Developments, Definitions, & Directions in Finnish Language, Literature, and Culture: A Selection of Papers Presented at Finn Forum IX in Thunder Bay, Ontario

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Guest Edited by Ron Harpelle & Michel Beaulieu
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The "Cloud" was created by Michel S. Beaulieu and Ronald N. Harpelle
Editor’s Introduction

As I present this special issue of the Journal of Finnish Studies to its readership, I do so both with significant pride and a bit of sadness. I am proud of the quality of work presented here in this collection of papers entitled Developments, Definitions, and Directions in Finnish Language, Literature, and Culture: A Selection of Papers Presented at FinnForum IX in Thunder Bay, Ontario that were originally presented in May 2010 at Lakehead University. Ron Harpelle and Michel Beaulieu have provided us a sampling of selections concerned with Finnish language, literature, and culture which capture some of the emerging work in these broad and interdisciplinary fields. These essays are composed by established scholars, emerging academics, and independent scholars, each of whom brings to bear a unique lens through which we might view these articles. Dr. Harpelle and Dr. Beaulieu’s work to bring us this special issue has been generously sponsored by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada whose support I would like to recognize here as well. I think this issue follows in the tradition of our founding Editor, Professor Börje Vähämäki of the University of Toronto, who set a high standard for the works we publish over fourteen years ago.

As Paloheimo Professor at Finlandia University, I have been able to devote my scholarly attentions to ensure that the journal’s quality remained at its apex as I personally managed the technical and scholarly editing processes as well as maintaining the subscription records and managing the mailing of each issue. As my time in the Paloheimo Professorship draws to a close, I look to the upcoming editorial team to maintain the standards. Succeeding me as Editor-in-Chief will be Dr. Helena Halmari (Ph.D. from the University of Southern California). Dr. Halmari is Professor of Linguistics and Chair of the Department of English at Sam Houston State University where her research focuses on language contact between Finnish and English, specifically Finnish-English codeswitching. She has also published in other areas of linguistics. She is the author of Government and Codeswitching: Explaining American Finnish (1997) and the co-editor (with Tuija Virtanen) of Persuasion across Genres: A Linguistic Approach (2005). Her articles have appeared in journals such as Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Journal of Pragmatics, International Journal of Bilingualism, and Issues in Applied Linguistics, as well as in several edited volumes. In addition to her Ph.D., Professor Halmari holds an MA in linguistics (University of Southern California), an MA in English Composition (California State University-San Bernardino), a Masters of Philosophy (FM, University of Tampere), and a Masters of Social Science (YK, University of Tampere).

With Professor Helena Halmari at the helm, Professor Hanna Snellman at the University of Jyväskylä will continue as Co-Editor and Hilary Joy Virtanen, Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Scandinavian Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, will remain in her post as Assistant Editor. I wish them all the best as they continue to recognize, nurture, and bring to fore the best and most important work in Finnish Studies.

Beth L. Virtanen, Ph. D.
Paloheimo Professor
Editor-in-Chief
Guest Editors’ Introduction:
Developments, Definitions, and Directions
in Finnish Language, Literature, and Culture

In 1910, thousands of kilometers away from their homeland, the nascent Finnish community in Port Arthur, Ontario, Canada, completed the construction of what is now the largest monument to Finnish immigration to North America. The Finnish Labour Temple stands as a reminder of the history of struggle and of continuous interaction between Finland and dispersed communities of Finns across the Northern Hemisphere. As a means of recognizing and validating the Finnish diaspora and its impact on Finland and the rest of the world, FinnForum was established. This issue of the Journal of Finnish Studies is comprised of articles that were originally presented as papers at FinnForum IX which was held in May 2010 in Thunder Bay, Ontario. The event marked a milestone in the history of the Finnish community in Thunder Bay and highlighted the heritage of the Finnish diaspora.

Since its inception in 1974, FinnForum has developed into a premier international conference where scholars from several countries working in a wide variety of disciplines are able to present the results of their research on aspects of Finnish Studies. It is appropriate that FinnForum IX was held in Thunder Bay because a century before, ordinary Finnish workers who were among the first Finns to immigrate to North America in large numbers, pooled their resources to erect the Finnish Labour Temple as a place to meet, enjoy the arts, debate politics and discuss issues of concern. Fittingly, the conference provided and opportunity for the local community to celebrate this important event and to pay tribute to Dr. Varpu Lindström’s many years of tireless service to the Finnish community in Canada and for the academic community to acknowledge her many contributions to our knowledge of the role played by Finns in Canadian and North America history.

While every conference organized under the banner of FinnForum has offered opportunities to present research within the realm of Finnish Studies, the ninth edition marked a new stage in the evolution of the event. The first series of FinnForums focused on immigrant communities in North America; the second looked at questions relating to ethnicity and multiculturalism; and the third the theme broadened the scope of the conference to include the full interdisciplinary spectrum of Finnish Studies. Building on the foundation established by the eight previous conferences, the theme of FinnForum IX was “Finland and the World: Past, Present and Future.” The organizing committee judged that in the century or so since Finns began migrating to North America in large numbers, Finland has evolved into a significant actor on the international stage. Whereas Finland once primarily supplied the world with immigrants looking for opportunity, today the country boasts a vibrant international economy and an unmistakable Finnish presence in virtually every part of the world. The Nokia telephone and its ring are ubiquitous features of the contemporary world and Finnish forest companies operate in dozens of countries around the world. Finnish Formula One racers are household names and cultural exports like modern Finnish design and people everywhere appreciate Aki Kaurismäki’s films. Finns and the communities they built are no longer the only visible evidence of this historic and ongoing interaction with the world. For this reason, FinnForum IX expanded its umbrella to welcome many new faces and new perspectives to this celebration of the Finnish fact.

FinnForum IX was also one of many efforts by the Chair of Finnish Studies Advisory Committee at Lakehead University to engage academics, both Canadian and international, and the local community, in conversations regarding a wide range of issues on Finland and the Finnish diaspora. The conference was aimed at exploring aspects of the social and political dynamics of the historic and ongoing Finnish presence in the world. This multifaceted theme also served as a platform for the discussion of the past, present and future of Finnish immigrant communities and Finnish heritage outside of Finland. In all, over 70 papers were presented over two days and, as anticipated, the conference generated spirited debates about issues such as the place of Finnish immigrants in host societies, ethnic and cultural identities, social and political cleavages within the Finnish diaspora and the place of Finnish immigration to North America.

The papers in this volume were selected because they reflect the diversity of the conference in the area of Finnish language and literature. Anu Muhonen’s contribution explores the use and functions of English within the Sweden Finnish
youth radio discourse. She demonstrates that the use of Finnish, Swedish and English, seem to be more or less the everyday linguistic reality to these young Sweden Finnish youth and proposes that it may reflect the multilingual and -cultural late-modern urban society these young speakers live in. Andy Rosequist explores shamanic themes in the *Kalevala*. He traces the scholarly discussion since its publication in the early nineteenth century and argues that Sámi influences can be found in both it and Norse mythology in general. Irina Novikova’s contribution explores the changing view of Russians towards Finns during the nineteenth century and what were the consequences of this change for Russian national policy toward Finland. Barbara Hong’s study of Einojuhani Rautavaara’s opera *Thomas*, reveals that the importance of this work by one of Finland’s internationally best known composers is multifaceted. It provides an imaginative view into the history of medieval Finland, various languages and literary styles, as well as contrasting styles of music. Hong concludes that the opera *Thomas*’s message of melancholy at the doomed early attempt at Finland’s independence lingers in the mind and ear long after the performance. Eric Schaad’s examination of Topelius’s “Rinaldo Rinaldini” establishes it as more than merely a simple children’s play, but an important European cultural artifact. He illustrates how the continental tradition of “robber romanticism” existed in mid-nineteenth-century Finland, and also how Topelius added his own contribution in his creative appropriation of it. Finally, Birgitta Tamminen looks at contemporary attitudes of high school students toward their minority language, Meänkieli. While Tamminen begins the study looking at attitudes towards Meänkieli, a discourse about the Finnish language also plays a role as the students themselves compare Meänkieli to Finnish. 

The organizers of FinnForum IX are grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the grant that made it possible to host the conference and to publish this volume, the first of three based on the many great papers presented. We hope you enjoy.
"It's a vicious circle":
The Roles and Functions of English in Sweden Finnish Youth Radio Programs
Anu Muhonen
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Abstract
English plays a significant role as a marker of youth identities and a powerful factor underlying the importance of English is that cultural and social practices often displayed via media have become increasingly translocal and global. Such practices involve activities and identities that are no longer exclusively based on local or even national contacts, experiences, or languages. This article investigates the transnational and global functions of language alternation between Finnish and English in Sweden Finnish youth radio programs. Her viewpoint is both interactional and sociolinguistic and she is interested in the (social) meanings and functions of the English language use and instances of language alternation within these programs and conversations. The article also aims to shed some light to the reasons that English language alternations occur in the language use of Sweden Finnish youth.

Keywords: codeswitching, Sweden Finns, radio

"...Siis who cares ja mistä..."
"...Vielä tunti to go..." 1

Introduction
In today's world, English plays a significant role as a marker of youth identities. A powerful factor contributing to the growing importance of English in youth language is the fact that cultural and social practices often displayed via media have become increasingly translocal and global. They involve and include activities and identities that are no longer exclusively based on local or even national contacts and experiences (Leppänen, 2007, 2008; Leppänen & Nikula, 2007; Muhonen, 2008a, 2008b; Toriseva, 2008.) As Rampton (1995) states, the young of the postmodern world, in addition to their own cultures and languages, “cross” and use forms and variants of language and speech from groups to which they do not belong in the traditional sense of the word. Pennycook (2003, p. 514) calls this a fluid way of thinking about language, identity and belonging. Instead of maintaining fixed boundaries between languages, young people often employ diverse linguistic resources to make meanings (Lytra and Jørgensen, 2008). The concept language (see, for example, Jørgensen, 2004) describes well these fluid and multilingual communicative practices and means that young people’s practices are situated in different sociolinguistic spaces and are bound with specific communicative purposes. Particularly in late-modern urban youth groups the simultaneous use of features from many different sources is frequent (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 161).

The way the young people of migrant Finnish heritage in Sweden identify themselves with Finland, “Finnishness” and the Finnish language varies. Some have a somewhat distant and occasional relation to them, whereas others can have a more close and active relationship (Lainio & Lyra, 2009; Muhonen, 2010a, 2010b). They also have close ties with their current home country Sweden, as well as the more global and international “home” of other culture(s) and language(s). The research question of the present article is: what kinds of functions are served by language alternation? between Finnish and English in Sweden Finnish youth radio programs? My viewpoint is both interactional and sociolinguistic: I am interested in the meanings and functions of English language use and instances of language alternation within these programs and conversations. I also aim to shed some light to the reasons that these language alternations occur in the language use of Sweden Finnish youth. My research question is particularly interesting when one keeps in mind that neither Finnish nor English are majority languages in Sweden. The fact that these languages each have a somewhat different status in Sweden is also relevant: Finnish is an official and dominated minority language, and English is an international, high prestige language.

My data consists of recordings from Sweden Finnish youth and music radio programs. The multilingual youth discourse, where different

1 Quotes taken from the research sample.
languages and repertoires meet, is particularly viable within the Finnish-speaking Sweden Finnish youth radio context. Thus it is evident that, in the discourses, Finnish functions as the matrix language, as the main language of communication (see Joshi, 1985, p. 191; Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 4). Yet, other languages and repertoires have also central roles: English, alongside with Swedish, plays an important role when Sweden Finnish adolescents construct different linguistic and social (youth) identities, and therefore possesses several different functions. In addition to Finnish, Swedish and English, other languages and regional varieties of Finnish are also utilized. My data also includes interviews in Norwegian as well as shorter extracts in Italian, Estonian, Latin and Turkish. Sweden Finnish and Finland Swedish as well as Meänkieli are also present. In addition, many regional Finnish dialects are used. Standard Finnish has also different purposes and it functions as a lingua franca and as a second language. One can argue that it would be wrong to refer to Sweden Finnish, used by the young people in the radio programs, as a single monolithic language variety. Therefore, the term of repertoire is used for the present research context (see also Muhonen, 2004, 2008b, forthcoming).

The structure of the present article is the following: first, I will briefly introduce previous research on the subject, followed by a short theoretical and methodological discussion. Next, the data will be introduced. Then I will present the empirical analysis of the functions of language alternation in the data and five main themes will be demonstrated: English functions (1) as lingua franca, (2) as evidence of special music interests, (3) in discourse-related functions, (4) in intertextuality functions, and (5) in so called speaker- (participant-) related functions. A concluding discussion will also be included in the end.

Earlier Research on English in Contact with Finnish, Sweden Finnish Media and Youth Language

The research on contacts between English and Finnish has traditionally been done from the viewpoint of Finnish as an immigrant or minority language (Halmari 1993, 1997; Lauttamus, 1991, 1992; Hirvonen & Lauttamus, 1994; Martin, 1993; Virtaranta, 1993a, 1993b). The research on code switching and language contact between Finnish and English, especially in the North American context, is comprehensive. Most of the earlier research concentrates on code switching and on the contacts at lexical, syntactic and morphological levels (Kovács, 2001; Martin, 1988; Halmari, 1993, 1997). As the case is in the current data, in addition to the use of English as a lingua franca, English occurs mostly at the lexical and phrasal level (see for example Martin, 1988, 1989a, 1989b; Pietilä, 1983; Virtaranta, Jönsson-Korhola, Martin, & Kainulainen, 1993; Männikkö, 2004).

The research on English in contact with Finnish in Finland was popular during the so-called anglicism project during the 1980s (see for example Sajavaara, Lehtonen, Leskinen, Pulkkinen, Räsänen, & Hirvonen, 1978a, 1978b; Sajavaara & Lehtonen, 1981). English loan words in Finnish were also investigated (Pulkkinen, 1984; Lehtonen & Heikkinen, 1981; Leskinen, 1981). After almost 30 years, the appearance of English has become a controversial topic of discussion and debate in Finland, in which both linguists and ordinary language users are actively engaged. During recent years, the functions of English in modern Finnish society has also inspired several researchers in Finland and is currently the topic for comprehensive high quality investigation and research by several researchers (see Leppänen, Nikula & Kääntä, 2008). This also includes ongoing research on the functions of English in Finnish adolescents’ language use (see more, for example, Leppänen, 2007; 2008; Leppänen & Nikula, 2007; Muhonen, 2008a; Toriseva, 2008.) English in Swedish media context and in contact with Swedish in Sweden has been investigated by for example Chrystal (1988) and Ellegård (1989).

