beowulf', 'Judith', and 'Andreas'*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Royal Holloway, University of London.

Kopytoff, I. (1986) 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Appadurai, A. (ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64-91.

Kostet, J. (2010) 'Onko Suomalaisella Museolla Aatteellista Perustaa?', in Petterson, S. and Kinanen, P. (ed.) *Suomen Museohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1265. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Kovach, M. (2009) *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexs*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Kovanen, K. (2018) 'Good Ways to Listen to People – Finnish Projects Point the Way', in Halme, A-M. *et al.* (eds) *Heritage is Ours: Citizens Participating in Decision Making.* Helsinki: Europa Nostra, pp. 124-129.

Kraamer, M. (2012) 'Challenged Pasts and the Museum: The Case of Ghanaian *kente*', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce.* London and New York, pp. 282-296.

Kreps, C. F. (2008) 'Appropriate Museology in Theory and Practice', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23(1), pp. 23-41.

Kühler, S. (2003) 'Imaging the Body Politic: The Knot in Pacific Imagination', *L'Homme*, 165, pp. 205-222.

Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Länsi-Savo (2017) 'Museoilta: Vanha Tilikirja Kertoo Nahkurin Arjesta'

Lapidge, M. (2006) *Anglo-Saxon Library*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Larson, F., Petch, A., and Zeitlyn, D. (2007) 'Social Networks and the Creation of the Pitt Rivers Museum', *Journal of Material Culture*, 12(3), pp. 211-239.

Latour, B. (1999a [2005]) 'On Recalling ANT', in Law, J. and Hassard, J. (ed.) *Actor Network Theory and After*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 15-25.

Latour, B. (1999b) *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (2000) 'The Berlin Key or How to Do Words with Things', in Graves-Brown, P. M. (ed.) *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 10-21.

Latour, B. (2007 [2005]) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Law, J. (1992) 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity', *Systems in Practice*, 5(4), pp. 379-393.

Law, J. (1999) 'After ANT: Complexity, Naming and Topology', in Law, J. and Hassard, J. (ed.) *Actor Network Theory and After*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 1-14.

Law, J. (2002) 'Objects and Spaces', *Theory, Culture, Society,* 19(5/6), pp. 91-105.

Law, J. (2004) *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Layton, R. (2003) 'Art and Agency: A Reassessment', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 9(3), pp. 447-464.

Levy, J. E. (2006) 'Prehistory, Identity, and Archaeological Representation in Nordic Museums', *American Anthropologist*, 108(1), pp. 135-147.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1966) *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lewis, S. (1980) 'Sacred Calligraphy: The Chi Rho Page in the Book of Kells', *Traditio*, 36, pp. 139-159.

Leyerle, J. (1967) 'The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*', *The University of Toronto Quartely*, 37(1), pp. 1-17.

Lindauer, M. (2006) 'The Critical Museum Visitor', in Marstine, J. (ed.) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 203-225.

Linkola, H. (2015) 'Administration, Landscape and Authorized Heritage Discourse – Contextualising the Nationally Valuable Landscape Areas of Finland', *Landscape Research*, 40(8), pp. 939-954. doi: 10.1080/01426397.2015.1074988.

Loomba, A. (1998) *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.

Lönnrot, E. (1998) *The Kalevala*, Bosley, K. (trans.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Low, S. M. (2008) 'Social Sustainability: People, History and Values', in Fairclough, G. *et al.* (ed.) *The Heritage Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 392-404.

Lucas, G. (2010) 'Fieldwork and Collecting', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 229-245.

MacGregor, A. (2001) 'The Ashmolean as a Museum of Natural History, 1683-1860', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 13(2), pp. 125-144.

MacLeod, S. *et al.* (ed.) (2012) *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Magnani, M., Guttorm, A., and Magnani, N. (2018) 'Three-dimensional, Community-based Heritage Management of Indigenous Museum Collections: Archaeological Ethnography, Revitalization and Repatriation at the Sámi Museum Siida', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 31, pp. 162-167. doi: 10.1016/j.culher.2017.12.001.

Mäntyharjun Kihlakunnanoikeus (1891) 'Karjalan tilan no 6 Vuokrasopimus' §647L Liite: B-387, pp. 1-4.

Mäntyharjun Kihlakunnanoikeus (1932) 'Liite §30'. 10 February. Private collection.

Mäntyharjun Kihlakunnanoikeus (1956) 'Liite F§330'. 5 October. Private collection.

Mäntyharjun Matkailulehti (2017) 'Museoilta Mäntyharjussa'. 3 August, p. 19.

Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P. W. (2012) 'Introduction', in Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P. W. (ed.) *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 1-3.

Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P. W. (ed.) (2012) *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Marstine, J. (2006a) 'Introduction', in Marstine, J. (ed.) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 1-36.

Marstine, J. (ed.) (2006b [2005]) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Martínez, A. H. (2008) 'Conservation and Restoration of Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective', in Graham, B. And Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 245-265.

Martinon, J-P. (ed.) (2015 [2013]) *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*. London: Bloomsbury.

Mason, R. (2008) 'Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodologies and Choices', im Fairclough, G. *et al.* (ed.) *The Heritage Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 99-124.

Mattila, A., Kaukonen, M., and Salmela, U. (2005) *Opas Paikallismuseon Hoitoon*. Helsinki: Museovirasto.

Maurstad, A. (2012) 'Cod, Curtains, Planes and Experts: Relational Materialities in the Museum', *Journal of Material Culture*, 17(2), pp. 173-189.

McCann, M. R. (2017) *Networks, Relationships, and Social Change: Reimagining the Museum as a Key Actor in a System of Social Progress and Responsibility. A Case Study of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Leicester.

McLean, F. (2008) 'Museums and the Representation of Identity', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 283-296.

McTavish, L. (2006) 'Visiting the Virtual Museum: Art and Experience Online', in Marstine, J. (ed.) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 226-246.

Meehan, B. (2015 [2012]) *The Book of Kells*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Meehan, B. (2002 [1994]) *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College Dublin*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Megaw, M. R. and J. V. S. (2001 [1989]) *Celtic Art: From its Beginnings to the Book of Kells*. Rev. edn. London: Thames & Hudson.

Meinander, H. (2014) *Suomen Historia*. Translated by Autio P.. Helsinki: Schildts & Söderströms. (orig. publ. (2006) *Finlands Historia: Linjer, Strukturer, Vändpunkter* Helsinki: Schildts & Söderströms).

Meskell, L. (2013) 'Archaeological Ethnography: Materiality, Heritage and Hybrid Methodologies', in Shankland, D. (ed.) *Archaeology and Anthropology: Past, Present and Future*. London and New York: Bloomsbury. ASA Monographs 48, pp. 133-144.

Mikkelin Kaupunkilehti (2017) 'Museoilta Mäntyharjussa'. 3 August, p. 19.

Mikula, M. (2015) 'Vernacular Museum: Communal Bonding and Ritual Memory Transfer among Displaced Communities', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21(8), 757-772. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2015.1020961.

Milevska, S. (2015 [2013]) 'Becoming Curator', in Martinon, J-P. (ed.) *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 65-71.

Miller, D. (ed.) (2005a) *Materiality*. Durham, Penn. and London: Duke University Press.

Miller, D. (2005b) 'Materiality: An Introduction', in Miller, D. (ed.) *Materiality*. Durham, Penn. and London: Duke University Press, pp. 1-50.

Miller, D. and Tilley, C. (1996), 'Editorial', *Journal of Material Culture*, 1(1), pp. 5-14.

Morgan, D. (2012) 'The Materiality of Cultural Construction', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museums Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 101-102.

Morris, C. (2017) *Secular Relics: Narrative Objects and Material Biography in the Museums of Darwin, Elgar and Holmes*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of West of England, Bristol.

Morris, S. (2012) 'Imaginary Museums: What Mainstream Museums Can Learn from Them', in MacLeod *et al.* (ed.) *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 5-11.

Moser, S. *et al.* (2003) 'Transforming Archaeology through Practice: Strategies for Collaborative Archaeology and the Community Project at Quseir, Egypt', in Peers, L. and Brown, A. K. (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 208-226.

Mouliou, M. and Kalessopoulou, D. (2012) 'Emblematic Museum Objects of National Significance: In Search of Their Multiple Meanings', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 47-68.

Muir, B. J. (ed.) (2000) *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*. Rev. edn. 2 vols. Exeter: Exeter University Press.

Närhi A., Hytönen, J., and Yli-Pyky, A. (2012) *Museo – Mäntyharjun Esineellinen Muisti: Kokoelmapoliittinen Ohjelma*. Mäntyharju: Mäntyharjun Museo.

Newman, M. (2012) 'Analogue, Chance and Memory', in Farr, I. (ed.) *Memory*. London: Whitechapel Gallery and Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, pp. 109-111.

Nicholson, L. E. (1980) 'The Art of Interlace in *Beowulf*', *Studia Neophilologica*, 52(2), pp. 237-249.

Nicks, T. (2003) 'Introduction: Museums and Contact Work', in Peers, L. and Brown, A. K. (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 19-27.

Niles, J. D. (2016) 'Introduction: Negotiating the Anglo-Saxons' Visual World', in Niles, J. D., Klein, S. S. and Wilcox, J. (eds) *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 461; Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 6. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, pp. 1-23.

Niles, J. D., Klein, S. S, and Wilcox, J. (2016) 'Preface and Acknowledgements', in Niles, J. D., Klein, S., and Wilcox, J. (eds) (2016) *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 461; Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 6. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, pp. vii-x.

Nightingale, E. and Swallow, D. (2003), 'The Art of the Sikh Kingdoms: Collaborating with a Community', in Peers, L. And Brown, A. K. (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 55-71.

Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26(Spring), pp. 7-24.

Nordenfalk, C. (1995 [1957]) *Book Illumination: Early Middle Ages*. Geneva: Skriva.

Nordenfalk, C. (1977) *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting*. New York: George Braziller.

Nöth, W. (1995 [1990) *Handbook of Semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. (Orig. publ. (1985) *Handbuch der Semiotik*. Stuttgart: Metzlesche Verlagsbuchhandlung).

O'Brien O'Keeffe, K. (1990) *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olsen, B. (2010) *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*. Landham, MD: Alta Mira.

Onciul, B. (2016 [2013]) 'Community Engagement, Curatorial Practice, and Museum Ethos in Alberta, Canada', in Golding, V. and Modest, W. (ed.) *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*. London: Bloomsbury.

O'Reilly, C. and Parish, N. (2017) 'Suitcases, Keys and Handkerchiefs: How Are Objects Being Used to Collect and Tell Migrant Stories in Australian Museums', *Museums & Social Issues*, 12(2), pp. 99-114.

Overing, G. R. (1990) *Language, Sign, and Gender in 'Beowulf'*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Parry, R. and Sawyer, A. (2005) 'Space and the Machine: Adaptive Museums, Pervasive Technology and the New Gallery Environment', in MacLeod, S. (ed.) *Reshaping*

Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 39-52.

Paz, J. (2017) *Nonhumans Voices in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Material Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Pearce, S. M. (1993) *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press (orig. publ. (1992) Leicester and London: Leicester University Press).

Pearce, S. (1994a) 'Introduction', in Pearce, S. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 1-8.

Pearce, S. (1994b) 'Objects as Meaning; or Narrating the Past', in Pearce, S. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 19-29.

Pearce, S. (1994c) 'The Urge to Collect', in Pearce, S. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 157-159.

Peers, L., and Brown, A. K. (2003) 'Introduction', in Peers, L., and Brown, A. K. (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-16.

Peers, L., and Brown, A. K. (ed.) (2003) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pendlebury, J. (2013) 'Conservation Values, the Authorized Heritage Discourse and the Conservation-Planning Assemblage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(7), pp. 709-727. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2012.700282.

Pendlebury, J., Townsend, T. and Gilroy, R. (2004) 'The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10(1), pp. 11-31. doi: 10.1080/1352725032000194222.

Petch, A. (2004) 'Collecting Immortality: The Field Collectors Who Contributed to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford', *Journal of Museum Ethonography*, 16(March), pp. 127-139.

Petterson, S. and Kinanen, P. (ed.) (2010) *Suomen Museohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1265. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Pétursdóttir, Þ. (2012) 'Concrete Matters: Ruins of Modernity and the Things Called Heritage', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 13(1), pp. 31-53. doi: 10.1177/1469605321124563 42.

Pétursdóttir, Þ. (2014) 'Things out-of-hand: The Aesthetics of Abandonment', in Olsen, B. and Pétursdóttir, Þ. (ed.) *Ruin Memories: Materiality, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 335-63.

Pétursdóttir, Þ. and Olsen, B. (2014) 'An Archaeology of Ruins', in Olsen, B. and Pétursdóttir, Þ. (ed.) *Ruin Memories: Materiality, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 3-29.

Pétursdóttir, Þ. and Olsen, B. (ed.) (2014) *Ruin Memories: Materiality, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past*. London and New York: Routledge.

Phelan, P. (2012), 'The Ontology of Performance: Representation without Reproduction', in Farr, I. (ed.) *Memory*. London: The Whitechapel Gallery and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 112-113.

Philp, J. (2011) 'Hedley Takes a Holiday: Collections from Kanak People in the Australian Museum', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 269-288.

Phillips, R. B. (2003) 'Community Collaboration in Exhibitions: Towards a Dialogic Paradigm: Introduction', in Peers, L. and Brown, A. K. (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 155-170.

Phillips, R. B. (1990) 'The Public Relations Wrap: What We Can Learn from *The Spirit Songs*', *Inuit Art Quarterly*, 5(2), pp. 13-21.

Pickering, A. (2010) 'Material Culture and the Dance of Agency', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 191-208.

Pink, S. (2015 [2009]) *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. 2nd edn. London: SAGE.

Pohrib, C. (2016) 'The Afterlives of Communist Things: Archiving Feeling in Post-Communist Romania', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19(6), pp. 724-743.

Porto, N. (2004) '"Under the Gaze of Ancestors": Photographs and Perfomance in Colonial Angola', in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (ed.) *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 113-131.

Poulter, E. K. (2013) 'Silent Witness: Tracing Narratives of Empire through Objects and Archives in the West African Collections at the Manchester Museum', *Museum History Journal*, 6(1), pp. 6-12.

Preston, B. (2000) 'The Function of Things: A Philosophical Perspective on Material Culture, in Graves-Brown, P. M. (ed.) *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 22-49.

Ravelli, L. (2006) *Museum Texts: Communication Frameworks*. London and New York: Routledge.

Rees Leahy, H. (2014 [2012]) 'Making an Exhibition of Ourselves', Hill, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 145-155.

Renfrew, C. and Bahn, P. (1991) *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Rihu, T. (2015) 'Mäntyharjussa Kaivataan Kuvia ja Tarinoita Tehtailta'. *Länsi-Savo*, 20 October, p. 11.

Rimmon-Kenan, S. (2001 [1983]) *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Robben, A. C. G. M. (2012 [2007]) 'Beginnings: Introduction', in Robben, A. C. G. and Sluka, J. A. (ed.) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*, 2nd edn. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.

Robertshaw, A. (2006) 'Live Interpretation', in Hems, A. and Blockley, M. (ed.) *Heritage Interpretation*. London: Routledge, pp. 41-54.

Robertson, I. J. M. (2008) 'Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance', in Graham, B. And Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 143-158.

Roddick, A. (2015), 'Geologies in Motion: Itineraries of Stone, Clay, and Pots in the Lake Titicaca Basin', in Joyce, R. A. and Gillespie, S. D. (ed.) *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 123-146.

Rönkkö, M-L. (2010) 'Vaihtuvat Näyttelyt', in Petterson, S. and Kinanen, P. (ed.) *Suomen Museohistoria*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 1265. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, pp. 262-265.