Swedish Finnish has also been studied from many viewpoints: children’s language use and school context (Nesser, 1986; Tuomela, 2001); bilingualism and code switching (Boyd, 1987, 1993; Boyd & Andersson, 1991), language maintenance (Janulf, 1998) and spoken Sweden Finnish (Lainio, 1989). Finnish written media have also been investigated recently (see Ehrenbo, 2007). The language use and situation of the Sweden Finnish youth has been investigated (Lainio, 2000; Lainio & Lyryra, 2009; Muhonen, 2005, 2008b). Some research has also been conducted on Sweden Finnish youth media (Muhonen, 2004, 2005, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b, forthcoming; Törnälä, 2004; Savolainen, 2008) Muhonen (2004, 2005, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b) is investigating Sweden Finnish youth language from

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3 Repertoire refers to speakers’ total repertoire of languages and linguistic varieties and can mean the use of different languages, dialects or, for example, speech styles (see Bakhtin, 1988; Auer, 2000, p. 169; Gumperz, 1982, p. 155; Muhonen, 2008a, p. 169).
the viewpoint of language alternation, polyphony, and multilingualism and concentrating on the use and functions of these multiple voices and repertoires within the Finnish language youth radio programs in Sweden and in Finland. English functions as second language expressing, for example, group membership, and special skills and expertise among Finnish speaking youth (see Muhonen 2008a, 2008b). Language alternation in connection to expressing in-group humor also has a central function (Muhonen 2010a, 2010b).

Theoretical Standpoint and Methodology

As the main theoretical approach to language alternation in the present study a conversation analytic model will be applied (Auer, 1984, 1988, 1995, 1998). According to this model, there are two basic category pairs that provide the underlying procedural apparatus for analysing the local interpretations of language alternation in their individual contexts. The category pairs are inserts (transfer) vs. code-switching and participant- vs. discourse-related language alternation. From the hearer’s point of view, the speaker is indicating solutions to the following (see Auer, 1984, p. 4; 1988, p. 192):

Is the language alternation in question connected to a particular conversational structure, for example a word, a sentence, or a larger unit (insert) or to a particular point in conversation (code-switching)?

Is the language alternation providing cues for the organization of the ongoing interaction and contributing to the interactional meaning of the utterances (discourse-related) or attributes of the speaker (participant-related)?

Based on a study of young Italian migrants in Germany, Auer’s view on language alternation and functions is particularly applicable for my data for several reasons: The participants in Auer’s (1984, 1988) research are, like the Sweden Finnish migrants of this study, young and urban. They also have a free political status, and as members of the European Community and Nordic countries, they have the right to move and work freely in Finland and Sweden (see more for example in Auer, 1988, pp. 187–190; Muhonen, 2010b, p. 196).

In applying Auer’s model and theoretical framework, I am also engaging myself in the conversational analytic way of data analysis. Yet, I will not apply the traditional CA in its full extent, as I will mainly pay attention to the parts of the discussions and data extracts where the English language elements and language alternation occur and are made use of for different purposes. An optimal analysis and interpretation can sometimes require knowledge of the whole discourse context, sometimes even of the whole radio program, sometimes even of the surrounding Sweden Finnish society. There are other theoretical and methodological models, such as Gumperz’s (1982) distinction between metaphorical and situational code switching, as well as, for example, Myers-Scotton’s (1993) markedness model explaining social motivations for code switching, both which could well be applied for the current data. Auer’s model has also been further discussed and developed (Sebba, 1993; Milroy & Wei, 1995; Wei, 1998). Yet, a more comprehensive review of the competing theories and models is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present paper (see also Muhonen, forthcoming).

Data

My data consists of recordings and transcriptions excerpted from interviews and discussions in Swedish Radio’s (SR) Sweden Finnish youth and music radio programs Klubi Klubben during the summer 2005. Swedish radio (SR) is a non-commercial and independent public service radio, which functions to provide high-quality programs in Sweden (Sveriges Radio, 2010). SR provides programs that are intended to be impartial and accurate, as well as those that serve as forums for free speech. SR broadcasts new and current affairs in 16 languages, in 4 national and 28 local channels (Sveriges Radio, 2010). The Finnish language channel is called Sisuradio. SR has a national responsibility to transmit programs in minority languages in Sweden. Languages in a minority context can be described as regional, lesser-used, non-state, non-hegemonic or for example indigenous (Cormack 2007). In this study the term minority language is used to refer to Sweden Finnish. Sweden Finnish is surrounded by the majority language Swedish and the definition...
classified as one of Sweden’s five official national minority languages in 2000, it has a special position in SR: it has its own channel, SR P7 Sisuradio, which is a round-the-clock channel in Finnish and can be heard on the Internet, in digital radio form (DAB) or even through cable television at several locations in Sweden. Sisuradio provides news, music, culture, entertainment and sports in Finnish 16 hours a day. (Sveriges Radio, 2010).

Klubi Klubben was Sisuradio’s youth program which broadcast three different programs: Jymyklub(i) was aimed at an audience of young people over 20 and included culture, current topics and discussions around different life situations of the youth. Staraklub(i) provided youth with a possibility and target for identification as it was aimed at young Sweden Finns of high school age, and consisted of interviews about and with other young Sweden Finns. Hititklub(i) played Finnish music, presented a list of Top Ten hits and broadcast interviews on Finnish or Sweden Finnish artists. During the summer 2005, Klubi Klubben was broadcast two hours per evening, from 8 pm to 10 pm, Wednesday through Friday (Blomberg, 2008, personal communication; Törmälä, 2004, pp. 20–21). Klubi Klubben later changed its format and is today called Finska pinmar. It is still the only Finnish language youth media in Sweden.

My data consists of 24 2-hour radio programs, altogether 48 hours of material. The different program types include, for example, reporter(s) live cast radio speech, interviews, humour programs, reports, (channel and program) advertisements, and last but not least music. Music constitutes altogether 29 hours and 40 minutes of my entire body of data. Most of the music played on the programs is in Finnish (19 hours 8 minutes), English music is also popular (8 hours 51 minutes), and also music in Swedish, often by Sweden Finnish artists, is broadcast (1 hour 30 minutes). Being a minority language radio program, most of the interviews take place in Finnish (5 hours, 42 minutes). Completely Swedish interviews also exist (26 minutes) and sometimes English is used as a main language of the interview (in total 14 minutes). Although I have counted the exact program hours, and made a distinction between different program types and, for example, the languages in which the music is played, I am not counting the English language alternations within the Finnish dialogues. My approach to the data is qualitative, although references and claims to the frequencies of them are sometimes made. Yet, English language elements are very frequent in the data, appearing alongside or instead of Finnish, as can be seen in the following analysis section. Due to the large amount of data, I have chosen to transcribe only those parts of the data and shorter extracts that include language alternation and multilingual language use.

Different Functions of English Within Youth Radio Programs

Below I will present results from the analyses of the functions that English has within Sweden Finnish youth radio discourse. I will demonstrate five different themes in which language alternation occurs and English is used for varying purposes. First I will briefly describe the use of English as a lingua franca, and as a means of communication in international situations. Then I will look at the use of English as a marker of different identities. Some excerpts demonstrating the discourse-related functions of language alternation will be introduced and explained next, followed by the central aspects of intertextuality within the youth radio discourse. Finally, language alternation in connection with the speaker’s linguistic competence and preference will be briefly explored. Some of the data examples could be categorised in alternating ways, and many have overlapping themes. When choosing the data for the present study I have tried to select extracts that would also thematically reflect the variety of aspects of the lives, lifestyles, and interests of young Sweden Finns.

English as a Lingua Franca

One of the most common uses of English in the present data is its use as a lingua franca, in communication between participants that do not share another common language (see also Berns, 2009; Mauranen, 2003). Several types of use of English as a lingua franca can be distinguished. English is, for example, used as a lingua franca in interviews that take place outside Sweden and is then spoken by both natives and non-native speakers. Swedes visiting Finland often speak English with Finns, as is the case in the following, where Swedish rock band the Hives performed at...
an outdoor rock festival in Finland. After a music set, the following was heard:

Example 1. People that don’t know Swedish

01 S: ((live music)) NOW NOW NOW ()
02 vi spelade i Finland we played in Finland
03 last year () förra året () och vi spelar i last year and we play in
04 Finland igen† Finland again
05 ((applause)) ett år kan inte ta slut () a year cannot end ()
06 cannot end () de som inte kan svenska ()
07 for you people that don’t know Swedish ()
08 a year is not complete without the Hives in
09 Finland ((applause, drums, music))

The lead singer (S) starts in English, with the “now now now,” continues then in Swedish but very shortly changes his language back to English again in “we played in Finland last year” (lines 2–3). This way of speaking continues until a metalinguistic reference “for you people that don’t know Swedish” appears on line 7 and gives evidence to the reasons behind the language alternation as well as to the use of English: the speaker assumes that at least part of the audience does not know Swedish. English functions as a lingua franca, as a mutual language of communication. Therefore it has a participant related function (Auer, 1984, pp. 34–35) as more listeners are included in the dialogue by speaking English and the listener constellation is widened out. As S mentions and assumes on lines 6–7, the use of Swedish only may narrow down the participants that really can engage in the current communication (see also Auer, 1998, p. 8).

Yet, it is also interesting to note that besides the instances in which English is used as a lingua franca, there is seldom any doubt about Finnish not being the matrix language on the radio channel. Although English (and Swedish) may sometimes be used rather extensively, in the majority of the cases English is used only as a linguistic resource that surfaces by the side of Finnish, which then always remains as the matrix language. That is also the case in all the data extracts demonstrated in the present article.

Music as a Marker of a Special Interest, a Hobby or an Area of Expertise

Music genre has been chosen here as an example of a special field of interest and expertise where specific language use occurs as a marker of this genre. In the dialogues of the young people on the present radio channel, a great deal of English use occurs in connection to some special leisure time interests, as well as demonstrating the linguistic indications of a language use for the function of expressing these interests and fields of expertise. Below some extracts showing the use of English within the music theme and genre are demonstrated.

The use of English to demonstrate a speaker’s knowledge of various music genres and music interests in general is very common in my data. It seems that those who engage themselves with music also share a specific music-related lexicon and repertoire. In the following, the reporter is commenting on the music that was previously played at the channel using an English term “flow”:

Example 2. Nice flow

01 R: [...] se oli Jane ja Entinen () olipa kiva that was Jane and Entinen what a nice
02 flow siinä [...] there

“Flow” is a music-related term that certainly can have a counterpart also in Finnish. Yet, in order to express her interest in music and to demonstrate her belonging to a group of like-minded people, the speaker chooses the English term in order to relate the concept. This participant-related insert serves as a marker to identify the speakers as members of a certain kind of international and multilingual community (see also Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). It may also be “trendy” and “cool” to be able to show off this ability. To use English to discuss music is not always obligatory but somehow it often seems to be the underlying norm. By showing that one

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8 See the transcription conventions in the end of this article. The English language elements in the data excerpts are written in bold and are not repeated in the translations in the non-numbered lines.
knows special music-related terminology in English, one also becomes an expert, a part of the group of similarly minded international peers. This verbal behavior becomes particularly clear when one moves towards more marginal and specialized music genres and the special lexicon, which these inside groups have in their music-related repertoires.

In the next data extract, the language alternation showing this group membership and expertise is taken to a more advanced linguistic level for example when compared with the previous example (2) about the term “flow.” The understanding and interpreting the music-genre-specific language and lexical choices the speaker is making, requires a somewhat deeper level of musical knowledge:

Example 3. Marginal cult music

01 R: [...] yhtye kuvailee musiikkiaan niin the band describes its music both
02 sanoilla chart orientated with words as
03 kuin marginal cult [...] as well as

When reporter (R) cites the band’s description of the music, she uses two music related terms: “chart orientated” (line 2) and “marginal cult” (line 3), in describing the music styles. The words and terms themselves are not difficult to understand. Anyone can tell that “marginal cult” means that something called cult music is in a marginal position, meaning that it is less common(ly known). Yet, the language alternation and terms used might go beyond the understanding of a person who is not familiar with the music genre, and also presents a challenge to a listener who is not an expert of music-related discourse: It is by no means clear to everybody what is meant by “cult” music and especially, if it is marginal.

The use of English in extracts like the one above is to create social meanings. The linguistic choices of the speaker and the fact that s/he elects the multilingual repertoire instead of keeping to the matrix language Finnish, send certain social messages. The choice of language indicates the speaker as a certain kind of person, for example, an adolescent who knows how to speak about music. At the same time a claim to group identification is made. The languaging here also aims to identify with Anglo-American music world(s) and culture(s) as well as with the international youth and music (sub) culture (see also Leppänen, 2008; Muhonen, 2008a; Toriseva, 2008).

There is one music genre that seems to be, based on my data, a case of its own, if judged by the extensive use of English. The frequency and use of English in the lyrics of and discussions about rap music is remarkable. Within the genre of rap, English has a very visible status, which is a phenomenon that has also been reported in other studies (Levy, 2001; Pennycook, 2003). In addition to the fact that most of the rap music played on the channel is in English, there is a great deal of language alternation even within the music produced in Finnish, the so-called Suomi-rap (Finnish rap). In Finland there is a strong trend and interest in making (national) rap music both in standard Finnish and in different regional Finnish dialects and even in Sámi and in Finnish Sign Language. Yet, Finnish rap music is characterized by extensive use of English. An example of the rap genre is found in the following data extract where the reporter starts speaking while music is still playing in the background:

Example 4. From the neighborhood

01 R: [(music in the background)]
02 [näin hienosti suomirappia (.) Roihuvuori sooo great Finnish rap Roihuvuori
03 (.) YES (.) straight from the hood (.) [...]

English is used both in the interjection “yes” and in the language alternation “straight from the hood,” on line three, where “hood” refers to the English word “neighborhood,” a place which is defined by the geographical origin of the rap music subgroup in question. This use of “hood” is naturally related to the wider concept of international rap music and subgroups, imitating, for example, the hoods of New York. Maybe there are different neighborhoods, so-called “hoods,” in the larger cities also in Finland, but certainly not quite to the same extent and global “street cred” meaning as in the original North American rap—and sometimes perhaps even gang-neighborhood cultures. Yet, the language-alternated elements, for example the “hoods” and utterances on and references to it, are shared by all members of the international rap music genre, regardless of physical location. Therefore they also function as a marker of the global lingua franca associated and used by the members of this world wide speech group.

The specific language use, as well as the language alternation and utterance “straight from the hood” within the music, functions as a marker of special interest and of membership in the inside group. It has an identity function. As Levy (2001, p. 134) mentions, hip-hop music constitutes “a
global urban subculture that has entered people’s lives and become a universal practice among youth the world over.” The situation among rap musicians is no different: specific lexical choices, as the use of “hood” in the present excerpt and their use in the musical context identify the speaker with the wider, transnational and global rap music genre and context. From local, predominantly black communities in the hoods of New York, rap music has become a worldwide transnational practice involving also (youth) identities and global urban subcultures and environments.

Some functions of language alternations as a marker of music interest and group identification were demonstrated above. The fact that I have only chosen excerpts on music does not mean that it is the only field of expertise that is displayed by such specific language use in the present data. Yet, as music constitutes such a large and central proportion of the programs, it becomes natural that it represents a central place also in the analysis. A great deal of discussions on the channel deal with music, as the data excerpts also demonstrate. As mentioned in the beginning of the present paper, the data excerpts also aim at giving glimpses of other special interests and themes of the Sweden Finnish youth life: television programs, snowboarding, films, arts, shopping, hanging out with friends, eating out and travelling, among other topics are also present. The scope of the special interests where language alternation is made use of is hopefully illustrated by looking at the other data extracts in the following sections. One can argue that the activities which Sweden Finnish adolescents engage in are no different from those of any other young people in the modern Western world.

Functions within Discourse

Radio programs aim at entertaining the audience, and English is often used to reinforce that. Sometimes, for purposes of entertainment, English is used to connect and give reference to popular and well-known (international and very often North American) media contexts. The following data excerpt is taken from the very beginning of a Sweden Finnish youth radio show, which is called Late Night Club, as can be seen by line (1). With a live jazz-inspired music band playing in the background, the host of the evening is introduced in line 3:

Example 5. Late night club presents

01 R: @Ladies and gentlemen (.) hitticlubs (.) 02 late night club proudly presents (.) the

This is followed by applause from the audience. The above prelude, an introduction to the coming program, differs from the reporter’s speech that follows it, not only by the language alternation to English, but also in the voice quality. It is uttered with a higher voice level and with a somewhat over-articulated and slower pitch. The emphasis, marking the opening of the show, is made therefore also at the paralinguistic level.

When hearing this introduction to the so-called “hitticlub’s late night show” on the Sweden Finnish youth radio channel, one cannot avoid making an immediate connection to some well-known American talk show programs. Due to the similarity of the program opening, it is obvious that the purpose and one function of this English language program opening are also to make this connection explicit. The almost imitative opening of the program creates a certain recognizable atmosphere and gives the following radio program a well-known talk show frame:

Framing refers to any kind of system of linguistic choices that can get associated with prototypical instances of scenes. Scenes therefore are any kind of coherent sequences of human beliefs, actions or experiences. (Fillmore, 2006, p. 373 [1982, p. 111])

The function of the language-alternated opening sequence, the discourse-related code switching (see Auer, 1995, p. 118; 1998, p. 9) and the English language program opening is to create a certain atmosphere by the use of a familiar and international talk show frame that is typical for these kind of programs. Using both the format and the original language of English builds a more powerful connection and connotation to the talk shows’ original context, and emphasises the coherence within this media genre. At the same time the Sweden Finnish media context is made more international and less national. The function within the program, the opening a new radio program and the evening spent listening to it, becomes more effective, powerful and international with the use of English. In this excerpt, language alternation functions also as a marker of discourse-related code switching, as the different activities are marked with different languages (Auer, 1984, pp. 5, 18–19, 26; 1995, pp. 118–120). At the same

9 Such as Late Show with David Letterman or The Tonight Show with Jay Leno.
time there is also an imaginary change of the participant constellation (see more Auer, 1984, pp. 18–19; 2000, p. 175; Gumperz, 1982, pp. 76–77): the English-speaking host of the imaginary talk show and the ordinary Finnish speaking radio reporter are obviously meant to be different persons, which becomes clear to the audience directly when the reporter at the radio studio begins his ordinary radio speech. The difference is almost humorous; and therefore creates the entertaining effect that was also discussed in the beginning of the analysis of this particular data extract. 

The next data extract is from the beginning of another radio monologue in the studio. The reporter starts (line 1) with naming the Finnish band “Cashmire Cashmire siinä” (that was) and thereafter the music “ja (and) God Loves Rain” and then continues (lines 1–4) with commenting on the weather forecast by saying that it is going to rain tomorrow and that this information has also been confirmed in the news:

Example 6. God loves rain

01 R: Cashmire Cashmire siinä ja God Loves that was and
02 Rain ovat muuten luvanneet sadetta It’s by the way supposed to rain
03 huomiseksi >niin< ja tätähän ne just tomorrow yes and this also was
04 tossa uutises- uutisissakin sanottiin just told on the new- news
05 toivotaan vain(.) että God loves rain let’s just hope that
06 sen verran että pitelee(.) ne sateet that much that he keeps the rains
07(.) siellä ittellensä [...] there to himself

From line five onwards, the footing changes as the reporter moves from citing the news into expressing her personal opinion with “toivotaan vaan että God loves rain sen verran että pitelee ne sateet siellä ittellensä” (let’s just hope that God loves rain that much that s/he keeps the rains to himself), on lines 5–7. The subordinate clause on line three begins with the Finnish subordinate conjunction “että” but continues then in English “God loves rain” and then again in the matrix language Finnish.

Here the English language alternation and its repetition functions evidently as a marker of textual coherence within the ongoing radio dialogue and links together several utterances and contexts of language use within the single radio program. As a marker of textual coherence within the present radio speech, it has a discourse-related function (Auer, 1984, p. 24; 1998, p. 7; 2000, pp. 175–176). Several discourse-related functions of the English usage are skillfully combined in the cohesive link between the repetition of “God loves rain” on line five. First of all, R is making an intertextual link to the music that was played and heard earlier in the same program. By repeating the language-altered utterance, originally the name of the music piece, the speaker is also creating a textual coherence within the radio speech sample. Important to note is that the intertextual link “God loves rain” on line five is no longer referred to as a title of the music piece, although taken from the original context, but an utterance, a citation, with the textual coherence to its origins. Thirdly, by repeating it, the speaker is also hoping for a non-rainy day as well as making an indirect reference to the assumption that the weather conditions may be in higher hands. A fourth intertextual reference appears also when she mentions that the rain has also been discussed on the news, as we hear on lines 3 and 4. The language-alternated textual link refers therefore both to the reporter’s utterance on line one and two, as well as to the original context and to the music and lyrics heard, as well as to the origins of the rain. The speaker is skillfully creating textual and thematic coherence at several levels within the radio speech and a broader context (see Auer, 1984, p. 24; 1998, p. 7).

Language alteration can also be discussed from the viewpoint of polyphony. Behind the concept of polyphony lies the assumption that verbal utterances seldom exist without a connection and reference to some other language use contexts. This applies very well in the present data, within the radio dialogue, where most of the material is based on something that has happened or been said somewhere else, sometime before. Radio speech always echoes other discourses. Polyphony is here understood as a verbal act where the speaker is citing something or referring to somebody else in his or her speech. Other persons or verbal discourses and situations therefore become part of the radio speech on the Sweden Finnish radio programs and its channel. Also the aspect of polyphony is present here: by citing the lyrics, the original context of the utterance is referenced, and the speaker no longer speaks only as her own person, but reflects also the voice of the music artist.

In the last data extract under the topic discourse functions, a group of young women are discussing their money spending habits, and what they would like to buy should they suddenly receive some extra cash to spend. The discussion is
taking place somewhere in the city center of Stockholm. The conversation has been going on for quite a while, and has now led into a discussion about eating and shopping for clothes. The discussion continues with W1 and W2's discussion about W1's statement “I don’t like to buy clothes anymore” (lines 1-2) and the laughingly uttered reasons “because I get fat and have to go up in size for it” (lines 4 and 5).

Example 7. Vicious circle

01 W1: cee-tai ku mä en oikein tykkää (.) ostaa or because I do not really like to buy
02 vaatteita enää (.)
clothes any more
03 W2: enää (.) ootsa ostellu niin paljon vai anymore have you bought so many or
04 W1: no eiku ma lihon aina ni- pit(h)aa vaan not because I get fat always so- have to
05 no(h)usta niissä ko(h)issa- koossa get up in those size- sizes
06 W2: nii(h)nku sa sy(h)ot ku sa tykldiat ruuasta yes because you eat cause you like food
07 W1: niin ju(h)st [(h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h)] it’s a vicious exactly
08 circle
09 [(h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h) (h)]
10 W2: okay () anyways=

Line six follows W2's laughing comment “niin ku sä syöt, ku sä tykkääät ruuasta” (yes because you eat because you like food) which is followed by W1’s affirmative reply “niin just!” (exactly) on line seven and followed by a code-alternated statement in English: “It’s a vicious circle.” After that, the whole group laughs aloud. The food related topic then ends with W2’s reply “okay anyways.”

Language alternations often function as side comments or inserts (Auer, 1995). The language alternation “It’s a vicious circle” serves several discourse related functions. It is a final comment, an almost ironic statement to the fact that there is nothing to be done about the fact that if one likes to eat, one might gain weight. At the same time it has a function in organizing the discourse by closing the discussion and the topic. Language can be altered in situations where two languages and two different activities and actions meet and where the activity changes. This is called mode shift (Auer, 1995, p. 118). Language alternation can indicate the end of a certain topic of discussion, and the beginning of a new topic or an activity. (Auer, 1984, pp. 18–24; 1995, pp. 118, 120). With the use of English on lines seven and eight, W1 marks clearly that the discussion topic is over and it is time to talk about something else. This interpretation is supported by W2’s utterance “okay anyways” on line ten, which clearly signals moving from one topic to another which then also happens when the young women continue discussing another mutually interesting topic, that of the use of self-tanning spray.

Intertextuality

Radio programs also aim to give information to its audience. Many of the uses of English consist of language constituents referring to some other context or discussion where English is often used (see also the discussion about polyphony earlier). A single utterance where language alternation occurs can be connected to more than one discourse and communicational situation. Language alternation often has a connection to something that has been said, heard, or read before, or to a previous discussion, interview, listener feedback, or, for example, to the music that is or has been played on the radio channel. It is common that the reporters repeat, cite, or otherwise refer to these language elements in their radio speech. In the present paper this is called intertextuality. 10

Within the radio programs, intertextuality means that many language alternations, for example comments and topics expressed in English, have a connection to some other contexts. Single utterances can relate to several language use contexts (Auer, 1984, p. 31). A recurring feature is a passage where the reporters look up and cite information in English from the Internet. When citing and reading from Internet pages in English, the speakers often also present this information in the original language. In the first example, R is surfing the Internet for information about a Finnish heavy metal band (lines 1-2):

Example 8. Last updated

01 R: [...] mutta ensin vähän ääniä bändiltä joka but first some music from band that
02 on tämmöinen suomalainen hevibändi () is this kind of Finnish heavy metal band

10 The term intertextuality originally relates to for example literature research and means the shaping of texts' meanings by other texts. It can refer to an author's borrowing and transforming of a prior text or to a reader's referencing of one text in reading another (see Tammi, 1992). I apply the same idea to the spoken language because basically the procedures and phenomena are the same.
As R reads the information from the Internet, simultaneously translating most of it into Finnish, she also gives parts of it to the audience in English. On line three, she explicitly mentions “naitten websiten mukaan” (according to their website). Citing and giving parts of the information directly in the original language, in English, the speaker provides the information with authority: because the information is taken and directly cited from the webpage, it should be accurate. Again on line six, the reporter cites the lexeme “updated” in English. In this radio monologue, both English and Finnish appear fluently together and no linguistic evidence and reference of the usage of English elements is needed or given. The English voice, the direct citations from the Internet pages, bring along a new voice, a new outside “character” that is giving additional information, and whose “opinion” is therefore made use of in the present program. When moving from her radio speech into giving information from the Internet pages, the language also changes at times.

The next excerpt, read by a Sweden Finnish reporter, is a direct quote taken from the top corner of a rented snowboard, as the reader later states on line 8:

Example 9. Snowboarding is hazardous

01 R: […] koko juttu sitten alkoi <kauan sitten> it all started a long time ago
02 in a galaxy far far away. (.) vuonna in
03 yheksantoista seitkyt seitsemiin ja [ ... ] nineteen seventy seven and

She starts a topic by quoting a line from one of the films in the Star Wars trilogy. The citation “kauan sitten” (a long time ago) starts in Finnish and continues then in English “in a galaxy far, far away.” By using this, the speaker is coloring her own speech with a citation as well as making an intertextual link to well-known Star Wars lines. This intertextuality gives a discourse related function and makes a textual coherence between the present speech context as well as to the film the reporter is commenting on and further discusses later on in the program.

Participant-Related Functions
Although different languages and repertoires are used innovatively for a variety of different purposes and functions within the radio discussions, one should not forget a language
Alternation that is more or less evident in a minority language or a second language context, as in Sweden Finnish youth radio: there are instances within Finnish discussion or interviews, where words and expressions of English (and/or Swedish) are used in situations where the participants simply lack these language elements in their Finnish. These gaps in linguistic knowledge become evident when the dialogue cannot proceed in Finnish without problems. Sweden is the home country of these young people, and it is mostly Swedish that is used for the purpose of filling in the linguistic gaps. Yet, there are also situations, such as the one below, where instead of a Finnish term or word, the corresponding English expression is used:

Example 11. Retribution

01 W: [...] mutta tämä kuva näyttää jotain mutta this picture shows some
02 semmosta symboli- symbol symboliikkaa kind of symbol- symbol- symbolism
03 siinä hommassa >että pahuus ei saa olla (.) in it that evilness cannot be
04 ja että pahuus saa myöskin< (.) tämmönin and that evilness gets also this kind of
05 pahuus mitä X on tehnyt niin et se saa evilness what X has done so that it gets
06 myös semmosen< (.) retribution (.) like that
07 mitä se on suomeksi what is it in Finnish
08 R: paha saa palkkansa ainakin (h) (h) evil gets what evil deserves
09 W: niin (.) hän haluaa symbolisesti näyttää et- yes he will symbolically show that-
10 paha saa palkkansa [...] that evil gets what it deserves

In the above situation, W, who works at an art gallery in Stockholm, is being interviewed. The touring international art exhibition that R is visiting presents artwork from China. Both the interviewer and the interviewee know Finnish and Swedish. Nevertheless, W suddenly faces difficulties in finding a right word in Finnish, while telling about the international exhibition on lines 4–6. She then searches for the word in English: “et se saa myöös semmosen retribution mikä se on suomeksi,” where both the language alternated element “retribution” and the speaker’s explicit question “mikä se on suomeksi” (what is it in Finnish) indicate a participant-related function for the language alternation. Making a direct reference to the fact that one has difficulties remembering something in another language is proof of a participant-related language alternation (Auer, 1984, p. 26). The use of other languages may depend even on the speaker’s momentary lack of language skills. Also, “semmosen,” (like that) in line six, indicates the speaker’s hesitation and functions as evidence for the participant-related function of word search.