Rosenstein, L. (2012) 'The aesthetic of the Antique', in Dudley, S. (ed.) *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 26-35.

Said, E. W. (1978) *Orientalism*. London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Said, E. W. (1989) 'Representing the Colonized, Anthropology's Interlocuters', *Critical Inquiry*, 15(2), pp. 205-225.

Sassoon, J. (2004) 'Photographic Materiality in the Age of Digital Reproduction', in Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (ed.) *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 186-202.

Scott, M. K. (2012) 'Engaging with Pasts in the Present: Curators, Communities, and Exhibition Practice', *Museum Anthropology*, 31(1), pp. 1-9.

Schofield, J. (2014a) 'Heritage Expertise and the Everyday: Citizens and Authority in the Twenty-first Century', in Schofield, J. (ed.) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-11.

Schofield, J. (ed.) (2014b) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge.

Schofield, J. (2008) 'Heritage Management, Theory and Practice', in Fairclough, G. *et al.* (ed.) *The Heritage Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 15-30.

Seitsonen, O. (2017) 'Crowdsourcing Cultural Heritage: Public Participation and Conflict Legacy in Finland', *International Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 4(2), pp. 115-130. doi: 10.1080/20518196.2016.1252129.

Shankland, D. (2013) 'Introduction: Archaeology and Anthropology: Divorce and Partial Reconciliation', in Shankland, D. (ed.) *Archaeology and Anthropology: Past, Present and Future*. London and New York: Bloomsbury. ASA Monographs 48, pp. 1-18.

Shippey, T. A. (1972) *Old English Verse*. London: Hutchinson.

Simon, N. (2010) *The Participatory Museum*. Santa Cruz, Ca.: Museum 2.0.

Simpson, M. G. (2006) 'Revealing and Concealing: Museums, Objects, and the Transmission of Knowledge in Aboriginal Australia', in Marstine, J. (ed.) *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 153-177.

Skrede, J. and Hølleland, H. (2018) '*Uses of Heritage* and beyond: Heritage Studies Viewed through the Lens of Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Realism', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 18(1), pp. 77-96.

Sluka, J. A. and Robben, A. C. G. (2012 [2007]) 'Fieldwork in Cultural Anthropology: An Introduction', in Robben, A. C. G. and Sluka, J. A. (ed.) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*, 2nd edn. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 51-68.

Smith, L. (2011) 'The "Doing" of Heritage: Heritage as Performance', in Jackson, A. and Kidd, J. (ed.) *Performing Heritage: Research, Practice and Innovation in Museum Theatre and Live Interpretation*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 69-81.

Smith, L. (2008) 'Heritage, Gender and Identity', in Graham, B. and Howard, P. (ed.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 159-178.

Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Smith, P. H. (ed.) (2019a) *Entangled Itineraries: Materials, Practices, and Knowledges across Eurasia*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh.

Smith, P. H. (2019b) 'Nodes of Convergence, Material Complexes, and Entangled Itineraries', in Smith, P. H. (ed.) *Entangled Itineraries: Materials, Practices, and Knowledges across Eurasia*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh, pp. 5-24.

Soper, H. (2017) 'Reading the *Exeter Book* Riddles as Life-Writing', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 68(287), pp. 841-865. doi: 10.1093/res/hgx009.

Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (2009) 'Introduction: Making the Means Transparent: Reasons and Reflections', in Sørensen, M. L. S. and Carman, J. (ed.) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-2.

Speake, G. (1980) *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Spencer, N. (2019) 'Curated by Community', *The British Museum Magazine* (95 Winter), pp. 40-42.

Stam, R. (1999), 'Palimpsest Hybridity: A Meditation on *Hybridity* and Garbage', in, Joseph, M. and Fink, J. (ed.) *Performing Hybridity*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minneapolis Press, pp. 59-78.

Stanton, J. E. (2003) 'Snapshots on the Dreaming: Photographs of the Past and Present', in Peers, L. And Brown, A. K. (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 136-151.

Stara, A. (2013) *The Museum of French Monuments 1795-1816: 'killing art to make history'*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Starn, R. (2002) 'Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History', *History of the Human Sciences*, 15(1), pp. 1-16.

Stead, N. (2010) 'Performing Objecthood: Museums, Architecture and the Play of Artefactuality', *Performance Research*, 12(4), pp. 37-46.

Stewart, S. (2007 (1993]) *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.

Swinney, G. N. (2012) 'What Do We Know about What We Know? The Museum "Register" as a Museum Object', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 31-46.

Szczepanski, J. (2017) 'Understanding Donor Motivations', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 32(3), pp. 272-280. doi: 10.1080/09647775.2017.1329025.

Szyłak, A. (2015 [2013]) 'Curating Context', in Martinon, J-P. (ed.) *The Curatorial: A Philosophy of Curating*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 215-223.

Tapsell, P. (2003) 'Afterword: Beyond the Frame', in Peers, L. and Brown, A. K. (ed.) *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routldge, pp. 242-251.

Teasdale, M. D. *et al.* (2017) 'York Gospels: A 1000-year Biological Palimpsest', *Royal Society Open Science*, 4:170988, pp. 1-11. doi: 10.1098%2Frsos.170988).

Thomas, J. (2013 [2012]), 'Archaeology, Anthropology, and Material Things', in Shankland, D. (ed.) *Archaeology and Anthropology: Past, Present, and Future*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic. ASA Monographs 48, pp. 219-232.

Thrift, N. J. (2010) 'Afterword: *Fings ain't wot they used t' be*: Thinking through Material Thinking as Placing and Arrangement', in Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. C. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 634-645.

Thrift, N. J. (2003) 'Performance and ….', *Environment and Planning A*, 35(11), pp. 2019-2024. doi: 10.1068/a3543.

Tilley, C. (2002a) 'Metaphor, Materiality and Interpretation', in Buchli, V. (ed.) *The Material Culture Reader*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 23-26.

Tilley, C. (2002b) 'The Metaphorical Transformations of Wala Canoes', in Buchli, V. (ed.) *The Material Culture Reader*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 27-55.

Tilley, C. (2006a) 'Introduction', in Tilley *et al.* (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: SAGE, pp. 1-6.

Tilley, C. (2006b) 'Objectification', in Tilley *et al.* (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: SAGE, pp. 60-73.

Tilley, C. (2006c) 'Theoretical Perspectives: Introduction', in Tilley *et al.* (ed.) *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: SAGE, pp. 7-12.

Tilley, C. (2011) 'Materializing Identities: An Introduction', *Journal of Material Culture*, 16(4), pp. 347-57.

Tilley, C. *et al.* (ed.) (2006) *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: SAGE.

Ting, W. Y. V. (2010) 'Dancing Pot and Pregnant Jar?: One Ceramics, Metaphors and Creative Labels', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London: Routledge, pp. 189-203.

Torrence, R. and Clarke, A. (2011), '"Suitable for Decoration of Halls and Billiard Rooms": Finding Indigenous Agency in Historic Auction and Sales Catalogues', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 29-53.

Tythacott, L. (2014 [2012]) 'Classifying China: Shifting Interpretations of Buddhist Bronzes in Liverpool Museum, 1867-1997', in Hill, K. (ed.) *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*. Woodbirdge: The Boydell Press.

UNESCO (2005) *Basic Texts of the 1972 World Heritage Convention*, 2005 edition. Paris: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Uusitalo, S. (2017a) 'Mäntyharjun Kulttuurikesässä Tapahtuu', *Mäntyharjun Matkailulehti*, p. 20.

Uusitalo, S. *et al.* (2017b) 'Suomi 100-juhlavuosi Mäntyharjulla', *Mäntyharjun Matkailulehti*, pp. 6-7.

Van Der Wetering, E. (2012) 'The Surface of Objects and Museum Style', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museums Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 103-108.

Varutti, M. (2016 [2013]) 'Learning to Share Knowledge: Collaborative Projects in Taiwan', in Golding, V. and Modest, W. (ed.) *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 59-78.

Veivo, H. (2007) 'The New Literary Semiotics', *Semiotica*, 165(1-4), pp. 41-55.

Walklate, J. (2012) 'Objects and Their Creation in the Museum: Introduction', in Dudley *et al.* (ed.), *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 15-17.

Walker, D. (2014) 'Local World Heritage: Relocating Expertise in World Heritage Management', in Schofield, J. (ed.) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 181-202.

Wall, S. (2008) 'Easier Said than Done: Writing an Autoethnography', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 7(1), pp. 38-53.

Wallis, N. J. (2008) 'Networks of History and Memory: Creating a Nexus of Social Identities in Woodland Period Mounds on the Lower St Johns River, Florida', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 8(2), pp. 236-271.

Warrior, C. (2013) '"On Thin Ice": The Polar Displays at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich', *Museum History Journal*, 6(1), pp. 56-71.

Webster, L. (2014 [2012]) *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New History*. Reprint. London: The British Museum Press.

Webster, L. (2016) 'Imagining Identities: The Case of Stafforshire Hoard', in Niles, J. D., Klein, S. S. and Wilcox, J. (eds) *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination*.

Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 461; Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 6. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, pp. 25-48.

Wehner, K. (2012) 'Photography – Museum: On Posing, Imageness and the *Punctum*', in Dudley, S. H. *et al.* (ed.) *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation Essays in Honour of Professor Susan M. Pearce*. London and New York, pp. 79-94.

Wehner, K. and Sear, M. (2010) 'Engaging the Material World: Object Knowledge and *Australian Journeys*', in Dudley, S. H. (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*. London: Routledge, pp. 143-161.

Were, G. (2014) 'Digital Heritage, Knowledge Networks, and Source Communities: Understanding Digital Objects in a Melanesian Society', *Museum Anthropology*, 37(2), pp. 133-143.

Weschler, L. (1995) *Mr. Wilson's Cabinet of Wonder*. New York: Vintage.

West, S. (2010) 'Introduction', in West, S. (ed.) *Understanding Heritage in Practice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 1-6.

West, S. and Ansel, J. (2010) 'A History of Heritage', in West, S. (ed.) *Understanding Heritage in Practice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 7-46.

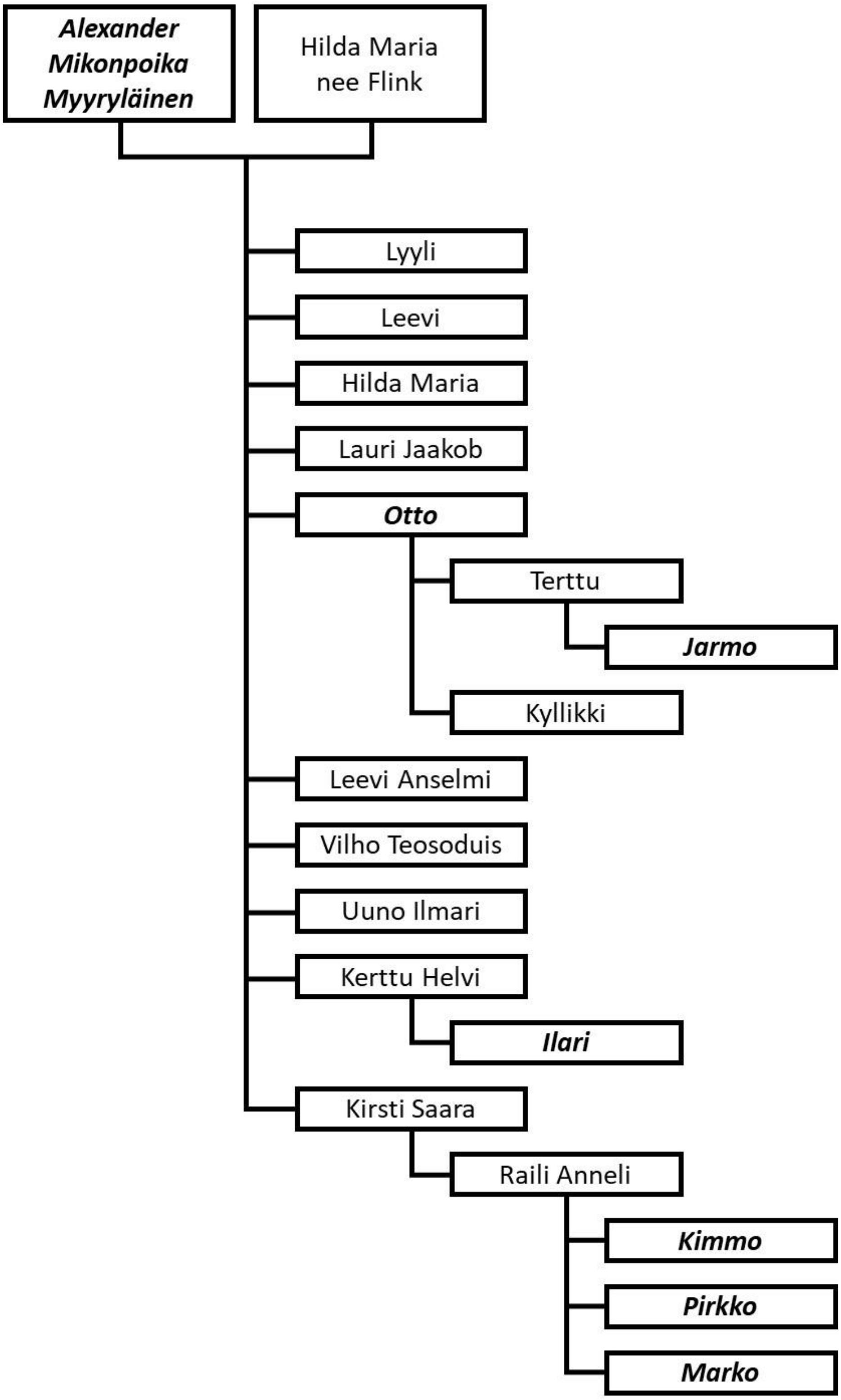
Wingfield, C. (2011), 'Donors, Loaners, Dealers and Swappers: The Relationship behind the English Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum', in Byrne, S. *et al.* (ed.) *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. London: Springer, pp. 119-40.

Witmore, Christopher L. (2006) 'Vision, Noise and the Percolation of Time', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11(3), pp. 267-92.

Wolferstan, S. (2014) 'Ethnography of a "Humble Expert": Experiencing Faro', in Schofield, J. (ed.) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 43-54.

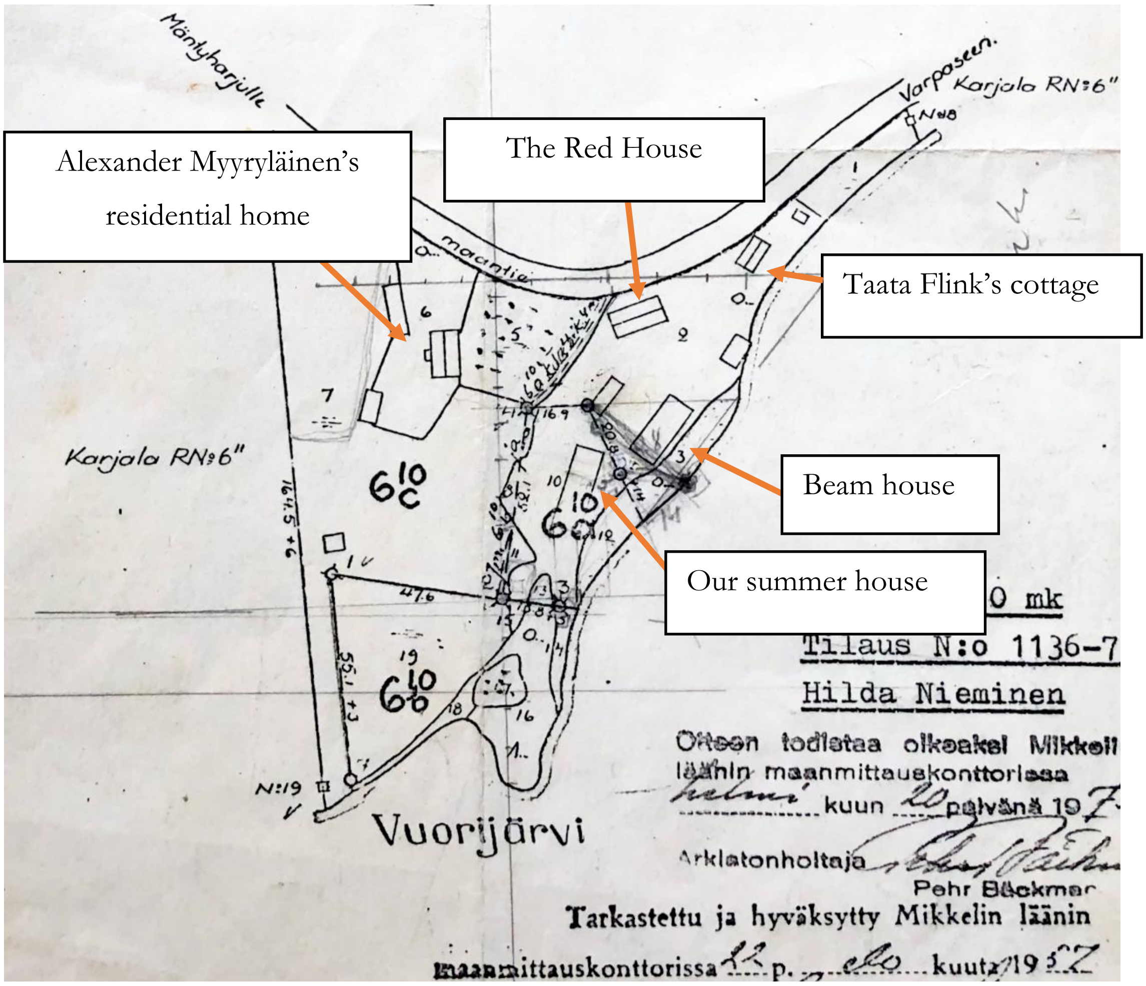
Appendices

Appendix 1: Family Myyryläinen (a partial family tree)



Appendix 2: Map of the Tannery 1957

Juutilainen, J. (1957) 'Kartta Toimitus No 32983'. Mäntyharju: Mäntyharjun Maanmittauslaitos (private collection).



Appendix 3: The Lecture at Iso-Pappila on 8 August 2017

1. The lecture in Finnish

Kiitos teille kaikille, kun tulitte mukaan tähän tapahtumaan ja kuulemaan Nahkuri Myyryläisestä ja hänen tilikirjastaan. Minun nimeni on Pirkko Koppinen ja olen tutkijana Kingstonin Yliopistossa Lontoossa, Taiteen, Taidehistorian ja Arkkitehtuurin laitoksella. Kirjoitan siellä väitöskirjaa aineellisesta kulttuurista, museologiasta ja perinnetieteestä. Tutkimukseni kohdistuu – lähestulkoon unohdetun – henkilökohtaisen esineen eli Nahkurin Myyryläisen tilikirjan matkasta museon näyttelyyn ja sen mukana julkisuuteen.

Ja haluan lausua tässä ensiksi suuret kiitokset Mäntyharjun Museolle ja kulttuurisihteeri Anu Yli-Pykylle sekä Susanna Helmiselle ystävällisestä kutsusta puhumaan tutkimuksestani ja pääsystä mukaan näyttelyn valmistamiseen. Erityiskiitokset myös sukulaisilleni Ilari Ahoselle ja Jarmo Laarille joilta sain valokuvia ja tietoa nahkimon toiminnasta. Kiitokset myös veljilleni Markolle, joka antoi kirjan käyttööni, ja Kimmolle – ilman heitä tämä tutkimus olisi jäänyt kokonaan tekemättä.

Ennenkuin siirryn puhumaan tilikirjasta ja sen historiasta, kerron ensin vähän omasta taustastani ja mistä tämä tutkimus sai alkunsa. Luennon jälkeen olisi mukava kuulla teidän muistojanne Mäntyharjulaisista nahkureista.

Olin aikaisemmin kymmenisen vuotta muinais- ja keskiajan englanninkielen kirjallisuuden osa-aikaisena luennoitsijana Royal Holloway'ssä, joka on osa Lontoon Keskus-Yliopistoa. Siellä olessani kiinnostuin aineellisesta kulttuurista, ensin muinaisenglannin kirjallisuudessa, joka on erikoisalani, sitten myöhemmin nykyaikaisen aineellisen kulttuurin ja henkilökohtaisen perinnetieteen yhteydestä. Nykyisin olen tutkija yliopistolla nimeltään Kingston University London. Kuten sen nimi jo kertoo, se sijaitsee Lontoolaisessa kaupungissa Kingston-upon-Thamesissä, jossa tein Maisterin tutkinnon muutama vuosi sitten perinnetieteestä. Tämä nykyinen tutkimus sai alkunsa, kun kirjoitin lopputyön tuota tutkintoa varten. Vertasin siinä muinaisenglantilaista tekstiä Mikkelin Suur-Savon museon pysyviin kokoelmiin ja ryhdyin miettimään henkilökohtaisten esineiden matkaa museoiden kokoelmiin.

Minulla on myös toinen, henkilökohtaisempi syy tehdä tätä tutkimusta. Muutin Lontooseen 22 vuotta sitten, kun mieheni sai sielä töitä – se tavallinen tarina – mutta pala sydämestäni jäi Suomeen, erityisesti tänne Mäntyharjulle, jonne isoäitini perhe asettui vuonna 1891 ja jossa vietin useita kesiä nuoruudessani. Tarinat iso-isoisäni Aleksanterin ja sittemmin Otto-enon nahkatehtaasta, joita isoäitini kertoi minulle pikkutyttönä, jäivät mieleen. Pari vuotta sitten nostalgia voitti ja aloitin tutkimuksen Nahkuri Myyryläisestä.

Niinkuin sanoin jo aiemmin, tutkin henkilökohtaisen esineen matka museoon. Tänä vuonna tuo matka toteutui ja Nahkuri Myyryläisen tilikirja pääsi mukaan Teollisuusnäyttelyyn juhlistamaan Suomen satavuotista itsenäisyyttä, kiitos Mäntyhajun Museon. Esineiden matka museoon on mutkikkaampaa kuin saattaa äkkiseltään arvata. Niinkuin Mäntyharjun museon kokoelmapoliittinen ohjelma kertoo, esineitä ei oteta museon kokoelmiin, ellei niillä ole historiaa eli tarinaa, jota museo pyrkii esittämään näyttelyillään. Tämän vaatimuksen tilikirja täytti – palaan kohta sen tarinaan. Mutta ennenkuin esineet pääsevät museoon, niiden pitää olla sellaisessa kunnossa, ettei niistä ole haittaa museolle. Nahkurin tilikirja oli aikoinaan tehty käyttöesineeksi ja sellainen se oli. Sen kannet, jotka on tehty paperilaminaatista ja päällystetty nahalla – en tiedä minkä eläimen, ehkä hirven – ovat kärsineet vuosien saatossa. Kansia on käytetty leikkuulautana ja lasinalustana. Sisälehtiin on piirretty, mutta teksti on yllättävän selkeä. Teksti on kirjoitettu monella eri käsialalla. Siinä on käytetty lyhenteitä joiden kaikkien merkitystä en vielä tiedä – tämä tutkimus on vielä kesken. Kirjasta puuttuu sivuja: ainakin neljä alusta ja muutama muu sieltä täältä. Se oli myös täynnä roskia ja homeessa oltuaan vuosia kesämökillämme ja sitä ennen verstaan varastossa lämpötilojen ja kosteuden armoilla. Alku oli todella hankalaa, koska olen sen verran allerginen homeelle, etten pystynyt lukemaan kirjaa tai olemaan samassa huoneessa sen kanssa aivastelematta.

Niinpä vein sen Lontoossa Codex Conservation'iin kirjoihin erikoistuneelle restauroijalle ja entisöijälle Ann-Marie Miller'lle Peckham Rye'hin. Ann-Marie ensin puhdisti kirjan roskista ja sen jälkeen käsitteli sen homeen poistamiseksi. Sitten hän tarkkaili kirjaa kuukauden ajan havaitakseen, että tulisiko home takaisin. Kirja sai onneksi puhtaat paperit ja sen matka Lontoosta takaisin Mäntyharjulle saattoi alkaa ja sen mukana myös tekstin tutkiminen. Nyt sitä voi huoletta lueskella.

Tämä tutkimustyö, joka jatkuu, on hauskaa yksityisetsivän hommaa – niinkuin varmaan jokainen joka on tutkinut sukunsa historiaa tietää. Sillä aikaa, kun tilikirja oli lepäämässä parantolassa, haastattelin Ilari Ahosta ja Jarmo Laaria ja kävin läpi historiallisia dokumentteja ja digitaalisia arkistoja kaivaakseni esiin Myyryläisen nahkatehtaan lähestulkoon unohdettua historiaa. Ja tässä ensin vähän nahkatehtaan historiaa, ennenkuin siirryn tilikirjan pariin.

Aleksanteri Myyryläinen syntyi 1860 Mikkelin Rantakylässä ja valmistui nahkurin kisälliksi vuonna 1887. Hän meni naimisiin vuonna 1890 ja perusti sen jälkeen nahkimon Mäntyharjulle, pari vuotta rautatien tulemisen jälkeen. Mäntyharjun Käräjillä vahvistettu vuokrasopimus vuodelta 1891, jonka Ilari Ahonen ystävällisesti antoi käyttööni, kertoo, kuinka Nahkuri Aleksanteri Myyryläinen Mikkelistä veljensä Kauppias Otto Myyryläisen kanssa vuokrasi palan maata Vuorijärven rannalta Kyttälän kylästä. He saivat luvan perustaa Vuorijärven rannalle nahkatehtaan, niinkuin nahkimoita 1800-luvun lopulla kutsuttiin. Otto luovutti 1907 sopimuksen kokonaan veljelleen Aleksanterille, joka osti paikan myöhemmin itselleen. Tämän sopimuksen mukana syntyi osa Mäntyharjun varhaista pienteollisuutta, jota on esillä täällä näyttelyssä omassa osiossaan.

Myyryläisen nahkimo oli menestynyt perheyritys. Otto-pojan lisäksi nahkimossa oli töissä myös Kerttu-tytär myymälän puolella, jonka tuttu käsiala vilkahtaa aina silloin tällöin tilikirjan riveissä. Mauno Karjalaisen muistelmateos Mäntyharjusta kertoo Myyryläisen nahkimon suosiosta näin:

> Mestari se oli karvarikin, vaikka ei kiertänytkään pitäjällä, vaan suoritti työn kotonaan omassa verstaassaan. Näillä karvareilla olikin varsin runsaasi työtä, sillä melkeinpä kaikki pitäjän nahkat ruukattiin paikkakunnalla. Huomattavin ja vielä viime vuosiin saakka [eli 1960-luvulle asti] toiminut oli näistä Vuorijärven karvari Kallalahdessa, jonka mestarina oli Akseli [eli Aleksanteri] Myyryläinen ja hänen jälkeensä Otto Myyryläinen. Näillä mestareilla oli useampiakin työntekijöitä ja liikettä oli kovasti,

> varsinkin syksyisin oli aina hevosia puomissa kiinni ja nahkakääröjä tuli ja meni jatkuvasti. Kirkollakin oli kaksi karvaria. Viitanen kirkonlahden länsirannalla ja Haronen siinä Nurhosen kaupan naapurina, mutta näiden toiminta loppui jo aikaisemmin. (Karjalainen 1990, p. 122)

Myös 1800-luvun lopun ja 1900-luvun alun sanomalehdet kertovat, kuinka nahkimo laajeni Kouvolaan, jonne perustettiin kauppa torin varrelle Vuorijärven verstaan yhteydessä olleen kaupan lisäksi. DIGI sanomalehtiarkistoista löytyi *Kouvolan Sanomien* mainoksia Myyryläisen Nahka- ja Valjasliikkeestä, joka oli torin laidalla auki toripäivisin ja jossa sekä myytiin nahkatuotteita että ostettiin nahkoja (e.g. 14.9. *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1910, p. 5).

Mikkelin Sanomissa löytyy raportteja nahkavarkauksista, joissa vorot veivät valmiita nahkoja (25.8. 1906; *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1906a, p. 2). Sieltä löytyy myös työpaikkailmoituksia, joissa haetaan nahkureita ja oppipoikia nahkimoon (28.7. *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1898, p. 4). On siellä ilmoituksia Aleksanterin vaali- ja kunnallislautakuntaan valituksi tulemisistakin (e.g. *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1904, p. 2 and 1906b, p. 3). *Mikkelin Sanomissa* oli myös vuonna 1905 ilmoitus, jossa annettiin

> Kaunisrakenteinen, vaaleanpunanen, vaaleilla jouhilla, 157 senttimetriä korkea ori käytettäväksi astutukseen kaikkina arkipäivinä 5 markasta Mäntyharjulla. (3.6.; *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1905, p. 2)

Ilmoittajana oli A. Myyryläinen, Nahkuri. Tämä ilmoitus on muistitus siitä, että niinkuin tämä Iso-Pappila aikoinaan, nahkimo oli myös toimiva maatila, jossa pidettiin karjaa ja viljeltiin. Monien eläimien, kuten lehmien, härkien, hiehojen, mullien, vasikoiden, sikojen, hevosten, varsojen, hirvien, jänisten, metsäsikojen, kissojen ja koirien nahat käsiteltiin nahkimossa – niitä parkittiin, värjättiin ruuniksi tai mustaksi, niistä tehtiin saappaita ja muita nahkatuotteita, ja valmistettiin turkiksiksi – esim. kissat ja koirat tehtiin yksinomaan turkiksiksi. Ilari Ahosen mukaan nahkurinverstaassa oli töissä useita suutareita, muun muassa suutari Kinnunen, jotka tekivät kenkiä, saappaita, vöitä, hanskoja – kaikkea mitä nahasta voi tehdä. Heille kuului ruoka palkan lisäksi. Järven rannalla olevassa savotassa oli höyrykone, jonka avulla tehtiin hevosille valjaita ja remmejä. Itse muistan savotan lapsuudestani ja ne suuret sammiot joita oli myös pitkin rantaa. Lapset eivät saaneet mennä sisälle ja siitä piti huolen Turre koira, joka haukkui aina kun yritti mennä lähelle. Nyt savottaa enää ole, muuta kuin valokuvissa. Niitä sammioita käytettiin nahkojen liotukseen, joka tapahtui useissa työvaiheissa. *Suomen Nahkurilehti* vuodelta 1910 kertoo kuinka esimerkiksi

> lampaan- tai karitsannahkaa ensin liotettiin vedessä ja riivattiin eli sekoitettiin, sitten pestiin saippualla ja huuhdeltiin. Sen jälkeen nahka liotettiin uudestaan rasvan poistamiseksi. Kypsytys tehtiin kalialuna, suola ja vehnäjauhoseoksella. Nahan annettiin näin kypsyä eli kuivua muutama viikko, sitten se kostutettiin ja annettiin vetäytyä. Seuraavaksi nahka räkättiin eli venytettiin raudalla ennen kuin se pingotettin eli naulattiin raamille kuivamaan ryppyjen poistamiseksi. Nahka pehmitettiin hankaamalla, jotta lihapuoli puhdistuisi. Villa katattiin eli harjattiin, sitten kepitettiin, jotta lika karisisi pois ja villa nousisi ylös. Lopuksi villa kiillotettin siveltämällä lyseriiniä pehmeällä harjalla (Vuolle-Apila, 1910, pp. 4-5).