As a conclusion it is interesting to note that within the multilingual repertoire and polylingual language use of Sweden Finnish speakers, the discourse context and topic of discussions affects the language use. One could assume that a Sweden Finnish speaker would, in an ordinary case, seek help from Swedish, not English. Yet, in the spur of the moment while discussing the international art exhibition, and probably because W is used to reading and speaking about art in English, the use of English is triggered. The linguistic evidence further supports the interpretation of this as participant-related language alternation.

Conclusion

It has been shown above that the young population of Sweden Finnish speakers do make use of different languages and linguistic repertoires rather innovatively, although there is very little previous research-based information on the subject. All the data excerpts chosen for the present article reflect this phenomenon and the young Sweden Finn’s multilingual language knowledge and their polylingual repertoire(s). According to Jørgensen (2008, p. 161), multilingualism means that language users have knowledge of several separate languages, whereas polylingualism is characterized by language use where several different sets of features from the different “languages,” are used in language users’ linguistic production. These features are not used randomly and particularly late-modern urban youth groups are simultaneously and frequently using features from many different sources (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 161; see also Muhonen, 2008a).

The main purpose of this article is to examine the functions of English language alternations in the data. Because of its use as a lingua franca and as a tool of identity work of the global and international youth, English is a new source for language alternation (see Muhonen, 2008a). With the term language alternational lingua franca I refer to the use of English as a resource existing alongside other national languages, such as Finnish or Swedish. English is no longer used as a foreign language but has a more or less similar user status to a second language (Leppänen, 2007, 2008; Muhonen, 2008a). English plays a significant part in the
language repertoires of the Sweden Finnish youth radio channel and has many different purposes within my data. Alongside Finnish, it functions as a means of constructing one as a particular kind of young person, with particular multilingual and -cultural allegiances, values and lifestyles often related, for example, to North American popular music and films. Different youth identities are reflected on several levels of English use, such as in expressing the textual coherence, intertextuality and, for example, special interests such as snowboarding and music.

The following text was written in the Internet pages of the SR Sisuradio’s youth channel Klubi Klubben at the time the recordings for my study were made (Sisuradio, 2010):

We speak mostly in Finnish but we also write in Swedish, you can also write in English.

The quote shows quite explicitly that although Klubi Klubben is a Finnish language radio channel, a polylingual language use is accepted and even encouraged. This frames the unofficial language policy of the minority radio channel’s youth programs. Based on the empirical linguistic material, real life language use seems to prove this statement true. In the minority language context, one can show evidence of extreme linguistic creativity and fluent polylingualism, as well as sudden lexical gaps in the matrix language.

The young people working on the radio produce programs aimed at their peers. The polylingual language use and multilingual repertoires are shared and mutually understood and accepted, and function as a marker of and a symbol for this young community of Sweden Finnish speakers. They share a certain common word not only at the linguistic level, as demonstrated in this article, but certainly also on a deeper cultural and societal level. What connects these young people is a shared world, and several special leisure time interests that are typical to the younger (late-modern and often urban) generation. The extensive use of English can play a part in belonging to a group and therefore mark group identity and function as a marker of this identity (Blommaert, 1992; Auer, 1999, p. 318; Leppänen & Nikula, 2007). Leppänen and Nikula (2007) point out that media has a central role in spreading English into the everyday use of the speakers of Finnish. The Sweden Finnish youth radio, being the only Finnish speaking minority media in Sweden, is an especially important language institution because it simultaneously both reflects and forms the language use of its consumers and listeners. Radio also reflects and connects to the different opinions and conventions of life. It has an important function in presenting ideas and perhaps even in the survival of the surrounding speech community and the Finnish speaking Sweden Finnish radio public.

In the present article, I have tried to show and explain the use and functions of English within Sweden Finnish youth radio discourse. One should, however, not forget that although this article only takes a look at the use of English within the Sweden Finnish data, there are also other languages and repertoires present. Especially strong and visible is the use of Swedish. Yet, the use of Finnish, Swedish and English, seem to be more or less the everyday linguistic reality of these young Sweden Finnish polylingual language users. They are also part of the speech communities of these languages, at least when it comes to Swedish and Finnish. However, the aspects of crossing (see Rampton, 1995) and the use of forms and variants of languages and speech styles from groups to which the Sweden Finnish young people do not immediately belong is also very much present in the data. The young speakers make use of several other linguistic repertoires with which these speakers are perhaps in a less immediate contact. This characterises the polylingual linguistic reality of Sweden Finnish youth. It also reflects the multilingual and -cultural late-modern urban society these young speakers live in.
References


Muhonen: “It’s a vicious circle”


Transcription Conventions

- [text1] overlapping utterances
- [text2] latching utterances
- text1=text2 a pause, timed in tenths of a second
- (0.7) a pause shorter than 1 second
- (.) transcriber’s comments
- ((applause)) laugh tokens
- CAPITAL loud speech
- Stress strong stress on the syllable
- @text@ altered tone of voice, usually when quoting someone
- <slow> slow speech
- >fast< fast speech
- Ehh in-breath, the number of h’s indicating the length
- ↑ rising intonation
- cutoff s- cutoff word or sentence
- te(h)x  laughing production of an utterance
The Shamanic Connection:  
Shared Influences in Norse Mythology and the Kalevala  
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Abstract
There are several connections between the Norse and Finnish mythological traditions, which are revealed by a combination of historical research and textual analysis. This paper traces the shamanic themes common to both traditions: Väinämöinen and Odin as shamans, the shamanic journey, supernatural information sources, especially the reawakened dead, and the bear cult.

The northern shores of the Baltic Sea are home to two poetic oral traditions: the Norse myths of the Vikings and the folk poetry of Finland. The Prose and Poetic Eddas, collections from thirteenth century Iceland, are the most accessible sources of the Norse myths. The Finnish folk poetry is most widely available in the Kalevala, a poetic epic composed in the nineteenth century. At first glance, there would seem to be little connecting the poems of the Old Norse oral tradition with the poetry of the Kalevala. Linguistically, there is a solid barrier between the cultures: the Finnish language comes from a completely different language family (Finno-Ugric) than Old Norse, which—like English—is part of the Indo-European language family. If, as Georges Dumézil argues, myths develop only along the same path as language, there is very little room for interaction between these traditions (Dumézil, 1973).

However, a deeper reading and examination of these two oral traditions actually reveals a number of similarities between the Norse myths and the Kalevala. The most prominent connection between the Norse myths and the Kalevala is the shamanic magic exhibited by their protagonists. This influence comes from the shamans of the Sámi people, who are indigenous to Scandinaivia and the western edge of European Russia. They had extended contact with both the Norse and Finnish oral traditions, allowing the influence of shamanism to spread throughout Scandinavia. As Juha Pentikäinen explains, “the origins of the Finnish tradition of sages [shamans] lie in northern Eurasian shamanism,” i.e. the indigenous Sámi (Pentikäinen, 1999, p. 178).

The shaman is a particular kind of magician and healer associated with tribal cultures. This figure functions as the intermediary between the tribe and the spirit world. The shaman negotiates with the inhabitants of the various spirit worlds, including the sky-based realms of higher beings such as gods and the underworld abodes of the dead. This negotiation is achieved “in a trance during which [the shaman’s] soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld” (Eliade, 1964, p. 5). The shaman undertakes a perilous spiritual journey alone, on behalf of the tribe.

Several parallel themes in Norse mythology and the Kalevala are related to these shamanic influences. Both Odin and Väinämöinen have magical abilities that are strongly connected to the shamanic magic of the indigenous people of Scandinavia. These characters exemplify the shamanic journey, often traveling to other worlds to retrieve information or negotiate with the beings found there. Both of them depend on shamanic sources for their magic. An important task of the shaman is gathering wisdom. Accordingly, the pursuit of wisdom and knowledge is highly regarded in both mythologies, to a much greater extent than it is in surrounding European myth. A final aspect of shamanic culture surviving in these myths is the symbolism of the bear, a figure of importance in the Kalevala that also holds power in the Norse worldview.

The shamanic themes in the Kalevala have been the subject of scholarly discussion since its publication in the early nineteenth century. Anna-Leena Siikala, a Finnish scholar of the Kalevala, traces this debate to M. A. Castrén, a contemporary of Elias Lönnrot. Castrén analyzed and discussed the Finnish folk poems themselves, rather than in the context of the Kalevala. In an essay written in 1853, he explained that “the Finnish epic poems describing Antero Vipunen and the visit to Tuonela ... [were] accounts of a shamanistic journey to the underworld” (Siikala, 2002, p. 19). In the Kalevala, these particular shamanic journeys are undertaken by Väinämöinen, and serve as knowledge- and magic-gathering expeditions.

A large portion of the shaman’s ritual role involved journeys to the other world—the domain of spirits and of the dead—where the shaman would contact and negotiate with these beings. Väinämöinen and Odin each use magic to extract information from the dead, and even travel into the underworld to do so. Tracing the shamanic journey as represented in the Norse myths and the
Kalevala reveals the extent of the similarities of shamanic magic in each of these traditions.

The Shaman's Horse

No ordinary form of transportation will allow the shaman to embark on these supernatural journeys. In the shamanic rituals of the Siberian tribes, the shaman's drum is a major part of many rituals. Decorated with rough maps of the cosmology and other symbols used to guide the spirit journey, the drum is used to invoke and control the trance that allows the shaman to travel in the spirit world. The shamans of various tribes have differing understandings of the symbolism of their drums. For at least one tribe, the drum is interpreted as a horse. "Using the drumstick as a whip, the shaman is thought to 'ride' his horse to the other world" (Siikala, 2002, p. 44). We can follow this thread, the shaman's horse, in both the Norse myths and the Kalevala. In each, the shaman's horse is a supernatural steed capable of feats impossible for any ordinary horse. These horses are magical tools which allow the shaman to travel to the underworld and produce magic.

Early in the Kalevala, in chapter six, Väinämöinen travels to Pohjola, riding a "stallion of straw / a horse of pea stalks" (Bosley, 1989, p. 61). While Bosley's translation invokes a particularly peculiar image, Kirby (1907, p. 61) and Friberg (1989, p. 74) both interpret this phrase as merely "straw-colored" horse. But, this is still no ordinary horse. After running across the heaths of Kalevala (swampy terrain being difficult passage for a horse), the sage proceeds to ride out upon the open ocean "without a hoof getting wet" (Bosley, 1989, p. 61). Though he is riding his shamanic horse, Väinämöinen appears to be only traveling from one land to another, rather than between worlds. However, once he reaches Pohjola, he finds himself in very unfamiliar territory. Väinämöinen exclaims, "all the trees here bite / all the fir sprigs beat /.../ only the wind do I know / and the sun have [I] seen before / in these foreign lands" (Bosley, 1989, p. 75). The sage is accustomed to a strong connection to nature, thus making this disconnection all the more jarring.

Pohjola is only mildly otherworldly—as compared to the ghostly underworld of Tuonela—but it is still otherworldly.

Pohjola is parallel to Joutunheim, the home of the Giants (Kuuvi, Bosley, & Branch, 1977, p. 527). Joutunheim is still on the same plane as Midgard, just as Pohjola is with Kalevala, but both are the home of the Other. Journeying this far requires special conveyances or the completion of challenges. Later in the Kalevala, when Lemminkäinen travels to Pohjola, he faces a number of deadly supernatural adversaries (Chapter 26).

The Kalevala does not show Väinämöinen riding his horse directly to Tuonela; however, other poems do give that ability to his horse. Siikala references the symbolism of the tietäjä's helper animal—in many cases a horse—which facilitates the shaman's travels. These horses sometimes come from Hiisi, the Demon, but elsewhere, "the horse's owner is said to be Väinämöinen, the prototype of the tietäjä traveling to the other world" (Siikala, 2002, p. 234). In one of the folk poems related to the Kalevala, a smith sets out to get a bride from Tuonela, the land of the dead. To do this, "He took a steed of straw / Took a sleigh of fibers, / [he] Went to fetch Tuoni's daughter, / the bride from the underworld" (quoted and translated in Siikala, 2002, p. 150). As well as allowing journeys to the otherworld of Pohjola, the stallion of straw enables the shamanic journey to the underworld.

The shamanic horse makes several appearances in the Norse myths as well. To begin with, the great ash Yggdrasil literally connects Midgard with the other worlds, and the tree itself can be considered Odin's horse. Hilda Davidson explains, "Yggr was one of the many names of Odin, and the usual interpretation [of Yggdrasil] is 'Horser of Yggr,' since Odin in a sense rode the tree when he hung upon it" (Davidson, 1988, p. 170). Yggdrasil is doubly linked back to the shaman's drum; it is both Odin's shamanic horse and the center of the cosmology. Siberian shamans often decorated their drums with depictions of the world tree (Siikala, 2002). To further link the tree to the shaman's magic, the direct result of Odin's "riding" upon the tree was his acquisition of runic magic. In Havamal, Odin proclaims that he "hung on a windy tree / nine long nights /... I took up the

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1 The straw horse resembles the Olkipukki, a straw goat that is a traditional Finnish Christmas ornament. This tradition is also present in Norway and Sweden, as the Julebukk, where it is sometimes described as a descendant of Thor's chariot-pulling goats (Eriksson, 2002, p. 2).

2 As demonstrated in chapter 41 of the Kalevala, where all the animals come to hear Väinämöinen's music.

3 A tietäjä is a shaman in the Finnish tradition, similar to the Sámi noaidi (Pentikäinen, 1999, p. 183).

4 Hiisi is translated as Demon or Devil by Bosley, (1989).
runes, screaming I took them, / then I fell back from there” (Larrington, 1996, p. 34). These runes give him many magical capabilities, among them the ability to speak with the dead and learn their secrets, especially those that have been hanged. Yggdrasil is a ritual shamanic horse that allows its rider, Odin, to gain magical powers, including the ability to speak to the dead and interact with spirits.