[Käsittelytuokio] Tässä on esimerkki valmiista lampaan nahasta. Villa kiiltää ja nahassa näkyy reiät paikoista, jossa se laitettiin venymään. [Laita kiertämään] Ostin tämän nahan täältä museolta Maalla on Mukavaa tapahtumassa, jossa niitä myytiin. Vaikka se onkin nykyaikainen nahka, se on hyvä esimerkki, miltä valmis lampaan talja tai turkis näyttää. Keskiajalla lampaan nahkaa käytettiin raamattuihin ja muihin pyhiin kirjoihin, koska se on niin valkea ja värit ja kulta tulevat siinä hyvin esiin. Myös kissonnahkoja liotettiin useampaan kertaan, niinkuin samainen *Suomen Nahkurileht*i kertoo:

> Kissannahkain liotus on niinkuin hirvennahkain suurimmalla varovaisuudella toimitettava, sillä kissannahkain karva on samoin hyvin höllässä. Liotus toimitetaan kolmessa puhtaassa kylmässä vedessä, jonka sekaan voipi panna jonkun verran suoloja. Kun nahat ovat täysin lionneet ja lihasta vapautettu, pannaan niihin kypsytysainetta, joka on samoin valmistettu kuin edellä on kerrottu. [Eli kalialuna, suola ja vehnäjauhoseoksella.] Kypsytyksen ja kuivauksen jälkeen kastellaan nahat ja venytetään raudalla kolme kertaa, joka kerta välillä kuivaten. Kuivista nahoista

> otetaan rasvaa pois seuraavalla tavalla: karvapuolelle pannaan kuumia leseitä eli sahanjauhoja ja hangataan sitten hyvästi ja helistetään nahka puhtaaksi. Tällä tavalla saadaan karvoista pois paljon rasvaa, joka tekisi nahan useampiin tarkoituksiin enemmän tai vähemmän epäkäytännöillisiksi. Kun nahat ovat lihapuolelta raudalla puhdistettu ja karvapuolelta harjalla siististi harjattu, ovat ne valmiit. Kissannahkoja käytetään rukkasten ja kintaiden vuoriksi. Kissannahkoja on myöskin viimeisimpinä aikoina ruvettu hyvällä menestyksellä käyttämään saappaiden vuoriksi ja kenkien irtonaisiksi sisäpohjiksi. Erittäinkin ne kenellä on taipuvaisuutta reumatismiin tai kihtivaivoihin, ovat hyvällä menestyksellä käyttäneet kissannahkaisia sisäpohjia. (Vuolle-Apila, 1910, pp. 4-5)

Minulla ei valitettavasti ole esitellä kissannahkaa ja mietin tätä lukiessani, että vieläköhän kissannahkoja käytetään samoihin tarkoituksiin reuman ja kihdin kotihoitoon? Minun fysiikanopettajani aikoinaan käytti kissannahkaa staattisen sähkön esittelemiseen. Ehkä nahka toimi iltaisin reumatismin hoitokeinona, tiedä häntä. Mutta takaisin nahkimon tarinaan. Niinkuin Karjalaisen teksti ja tilikirja kertovat, syksy – ja talvi – olivat kiireisintä aikaa nahkatehtaassa. Tilikirja oli käytössä Aleksanterin pojalla, nahkuri Otto Myyryläisellä – minun iso-enollani – hänen otettuaan nahkatehtaan johdon käsiinsä isänsä kuoltua 1925. Oton kuva on nähtävissä tekstipaneelissa. Jarmo Laari, Oton lapsenlapsi, kertoi minulle, että Otolla oli myöhemmin myös *Nahka- ja Valjasliike* Nelikulmassa, joka oli neliön muotoinen talo – siitä se nimi. Siellä oli myös hänen asuntonsa lisäksi kahvila ja matkahuolto. Tuolla väentuvassa on valokuvaaja Nestori Kurvisen näyttelyssä hänen ottamansa kuva Nelikulmasta.

Tilikirjan eli myyntikirjan teksti kertoo nahkatehtaan Oton aikaisesta toiminnasta vuodelta 1928 aina vuoteen 1940 ja nahkataloudesta, joka eli maatalouden sesonkien ja vuodenaikojen mukaan. Tilikirjojen lisäksi – ja niitä oli tietenkin ollut useita – nahkimossa pidettiin erikseen päiväkirjaa, johon tilikirjassa viitataan, mutta niitä en ole nähnyt. Kirjoja ei ole numeroitu tai merkitty erikseen, mutta sen sivut on otsikoitu vuosilla ja kuukausilla. Jokainen asiakas sai oman numeronsa, joka kirjattiin sekä tilikirjaan, *että* nahkoihin. Tämä oli erityisen tärkeää, etteivät nahat ja asiakkaat menisi sekaisin, nahan valmistus nimittäin kesti kahdestatoista neljääntoista kuukautta. Eli jos asiakas toi nahan tammikkuussa 1935, se oli valmis aikaisintaan tammikuussa 1936.

Kirjaan kirjoitettiin asiakkaan nimi, sekä paikkakunta, mistä hän tuli. Kirja on lähestulkoon täynnä miesten nimiä, mutta on mukavaa, että mukana on muutamia naisiakin.
Sitten kirjattiin ylös eläinten nimet ja mitä asiakas halusi nahoille tehtävän. Asiakkaalle annettiin lappu, jota vastaan valmiit nahat luovutettiin. Usein oli käynyt kuitenkin niin, että lappu oli hukkunut ja nahat oli viety laputta. Lopuksi tilikirjaan on kirjattiin kuinka paljon työ maksoi. Osa nahoista otettiin joskus palkkioksi työstä tai ostettiin suoraan nahkimolle. Nahankäsittely oli kallista; esim. lampaan nahan käsittely vuonna 1928 maksoi n. 11 markkaa ja sänkiäisen käsittely n. 70-90 markkaa. Myöhempinä vuosina lasku meni jopa perintään.

Esimerkiksi, 13 maaliskuuta 1930, numero 1031 annettiin Otto Savanderille Lyytikkälästä, joka toi yhden vasikan, kaksi sänkiäistä ja yhden lampaan. Vasikka ja sänkiäiset tehtiin mustaksi nahaksi ja lammas ruuniksi eli ruskeaksi. Savander oli hakenut nahat ilman lappua. Koko lysti maksoi hänelle 70 silloista markkaa. Ja ihan tasapuolisuuden nimiin, elokuussa 1930, numero 1200 oli Ida Karjalaisen Hannolasta, joka toi yhden sänkiäisen valmistettavaksi mustaksi nahaksi. Se maksoi hänelle 47 markkaa. Ida taisi olla sukua Mauno Karjalaiselle, jonka kirjaa lainasin tuossa aikaisemmin. Hän tuli myös Hannolasta.

Kirjassa on yli 6000 merkintää, josta olen kirjoittanut puhtaaksi noin neljänneksen – eli ensimmäiset kolme vuotta – se on todella hidasta hommaa johon tarvitaan hyvät niskalihakset, käsialaopin tuntemusta, ja suurennuslasi. Kun näyttely päättyy ja saan kirjan takaisin, jatkan puhtaaksikirjoitusta. Ja jossain vaiheessa digitoin kirjan, jotta sitä voi päästä lukemaan tarkemmin.

Tässä vaiheessa täytyy tunnustaa, että kaiken, mitä tiedän nahkurin työstä olen oppinut tutkimukseni myötä – tilikirja on jännittävää tutkittavaa. Ja yksi jännittävä eläin on tuo Otto Savanderin ja Ida Karjalaisen nahkimolle tuoma sänkiäinen, joka mainitaan kirjassa

useammin kuin mikään muu eläin. Se on pieni arvoitus tällaiselle nahkurintoimintaan ja kieleen vihkiytymättömälle. Esimerkiksi, vuonna 1929 kirjaan oli merkitty 444 sänkiäistä. Sänkiäisellä saatetaan tarkoittaa montaa eläintä: se voi olla jäniksen sänkipoika, joka syntyy keväällä hangelle, vaikka jänis taitaa olla liian pieni eläin siihen hintaan verrattuna, mitä nahkurin asiakkaat sänkiäisen valmistuksesta maksoivat. Mutta sillä voidaan myös tarkoittaa sänkiäisnaudikasta eli nuorta nautaa. Se voi myös olla noin puolitoistavuotias hirvenvasa. Ja se voi myös olla juhta, kuten jotkut merkinnät tilikirjassa kertovat. Jos kellään on ratkaisua sänkiäsongelmaani, niin ottaisin sen mielelläni vastaan. Niinkuin sanoin, nahkurin työ oli sesonkiluontoista. Kesällä eli huhtikuusta elokuuhun nahkoja tuotiin suhteellisen vähän käsiteltäväksi – keskimäärin noin 35 nahkaa kuukaudessa, kun taas esimerkiksi pelkästään lokakuussa 1929 tuotiin jo 238 eli yli kaksisataa nahkaa enemmän kuin kesäkuukausina. Näistä sänkiäisiä oli 163 kappaletta eli yli puolet lokakuussa tuoduista nahoista. Lampaan nahka oli seuraavaksi suosituin. Niitä tuotiin nahkimoon vuonna 1929 yhteensä 255 eli noin puolet vähemmän kuin sänkiäisiä. Hevosen ja varsan nahkoja tuotiin muutama vuodessa, eikä mikään ihme, hevosia, arvokkaita työeläimiä, ei teurastettu yhtä usein kuin nautakarjaa. Vasikan nahkoja taas tuotiin ympäri vuoden – vuonna 1929 yhteensä 122. Kaikki nahat eivät olleet priimaa. Märäntyneistä, pilaantuneista, homeisista, rotan, hiiren, tai koin syömistä nahoista tehtiin erikseen merkintä kirjaan, koska ne teettivät enemmän töitä ja niistä tuli huonoa tulosta – osaa ei edes huolittu nahkimoon ollenkaan!
Se eläimistä, siirrytään ihmisten pariin.

Asiakkaat tulivat sekä Mäntyharjulta ja sen lähikylistä, että kauempaa Kaakkois-Suomesta. Tutut Mäntyharjun kylät mainitaan kirjassa useita kertoja ainakin ensimmäisen kolmen vuoden ajalta. Vuosina 1928-1930 Lyytikkälästä ja Jäniskylästä tuotiin nahkoja 32 kertaa nahkimoon; Särkemäeltä 39 kertaa; Kinnistä 51 kertaa, kun taas, Kyttälästä, eli kylästä missä nahkuri Myyryläinen asui ja toimi, tuotiin nahkoja käsiteltäväksi 62 kertaa noina vuosina. Valtolasta taasen 71 kertaa ja Halmenniemeltä 72 kertaa. Ristiinalaiset ja Pertunmaalaiset olivat myös ahkeria asiakkaita. Yksityishenkilöiden lisäksi myös erilaiset firmat ja laitokset käyttivät Myyryläisen Nahkimon palveluita. Muun muassa Voikoski, joka on esillä täällä teollisuusnäyttelyssä, toi marraskuussa vuonna 1928 yhden lehmän ja neljä vasikan nahkaa valmistettavasksi ruuniksi ja yhden lampaan joka piti valmistaa turkikseksi. Savon Työlaitos taas toi kesäkuussa 1935 viisi vasikkaa ja yhden lehmän nahan. Kymmene toi yhden sänkiäisen ja kahdeksan vasikkaa marraskuussa 1935. Kauppias Heikkinenkin käytti Myyryläisen nahkimon palveluja: sieltä tuotiin neljätoista vasikkaa ja kaksi lehmää helmikuussa 1938 käsiteltäväksi.

Tämä tutkimus on vielä kesken ja tilikirjassa on vielä paljon tutkittavaa, mutta tähän loppuun haluaisin lisätä vielä yhden asian tilikirjasta. Niinkuin tarkkakorvaiset ovat varmaan huomanneet, tilikirja kattaa ajan jolloin Suomi oli talvisodassa Neuvosto-Venäjän kanssa. Valitettavasti, mutta ehkä jotenkin runollisesti ajankohtaan sopivasti, sodan alkamisajankohdasta marraskuussa 1939 puuttuu muutamaa sivu. Merkinnät vuoden 1940 alussa sota-aikana osoittavat, että nahkoja tuotiin sota-aikana hyvin vähän käsittelyyn - ymmärrettävästi.

Niinkuin mainitsin aikaisemmin, tämä tilikirja on tiettävästi ainut, joka on jäljellä kymmenistä samanlaisista, mutta kaikesta huolimatta se on selviytynyt nykypäivään asti, ihan niinkuin tämä pieni sisukas Suomemme, joka tänä vuonna täyttää sata vuotta. Kiitos!

2. The English translation of the lecture

(The translation is a free rendering of the Finnish original; for example, when needed, I have added words at places to compensate for the colloquial Finnish and make the sentences clearer. I have left some words untranslated, as with some of the technical jargon of tanning, which I have not found an English equivalent. The word *sänkiäinen* is left untranslated throughout; it is, however, discussed in the text of the thesis.)

Thank you all for coming to this event and hearing about Tanner Myyryläinen and his account book. My name is Pirkko Koppinen and I am a researcher at Kingston University, London in the
Department of Art History, and Architecture, where I am writing a thesis on material culture, museology, and heritage. My research focuses on the journey of an – almost forgotten – personal object, Tanner Myyryläinen's logbook, to the museum's exhibition and hence to the public sphere.

And I would like to start by thanking the Museum of Mäntyharju and the culture secretary Anu Yli-Pyky and Susanna Helminen for their kind invitation to talk about my research and to get involved in the preparation of the exhibition. Special thanks also to my relatives Ilari Ahonen and Jarmo Laari, from whom I received photos and information about the operations of the tannery. Thanks also to my brothers Marko, who lent me the book, and Kimmo - without them, this study would not have been done at all.

Before I move on to talking about the ledger and its history, I will first tell you a little bit about my own background and where this research started. After the lecture, it would be nice to hear your memories of tanners at Mäntyharju. I was previously a part-time lecturer in Old and Medieval English literature for ten years at Royal Holloway, which is part of University of London. While there, I became interested in material culture, first in Old English literature, which is my specialty, then later in the connection between modern material culture and personal heritage. Today, I am a researcher at Kingston University, London. As its name already suggests, it is in the London town of

Kingston-upon-Thames, where I graduated with a master's degree in heritage studies a few years ago. This current research began when I wrote my dissertation for that degree, in which I compared an Old English text to the permanent collections of the Suur-Savo Museum in Mikkeli and began to think about the journey of personal objects to the museum's collections.

I also have another, more personal reason to do this research. I moved to London 22 years ago when my husband got a job there – the usual story – but a piece of my heart stayed in Finland, especially here in Mäntyharju, where my grandmother's family settled in 1891 and where I spent several summers in my youth. The stories of my grandfather Alexander and later uncle Otto's tannery, which my grandmother told me when I was a little girl, stayed in my mind. A couple of years ago, nostalgia won, and I started researching Tanner Myyryläinen.

As I said before, I'm researching a personal object's journey to a museum. This year, that journey took place and Tanner Myyryläinen's logbook was included in the Exhibition of Industry to celebrate Finland's 100th anniversary of independence, thanks to the Mäntyharju Museum.