Odin has a second shamanic horse—this one is less symbolic and more horse. Sleipnir is an eight-legged horse; this archetype “is the shamanic horse par excellence; it is found among the Siberians, as well as elsewhere...always in connection with the shaman’s ecstatic experience” (Eliade, 1964, p. 380). In Balíðr Draumar, the poetic prediction of the death of Baldr, Sleipnir’s ability to carry the shaman into the underworld is crucial. After Baldr tells his father of his portentous dreams, Odin rides for Niflheim: “Up rose Odin, the sacrifice for men, / and on Sleipnir he laid a saddle; / down he rode to Mist-hell” (Larrington, 1996, p. 243). Once he reaches Niflheim, Odin reanimates a dead seeress, presumably using the runes he learned while “riding” Yggdrasil. She tells him of the impending death of his son. Odin’s two shamanic horses have thus enabled him to cross the boundary into the underworld. There, Odin, as a shaman, interacts with the dead to acquire knowledge for the benefit of the world above.

Gathering knowledge is one of the two spirit-world tasks performed by the shaman; the other is negotiating with the dead on behalf of the living. Sleipnir travels into the underworld a second time in the story of Baldr’s death, this time at the behest of Frigg. Odin lends his horse to Hermod, who will “ride the road to Hel” and offer the queen of the dead a ransom for Baldr. For nine nights, Hermod “rode dales so deep and dark that he saw nothing, until he reached the river Gjoll and rode over its bridge” (Young, 1954, pp. 82–83). Once in Hel’s domain, Hermod negotiates with the queen of the dead, though the bargain they make is ultimately foiled by Loki.

The shamanic vehicle, in the form of the shamanic horse, is an important component of the magic present in both the Norse myths and the Kalevala. Odin’s relationship with Yggdrasil is directly parallel to the relationship between a shaman and his drum: both are magical tools which, when symbolically understood as horses, enable the shaman to journey to other worlds and produce magic. Odin’s actual horse, Sleipnir, and Väinämöinen’s unnamed straw stallion are both magical steeds used by shamanic characters in the course of their journeys, and both horses are capable of bearing their rider to the underworld abode of the dead.

Väinämöinen’s Ship

However, there are other shamanic journeys undertaken that do not rely on the horse—or at least do not emphasize the horse’s role in the journey. Two of Väinämöinen’s major shamanic journeys, those based on the rune poems M. A. Castrén analyzed, take place in chapters 16 and 17 of the Kalevala. The story begins with Väinämöinen building a boat. However, as a shaman, his methods of construction are a little different: he is “building the boat with wisdom / making the craft with singing” (Bosley, 1989, p. 190). Clearly, this is not going to be any ordinary boat. Väinämöinen runs into a snag: “he needed three words / for putting on the handrails / for raising the prow / rounding off the stern” (Bosley, 1989, p. 190). Without these words, he cannot finish the boat, and thus he begins a shamanic journey to find the magical knowledge necessary to complete his boat (his horse is not mentioned). His first destination is Tuonela, the underworld abode of the dead. Väinämöinen confronts the gatekeeper and eventually charms his way in, but is unable to find the three words he needs. Instead, he must flee from a denizen of Tuonela who attempts to capture the sage with a net.

After Väinämöinen’s unsuccessful journey to Tuonela, he decides to pursue a different source for the magic words to finish his boat: the long dead shaman Antero Vipunen. This is another different type of journey into the land of the dead, as the shaman will literally enter the body of the dead. Vipunen is a giant who has become part of the landscape, his body now covered in trees. Väinämöinen awakens the giant “from sleep” (Bosley, 1989, p. 201) by cutting down these trees, and the giant swallows the sage.\(^5\) Once inside, Väinämöinen “made himself into a smith / became a blacksmith” (Bosley, 1989, p. 202). Inside Vipunen, Väinämöinen harasses the giant, swinging a blacksmith’s hammer around, until the giant agrees to give the sage the three words he asks for. Väinämöinen’s exploitation of Antero Vipunen is parallel with several of Odin’s knowledge sources, as he too learns from both giants and the dead.

There is no story detailing how Odin learned spells from a giant, but it is referred to in

\(^5\) Bosley points out the Judeo-Christian parallel in the Antero Vipunen story (Jonah and the whale) but asserts that this story had origins in folk antiquity (Bosley, 1989, p. 671).
Talking to the Dead

So far, we have examined the shamanic travel methods of Odin and Väinämöinen, especially when their journeys involve gathering information from the dead. A closer examination of the destination of these journeys is merited, in particular how the shamans interact with the dead, and which dead they choose to talk to. Not just any dead person will do; they must have some notable magical quality. Völluspá is a prophecy given by a seeress to the “Father of the Slain,” i.e. Odin (Larrington, 1996, p. 4). As Larrington argues, the seeress’s repetition of “do you understand yet, or what more?” indicates that the prophecy is being compelled out of her. And, judging by Odin’s actions in Baldurs Draumar, it is entirely possible that this is a dead prophetess awakened by Odin. Similarly, Pentikäinen cites scholars who “have argued that Antero Vipunen is the depiction of a shaman who died after remaining in a trance too long; for some reason his soul was unable to return to his body” (Pentikäinen, 1999, p. 187). He obviously had magic knowledge, as he is able to tell Väinämöinen the words he needs to complete the boat. Pentikäinen goes on to detail the parallels between the Vipunen cycle and a Sámi legend of a boy who seeks two “Saami sorcerers, ‘Akeenee’ or ‘Torajainen,’ long slept in their graves” to find words “to construct a boat” (Pentikäinen, 1999, pp. 187-188). Both Odin and Väinämöinen have thus used their shamanic abilities to awaken dead magicians in order to gain magical knowledge.

The shamanic interactions with the dead as examined above have involved the shamans visiting the world of the dead and temporarily reviving them in pursuit of knowledge. In addition, a more permanent form of resurrection appears in similar forms in both mythologies. In the Prose Edda, Thor demonstrates the ability to restore life to his goats. After Thor slaughters, cooks, and eats his goats, he is able to resurrect them. He does this by collecting the goat’s bones, placing them in the skin, and waving his hammer over the remains (Young, 1954, p. 70). In the Kalevala, a somewhat similar resurrection occurs after Lemminkäinen is killed. His mother collects the fragments of his body, in order to conduct a ritual that will bring him back to life. Interestingly, as part of this ritual, Lemminkäinen’s mother invokes Tuuri. According to Bosley, the “Finnish Tuuri is the Norse god of thunder,” Thor (Bosley, 1989, p. 671). Lemminkäinen’s mother tells a bee to fly “to Thor’s new cabin” to fetch a magical ointment that will help her to resurrect her son (Bosley, 1989, p. 180). Grimm’s analysis of these two resurrections points out a simple parallel: in each case, the body must be collected and arranged before the spell can be performed (Grimm, 1883, p. 185). However, this is true of similar magic across many mythological traditions, reaching as far back as the Egyptian myths of Isis and Osiris. Thus, this type of magic would seem to be too widespread to allow us to draw any conclusions. However, the inclusion of “Thor’s cabin” in the resurrection process hints at a shamanic connection. While this could be interpreted as simply a way of referring to an exotic locale, a more tantalizing explanation is that

Some scholars treat Ukko as an analogue of Thor, as they both are sky gods with associations with the weather. However, the Ukko of the Kalevela is a much more powerful creator deity (Pentikäinen, 1999, pp. 159-160), while Thor is a simpler character with straightforward motivation (Lindow, 2001, p. 287). While some of this difference in their power can be explained by Lånnrot’s changes, the story-roles of these two deities are significantly different, opening up the potential for Tuuri to be a Thor analogue instead. Additionally, Tuuri could easily be a transliteration of Ægir.
Thor’s magic specifically was a necessary component of the resurrection. The shaman—in this case Lemminkäinen’s mother—sent an emissary (the bee) to the spiritual home of Thor, where that emissary negotiates with the spirit to draw upon its magical power, Thor’s demonstrated ability to revive the dead. This would indicate that the Norse tradition was a valid source of shamanic power even for the tietäjä.

Of course, the most important resurrection in Norse mythology is that of Baldur, which is destined to take place after Ragnarok, as part of the rebuilding of the world. The closest parallel that can be found in the Kalevala is Väinämöinen’s promise of his own future return. In chapter 50, as the sage leaves Kalevala’s shores, he declares, “Just let the time pass … and again I’ll be needed / Looked for and longed for / to fix a new Sampo” (Bosley, 1989, pp. 662-663). He too, will return. The Christian parallel is often cited by scholars who analyze both of these stories. It seems more likely that the Christian religious influence is responsible here, so this is less important to our examination of the shamanic connection.

Pursuit of Wisdom

Both the Norse myths and the Kalevala emphasize the value of wisdom and knowledge. This is again connected to the indigenous shamanic influence, as the shaman is the repository of much of the mystical wisdom of the tribe. Väinämöinen and Odin demonstrate repeatedly that they have extensive collections of wisdom, as well as a strong drive to collect more. In both traditions, the shamanistic wisdom of the wise man is highly valued.

One of Odin’s main pursuits is the collection of wisdom. This is primarily revealed in Havamal, the “Sayings of the High One,” a poem which is simply a collection of Odinic wisdom, apparently stitched together from several source poems. Odin is not content with his current amount of knowledge; he “continues to seek out wisdom in the mythological present” (Lindow, 2001, p. 250), as in the three poems Vafthrudnismal (“Sayings of Vafthrudnir”), Völuspá (“The Seeress’s Prophecy”), and Baldur’s Draumar (“Baldur’s Dream”). In each of these, he seeks out and encounters a magical being, either a giant or a prophetess, whom he interrogates in order to learn more information. Sometimes he seeks magical spells or information directly relevant to a crisis faced by the Æsir. But his main goal is more information about the forthcoming doom of the gods, Ragnarok.

In Vafthrudnismal, Odin holds a wisdom contest with a giant named Vafthrudnir. The god uses this contest to quiz the giant, gaining more knowledge in the process. Odin opens the poem by declaring, “I intend to journey / to visit Vafthrudnir / I’ve a great curiosity to contend in ancient matters / with that all-wise giant” (Larrington, 1996, p. 40). Frigg, Odin’s wife, proceeds to discourage him, but he still proceeds on his journey. This wisdom contest is remarkably parallel with the contest between Joukahainen and Väinämöinen in chapter three of the Kalevala. At the beginning of that contest, Joukahainen, “insisted that he was going / To those huts of Väinölä, / To contend with Väinämöinen” (Friberg, 1988, p. 54). Joukahainen’s father tries to dissuade him from going, but he too is unsuccessful. The questions posed by the shamans are similar as well. Odin demands that the giant tell him “from where the earth came or the sky above” (Larrington, 1996, p. 43). Väinämöinen asks young Joukahainen to “Tell me of deep Origins /of eternal things” (Bosley, 1989, p. 27). These questions continue for many stanzas, with Odin and Väinämöinen coming out victorious in their respective contests.

These contests are ultimately about shamanic prowess. Kuusi et al. explain, “The interpretation of the poem as a duel between two rival shamans (who would also have been rival tribal leaders) seems the most appropriate” (Kuusi, Bosley, & Branch, 1977, p. 525). Though these scholars are writing about the contest between Joukahainen and Väinämöinen, their conclusion is equally valid for the contest between Odin and Vafthrudnir. In that context, Odin would be the shamanic leader of the Æsir and Vafthrudnir would be the shaman of the giants.

The above wisdom contests were concerned with the origin of the cosmos, as well as more earthly phenomena. Looking to the Finnish shamanic tradition can help to understand the significance of this prominence. In that tradition, “it was believed that a person would have power over an animal, a disease, or another person or phenomenon if its origin was chanted in a charm” (Pentikäinen, 1999, p. 177). Väinämöinen demonstrates this power in chapters 8 and 9 of the Kalevala, when he heals himself of a sword-inflicted wound using a charm containing a retelling of the origin of iron and of blood. Other characters in the Kalevala are able to use this power as well, such as the brew master in chapter 20, who recites the origin of beer while brewing drinks for the wedding feast.

Another shamanic information gathering technique involved helper spirits, primarily in the
form of totemic animals. There are examples of the use animal spirits to gather information in both traditions. Odin has two ravens, Hugin and Munin, whose names mean Thought and Memory. These ravens are “symbols of the mind of the seer or shaman, sent out over vast distances” (Davidson, 1964, p. 147). They are “two helping spirits in the shape of birds” (Eliade, 1964, p. 381). In the Kalevala, Lemminkäinen’s mother uses shamanic helper animals to retrieve information, as part of a resurrection spell. She sends a bee to many exotic locales, including, as discussed above, Thor’s Cabin.

Wisdom and knowledge form the basis of the power of Väinämöinen and Odin, who go to great lengths to acquire more of it. These two shamans fiercely defend their position as “wisest.” Each of these traditions “consistently values and reveres wisdom as the highest virtue” (Rubulis, 1970, p. 7). Though Rubulis was writing about the Kalevala, his analysis applies to Norse myths as well. It is because of the shamanic influences that wisdom is so important to these traditions.

Brown Bears and Hunting

The shamanic parallels discussed above derive from a common source that predates both the Norse myths and the Kalevala. The next connection is a result of both shamanic influences and the geographical proximity of the two traditions. The brown bear is venerated in the Kalevala and connected with Odin. It has a range that extends over much of northern Eurasia, including the Scandinavian Peninsula. The Norse peoples had as much access to this animal as the Finnish did, so it should come as no surprise that it holds importance in both mythologies. In fact, the brown bear is the national animal of Finland. Further, no large mammals (including neither the bear nor the wolf) are found in Iceland, so the stories in Iceland concerning those animals—like most of the Norse myths—must come from the mainland. Both bodies of work demonstrate that the bear was an animal of symbolic significance, intricately connected with shamanic hunting rituals.

Odin presides over the berserks, bear-shirted warriors whose battle-rage terrified the enemies of the Vikings. These warriors would go into battle wearing nothing but a bearskin, as a form of channeling the primeval rage belonging to that animal. Further showing a connection between the bear and the warrior are “several episodes in the sagas where a young man in Norway has to prove his strength and courage by tackling a bear single-handed” (Davidson, 1988, p. 79). The warrior’s transformation into a bear “belongs to an ideology that extends far beyond the sphere of shamanism. Its roots [are] found in the hunting rites of the paleo-Siberian peoples” (Eliade, 1964, p. 385). These rites exist in the Kalevala, where they developed along a different path.