The journey of objects to the museum is more complicated than one might suddenly guess. As the collection policy program of the Museum of Mäntyharju states, objects are not included in the museum's collections unless they have a history, i.e. a story, which the museum strives to present in its exhibitions. The logbook met this requirement - I will return to its story shortly. But before objects are admitted into the museum, they must be in such a condition that they do not harm the museum. The tanner's ledger had once been made into a functional item and so it was. Its covers, made of paper laminate and covered with leather – I don't know of which animal, maybe an elk – have suffered over the years. The cover has been used as a cutting board and a coaster. There are drawings on the fly leaves, but the text is surprisingly clear. The text is written in many different hands. It uses abbreviations, the meaning of all of which I do not yet know – this investigation is still ongoing. The book is missing pages: at least four at the beginning and a few others from here and there. It was also full of debris and mould after being in our summer cottage for years and before that in the workshop in cold storage at the mercy of temperatures and humidity. At the beginning, studying it was really hard because I am allergic to mould – to the extent that I was unable to read a book or be in the same room with it without sneezing.

So, I took it to the Codex Conservation in London for the book restorer and conservationist Ann-Marie Miller at Peckham Rye. Ann-Marie first cleaned the book of rubbish and then treated it to remove mould. He then watched the record for a month to see if the mould would come back. Fortunately, the book received clean bill of health and its journey from London back to Mäntyharju could begin, and the study of the text could begin. Now you can read it without any worries.

This research is a fun private detective job – as probably anyone who has researched their family history knows. While the account book was resting in the sanatorium [with the conservationist], I interviewed Ilari Ahonen and Jarmo Laari and went through historical documents and digital archives to dig out the almost forgotten history of the Myyryläinen's leather factory. So, here's first a brief history of the tannery before I move on to the ledger.

Aleksanteri Myyryläinen was born in 1860 in Rantakylä, Mikkeli, and he graduated as a tanner's apprentice in 1887. He married in 1890 and afterwards founded a tannery in Mäntyharju, a couple of years after the railway was constructed there. The lease agreement confirmed in Mäntyharju's district court in 1891, which Ilari Ahonen kindly lent me, tells how Tanner Aleksanteri Myyryläinen from Mikkeli with his brother Merchant Otto Myyryläinen leased a piece of land from the shores of Lake Vuorijärvi in the village of Kyttälä. They were allowed to set up a leather factory on the shores of Lake Vuorijärvi, as tanneries were called in the late nineteenth century. In 1907, Otto handed over the contract entirely to his brother Alexander, who later bought the place for himself. With this agreement, a part of Mäntyharju's early small-scale industry was created; it is on display in this exhibition in its own section.

Myyryläinen tannery was a successful family business. In addition to Alexander's son, Otto, his daughter, Kerttu, worked at the store, and her familiar handwriting flashes from time to time in the ledger. Mauno Karjalainen's memoir about Mäntyharju tells about the popularity of the Myyryläinen leather shop as follows:

> The tanner was also a master, although he did not tour the parish; instead, he worked at home in his own workshop. These tanners did have quite a lot of work to do, as almost all the parish's skins were tanned locally. The most notable of these and until those years [until the 1960s] was Vuorijärvi's tanner in Kallalahti, whose master was Akseli [aka Aleksanteri] Myyryläinen and after him Otto Myyryläinen. These masters even employed several workers and there was a lot of business, especially in the autumn there were always horses tied onto the boom and bundles of pelts came and went constantly. The church bay also had two tanners. Viitanen on the west bank of the church bay and Haronen next to Nurhonen's shop, but their activities ended earlier (Karjalainen 1990, p. 122).

Newspapers from the late 19th and early 20th centuries also show how the tannery expanded to Kouvola, where [Alexander] established a shop by the market square, in addition to the shop at the Vuorijärvi workshop. In the DIGI newspaper archives, advertisements for the Myyryläinen 'Leather and Harness Store' in *Kouvolan Sanomat* state that it was open by the market square on market days and where both leather products were sold, and skins were bought (e.g. 14 September; see *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1910, p. 5). *Mikkelin Sanomat* reports of thefts of leather, where thieves finished skins (25 August; *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1906a, p. 2). There are also job postings, in which the tannery is looking for tanners and apprentices. There are also announcements of Alexander's election to the Electoral and Municipal Committees (e.g. *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1904, p. 2 and 1906b, p. 3). *Mikkelin Sanomat* also had an advertisement in 1905 which stated that

> A beautifully built, pink, with light horsehair, 157 cm high stallion for mating every weekday from 5 marks on Mäntyharju. (3 June; *Kansalliskirjaston Digitoidut Aineistot* 1905, p. 2)

The advertiser was A. Myyryläinen, Tanner. This advert is a reminder that, like this Iso-Pappila, the tannery was once also a functioning farm, which kept cattle and cultivated land.

The skins of many animals, such as cows, oxen, heifers, bulls, calves, pigs, horses, foals, deer, hares, wild boars, cats and dogs, were processed in a tannery – tanned, dyed in brown or black, made into boots and other leather products, and made into furs – e.g., cats and dogs were made exclusively into furs. According to Ilari Ahonen, the cobbler's workshop employed several shoemakers, including shoemaker Kinnunen, who made shoes, boots, belts, gloves - everything that can be made of leather. They were paid in meals in addition to wages. There was a steam engine in the beam house on the shore of the lake, which was used to make straps and horse harnesses. I personally remember the beam house from my childhood and those big vats that were also by the lake. Children were not allowed to go inside, and Turre-dog took care of that – he barked every time we tried to go near. Now the beam house is no more, other than in the photos. Those vats were used to soak the skins, which took place in several steps. *Suomen Nahkurilehti* from 1910 tells how, for example,

> sheepskin or lambskin was first soaked in water and [*riivattiin*?] stirred around, then washed with soap and rinsed. The skin was then re-soaked to remove grease. Liming was done with a mixture of potash, salt, and wheat flour. The skin was thus allowed to crust, i.e. dry for a few weeks, then it was moistened and allowed to soften. Next, the leather was cracked, i.e. stretched with an iron, before it was stretched, i.e. nailed to the frame to dry to remove wrinkles. The skin was softened by rubbing to clean the flesh side. The wool was [*katattiin*?], i.e. brushed, then beaten so that the dirt would shed off and the wool would rise. Finally, the wool was polished by brushing the [*lyseriinillä*?] with a soft brush (Vuolle-Apila 1910, pp. 4-5).

[Handling session] Here is an example of finished sheepskin. The wool shines and you can see that the leather has holes in the places where it was put to stretch. [Circulate among the audience] I bought this leather at this museum at the *Maalla on Mukavaa!* event where they were available. Although it's new, it's a good example of what a finished sheepskin or fur looks like. In the Middle Ages, sheepskin was used to make bibles and other holy books because it is so white against which colours and gold appeared bright. Cat skins were also soaked several times, as the previously mentioned *Suomen Nahkurilehti* says:

> The soaking of a cat skin, just as that of an elk, should be done with the utmost care, as cat skin hair is also very loose. Soaking is done three times with clean cold water, with some salt added. When the skins are completely soaked and meat free, a liming agent prepared in the same way as described above is applied to them. [That is, a mixture of potash, salt, and wheat flour.] After liming and drying, the skins are watered and stretched with iron three times, drying in between each time. Fat is removed from the dry skins as follows: hot bran, i.e. sawdust, is placed on the hair side and then rubbed thoroughly and the skin is jangled clean. In this way, a lot of fat is removed from the hair, which would make the skin more or less impractical for many purposes. Once the skins have been cleaned with iron on the flesh side and neatly brushed on the hair side with a brush, they are ready. (Vuolle-Apila 1910, pp. 4-5)

Cat skins are used as a lining for gloves and mittens. In recent times, cat skins have also been used with great success as padding for boots and loose insoles for shoes. Especially those who are prone to rheumatism or gouty problems have used cat-skin insoles with good success. Unfortunately, I don’t have cat skins to show you and when I read this article I was wondering, are cat skins still used for the same purposes as home remedies for rheumatism and gout? My physics teacher used to use a cat skin to introduce static electricity. Maybe the skin served as a cure for rheumatism in the evenings, I don’t know.

But back to the story of the tannery. As the Karjalainen’s text and logbook show, autumn – and winter – were the busiest times in the tannery. The logbook was used by Alexander’s son, tanner Otto Myyryläinen – my great-uncle – after he took over the management of the tannery after his father died in 1925. A picture of Otto can be seen in the text panel. Jarmo Laari, Otto’s grandson, told me that Otto later also had a

'Leather and Harness Store' in *Nelikulma*, which was a square-shaped house - hence the name. In addition to his living quarters, there was also a café and ticket shop '*atkahuolto*. In the exhibition of the photographer Nestori Kurvinen, there is a picture of *Nelikulma* taken by him.

The text of the logbook of accounts, i.e. the sales ledger, tells about the everyday operations of Otto's leather factory from 1928 until 1940 and also about the leather economy, which lived according to the agricultural seasons and times of the year. In addition to the logbooks – and, of course, there had been several of them – the leather shop kept a separate diary to which the logbook refers, but I have not seen it.

The logbook is not numbered or marked separately, but its pages are titled by years and months. Each customer was given a number, which was recorded in both the ledger and the skins. This was particularly important so that the skins and customers were not confused, as the manufacture of the leather took twelve to fourteen months. That is, if the customer brought the leather in January 1935, it was ready no earlier than January 1936. The name of the customer and the place from which he came were written in the book. The book is almost full of men's names, but it's nice to have a few women involved as well.

The names of the animals and what the client wanted to do for the skins were then recorded. The customer was given a ticket against which the finished skins were handed over. It had often happened, however, that the ticket had been lost and the skins had been taken away without a ticket. Finally, the cost of the work was recorded in the ledger. Some skins were sometimes taken as a payment for work or bought directly for the leather shop. Tanning was expensive; for example, the processing of sheepskin in 1928 cost about 11 Finnish marks and the processing of *sänkiäinen* about 70-90. In later years, the bill even went to debt collection. For example, on March 13, 1930, number 1031 was given to Otto Savander from Lyytikkälä, who brought one calf, two stallions and one sheep. The calf and *sänkiäinen* were made into black leather and the sheep into rune. Savander had fetched the skins without the patch. The whole thing cost him 70 marks at the time. And in the name of fairness, in August 1930, the number 1200 was

Ida Karjalainen from Hannola, who brought one *sänkiäinen* to be made into black leather. It cost him 47 Finnish marks. Ida seems to be related to Mauno Karjalainen, whose book I cited earlier. He also came from Hannola.

The book has more than 6,000 entries, of which I have transcribed about a quarter – that is, the first three years – it is very timeconsuming task that requires good neck muscles, knowledge of palaeography, and a magnifying glass. When the exhibition ends and I get the book back, I will continue the transcription. And at some point, I will have the book digitized so I am able read it in more detail.

At this point, need to admit that everything I know a tanner's work I have learned during my research – the logbook is an exciting thing to explore. One exciting animal is the *sänkiäinen* that Otto Savander and Ida Karjalainen brought into the tannery, and which is mentioned more than any other animal in the course of the book. It is a conundrum for someone who is not initiated in the language of tannery or its operations. For example, in 1929 the logbook contains 444 *sänkiäinen*. The term may mean many animals: it could be a leveret, which is born on the snow banks in the spring, although a hare might be too small of an animal compared to the price the tannery's customers paid for the tanning of *sänkiäinen*. But it can also mean a one-year old calf. Or it can be about a year and a half year old elk calf. And it could be an ox, as some of the entries in the logbook specify it. If anyone has a solution to my *sänkiäinen*-problem, I would be very grateful.

Like I said, the tanner's work was seasonal. In the summer, from April to August, relatively few skins were brought in for tanning – an average of about 35 skins per month – while, for example, in October 1929 alone 238 skins were brought in, over 200 more than in the summer months. Of these, 163 were *sänkiäinen*, or more than half of the skins brought in October. Sheepskin was the next most popular. In 1929, a total of 255 of them were brought in into the leather shop, which is about half less than *sänkiäinen*. Few skins of horses or foals arrived a year, and it is no wonder, as horses, valuable working animals, were not slaughtered as often as cattle. Calf skins, on the other hand, were brought all year round – in 1929 a total of 122.

Not all skins were prime quality. A separate entry of wet, spoiled, mouldy, rat-, mouse-, or moth-eaten skins was made in the logbook because they demanded work and the results were poor – some weren't even accepted at the tannery at all! That is it about animals, let us now move on to humans.

Customers came both from Mäntyharju and its nearby villages, and further afield from Southeast Finland. The familiar villages of Mäntyharju are mentioned in the book several times for at least in the first three years. Between 1928 and 1930, skins arrived from Lyytikkälä and Jäniskylä 32 times into the tannery; from Särkemäki 39 times; from Kinni 51 times, while from Kyttälä, the village where the tanner Myyryläinen lived and worked, customers brought hides for tanning 62 times in those years. And from Valtola 71 times and Halmenniemi 72 times. The people of Ristiina and Pertunmaa were also regular customers.

In addition to private individuals, various companies and institutions also used the services of Myyryläinen's Tannery. Among other things, Voikoski, which is on display here at an industrial exhibition, brought November 1928 one cow and four calf skins to be made into a brown leather and one sheep to be made into fur. In June 1935, the *Savon Työlaitos* brought five calves and one cow's skin. Kymmene Oy brought one *sänkiäinen* and eight calves in November 1935. The merchant Heikkinen also used the services of the Myyryläinen's tannery: fourteen calves and two cows were brought there in February 1938 for processing.

This research is still ongoing and there is still much to explore in the ledger, but here at the end, I would like to add one more thing about the ledger. As those of you with sharp ears have probably noticed, the book covers the period when Finland was fighting the Winter War with Soviet Russia. Unfortunately, but perhaps somehow poetically appropriately for the time, a few pages are missing from the start of the war in November 1939. Records in the early 1940s during the war show that very few skins were brought to the tannery during the war - understandably.

As I mentioned earlier, this account book is known to be the only one that remains of dozens of the such books, but in spite of everything, it has survived to this day, just like our little, headstrong Finland that is one hundred years old this year. Thank you!

Appendix 4: The Transcript of the 'Reminiscing Session' and Translation

1. The transcript of the recording at the museum in Finnish, 8 August 2017. (PK is the author)

PK: {28.07} Ja nyt, jos teillä on lisättävää tai muistoja niin… kuka tietää sänkiäisistä?

Mies 1: [epäselvää] … 'sänkiäinen on semmonen, joka on keväällä syntynyt se on [kasvanu?] kesällä … sitä ei oo jätetty talveks, syksyllä tapettu, et tämä kyl on sänkiäinen.'

PK: 'Onks se niinku nautakarjaa.'

Mies 1: 'Nautakarjaa, ei mikään muu ole sänkiäinen, kun tämä nautakarja, joka se on keväällä syntynyt ja sitte kesällä ollu laitumella ja kasvanu, eikä oo talveks sitte jätetty, se on syksyllä tapettu.'

PK: 'Joo, joo.'

Mies 1: 'Se on minun käsitys…mikään, minä oon ymmärtäny, muu ei ole sänkiäinen.'

PK: 'Sitte niitä tuli sänkiäisiä milloin tahansa kesällä.'

Mies 1: 'Voihan se nahka tulla milloin tahansa [epäselvää – yleisö puhuu päällekäin] ..teurastettu vuos sitte.'

PK: 'Kiitos, se tosiaan sopii siihen mitä siinä tilikirjassa puhutaan, että todellakin joo, se oli kevään…'

Mies 2: 'Siinä mainittiin, että kirkolla oli kaks nahkuria Viitanen ja Halonen… ja mun isoisä oli tää Viitanen.'

PK: 'Ai, hienoa.'