Väinämöinen’s connection with bears comes through his mastery of the hunt. Eliade explains that the shamanic “Bear ceremonialism” is indubitably connected with the magic and mythology of the hunt (Eliade, 1964, p. 459). In chapter 46, Väinämöinen leads the people of Kalevala on a hunt for a brown bear. This hunt is a complicated spiritual matter, as “the bear was the animal held in greatest respect in ancient Finnish society. The killing and eating of the animal was understood as a protective ritual giving anthropomorphic characteristics to the bear.

There is a common shamanic root for the bear motifs in both Finnish and Norse mythology. In this shamanic symbolism, the bear was understood as a protective figure. In the Norse myths, this is demonstrated chiefly by the berserks, who channeled the bear’s fury for battle. In the Finnish myths, the bear is seen as a protector of the tribe and must be respected. In both cases, the line between human and animal is blurred, with the Norse warriors adopting animal characteristics and the Finnish ritual giving anthropomorphic characteristics to the bear.

Conclusion

The shamanic themes in the Norse myths and the Kalevala are intricate and pervasive. The two bodies of work contain many shamanic episodes, ranging from shamanic journeys and negotiations to contests between rival shamans. In all of these episodes, the shamans conduct
themselves in remarkably similar fashions. I would speculate that this resemblance comes from the common source of Sámi shamanism. The extent of this shamanic influence is unique to the Finnish and Norse myths, for few other mythologies had as much access to the Sámi shamans. It is their shamanic techniques that define the magic of Odin and Väinämöinen.

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References


From Loyalists to Separatists: Russian Images of the Finns, 1809–1917

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Abstract:
The article examines Russian images of Finland and the Finns during the 19th and early 20th centuries and argues that these images were related to the political sympathies of Russian observers. While in the 19th century, writers, poets, academics, ethnographers, and tourists created the prevailing stereotypes, during the early 20th century their place was taken by conservative nationalists. Unlike nineteenth-century humanist intellectuals, the conservative nationalists politicized the image of Finns, depicting them “separatists,” “terrorists,” and “parricides.” Such images justified Nicholas II’s new assimilatory policies towards the Grand Duchy of Finland.

Key words: Russian Empire, Grand Duchy of Finland, Russian images of the Finns and Finland, Russian imperial policy towards the Grand Duchy of Finland.

From Finland’s incorporation into the Russian Empire in 1809, the Russian ruling elite regarded the Finns as among the empire’s most law-abiding and loyal subjects. This view persisted across the reigns of very different tsars, from “the intellectual on the throne” Alexander I to “the crowned drummer” and “gendarme of Europe” Nicholas I, “the tsar-liberator” Alexander II and “the counter-reformer” Alexander III. In fact, it was only during the reign of Nicholas II that the ruling Russians began to view Finns negatively, suspecting them of separatist sentiments. This paper seeks to explain why this image had been changing during the century and what the consequences of this change were for Russian national policy towards Finland. Our analysis is influenced by German historian Wolfram Wette, who noted that people’s images about others may, under certain circumstances, have great political impacts even if these images were mere phantoms with little resemblance to reality: “Their power is built on sheer belief in them rather than on their capacity to reflect reality” (Wette, 1998, p. 226).

It is difficult to determine how the perception of a people, in our case, of the Finns, formed in the Russian mind. While representations of “Others” are determined by objective factors such as geographical proximity, intensity of intercultural relations and political liberty, in the final analysis, representations of “Others” are subjective constructions that reflect the culture of those who create them (Boulding, 1959, pp. 6–16, 64–81; Paasi, 1995, pp. 12–13; Sunderland, 2005, p. 200; Parppei, 2010, pp. 135–136). Despite the fact that “Russian representations of non-Russian peoples could be multifaceted, ambivalent, and prone to change over time, […] they certainly always informed the way educated Russians and the Russian state dealt with subordinate national communities” (Sunderland, 1998, pp. 186-187).

Several factors can be distinguished that determined the Russian vision of Finns. The first was the evidence of eyewitnesses, or those who purported to be such. Second, Finns living and working in Russia, especially in St. Petersburg, greatly contributed to the formation of their ethnic image. The Russian capital was “a mirror of the multinational Empire” where Finns accounted for 0.9% (1910) and 2.6% (1881) of the total population (Engman, 1983; Giese, 2005, pp. 359–360; Kappeler, 1992, p. 264; Musaev, 2007, pp. 11–82). In 1881 there were fewer Finns in St. Petersburg (24,374) than in Helsinki, but more than in Finland’s second largest city, Åbo (Turku, 21,500), and Petersburg was sometimes jokingly called Finland’s second city (Engman, 1983, p. 165). Finnish seasonal workers and peasants who temporarily came to the capital made up a large part of the population and these workers did not assimilate. In 1908, the majority of Russia’s 20,248 Finns still lived in St. Petersburg (Svedenia, 1910, p. 5), but memoirs suggest that there were many more living in the capital than officially recorded. The Russian writer A. Bakhtiarov noted in the 1880s that St. Petersburg had a “peculiar face”: Куда вы здесь ни взгляните, всюду встретите угроюго “пасынка природы”—чухонца…Петербуг— это не то, что Москва: если в Москве, этим сердце России, вы никогда не увидите чухонца, то, напротив, в Петербурге чухраны - явление самое обыкновенное. [Wherever you look you will see nature’s miserable stepson, “chiuhonez” (the Finnic). Petersburg is not Moscow, and while in Moscow, the heart of Russia, you may never come across the Finn; in St. Petersburg they are a common sight]. (Bakhtiarov, 1994, p. 167).
This was probably because Estonians, Ingrians, and other Finno-Ugric people living in the northwest were all classified as Finnic (the Russians often used the word “chiuhonzi” for all Finno-Ugric nationalities).

By occupation, the Finns constituted 44% of the capital’s jewellers, some of whom worked for the well-known Faberge firm, 61% of the capital’s chimney sweeps and a large proportion of its cab drivers (Juhneva, 1984, p. 173). Finnish girls worked as cooks and housemaids for the wealthy. Significantly, a high percentage of Finns were skilled and educated. While 27 out of 10,000 Finns had a university education, the corresponding figure for Russians was only 0.4 (Svedenia, 1910, p. 7). It is noteworthy that some Finns devoted much of their mature life to service in the Imperial Army and Navy and rose to high naval and military ranks. During the period of Finnish autonomy (1809–1917), more than 3,300 Finnish citizens served in the Imperial Army and the Navy, more than 300 Finns became generals (32 full generals, 78 lieutenant generals), 10 Finns were admirals, 16 vice-admirals, 41 rear-admirals (Screen, 1976, pp. 287–290; Musaev, 2007, p. 48; Engman, 2008, pp. 186–187). Finnish citizens Vice-Admiral Arvid Adolf Etofen and Admiral Johan Hampus Furuhelm held the post of Governor-General of Russian America (Alaska) in the 1830s–1850s. Noteworthy, prior to Russian government sale of Alaska to the U.S. in 1867, the last governor-general of Russian America was also Finnish citizen Väinö Hendrikson (Musaev, 2007, pp. 44–45, 48). The native Finn General Alexander F. Rediger became head of the Ministry of War in 1905–1909, giving him the highest rank in the armed forces of the Russian Empire. Admiral Theodor Kristian Avellan, born in the Finnish town Loviisa, was at the head of the General Navy Staff in 1896 and in 1903–1905 he led the Navy ministry (Musaev, 2007, pp. 48–50; Engman, 2008, pp. 187–188). Approximately 100 Finns were educated at the prestigious Corps of Pages (Screen, 1976, pp. 137, 139), including General Carl Gustav Emil Mannerheim who eventually rose to become the leader of independent Finland after loyally serving the Russian tsar for 30 years.

The Russian ruling elite, officials and intelligentsia also formed opinions of the Finns during their summer holidays in Finland where
from 1891, all Russian subjects, except Jews, could buy and own real estate. The summer house in Finland was the place where Russian and Finnish styles of life converged. Thus, Sergey D. Sazonov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1909–1916), the famous painter Ilya Repin, and the family of Peter Semenov-Tian-Shansky, the outstanding scholar, explorer, and member of the State Council, all liked to spend summer holidays in Finland and contributed greatly to forming the Russian image of the Finns. Russian poets and writers like Alexander Pushkin, Evgeny Baratynsky, Leonid Adreyev, and Alexander Kuprin also contributed to the making of the Russian view of the Finns. The Russian mass media also had a hand in replicating the Finnish image that suited the political views promoted by given newspapers and the values authors held dear. On the whole, perceptions of the Finns were unsettled and multifaceted. Yet, we will next try to distinguish several ideal, typical images.


The Romantic Image of the Finn as “Nature’s Miserable Stepson”

The first Russian publication about Finland was Count Pavel Gagarin’s Thirteen Days, or Finland (1809); which, according to the well-known Finnish historian Matti Klinge, created the notion of Finland in Russia (2005, p. 41). Gagarin’s notes are romantic in nature, written in the style of correspondence to his lady-love, Cora, about his impressions of the newly conquered land. Gagarin’s first impressions of Finland were gloomy: “a wild country” with withered birch trees, rather distressing fir trees and a landscape like a vast graveyard. Yet the deeper the author ventured into the country, the merrier and happier he became. Landscapes became more picturesque and he became more romantic-minded. Gagarin sensed the Finns’ predilection to music and poetry and was amazed to find in every village, in the midst of swamps, its own folk artist. He noted the people’s hospitality, love of their neighbors, and kind-heartedness. He strongly believed that the Finns had abhorred Swedish rule and sympathized with Russians (Gagarin, 1809, pp. 12–13, 51–52; Naumenko, 2009, pp. 169–200). Accordingly, Gagarin devoted attention to Alexander I’s visit in March 1809, when the tsar promised before the Finnish Diet to respect the Grand Duchy’s religion, fundamental laws, and privileges as specified in the
Swedish constitution of 1772 and the State Act of 1789 (Akti, 1903, p. 10).

For several years after Gagarin’s book, no other special editions devoted to Finland appeared. Information about the Finns in the first decades of the 19th century was sparse. It is common knowledge that the less information we have about a certain locale, the more fabulous its image looks in the public view. In the first decades of the 19th century, Finland was referred to as a poor, meager country inhabited by sorcerers. As the Russian scientist Yakov Grot pointed out in 1840, “the very word ‘Finn’ used to be synonymous with sorcerer” (Grot, 1840, p. 24).

One of the most persistent ethnic stereotypes of the Finn established during those decades was that of “nature’s miserable stepson” (pechal’ii pasinok prirodi)—a phrase that Pushkin used in his poem “Mednii vsadnik” [Bronze Horseman], written in 1833 (Pushkin, 1950a, p. 379). Although he had never been to Finland, Finnish motifs abound in his works. On the one hand, he portrayed Finland as an exotic part of Russia, and on the other hand, as a foreign land where inhabitants had their own peculiar nature, morals, customs and culture. Pushkin’s essentially romantic perception of Finland appeared most vividly in his poem “Ruslan i Liudmila” [Ruslan and Liudmila], written in 1817–1820 (Pushkin, 1950b, pp. 7–102; O’Bell, 1985, pp. 139–155).

Russian society began to “discover” Finland in the 1830s–1840s, when a Finnish steamship company started a route from Petersburg to Helsinki via Revel (Tallinn) and the first tourist resorts were set up in Finland. Russians now took to spending their holidays in Finland and making observations about Finns as honest, sluggish, prudent, diligent, thrifty, and patient to the point of obstinacy (Bulgarin, 1839; Dal, 1846, pp. 1–16; Grot, 1847; Polonsky, 1872, pp. 766–802).


In all, from 1845 to 1917, there were only three special Russian periodicals dealing with the culture and politics of the Grand Duchy of Finland (Yakovlev, 2005, p. 253). The first journal devoted to Finland appeared in 1845, *Finskii vestnik* [Finnish Messenger], published by Fyodor K. Dershau, who sought to popularize information about the history and culture of Scandinavia in general. In 1848 the periodical changed its name to *Severnoe Obozrenie* [Northern Survey] which was
published continuously until 1850. Authors wrote about Finns with genuine admiration. They promulgated a favorable image of the Finn as an intrepid explorer of vast uninhabited spaces; an eternal but sad laborer living in a country with a miserable lot in history. Although Finns were the first to explore and conquer their wild territory, the powerful Slavs later drove them into the remote and severe North (Dershau, 1845, pp. 21-94). As Finskii vestnik’s editor wrote:

The tsar gave Finland more freedom and privileges than had the Swedish king and with Russia’s victory over Napoleon in 1812, many Finns felt an affinity for the powerful empire to which they had been recently annexed.

Significantly, Finskii vestnik’s editors regarded the Grand Duchy as an inalienable part of North European Russia.

“Good Conservatives” and Loyal Monarchists: The Ruling Elite View

We often tend to be prejudiced by the hind view of the span during which Finland was part of the Russian Empire (1809-1917), our minds being governed by what happened later, that is, after Finland gained its independence. However, during the first half of the 19th century neither the Russians nor Finns could possibly envisage the looming times of “Russification” and “oppression” the country was later to experience. Still less, the Finns could dream of the possibility of existing independently side by side with a huge Eastern power. The transfer of power from Sweden to Russia was swift and relatively painless. As one contemporary wrote, “Дворянское сословие поменяло правитель с такой легкостью, с какой меняют рубашку.” [The nobility changed rulers as easily if it were changing clothes] (Jussila, Hentilä, & Nevakivi, 1998, p. 25).
Grot’s views had a great impact on liberal Russian statesmen and scholars, in particular, Petr Semenov-Tian-Shansky. Later, under Nicholas II, as a member of the State Council, Semenov-Tian-Shansky often opposed infringements of autonomous rights of the Grand Duchy of Finland. Grot also influenced the young Alexander III as his tutor in Russian and German language, history and geography (Semenov-Tian-Shansky’s collection, p. 13).

Thanks to intellectuals like Grot, Russians came to regard the Finns as the empire’s most loyal subjects. Count A. Benkendorf, escorting Nicholas I during his visit to Finland in 1830, noted, for example:

...материнские интересы и управление, столько же либеральное, сколько национальное, уже производили свое действие, и все обещало России в финляндиях самых верных и усердных подданных.

[...the financial interests and governance, as they are liberal and national, have already had their effect, and everything bade fair for Russia to have the Finns as its most the most loyal and assiduous subjects]. (Azarova, 2000, p. 346)

During the Crimean War (1853–1856), Finland remained peaceful and its people actually became even more pro-Russian because an offshore British squadron in the Gulf of Finland kept harassing coastal Finnish settlements. Finns mustered volunteer defense detachments to counter British and French raids along the coast and together with Russian troops, defended the Bomarsund Fortress (Klinge, 2005, pp. 198–199). As Nicholas I remarked:

Оставьте финнов в покое. Это единственная провинция моей державы, которая за все время моего правления не причинила мне ни минуты беспокойства или недовольства.

[Leave the Finns in peace. There is the only province in my great realm which during my whole reign has not caused me even a minute of concern or dissatisfaction].. (Viskochkov, 2003, p. 68)

Under Alexander II (1855–1881), Finland obtained greater rights and consequently Finns held him in great esteem: Alexander II was actually more admired in Finland than in Russia. During the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), the Finns displayed imperial loyalty, and a concern for Russian victory, and volunteers took part both as soldiers and administrators (Klinge, 2005, p. 327). Alexander III (1881–1894), the next tsar, had ample opportunity to observe their loyalty and devotion during the war. In his memoirs, prominent Russian statesman Sergey Witte (1849–1915), who was in close relations with the Emperor, related that the Tsar commented to him as follows:
The Russian Liberal View

limited division of powers in its administration by end its sittings. Finland had its own executive the security of the capital. Alexander I knew that if impose taxes there. And, although the Diet which allowed the monarch to both convene and lapse in its sitting was not a breach of Finnish law, and, in particular, its importance to policies towards the country were largely unconstitutional limiting his power in the Duchy. As Grand Duke of Finland, could not pass laws and internal affairs and independent from Petersburg. Thus, Governor-General Zakrevsky from 1828 was also the Minister of Internal Affairs, and A. S. Menshikov from 1831 was also a head of the Naval Ministry and actually lived in Petersburg only paying occasional visits to Helsinki. Under such circumstances, the scope of the Grand Duchy’s autonomy was broad.

Russia did not interfere in the administration of the Grand Duchy although it still followed 18th century Swedish practices of governance and many of its laws were archaic. The Finns had separate citizenship status apart from their Russian status and had open access to all high governmental offices in the Empire while Russians did not have equal rights with Finns in Finland. Orthodox teachers could not teach history, the practice of Russian doctors was restricted, Russian troops were not stationed in the Grand Duchy, and Finns were exempt from military service. Since 1878 Finns could serve in a small Finnish regular army that symbolized the Grand Duchy’s special status within the empire. Finland had its own postal and customs system, and its currency, the Finnish mark, which was based on the gold standard—before it was introduced to the rest of the empire. The reforms of the 1860s–1870s, in addition, made Finland into an independent economic unit. They also contributed to formation of a Finnish nation, as they promoted the Finnish language, a language of most people, counterbalancing the Swedish language, which was the language of the higher class in the Grand Duchy.

Contemporary Finnish historians admit that without the imperial policy, the language parity act and other measures toward nation-building would not have happened so quickly (Kouri, 2005, pp. 345–347). On the whole, by the end of the 19th century, the tsar as Grand Duke was
From Loyalists to Separatists

the common head of state for Finland and Russia. Finland and Russia had a common foreign and military policy but within the Grand Duchy the tsar was a constitutional monarch. Finland served as "the European facade of Russia" and showed the European public that a small nation could be grateful for belonging to the Russian Empire (Krusius-Ahrenberg, 1959, p. 273).

Russian travellers and authorities visiting Finland wondered why a country so poor in natural resources was markedly more prosperous than Russia. The answer lay in the peculiarities of the Finnish character and Finland's political autonomy. When comparing the Finnish and Russian orders, tourists and authorities noted the positive role of Finnish officials and the administration in the country's prosperity. Thus, Lieutenant-General Nicholas Kaulbars, who frequently visited Finland, in the course of his duties noted that Finnish officials looked upon their jobs as a natural duty to be done in the interests of the country. The Finnish government had always catered for its people by building roads, developing education, and introducing technology into public life. Kaulbars was particularly impressed by how the government attempted to bring telephones into every Finnish household, irrespective of its wealth and social position (Kaulbars, 1900, pp. 81-82, 121-122). Clearly the Finns also tended to keep up with technological progress and this also contributed to their development. Russian authors marvelled at Finland's clean streets, its people's respect for the law and then reflected upon their own situation within Russia (Polonsky, 1872, pp. 766-802; Semenov, 1882, pp. 119-128). When referring to respect for the law, one Russian author bitterly remarked that in Russia nobody respected any laws and that Russians lacked the sense of solidarity the Finns unquestionably possessed (Smirnova, 1908, p. 4). The other Russian traveller, L. Polonsky, wrote in his travel notes:

Финляндия имеет превосходный административный состав, что и о взятках там никогда и слуху не было, а народ совершенно доверяет чиновнику. [Finland boasts a superb bureaucracy, bribery is unheard of, and the people have absolute trust in their officials]. (Polonsky, 1872, p. 789)

At the turn of the 19th century Russian liberals admired the Finnish tactic of so-called "passive resistance." For instance, it took only ten days for organizers to get 524,931 Finns to sign a petition to Nicholas II begging him to maintain the Grand Duchy's autonomous rights. Mass non-violent protests, "flower campaigns" at Alexander II's monument in Helsinki, and a boycott of new laws introduced by Nicholas II testified to the Finns remarkable organizational talents (Tiander, 1917, pp. 28–29).

Liberals also hailed the development of parliamentarism in Finland. During the 1905 Revolution, Nicholas agreed to reform the Finnish Parliament and electoral system and the old four-chamber Diet became Europe's first unicameral parliament elected by equal, universal suffrage, including women. As one contemporary noted, "It was highly ironical that this most reactionary government, the Russian autocracy, had to put up with the most liberal constitution of the epoch" (Tiander, 1934, p. 30). Russian liberals kept track of the 1907 general election campaign. The newspaper Niva enthusiastically noted that tiny Finland had found the "ideal formula" of elections that "staunch supporters of parliamentarism" had wanted. Russians were astonished both by the Finnish aspiration for equality and by the political involvement of Finnish women, who won four seats in parliament (Niva, 1907, p. 205). The well-known Russian writer Alexander Kuprin wrote:

Финляндия поистине демократична. Демократична вовсе не тем, что в ней при выборах в сейм победили социал-демократы, а потому, что ее дети составляют один цельный, здоровый, работающий народ, а не как в России — несколько классов, из которых высший носит на себе самый утонченный цвет европейской полиции, а низший ведет жизнь пещерного человека. [Finland is genuinely democratic. It is democratic not because the Socialist Democratic Party won the election, but because its children constitute an integral, healthy and hardworking people, quite unlike Russia where there are several classes of which the upper has the most refined European colouring while the lower live like cavemen.] (Kuprin, 1975, p. 61)

During the years of reaction after the 1905 Revolution, Russian liberals Sergey Witte, Maksim Kovalevsky, Boris Nolde, and Sergey Korf advocated autonomous rights for Finland (Nolde, 1911, p. 467-553; Witte, 1960, pp. 252–287; Kovalevsky, 1912, pp. 428-441; Korf, 1917, pp. 197–233). So did, in particular, the newspaper Rech [Speech], the organ of the Constitutional-
Democratic Party, as well as the journals *Vestnik Evropy* [Messenger of Europe] and *Russkaya Mysl* [Russian Thought]. Speaking about political views of Russian liberals on Finland's autonomy, it should be noted that their majority supported so-called imperial liberalism that took for granted the preservation of "one and indivisible" Russia based on the dissemination of liberal and democratic values: juridical equality for all citizens, freedom of the individual, development of parliamentarism and a constitutional state. In this connection, Kovalevsky, who was close to the Kadets, championed in the press "the conciliation of the two principles—that of equality and that of respect of cultural peculiarities of the Finnish people" (Kovalevsky, 1912, pp. 428-441).

During the First World War, the Kadets argued for cultural, not territorial, autonomy, and for local self-governance (Shelokhaev, 1998, pp. 355–366). This idea was widely disseminated, for example, by the *Vestnik Evropy* in the wake of the February Revolution. For instance, Grigory Landau wrote that Russia could not be painlessly broken apart, otherwise, instead of one nation and one nationalism for all minorities, there would emerge a menagerie of small nationalisms hunting down one another. Every national entity has one nation constituting the majority and some minorities who suffer inequality. Since the national elite gives priority to nation-building, to the detriment of important social and political problems, minorities and socially unprotected categories of the population are bound to suffer. Landau argued that only a united Russia could implement democratic reforms (Landau, 1917, pp. 548–569).

The Kadets opposed a federal restructuring of the Russian empire: "...they were the most sensitive critics of federalism, whose writings were more directly political and legal in their focus" (Hagen, 2005, p. 43). Landau allowed for the possibility of a federal Russia only if it was modelled on American federalism, that is, he regarded territorial, rather than ethnic, division as the basic principle of state structure. Nevertheless, a small number of liberals and socialists did advocate federalism for Russia. One of them, an Associate Professor at Petersburg University, Karl Tiander, published a leaflet in 1917 that urged the Constituent Assembly to draft a Finnish Constitution based on mutual compromise. Tiander did not separate Finland from Russia. He thought it was very important to have the division of power between Russia and Finland legally defined and secured by law (Tiander, 1917, p. 78).


In academic literature the rise of Russian nationalism is generally associated with the Great Reforms (Thaden, 1964, p. 7; Hosking, 2001, pp. 299–300; Dolbilov, 2005, pp. 135–136; Maiorova, 2005, pp. 501–509). The collapse of old patterns and values, belated industrialization and Western-type modernization and a steady polarization eroded the traditional links between the rulers and the ruled. Nationalism was an ideology that promised to resurrect a semblance of unity by filling the yawning gap between the educated elite and the masses with national myths. By manipulating the values of an idealized past with the help of the state, mass media, and education, nationalists sought to retrieve a sense of predictability and stability in a changing world (Anderson, 1991). While writers, poets, and journalists contributed to Russian nation-building, state officials and right-wing intellectuals relied on the centralizing power of the state in their attempt to span a bridge between the educated elite and the rest of the population.

Russian nationalist discourse began with Slavophiles like the Akasov brothers, Nikolas Danilevsky and Fiodor Dostoevsky, and the word "nationalism" became current in Russian journalism during the 1880s (Sergeev, 2004, p. 11). Academics today distinguish between so called "public nationalism" and "official imperial patriotism" (Weeks, 2001, pp. 410–432; Maiorova, 2005, pp. 502–504). As Maiorova points out, "Russian public nationalism decried the absence of a powerful sense of national identity that would make it possible to 'return' the Westernized Russian Empire to its national soil and discredit the regime's dynastic universalism and cosmopolitanism" (Maiorova, 2005, p. 504).

During the Great Reforms, Mikhail Katkov, editor of *Moskovskie Vedomosti* [Moscow News] propounded public nationalism. He believed that if Russia was to remain a great power, it had to form a strong democratic consciousness much like imperial Germany and that a shared devotion to the tsar could create and sustain that kind of political nationalism even among the tsarist Russia’s diverse tribes and nationalities (Hosking, 2001, pp. 299, 333–334). Katkov also admired Britain, which appeared to him as a dominant nation that did not encroach on the identities of other peoples. He hoped that Alexander II’s reforms would bring Russia similar political cohesion while preserving the empire’s diverse minorities. The Russians, as the builders of the empire, had the right to
dominate it and impose their system on non-
Russians (Hosking, 2001, p. 334). For Katkov, like
most other nationalists, ethnicity was not important
in itself and was subject to higher religious and
dynastic values. Katkov considered autocracy as a
sacral notion. He wrote:

Писарь самодержец может, не
стесняя никакими формальностями,
не нуждаясь ни в каком уставе,
pоправлять всякую несправедливость и
прекращать всякое зло, - не только
может, но перед Богом обязан.
[A Russian autocrat may, uninhibited by
any formalities and requiring no statutes,
redress any injustice and stop any
wrong,—in fact, not only can he do it, he
is so obliged by God.] (Vremev, 1910)

As paraphrased by Geoffrey Hosking, Katkov’s
credo involved “...welding a cohesive political
organization out of disparate ethnic material by
projecting the supreme personal authority of the
tsar” (Hosking, 2001, pp. 333-334).

Katkov’s attitude toward Finnish
autonomy must be viewed through the prism of
nation-state building in Russia. Shocked by the
1863 Polish revolt, Katkov was perhaps the first
who began to raise an alarm about “Finnish
separatism” in the empire and warned about the
terrible impact it could have on other non-Russian
regions. He connected Finnish autonomy with
federalization, and federalism for him meant
nothing less than the disintegration of the Russian
empire: “Even the worst of enemies could not
device a more pernicious fate for Russia than the
spread of the example of Finland. There is nothing
more repulsive to the political attitude of the
Russian people than federalism, the mere thought
of which is enough to make me sick,” wrote
Katkov (1863, p. 4). Curiously, in the 1860s–1870s
Finland was rarely criticized in Russia. The
Russian academic school of constitutional law still
harboured partisans of decentralization and self-
governance, who believed the autonomy of Finland
to be natural. The famous Russian lawyer Boris
Chicherin regarded Finland as a “special state”
which “though not incorporated into Russia is
united with it under the same sceptre” (Chicherin,
independence, he maintained, was a pledge of
loyalty of the Finns towards the Empire. Chicherin
frequently cited the Finnish example to illustrate
the wisdom of the tsarist policy (Chicherin, 1894,
Vol. 1, p. 183; Vol. 3, p. 275). Consequently, the
government obliged Katkov to desist and “Finnish
separatism” temporarily disappeared from

Katkov had to wait for Alexander III to
accede the throne before his ideas could thrive, and
in the 1880s “the Finnish question” became current
in the press. At issue was the legal status of the
Grand Duchy. Some Finnish politicians, supported
by Russian liberals who overlooked flaws in their
case, backed Finnish Senator Leo Mechelin, who
regarded Finland as a “special state” connected
with Russia by personal union (Mechelin, 1888;
Chicherin, 1894, Vol. 1, p. 183; Vol. 3, p. 275;
4). On the other hand, Russian nationalists argued
Finland was an ordinary province with privileges
granted by kind-hearted tsars. Katkov, for example,
criticized the Russian Liberals:

Толковать о какой-то «персональной
унии между Россией и Финляндией
есть или политическое невежество, или
грубый обман. Финляндия завоеванная
русским оружием, не просто в
соединении находится с Россией, а
составляет неотъемлемую часть
Российской Империи, и Император
Российский венчается на царство один
раз, в Московском Кремле. Всеми
своими привилегиями пользуется
Финляндия лишь по милости
Российского Императора, который во
всёкое время может, по своему
благоромощию, увеличить,
уменьшить или же вовсе упразднить
их.
[Speaking about a personal union between
Russia and Finland is either political
ignorance or a gross delusion ... Finland
conquered by the Russian army is not
simply united with Russia but forms an
inalienable part of the Russian Empire;
and the Russian Emperor is crowned but
once, in the Moscow Kremlin. Finland
enjoys its privileges only by the grace of
the Russian Emperor, who can, according
to his whim, choose either to expand
them, or curtail them, or revoke them
outright.] (Katkov, 1885, p. 2)

Such argumentation was elaborated by “one of the
implacable enemies of Finnish autonomy” (Suni,
1982, p. 57), the Russian historian, writer, and
steward of the household of Caesar Ordin. His
huge two-volume study was nominated for a prize
from the Imperial Academy of Sciences and was
very popular in Russian nationalist circles because
it confirmed their image of how out of place Finland was in the "united and indivisible" Russia (Ordin, 1889). Nationalists claimed that Ordin had opened their eyes to the genuine statement of Russian power in Finland. According to the Russian nationalist author S. Smirnova:

... Он (К. Ордин) создал образ России, где Россия представлялась ему в виде барского дома со множеством комнат, где все принадлежало хозяину, но на парадном подъезде, на самом видном месте, располагался со своим скарабем чужой человек. 
[... He (Ordin) depicted Russia as a huge manor house with a great number of rooms where everything belongs to one owner, but right at the front door, in the most conspicuous place, there was a man sitting, kit and caboodle.] (Smirnova, 1908, p. 4)

That was what Finland looked like at the end of the 19th century—an alien in the “one-and-indivisible” Russia.