Mies 2: 'Muutaman sanan haluan sanoa. Hän oli syntynyt 1862 ja kun tämä ala sitten kiinnosti, niin lähti opiskelemaan tän työn kautta {30.00} Keski-Eurooppaan […] Saksaan ja siellä vaelteli eri paikoissa ja sai siitä rahaa ja eli sillä lailla. Ja muun muassa oli silloin 1889 maailmannäyttelyt Ranskassa, taikka Pariisissa, ja tänä vuonna juuri siksi ajaksi Eiffel-torni valmistui. Tämä reissu kesti lähes neljä vuotta ja tämän jälkeen hän lähti sitten etsimään paikkaa, missä voisi asettua tekeen toimintaa. Ja kirkolta asemaa vastapäätä Sortavalan suuntaan [epäselvää] Enonlahti-niminen tila. Sen omistaja oli kunnallislautakunnan esimies ja liekö sitten … ei ollut kasööriä kunnassa, että, että tämän esimiehen omat ja kunnan rahat meni vähän sekaisin.'

[Naurua]

'Ja tuota tämä on historiankirjoissa, *Mäntyharjun Historiassa* ja tämän jälkeen sitten meni pakkohuutokauppaan tai kuitenkin joutui myymään sen ja Viitanen osti sitten tän ja piti sitä nahkurinhommaa ainakin kuolemaan asti 1932.'

PK: 1938?

Mies 2: Tästä Halosesta, joka oli toinen tässä, ei mulla ole siitä tietoa, nimi vaan. Asiakirjoissa taitaa olla maininta, että nahkurinarvoinen.'

PK: Joo, kiitos, hienoa. Olitte itse siellä nahkimossa käyny koskaan?'

Mies 2: 'No, se ei enää ollu toiminnassa sillon. Rakennus oli ja ne isot paljut ja meikäläinen pieni poika varotettiin, että vaan ei polskahda niihin paljuihin. {32.15} Että vielä tästä nyt siitä Tyystjärven … päiväkirjoihin 1950-luvulla löydetty {32.28}tuolta. Ne on sellasena vihkona sitten tallessa.'

PK: 'Säilyvät historiaan, se on hieno homma. Minä en tiedä missä toi Aleksanteri on opiskellu nahkuriksi, sen verran vielä on… Oks sulla?' [PK kysyy JL Laarilta – ei vastausta]

Muistaako kukaan Oton, silloin kun hän oli nahkuri?'

Mies 3: 'Mää tunsin. Pikkupoikana hän mitään paljon muista, tunsin kuitenkin…'

PK: 'Se siinä tässä on, että tassä on kulunu sen verran aikaa, että ne ihmiset, että jotka oli töissä niin tavallaan niitä ihmisiä ei enää ole. Ehkä tota, suurin osa ihmisistä on jo poistunut, jotka on ollut töissä tai tunsivat sen nahkimon nii… sä oot varmasti ainut joka … [PK kysyy Ilari Ahoselta – ei vastausta]

Mies 4: 'Oliko niitä Otto nahka Myyryläisiä kaks kappaletta?'

PK: 'Oli vanhempi, joka oli Aleksanterin ja sen nahkimon perustajan veli, joka oli kauppias, hän oli, hänellä oli muunmuassa tota Hietasessa saha. Hän oli enempi rahoittajana mukana tässä näin. Sitten oli Aleksanterin poika, joka opetteli nahkuriks jossain muualla ja tuli sitten jatkamaan isänsä [nahkimoa]… oli sillä lailla kaks Ottoa, jotka helposti menee sekasin.

Miten tota, kun nahkimot loppu ja sitten alko, tota tää Askeleen kenkätehdas, niin onko siitä kellään muistoa, että miten ku se kenkätehdas tuli tänne. Kun kenkätehtaalta saatiin kenkiä, että enää ei tarvinnu mennä nahkuriin hakemaan. Koska se on ollut aika mullistava muutos siitä ajasta.'

[Yleistä kuiskintaa.]

Nainen 1: 'Siinähän se S. on. Minä oon ihmetellyt, että missä se S. on. Siinänähän se istuu.

S.: 'Tässähän se vielä istuu. En ollu ihan alusta pitäen, olin, 34 vuotta.'

[S. on Mies 5]

PK: 'Oletko tässä kuvassa [soittaa kuvaa Askeleen henkilökunnasta tehtaan edessä]?

Mies 5: 'On tuttuja…kattelin haikeilla mielin missä sitten toiset lienee. On siinä tehtaan edustalla kuvattu.'

JL: 'Oletko tuossa kuvassa itse?'

Mies 5: 'Olen.'

JL: 'Missäpäin suurin piirtein?'

Mies 5: 'Minä en nyt periaattesta [yleisö puhuu yhteen ääneen] no niin, kysyttiin keitä on, minä vaikenen. Minä nyt en oikeastaan … en ilmoita kuka missäkin on'

PK. Joo tietysti. Voin ottaa nauhoituksen pois.

Mies 5: 'Kyllä on tullu oltua pihalla. Alusta. Minä kun läksin, niin sitten se meni konkurssiin.'

[Naurua.]

Nainen 1: 'S., minkälainen oli ensimmäinen päivä?'

Mies 5: 'No en minä tiedä.'

Nainen 1: 'Menitkö sinne jonossa ilmottautumaan?'

Mies 5: 'Sinne sai tulla sitten … sinne niitä otettiin ketä tuli paikalle vaan sinne … siihen aikaan oltiin … minä olin sit olin eri koneilla siellä työskentelin sitten. Minä kävin Tampereella vähän kurssia…'

Nainen 1: 'Aha.'

Mies 5: '… ja opetin toisiakin vähän.'

PK: 'Oliko samaan aikaan suutareita. Kuitenkin kun sen täytyy olla sellainen siirtymävaihe, että miloon tehtiin vielä käsin kenkiä ja sitten ennenku se kenkätehdas oli valmiina… varmaan oli sellanen?'

Mies 5: 'Sitä valmistettiin vielä pari vuotta.'

PK: 'Kenkätehdas [tekee] vähän enemmän kuin mitä suutarit pystyy tekemään.'

[Naurua.]

JL: Minähän opin siellä verstaassa lukemaan sillon, kun olin siellä vaarilla kanssa. Ku mä menin kouluun, niin osasin lukee ihan täysin, koska se mulle aapista siinä töitä tehdessään käänteli ja…

PK: 'No sä oot käyny siellä verstaassa?'

JL: 'Joo, paljon joo. Siinähän tehtiin kaikennäköistä nahkavyötä ja mitä pistoolikoteloa valmistettiin.'

PK: 'Siitä en ollu tienny, pistoolikotelosta.'

JL: 'Joo tehtiin vaikka mitä, mitä nyt nahasta voi tehä. Olihan niitä nahkoja.'

PK: 'Niin.'

JL: 'Kaikennäköistä.'

PK: 'Millanen se savotta oli sisältä?'

JL: 'No se oli aika ankeennäkönen, öö, siinähän oli paitsi ne sammiot, mitkä vieläkin on on siinä, puusammiot.'

PK: 'Niin joo.'

JL: 'Isoja puusammioita ja mä muistan kuinka väännettiin hirvennahkoja siinä, nehän oli hirveen raskaita.'

PK: Niin ja sen takia…'

JL: 'kauheen raskaita.'

PK: Suurin osa oli niin paljon kalliimpia, kuin esimerkiksi lehmän, härännahan hintaisia oli {37.51} nää sänkiäiset. Nyt tietysti, kun siihen tilikirjaan ei kirjoitettu, että minkä takia – kun se on myyntikirja – makso niin paljon. Hirvennahat, missä karvat oli höllässä, niinku siinä nahkurinlehdessä sanottiin.'

JL: 'Nehän tuotiin semmoisena suolanyyttinä sinne aina metsästyksen jälkeen.'

PK: 'Joo, joo.

Mies 1: {38.10} 'Vuosisadan alussa täällä ei ollu hirviä, hirvet oli kuollu sukupuuttoon sillon sata vuotta sitten, ei niitä ollu. Tuol on ruvettu mainitsemaan…'

PK: 'Sillon kolkytluvulla tuossa kirjassa, että on hirviä yks tai kaks tullu sillon joskus marraskuussa, ei niitä montaa tullu.'

Mies 1: 'Sillon tuota neljäkymmentä luvulla ensimmäiset vasta hirvenlupia ruvettiin myöntämään. Sitä ennen jos vaikka joku voi …. Ennenhän ne oli hirvet semmoinen, että sillon sukupuuttoon tappo, kun ne näkivät hirven jäljet tossa, niin heti perään se tapettiin sukupuuttoon sillä tavalla. Sitten niitä {39.64} alko sieltä etelältä päin niitä tuli ja sitten tuolla ensimmäisiä lupia myönnettiin Halmenniemelle ja Vanoselle ja {39.18} sieltä Mäntyharjuun. Tässäkin minun isä ja ne tuli ne sieltä oli Halmenniemellä jahtaamassa ja sitten vasta myöhemmin kun tännekin saatiin hirvenlupia, mutta sehän koittivat. Ja hirvennahka on semmonen se venyy, se ei ole oikea, se on venyvää nahkaa.'

PK: 'Joo niin, joo.'

Mies 1: {39.43} 'Tuossa sitä ihmettelin kyllä tuossa ennen on tuossa jäniksen nahka ollut tuota sitte kauppatavaraa. Se piti nätisti nyljettiin kunnolla niinku, että ennen ku se ehjä nahka, ja se nahka, se ostettiin nahkojen vaikka se jäniksennahka murenee. Nykyään ei jäniksen nahkaa kukaan ei mene nahkan päältä.'

PK: 'Siinä on siinä kirjassa, kun siinä tilikirjassa on lopussa kaikki turkikset lueteltu erikseen vielä lisäks, niin siellä on jäniksiä ja piisamia, esimerkiksi on.'

Mies 1: 'Mites se piisami, piisamithan on istutettu Suomeen vasta oisko ne … ei niitä täällä ollu ku neljäkymmentäluvulla ensimmäiset piisamit tuli vasta sillon.'

JL: 'Vuorijärvessähän oli piisameita. Vaarihan raudoilla pyydysti niitä, muistaks sä niitä [kysyy PK'lta]?'

PK: 'Mummo kerto…'

[Epäselvää. JL ja Mies 1 puhuvat yhteen ääneen.]

Mies 1: 'Sollon niitä oli paljon, kun niitä tuli, mutta ei ne Vuorijärvessä sen aikaisemmin ollu ku muuallakaan koska… Kanadasta istutettu tuota se ei oo alkuperäinen piisami.'

PK: 'Niin ei varmasti joo.'

JL: 'Mä luulen et niitä on vieläkin siinä joskus näkyy…'

PK: 'Voi olla, en yhtään ihmettelis.
Ja metsäsikaa, metsäsikaa. Mä en tiedä onko se karvanen vai ei, mutta…'

Mies 1: 'Metsäsika on mäyrä!'

PK: [Nauraa] Metsäsika, niitä on turkikselle tehty… mun isä, mä muistan, kun mun isä oli, mun isä tota metsästi paljon ja metsästi joskus mäyriäkin. Joskus kauan aikaa sitten. No hirven lisäksi, mitä muita siellä oli. Mua aina kiinnostaa semmoset asiat niin kuin esim. sikoja, siannahkaa oli käsitelty tossa…'

Mies 1: 'En minä ole kuullu…'

JL: 'Koiria oli ainakin, ainakin muutama kappale…'

PK: {41.34} Koiria on ollu melkein joka…'

JL: {41.37} Naapurin Karhu Ollikkalassa teki mulle rukkaset mulle aina niistä koirista kun mä olin pieni.' {41.38}

PK: 'Joo, koiria ja kissoja tuli melkein joka kuukausi.'

JL: {41.47} 'Sehän oli vaarin kaveri Aapeli, IAkin varmaan muistaa Karhun Aapelin?'

IA: 'Mmmm…'

JL: 'Sehän oli suutari siellä Ollikkalassa, se teki niskanahasta…'

PK: 'Tuleeko mitään muuta muistoo mieleen nahkureista?'

Mies 6: 'Minä olin kaheksan tai kymmenen vuotta, kun olin isän kanssa mukana viemässä nahkoja Myyryläiselle.'

PK: 'Ai kun hienoa.'

Mies 6: 'Ja niitä oli erilaisia. {42.34} Oli ainakin kahden syksyn teurastukset jälellä ja siinä meni aikaa ensin muistaakseni miten kauan, mutta alamaisena kuitenkin, niin niitä nahkoja oli vielä jälellä ja sillon oli vielä liikkellä {43.01} niitä ammatti-ihmisiä, kuten suutareita ja ne tuli kotiin ja meillekin ja aika monet saappaat tehtiin ja siniset (?) piti olla ja onneks oli joukossa paksua jäykkää nahkaa.'

PK: 'Niin.'

Mies 6: 'Että sen sellaiseen tän nahkojen parkitsemiseen on sitten muistoa.'

PK: 'Niin se on, se vanha Karjalainenkin kertoo, miten suutarit kävi, niinku kylästä toiseen ja menivät eri… että kun nahkurit ei kiertänyt, mutta suutarit kiersi eri paikkakuntaa, tekemässä nahka, nahkatavaraa.'

Mies 7: 'Se niin kauan se nahkurihomma kävi, kun suutarit oli kotona nahkat piti olla, ku suutari tuli kotiin tekemään nahkoja.'

Mies 8: {44.02}'Sitte tuli nämä kumiteräsaappaat ja niihin ei tarvittu enää ku varret, että…'

PK: 'Niin, joo…'

Mies 8: ‘sitä ei tarvinnu koko saapasta sillon, ku minä olin nuori. Sillon kumiteräsaapas oli niin yleinen ja sit {44.20] siihen nahkavarret.’

PK: ‘Vuonna 1945 nahkureiden toimintaa säännösteltiin ja Otto Myyryläinen oli yks näistä nahkureista, jotka saivat erikoisluvan valtiolta toimia, harrastaa nahkurin toimintaa. Onko kellään sota-ajasta muitoja tai mitään tietoa nahkurin toiminnasta tai suutareiden toiminnasta?’

[Hiljaisuus.]

PK: {44.44} Koska sillon, kun nahkatalosta ja nahkimon niinku eli tavallaan niinku tässä mikä oli ylimenoaika…

Sänkiäinen oli sellanen, joka teurastettiin syksyllä ja sen takia syksyllä tulee niin paljon niitä ja se [nahkimo] eli niinku sen mukaan, että kesällä niin ei tehty [eli tehtiin] muita töitä, ei teurastettu niin paljon. Vasikoita teurastettiin {45.06} niin paljon, että siitä on nahkurinlehdessä oli sellanen artikkeli, että tota valitettiin, että kun niin pieniä vasikoita teurastettiin, ettei niistä oo saanu edes lihaakaan paljon että tota ei annettu vasikoiden kasvaa tarpeeks suureks… {45.22}, että tällasesta on valitettu.’

Mies 9: {45.26} ‘Se oli yleinen tapa oli, että sitten mitä vasikka tapettiin heti ku se synty.’

PK: ‘Sen takia oli niitä pieniä.’

Nainen 2: ‘Vähän aikaa juotettiin, että se sit oli oikeen vaaleeta se liha…’

PK: {45.39} ‘Joo. Joo niin.’

Mies 9: ‘Juottovasikka sitten oli, ku oli vähän aikaa oli juotettu. Toiset tapettiin heti kun ne synty.’

PK: ‘Heti ku synty, joo.’

Mies 9: ‘Nykyään sitä ei [epäselvää], ku vasikat kasvatetaan, että niinku sänkiäiseks, jotka kasvattaa pelkkiä {46.00} vasikoita, että mullia.’

Nainen 2: ‘Kyllä ainaki vielä -46 {46.08}, niin mulle tuota suutari teki ihan teki saappaat, että kyllä ne suutarit sillon vielä teki kenkiä.’

PK: ‘Et itselle mulle kaheksakyt {46.18} luvulla tehtiin hirvennahasta takki Heinolassa nahkurilla. Niin ne otti sen hirvenvasan nahan, nyyttinä vietiin sinne ja sitten käytiin hakemassa valmis takki. Siellä tehtiin kaikki alusta loppuunsiellä Heinolassa. {46.35} En tiedä onko sitä nahkuria, nahkimoa enää olemassakaan, että saattaa niitä vielä olla, kun toi lampaan nahka ilmeisesti vielä on ollu jonkin verran se enempi sellasta käsityöhommaa. … mistä mitä ei tehä kenkiä.

Tuleeko vielä muuta mieleen, niin…'

Mies 10: {46.59} tossa on mainittu että se on luvanvarasta se parkitseminen -45 taikka niin vähä sen jälkeen. Isä, hirveen vähän muistoja siitä omasta isästä, ja teki sitten paljon ja hän parkitsi sitten nahkoja siinä ja pari alkusyksyä kiskomassa parkkia pajusta, sitten kouluaikana oli omasta takaa nahat sitten saappaaissa.'

PK: 'Joo, kotona tehty.'

JL: 'Sitä parkin kiskomistahan {47.53} mä tein IA, Alangon? Suolta monta kertaa vaarille sillon [peitty yskinnän alle] et ihan oikeesti parkkia et ihan oikeesti pajun parkkia kuivatettiin. Eiks kuivatettu?'

IA: {48.05} 'Niin, sieltä meiän suolta kävitte …'

JL: 'Niin, niin, kiskomassa…'

IA: '…kuorta… niin siitä tuli pajun parkki sammioon.'

JL: 'Niin tuli sitten.' {48.13}

PK: 'Se on vanha, sitä käytettiin keskiajalla sitä menetelmää pajun, pajun…'

IA: {48.20} '…kuoresta parkki sitten.'

PK: 'Joo.'

IA: {48.22} Ja sitte oli mitäs säkkitavaraa oli mitä ne käytti, joku se kun ei oikeen muista.'

JL: 'Siinä mulla on yks…'

IA: 'Se oli jotain pussitavaraa.'

JL: '…on sellanen vihkonen missä on näitä ohjeita, kun löytäis sen jostain eri näkösten liuosten tekemiseen. Se oli vaari jollain kurssilla käyny, niin siinä oli hirveesti muistiinpanoja.'

[Puhutaan päällekäin.]

PK: Se oli siinä nahkurinlehdessä oli luettelo {48.46}se nahkurilehti, joka löytyy sieltä DIGI sieltä tota arkistosta, niin siellä on näitä vanhoja menetelmiä ja ne kertoo kaikkia niinku mustan värin tekemisestä erikseen, että miten tehdään alusta loppuun asti.

Jos sä [JL] löydät sen vihkon…'

JL: ‘Kyllä se mulla jossain on. Arkistointi on vaan sellasta sun tällasta kyl kotona just on kyl mä oon talteen niitä pistäny kaikkia, mitä on löytäny. Täytyy näyttää se sulle.’

PK: ‘Hienoa.’ {49.20}

JL: ‘On mulla jotain kuvia siitäkin, kun niitä putsattiin noita sitä nahkan takapuolta.’

PK: ‘Sitä kaavittiin joo.’

JL: ‘Se oli ihan semmonen.’

Mies 11: {49.32} ‘Oton harrastuksista vielä sen verran, ettei pelkästään tätä nahkurin hommaa {49.36} ammattia. Hän oli innokas kalamies ja hänellä oli nuotta tuossa Kallavedellä ja minäkin muistan pienenä poikana olin kerran siellä yön läpikin näiden {49.47} aikamiesten kanssa sitten sitä nuottaa vetämässä.’

PK: ‘Joo, joo.’

Mies 11: ‘Se on jääny tosi kivasti mieleen.’

JL: {49.52} Joo, sama juttu määkin olin. Sehän oli semmonen pikku sivutienesti, koska mä muistan, kun vaari möi aina niitä muikkuja. Sillon ei ollu mitään kylmäsäilytystä. Ihmisten piti tietää, kun ne tuli tota nuotalta niin se {50.05}, niin se piti ostaa saman tien.’

IA: ‘Ja haukia vei ravintoloihin, olin soutamassa pikkupoikana…’

JL: ‘Niin se oli tosi kova kalamies. Kaikki Mäntyharjun järvet kolusi polkupyörällä.’

IA: ‘Ei tarvinnu muuta siihen osuuskaupan ruoka, mikä se on, sinne helevatin iso hauki saatiin heivattua ja eihän sitä kukaan perheet sitä syö… tää on niinku sivuansio tää vielä.’

JL: ‘Minä muistan, kun minä oon kalastanut viimeks vuonna -68 muistaakseni, sousin verkkoja siellä vaarille niin paljon, että {50.32} kalastuskiintiöt meni totalisesti täyteen.’

PK: ‘Se oli just se, että se nahkimo oli maatila. Siinä sopimuksessa, mikä on vuodelta 1891, kerrotaan, että saa ottaa mutaa sieltä Vuorijärven pohjasta lannotteeks, ku viljeli ja kasvatti ruokaa siellä.
Otto oli myös kova valokuvaaja, amatöörivalokuvaaja.’

JL: {50.58} Joo. Niitä mulla on.’

PK: ‘Mut se on, että sieltä ei oo mä en oo nähny yhtään ainutta valokuvaa sieltä sisältä, ettei sulla [JL] oo niitä?’

JL: {51.05} ‘Mäkään en muista sisältä, koska se oli kato hankalaa sisällä ottaa … oliskohan sillä ollu sellanen … salama oli sellanen, mitä se oli jotain jauhettahan se oli… et se oli hankalaa sisällä kuvata.’

PK: ‘Että tuolta Tampereelta Vapriikista on samalta ajalta on valokuvia. Niitä on siellä Finnassa, mutta muuten en oo löytäny, että sillälailla sääli, että hän ei päässy sinne kuvamaan.’ {51.33}

JL: ‘Se kamerahan mulla on tallessa, levykamerahan se muuten… paljon levyjä.’

Mies 12: ‘Mites tää pystyssä oleva punanen talo niin liittyy tähän?’

PK: ‘Se oli se verstas.’

JL: ‘Se oli se verstas, kuivakäsittely rakennus.’ {51.48}

Mies 12: ‘Joo.’

JL: ‘Joka ny koitetaan pitää pystyssä, todennäköisesti pysyy ehkä, tai sitten ei.’ {51.52}

PK: ‘Joo, täytyy yrittää kaikki mahholliset keinot, että saadaaan pysymään se. Se on just se, että kun siinä on se Nahkurintie, joka menee siitä se on sen Myyryläisen nahkimon [ohi], siitä saanu nimensä, siitä Vuorijärven meen siitä ja siinä oli ilmeisesti se puomi niitä…’

JL: ‘Siinä oli hevospuomi.’

PK: ‘Mistä Karjalainen kertoo ja mistä puhutaan tässä *Mäntyharjun Historiassa*kin, siinä kakkososassa.’

JL: ‘Kyllä mä muistan, kun niitä {52.24} hirvennahkoja nyytteinä sinne raahattiin … ne oli suolattuja nyyttejä ihan tiukassa nyytissä.

PK: ‘Eli viiskyt-kuuskytluvulla?’

JL: {52.31} ‘Kuuskytluvulla.’

PK: ‘Joo, joo.’

JL: ‘Mä muistan. Että 1964 vaari halvaantui, oilisikohan ollu, siihen se loppu.’

IA: ‘Sitä mukkaan.’ {52.38}

JL: ‘Siihen se loppu se homma sitten.’ {52.40}

PK: ‘Ei ollu jatkajaa.’

PK: ‘Kiitos kun tulitte ja kiitos näistä muistoista. Jos muistatte lisää, jos haluatte ottaa yhteyttä, niin muhun saa ottaa yhteyttä tai tulla puhumaan ihan kaksinkesken jos ei halua tässä yleisön edessä keskutella, hallunnu keskustella tästä näin. Kaikki muistot on tärkeitä ja niitä otetaan mielellään vastaan, että kiitos teille kun tulitte tänne, tää on ollu ihan mahtava tilaisuus.’

2. English translation of the transcript of the 'reminiscing session' after the lecture at the museum on 8 August 2017

PK: {28.07} And now, if you have something to add or any memories, so… Who knows anything about 'sänkiäinens'?

Male 1: [unclear] … 'sänkiäinen' is that what was born in the spring, brought up in the summer… it was left for winter, slaughtered in the autumn, so this is 'sänkiäinen'.

PK: Is it cattle?

Male 1: Cattle, yes, nothing else is 'sänkiäinen' except for cattle which is born in the spring and then spent summer on pasture and grown and not left for winter, it was slaughtered in the autumn.

PK: Okay, okay.

Male 1: That's my understanding… nothing else that I understand is 'sänkiäinen'.

PK: Then these 'sänkiäiset' [fatted calves] came [into the tannery] at any time in the summer [autumn?]?

Male 1: The skins can come in at any time [unclear – the audience speaks all at the same time] … slaughtered a year ago.

PK: Thank you. This really fits what the logbook says, it was a spring…

Male 2: It was mentioned that there were two tanners at the centre ('kirkolla', i.e. near the church) Viitanen and Halonen … and my grandfather was that Viitanen.

PK: Excellent!

Male 2: I would want to say a couple of words. He was born in 1862 and when this profession interested [him], then he went to learn it through work {30.00} in Central Europe [unclear] … Germany and [he] wandered about there in different places and was given money for it [tanning] an lived in that manner and, for example, there was a world exhibition in France or Paris and in that year just for that the building of the Eiffel Tower was completed. This trip lasted almost four years and after that he started looking for a place where he could start working [as a tanner] and at the centre opposite the station towards Sortavala [unclear] a farm called Enonlahti. The owner was the head of the municipal board and perhaps

… there was no cashier in the council so that the head's and the council's moneys became mixed.

[Laughing.]

And this is in the history books, *Mätyharjun Historia* and afterwards it [the farm] was auctioned off or at least he was forced to sell it and Viitanen bought it for himself and acted there as a tanner at least until his death in 1932.'

PK: 1938?

Male 2: About this Halonen, who was the other one, I have no knowledge, except the name. The documents may have a mention that he acted as a tanner.

PK: Good, thank you, that's excellent. Did you visit the tannery yourself ever?

Male 2: Well, it wasn't functioning back then. The building was and the large tubs and myself a little boy I was warned [not to go near] so that not to fall into the tubs {38.15} So a bit more about the Tyystjärvi … the diaries found in 1950s {32.28} from there. They are preserved as notebooks.

PK: Preserved for history, that's excellent. I don't know where Aleksanteri trained as a tanner, I have some more to find out. Do you know? [PK asks JL – no answer].

Does anyone remember Otto when he was a tanner?

[I knew…]

Male 3: As a little boy, don't remember much, but knew him anyway.

PK: That's how it is, it was so long ago that those people who were working there those people are no more. Maybe the majority of people are gone, the ones who worked or knew the tannery… you must be the only one [PK asks Ilari Ahonen – no answer].

Male 4: Where there two of the tanner Otto Myyryläinen?

PK: There was Otto, the elder, who was the brother of Aleksanteri, the founder of the tannery. He was a businessman, he had , for example, a sawmill in Hietanen. He was more of a investor in [the tannery]. Then there was the son of Aleksanteri, who learnt the trade elsewhere and then came back to take over his father['s tannery]. So that's how there were two Ottos, who get mixed up easily.

How, when tanneries closed down and then the Askel show factory started, does anyone have memories of how it was when the shoe factory started. As when you were able get factory made shoes and there was no need to get them from a tannery. Because it must have been quite revolutionary times.

[Audience whispers.]

Female 1: There's S. I was wondering where S. was. There he's sitting.

S.: I am still sitting here. I wasn't from the start [at the factory]. I was 34 years.

PK: Are you in this picture? [PK points at the picture of the staff of the shoe factory behind her.]

S.: There are familiar faces…I was looking at it with nostalgia thinking where the other ones might be. It's photographed in front of the factory.

JL: Are you in the picture yourself?

S.: Yes.

JL: Whereabouts?

S.: In principal I won't …[audience speaking all at once] well, there was a question who they are, I'm keeping quiet. I won't really … I won't tell who is where.

PK: Of course. I can stop the recording.

S.: We spent lots of time at the yard. From the beginning [of the factory]. When I then left it went bankrupt.

Female 1: S., what was your first day like?

S.: Well I don't know.

Female 1: Did you queue to sign up?

S.: You could go there…they took anyone who showed up there … at the time we were…I worked at different machines that's where I worked. I trained a little at a course in Tampere.

Female 1: OK.

S.: …and taught others a little.

PK: Where there cobblers at the same time? There must have been a kind of transitional period when shoes were still made by hand and before the shoe factory was completed…there must have been one?

S.: They were building it for a couple of years still.

PK: The shoe factory makes a little more than what cobblers can. [Laughing.]

JL: I learnt to read at the [Myyryläinen] workshop when I was there with granddad. When I went to school I could read fully because he was turning the pages of the primer whilst working.

PK: So you've been to the workshop?

JL: Yes, a lot, yes. They made all kinds f leather belts and holsters for pistols.

PK: I didn't know about the holsters.

JL: Yeah, they made all kinds of things what ever you can make out of leather. There was leather there.

PK: Yes.

JL: All kinds of [leather].

PK: What did the inside of the beam house look like?

JL: Well, it was quite gloomy, er, there were the tubs that are still there, there were wooden tubs.

PK: Oh yes.

JL: Large wooden tubs and I remember how we turned elk hides there. They were very heavy…

PK: And therefore…

JL: So very heavy.

PK: Most of them were much more expensive than for example cows' hides; they were the same price as ox hides {37.51} these sänkiäinen. Of course they didn't write on the logbook why – it is a sales ledger – they cost so much. The hairs on elk hides are quite lax, just as the tanner's magazine says.

JL: They were brought in salted bundles always after hunting trips.

PK: Sure, sure.

Male 1: {38.10} At the beginning of the century there were no elks [in Finland]. Elks were extinct a hundred years ago, there were none. They are mentioning…

PK: In the 1930s the book mentions that there were one or two in November, there weren't many.

Male 1: In the 1940s the first permissions to hunt elks were granted. Before that if someone might… In the old days elks were so that they were all killed until extinct, when they saw an elk's trail they left to hunt immediately and that's how they were killed into extinction. Then they [the elks] {39.64} started coming from the south and then the first permissions were granted in Halmenniemi and Vanonen and {39.18} then in Mäntyharju. That's where my father and they came from there and were hunting in Halmenniemi and then only later when elk permissions were granted here [in Mäntyharju], but it happened. And elk hide stretches, it's not good, it stretches.

PK: Sure, sure.

Male 1: {39.43} I was wondering to myself that earlier hare pelts were commodities. It needed to be skinned carefully so that the skin stayed whole and then the pelt, it was bought because of the pelt, although a hare's pelt crumbles. Today no-one [takes] the skin of a hare, no-one takes the skin.

PK: In the logbook, at the end of the book are written all the furs separately too and there are hares and muskrats, for example.

Male 1: How's the muskrat, muskrat's were planted in Finland in, were they…they weren't here until 1940s, only [when] first muskrats came here.

JL: Vuorijärvi did have muskrats. Granddad trapped them, do you remember them [JL asks PK]?

PK: Grandmother told me…

[Unclear…JL and Male 1 talk all at once.]

Male 1: There were many of them when they arrived, but there weren't any in Vuorijärvi before they were anywhere else because… They were brought in from Canada as they were not native the muskrats.

PK: Sure, I'm sure not.

JL: I think they can be still seen sometimes…

PK: I'm sure, I wouldn't be surprised.
And there were forest pigs. I don't know how hairy or not…

Male 1: A forest pig is a badger!

PK: [Laughs] Forest pigs, they were made into furs. My father, I remember when my father was, my father hunted often and sometimes he hunted badgers. A long time ago. Well, apart from elks, there were others. I'm interested in things such as, for examples, pigs were treated [at the tannery].

Male 1: I've never heard

JL: Dogs were certainly, at least a couple.

PK: {4.34} Dogs were almost every…

JL: {41.37} Our neighbour Karhu in Ollikkala made me mittens always from the dogs when I was young. {41.38}

PK: Yes, dogs and cats came in almost every month.

JL: {41.47} It was granddad's friend Aapeli. IA must remember Aapeli Karhu?

IA: Mmmmm…

JL: He was a cobbler in Ollikkala. He made from neck leather…

PK: Does anyone have any other memories of cobblers?

Male 6: I was eight or ten when I took hides to Myyryläinen with my dad.

PK: That's excellent

Male 6: And they were different ones. {42.34} There were at least slaughters of two autumns left and it took a long time at first, but I can't remember how long, but [unclear] at least there were those hides were left and there were circulating {43.01} professionals, such as cobblers and they came to your home and to us too and made quite a few boots and they needed to be blue[?] and luckily there was thick stiff leather there.

PK: Yes.

Male 6: So that there are memories of that kind tanning.

PK: Yes, the old Karjalainen explains how cobblers moved from village to village and went to different [houses], because tanners didn't move, but cobblers travelled from different places to make different leather items.

Male 7: Thus long the tannery profession was. When cobblers came to the house the leather needed to be ready for the cobblers who came to the home to make leather [goods].

Male 8: {44.02} Then came these rubber blade boots, and you only needed boot shafts [made from leather], so…

PK: Alright.

Male 8: There was no need for a whole boot, when I was young. Then rubber blade boots were so common and then {44.20} leather shafts for them.

PK: In 1945, the operation of tanners was regulated and Otto Myyryläinen was one of those tanners who had a special licence from the government to carry on being a tanner.

Does anyone have memories from the war times or other information about tanners or cobblers?

[Audience is quiet.]

PK: {44.44} Because then, when tannery when there was a transitional period…

[E.g.] sänkiäinen is one that was slaughtered in the autumn and that's why there are so many coming in and [the tannery] lived accordingly, so that in the summer other work was conducted. There wasn't much slaughter in the summer. According to the he tanners magazine, so many calves were slaughtered {45.06} which complained that there were too many. So that too small calves were slaughtered so that there wasn't that much meat in them. That they were not allowed to grow big enough…{45.22} so that was the complaint.

Male 9: {45.26} It was a common way that a calf was killed as soon as it was born.

PK: And that's why they were so small.

Female 2: They were fed milk a little so the meat was very pale.

PK: {45.39} Yes, sure.

Male 9: Today they don't [unclear] when calves are kept until they are fatted calves those who keep only {46.00} calves and bull calves.

Female 2: At least in -46 {46.08} a cobbler made me boots, so cobblers were making shoes still then.

PK: In the eighties {46.18} I had an elk leather jacket made in Heinola at a tanner's. They took the bundle of the elk calf hide which we took there and then we picked up the finished jacket. Everything was done from start to finish in Heinola. {46.35} I don't know whether that tanner or tannery still exist, but it might. For example, as there's that lamb's fur [I showed earlier] but it must be more of a craft nowadays… maybe no shoes are made?

Is there anything else?

Male 10: {46.59} It was mentioned that tanning was licenced in -45 or a little afterwards. Father, [I have] very few memories of my own father and did load and he tanned leather there and a couple of early autumns he was pulling willow bark and then during school time we had homemade leather in our boots.

PK: So, homemade.

JL: That pulling of the bark {47.53} I did IA, from the Alanko marsh many times for Granddad then [unclear, lost due to coughing] so really bark, so really we dried willow bark, didn't we?

IA: {48.05} Yes, from our marsh you took…

JL: Yes, yes, pulling…

IA: …bark… so it became the willow bark into the tub.

JL: So it did. {48.13}

PK: It's an old, it was in the Middle Ages that method of willow, willow…

IA: {48.20} …from the bark the bark [as in the colour].

PK: Yes.

IA: {48.22} And then there was bagged stuff what they used , something I can't really remember.

JL: …I have there one…

IA: It was something bag stuff.

JL: …a notebook that contains these instructions, if I could find it somewhere, for making different kinds of solutions. Granddad had been to a course so that there are lots of notes [in the notebook].
[Talking all at once.]

PK: The tanners magazine had a list {48.46} the one that can be found in the DIGI archive that one has old methods and it tells how [methods for making] all kinds [of colours], black especially, how they can be made from start to finish.
JL,, if you find that notebook…

JL: I have it somewhere. The archiving has been a bit of this and that. It's at home. I certainly have been putting aside all kinds that I've found. I must show it to you.

PK: Excellent. {49.20}

JL: I also have some pictures of when we cleaned the back of the hide.

PK: Of scraping, yes.

JL: It was like that.

Male 11: {49.32} About Otto's hobbies, not just this tanning job, {49.36} profession. He was an eager fisherman and he had a seine there at Kallavesi [lake] and I too remember as a little boy how I was overnight with these {49.47} grown men pulling the seine.

PK: Yes, yes.

Male 11: It has stayed nicely in my mind.

JL: {49.52} Yeah, I was too. It was a little side earner, because I remember how Granddad sold the vendace. There was no cold storage. People had to know when they came back from pulling the seine so {50.05} it needed to be bought right away.

IA: And took pikes to restaurants, I was rowing as a little boy…

JL: Yes, he was an eager fisherman. He cycled to all the lakes of Mäntyharju.

IA: [Unclear, check] … didn't need anything else there. The food, what it is, of the Osuuskauppa [local shop] there this damn big pike was heaved and no family would eat it … this was a side earner too.

JL: I remember when I last fished with Granddad in the year of -68, I think. I rowed for Granddad when he put nets in. There Granddad [got] so many [fish] that {50.32} his fishing quota was totally reached.

PK: The tannery was also a farm. In the [rental] agreement, which is from 1891, is mentioned that permission was given to dig mud from the bottom of Vuorijärvi to be used for fertilizer because they grew food there.

Otto was also a prolific photographer, amateur photographer.

JL: {50.58} Yes, I've got those.

PK: But there are none from the inside [the beam house or workshop].I haven't seen any from the inside. Do you [JL] have any?

JL: {51.15} I can't remember any either, because it was difficult to taken them inside…I wonder if he had one … flashlight was the one that used some kind of powder… so it was difficult to take any inside.

PK: So there are photographs from that time from Vapriikki in Tampere. They are in Finna, but I haven't seen any from [Myyryläinen], so it's a shame that he couldn't photograph there. {51.33}

JL: The camera is with me. It was, however, a plate camera… many plates.

Male 12: How this red house that is still standing is connected to this thing?

PK: It was the workshop.

JL: It was the workshop, a dry handling building. {51.48}

Male 12: Yes.

JL: Which we now want to keep standing, maybe it will, or maybe not. {51.52}

PK: Yes, we must use all possible methods to try to keep it standing. It's the one where the Nahkurintie is, past Vuorijärvi, and there apparently was a bar for the…

JL: There was a bar for horses.

PK: Which Karjalainen mentions and which is mentioned in *Mäntyharjun Historia* part two.

JL: I do remember when {52.24} we dragged the elk hides in bundles there… there were salted bundles in a tight bundle.

PK: So in the 50s-60s?

JL: {52.31} Sixties.

PK: Yes, yes.

JL: I remember. That in 1964 Granddad was paralysed, was it then, that's how it ended.

IA: That way. {52.38}

JL: That's where it ended. {52.40}

PK: There was no-one to carry on.

PK: Thank you for coming and thank you for your memories. If you remember anything else, if you want to contact me then, please do so. Or you can come and talk to me one to one if you didn't want to say anything in front of everyone here. All memories are important and most welcome, so thank you for coming, this has been a wonderful event.

Appendix 5: The Questionnaire (Finnish and English)

1. KYSELY TEOLLISUUSNÄYTTELYSTÄ

Tervetuloa Mäntyharjun Museoon! Olen tutkija Kingstonin Yliopistossa Lontoossa, Englannissa, ja teen tutkimusta Mäntyharjun Museon näyttelystä. Olisin kiitollinen, jos voisit vastata muutamaan kysymykseen lyhyesti. Kysely on täysin nimetön ja vastauksia käytetään vain tutkimukseeni.

1.☐ Nainen☐ Mies

2. Ikä: ___

3. Asuinpaikka: ____

4. Mikä sai sinut tulemaan näyttelyyn? ________________________________

____

5. Mikä on mielestäsi näyttelyn mieleenpainuvin osio? ____________________

____

6. Mikä siinä viehätti? ____

____

7. Jos tutustuit Nahkuri Myyryläisen osioon, mikä siinä jäi mieleen? _________

____

____

8. Muu palaute: ____

____

____

Voit palauttaa täytetyn lomakkeen vastaanottoon.
Suurkiitokset!
Pirkko Koppinen

2. A SURVEY OF THE EXHIBITION OF INDUSTRY

Welcome to the Museum of Mäntyharju! I am a researcher at Kingston University, London, England, and I am doing research on the exhibition at the Museum of Mäntyharju. I would be grateful, if you could briefly answer a couple of questions. The survey is entirely anonymous and the answers are used only in my research.

1.☐ Female ☐ Male

2. Age: ___

3. Place of Residence:____

4. What made you come to the exhibition?_________________________

____

5. What is the most memorable section of the exhibition?____________

____

6. What made it attractive? ______________________________________

____

7. If you viewed the Tanner Myyryläinen's exhibit, what do you remember of it?____

____

8. Any other feedback: ____

____

____

You can return the filled form to the reception.
Many thanks!
Pirkko Koppinen

Appendix 6: The Logbook's Conservation Documents

CODEX CONSERVATION

Ann-Marie Miller ACR
[redacted]
[redacted]

FAO: Pirkko Koppinen [redacted]

[redacted]

Ref. No.: [redacted]

Documentation and Estimate Form

Description

Title	*Tannery Log Book*
Author	-
Date	1928
Size	Height: 367mm Width: 235mm Depth: 52mm

Binding

- Full mid-brown leather case binding. Medium weight cream machine made medium weight endpapers.
- No sewing, 4 stations of staples securing each station to canvas spine lining.
- Second spine lining of canvas as board attachment.
- Green and white false end bands.

Text block

- Medium-heavy weight, cream, machine made un-calendared paper pp250 approx. ruled in blue.
- Black ink used throughout.
- Annotated throughout text with graphite pencil and purple pencil inscriptions.
- Occasional use/transfer of blue and black inks.
- Corners have been torn or cut away approx. 1cm^2 removed on upper foredge corner.
- Colour printed cover on heavy weight machine made paper inserted inside front board.
- Colour printed comic book cover inserted into back board.
- Colour photograph inserted into text approx. 1/3 from front.

Condition

Binding

The binding is generally in good condition.

- Covering leather is worn and has several accretions across the boards.
- Board corners and head cap turn ins are splayed, broken and worn with minor losses.
- Mould and mildew perceptible from aroma in boards.

Text block

The text block in poor condition due to the endemic mould damage.

- Low level foxing throughout with heavy surface dirt, fly specks and other debris in the gutters of the text block.
- Almost 2/3 of first page of text is missing having been torn off.
- Staples are rusted and first and last folds have separated from binding.
- Mould and mildew perceptible from aroma as pages are turned affecting entire text block.
- Folded corners on the lower edge of the pages.
- Edge tears and fractures on first few pages. First and last folds detached.

Ann-Marie Miller ACR 19th January 2017

CODEX CONSERVATION [redacted]
Ann-Marie Miller ACR [redacted]
[redacted]

Text block

The text block in poor condition due to the endemic mould damage.

- Low level foxing throughout with heavy surface dirt, fly specks and other debris in the gutters of the text block.
- Almost 2/3 of first page of text is missing having been torn off.
- Staples are rusted and first and last folds have separated from binding.
- Mould and mildew perceptible from aroma as pages are turned affecting entire text block.
- Folded corners on the lower edge of the pages.
- Edge tears and fractures on first few pages. First and last folds detached.

Conservator's Recommendations

The aims of treatment were to remove the active mould spores and remove potential sources of mould in the future. Thorough mechanical dry cleaning using a museum vacuum with a HEPA filter should physically do this and improve the appearance of the textblock. Accretions should also be removed from the binding where possible and loose parts reattached. Isopropyl alcohol was twice applied by brushing throughout to dehydrate the mould making it dormant. This affected some of the inks used but tidelines were kept to a minimum using solvent barriers. The inserts were preserved in melinex sleeves and stored with the book. Loose pages were carefully guarded into place to avoid disturbing the binding structure. Adhesives that are not readily digestible to mould were used throughout. A bespoke 4-flap folder with text block support now provides protection during transportation and long-term storage. Corners were un-creased and locally humidified. This treatment relies on safe storage of the book in the future within a stable environment, preferably less than 65-70% relative humidity. This treatment is a minimal level of intervention, as the binding is not being disturbed. It assumes that the boards do not contain active mould spores. It is proposed that after the treatment of the pages, 1 month is allowed for observation of the binding to see if the mould is still active.

Actual Treatment

Treatment Step	Time (h)	Materials	Comment
Mechanical cleaning of pages and binding.	3.0	Museum vacuum with HEPA filter, chemical sponge, eraser, scalpels	
Paper repair where required including reattachment of loose pages.	1.0	Tengu tissue, Kitikata, sekishu, usumino, methylcellulose	Tears were supported throughout, loose leaves reattached.
Dehydration of Mould	2.0	Isopropanol, ethanol applied by brush	
4-flap folder with integral textblock support.	1.0	2-layer archival book board	
Total	7.0 hs		

CODEX CONSERVATION [redacted]

Ann-Marie Miller ACR [redacted]

Conservator's Recommendations

The aims of treatment are to remove the active mould spores and remove potential sources of mould in the future. Thorough mechanical dry cleaning using a museum vacuum with a HEPA filter should physically do this and improve the appearance of the textblock. Accretions should also be removed from the binding where possible and loose parts reattached. Isopropyl alcohol should be applied by brushing throughout to dehydrate the mould making it dormant. This may affect some of the inks used and any interference shall be carefully monitored and stopped where necessary. The inserts should be preserved in melinex sleeves and stored with the book. Loose pages can be guarded into place to avoid disturbing the binding structure. Adhesives that are not readily digestible to mould shall be used throughout.

A bespoke 4-flap folder with text block support with provide protection during transportation and long-term storage. Corners should be un-creased and locally humidified. This treatment relies on safe storage of the book in the future within a stable environment, preferably less than 65-70% relative humidity. This treatment is a minimal level of intervention, as the binding is not being disturbed. It assumes that the boards do not contain active mould spores. It is proposed that after the treatment of the pages, 1 month is allowed for observation of the binding to see if the mould is still active.

This is the best possible estimate before treatment but should there be any significant variations the owner shall be notified as soon as possible, prior to a change in approach.

Treatment Proposal

Treatment Step	Time (h)	Materials	Comment
Mechanical cleaning of pages and binding.	3.0	Museum vacuum with HEPA filter, chemical sponge, eraser, scalpels	
Paper repair where required including reattachment of loose pages.	1.0	Tengu tissue, Kitikata, sekishu, usumino, methylcellulose	Tears shall be supported, loose leaves reattached.
Dehydration of Mould	2.0	Isopropanol, ethanol applied by brush	
4-flap folder with integral textblock support.	1.0	2-layer archival book board	
Total	7.0 hs		

Costing

Labour	[redacted]
Materials	[redacted]
Total	[redacted]

Ann-Marie Miller ACR

19th January 2017