The Russian attitude toward Finnish autonomy changed radically under Nicholas II who tried to integrate the Grand Duchy into the imperial administrative system. Finnish historians initially described this imperial encroachment on autonomous rights as “oppression” and divided it into two periods: 1899–1905 and 1908–1917. Later they used the term "Russification" for the above mentioned Russian policy in Finland, now some historians use the term "unification" regarding the period of the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Kaikkonen, 1985, p. 43). We prefer to use for Finland’s case the term “unification.”

The question of what caused this policy shift is still controversial, but Russian conservative nationalism, the influence of which on Nicholas II was profound, was perhaps the most important factor (Luntinen, 1984, p. 81; Polvinen, 1997, pp. 31–36). Essentially, the Russo-Finnish conflict was a clash of two new nationalisms—one state-building in nature and the other “autonomist” in nature. The Finns were not demanding an extension of their autonomous rights, as the Russian rightists argued. They were only defending what they already enjoyed.

Additionally, Nicholas II’s Finnish policy was conditioned by unfavorable military, strategic, geopolitical, and economic factors, including the imminent European war (Novikova, 2002, pp. 38–45), which made him particularly fearful that his other non-Russian subjects might follow the Finnish example. Some Russian nationalists wondered:

Что если за "государством Финляндским" народятся княжества Эстонское и Ливонское, «клубышество» Польское, «гетманство» Украинское с особенно монетами, таможнями, почтами и фисками? ... В каком положении будет тогда оборона России от внешнего врага?
[What if after a Finnish state come Estonian and Livonian Grand Duchies, a Kingdom of Poland, [and] a Ukrainian Hetman state with their own coins, customs houses, post offices and finances?... What will happen then to the defence of Russia against the foreign enemy?] (Kamensky, 1908, p. 62)

But although they reasoned that the Finnish case was a question of life and death for Imperial Russia, in actual fact they can be seen as having overreacted (Kamensky, 1908, p. 62).

Russian nationalists produced all kinds of publications and “studies” about the Grand Duchy of Finland. They called Finland “a province of the Empire” and a “Russian borderland” (okraina Rossii), and introduced the term “borderland policy” (okrannia politika) to refer to what until then had been termed “Russian national policy in Finland.” Russian rightists labelled the Finns' struggle to preserve their autonomy as “criminal separatism” (Vladimorov, 1908, pp. 15–16, 23) and loyal Finns, in Russian nationalist view, changed into “impudent in their separatism, non-Russians (inorodtsi)” (Rumiantsev, 1907, p. 1).

It should be pointed out that the ruling Russians largely excluded the majority of the Grand Duchy’s populations from their fears, believing separatists were to stand for the Finland-Swedish elite, who were suspected of treacherous intentions. Bad relations between Russia and Sweden added credence to rightist claims. Sweden, for their part, feared a “Russian threat” to Scandinavia. Petersburg feared a military alliance between Germany and Sweden and Russian General Staff regarded Sweden as Russia’s potential enemy in the Baltic in case of European war (Materiali, 1909, p. 6).

As a consequence of these anxieties, imperial leadership increasingly distrusted the Swedish ethnic elite in Finland. A new Finnish policy of Russian ruling elite appeared as a kind of traditional policy “divide and rule”—setting the Finns against the Swedes to dominate both. The situation was akin to that of the Baltic
provinces where the imperial power upheld the local population against the German upper class then suspected of treason in the case of a Russo-German war. The effect was the same in both cases: the old elite (in the Baltic provinces, the Baltic Germans, in Finland, the Swedes) turned openly hostile towards the autocracy.

The new imperial policy towards Finland was connected with Governor-General Nikolas I. Bobrikov (1898–1904). His activity reflected both ruling elite and Russian nationalist prejudices. Most Finnish people falsely thought that Nicholas II connected with Governor-General Nikolas I. Bobrikov's "experiments." However, his correspondence with Bobrikov reveals that the governor-general's endeavors in Finland were welcome. The Emperor only regretted that the policy against Finnish autonomy started so late. Nicholas II also promised Endeavors in Finland were welcome. The Emperor to promote the propaganda of Bobrikov's policies (Nicholas II, 1899, p. 1). It is hard to say to which degree the Emperor kept his promises, but the ruling elite did not object to this new nationalist propaganda, in any case, as compared with the position of Alexander II toward Katkov's propaganda.

The Russian nationalist image of Finnish society spread in newspapers like Novoye vremya [New Time], Rossiia [Russia], and Otkriny Rossiia [Russia's Borderlands] was not romantic. Nationalists turned “wonderful Finland” into “the pasture of loafers and parasites” and “paradise for officials” (Finskii pisatel', 1910, p. 6; Alekseev, 1910, p. 1, Ushkuinik, 1910, p. 4). For instance, the newspaper Rossiia wrote that the Finns traded the elderly, children and the disabled at auctions and further questioned Finns’ morality, accusing them of drunkenness, dissolution and criminality (Luditovar, 1910, p.4). The leading Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat ironically noted that the Russian nationalist press depended on Finnish police reports (Suomi, 1910, pp. 9–10). It is noteworthy that the Russian right-wing press largely referred to the left-wing radical and social-democratic Finnish press (including such newspapers as Työmiies [The Working Man] and Kansan Tahto [The Will of the People]) that criticized Finnish capitalist society (Suomi, 1910, pp. 9–10). Russian nationalists branded Finnish schools as “breeders of hostile ideas” and condemned school textbooks for writing things like: “Russia was a neighbouring state;” that during the Time of Troubles the Swedes and Finns had liberated Russia from the Poles; and Russians won battles only thanks to luck or bribery (Finskii pisatel', 1910, p. 6; Alekseev, p. 1). Russians in Finland, claimed the nationalists, were worse off than Jews and Gypsies (Smirnova, 1908, p. 16).

Earlier Russian admiration of Finnish local administration disappeared with the appointment of Governor-General Bobrikov whom the nationalists considered as

прекрасный русский человек, обладавший громадным умом, поставил своей задачей охранять русские интересы, сделать русского человека в Финляндии хозяином, а финны заставить правильно смотреть на свои отношения с Россией. [...a wonderful Russian person, endowed with great wit and talent..., who set himself the task to protect Russian interests, to make the Russian the master in Finland and force the Finns to have the proper view of Russia.] (Vladimorov, 1908, p. 15)

Bobrikov was assassinated by young Finland-Swedish E. Schauman in May 1904, and as that was followed by more assassinations and attempts on the lives of senior officials, nationalists began labelling all Finns terrorists or terrorist sympathizers (Vladimorov, 1905, p. 7; Rumiantsev, 1907, p. 9). For instance, Russian nationalist S. Vladimirov named Bobrikov's assassination as “the first Finnish armed attack against Russia" (Vladimorov, 1908, p. 16).

During the 1905 Revolution, conservative journalists depicted Finland as “a barrel of gunpowder and a den of revolutionaries” (Kamensky, 1908; Ushkuinik, 1910, p. 4). Russian ministries, meanwhile, collected the publications of the most radical Finnish revolutionaries and terrorists, translated them and published them as supplements to newspapers. One such tract was a brochure by a radical leader of the Finnish party of “active resistance” Konni Zilliacus, where, in his attempt to make terrorists into national heroes and popularize terror, he ennobled violence as a method of struggle while exaggerating its scale within Finland (Zilliacus, 1913). The purpose of these translations was to show Russian society that “even the most law-abiding and peaceful Finish citizens harbour terrorists” (Zilliacus, 1913, p. 6).

1 The Time of Troubles was a period of political upheaval between the death of the last Tsar Feodor Ivanovich of the Rurik Dynasty in 1598 and the establishment of the Romanov Dynasty in 1613.
Significantly this particular brochure appeared on the eve of the debate at the Ministry of Justice over a bill to extend imperial political crime legislation to Finnish territory. In another such brochure the Finnish revolutionary, I. Mustonen wrote about secret Finnish military organizations, revolutionary expropriations of banks and assistance to Russian revolutionaries. Copies were distributed as a free supplement to the right-wing newspaper Okraini Rossi; the editors of which used it to give credibility to their claim that “revolutionaries and separatists have formed a single, highly explosive ball that endangers the state” (Mustonen, 1909, p. 40).

In his speech in May 1908 to the Russian Parliament, the Duma, Prime Minister Petr Stolypin called Finland a “terrorist base” and demanded the Grand Duchy’s administrative integration into the empire to facilitate combating revolution and terror. In 1910, again in the State Duma, Stolypin emphasized that Russia’s friendly attitude to Finland had borne no fruit. Their granted rights had done nothing to endear the Finns toward Russians, and supposedly during the Revolution “ships loaded with weapons [were] headed for the Finnish coast,” “acts of violence against Russia were being freely plotted,” and illegal armed units, the Finnish Red Guard and the “Voima” [Force], were formed (Stolypin, 1910, pp. 1–2). The Prime Minister, who actually did not really know what was happening in Finland, took his information from the right-wing nationalist press. Nonetheless, his speech had serious implications as on May 17, 1910, the Duma adopted a law providing for the transfer of all important legislation in the Grand Duchy to the central Russian authorities (Teystre, 1972, pp. 94–96). This law served as the legal basis for the abolition of Finnish autonomy.

During The First World War the rightist press attached another label, that of “parricide,” to the Finns. This was related to the fact that over 1890 Finnish volunteers had joined the German army as the 27th Royal Prussian Jäger Battalion to fight the Russians (Lackman, 2000; Novikova, 2002, pp. 89–123). But although the right-wing newspapers Novoye Vremya [New Time] and the Russian military command in Finland demanded repressive measures against the Grand Duchy (Novikova, 2002, p. 124–134), the imperial government did nothing and suspended the abolition of Finnish autonomy until “better times.”

Russian nationalists differed in their visions of future Russo-Finnish relations. The majority thought in terms of “united and indivisible” Russia which disregarded ethnicity. Thus, the author of Russia’s first history of Finland, Mikhail Borodkin, drew an allegorical picture of the future the Russian empire as young men standing hand in hand under one raincoat in the pouring rain in front of the colossal monument to Peter the Great in St. Petersburg. His message was that Russia enveloped various nationalities, including the Finns, and his men, standing hand in hand under the one raincoat “in good fraternal accord,” aspired “to devote themselves to the constructive work of the common state” (Borodkin, 1915, p. 6).

For others, the “new nationalists,” whom Liberals branded “zoological,” like Mikhail Menshikov from Novoye Vremya, ethnos was a biological organism and race, blood, and breed determined nationality. From this perspective, all foreigners, including the Finns, were Russia’s enemies. He believed that Russification was the sovereign remedy for Russia’s ills and dreamed about an Empire of Russians which, in his view, would be “a living reign of the Russian tribe, an indefatigable overpowering of non-Russian elements, [where] an incessant submission of nations alien to us [the Russians] would occur... till final victory over the peril, when all non-Russian elements have been turned to Russians” (Menshikov, 1910). Menshikov suggested that borderlands that could not be russified should be abandoned. However, his ideas enjoyed brief currency and a small following.

In assessing the impact of the nationalist image of Finns on the Russian public, it should be noted that educated Russians never accepted such discourse and actively debated it while the peasants were indifferent to the “Finnish question.” Nevertheless, the government made good use of nationalist propaganda to justify its new policy towards Finland. The links between Russian right-wing adherents and the Russian government were especially strong at the time of Prime Minister Petr Stolypin (1906–1911), whose brother Alexander was a contributor to the extreme right, nationalist newspaper Novoye Vremya [New Time].

“The Red Rear of the Russian Revolution”: The Russian Revolutionaries’ View

Russian revolutionaries sympathized with Finland, calling it a “small, constitutional corner of the Russian state” (Kollontay, 1906, p. 3). They condemned the government for abrogating the Grand Duchy’s autonomy and exploited this fact in their propaganda. For instance, Alexandra Kollontay, who often visited Finland, compared tsarist policy towards Finland to British policy towards the Transvaal during the Boer War (1899–1902). Both powers, she claimed, used “brute force
and unjustified cruelty,” and “trampled upon the freedom of minorities.” The only difference between British and the Russian policy, in her view, was that the British were conquering Transvaal “with fire and sword” while Russia was conquering Finland with “red tape.” Despite her striking juxtaposition of “the flooding of blood” in the former case and the “shedding of tears” in the latter, Russian policy in Finland, according to Kollontay, was worse than British policy in South Africa” (Kollontay, 1906, p. 5). In her opinion, Russian autocracy was the worst enemy of non-Russians in the empire, the Russians and the Finns shared the same interests, and the Russian and Finnish Social Democrats had to unite their efforts if Finland was to be free” (Kollontay, 1906, p. 8).

During the First Russian Revolution (1905–1907), radicals regarded Finland as the “red rear” of the Russian revolution—an apt characterization as the Grand Duchy was indeed the base for Russian revolutionaries. There they found refuge from the okhrana (secret police), held their conferences, published illegal literature, stored weapons, and conducted various kinds of illegal activities in relative safety (Musaev, 2004, pp. 282–290). Numerous memoirs by Russian and Finnish revolutionaries testify that revolutionary organizations in Finland generally functioned with the connivance of local authorities. Finnish authorities even went so far as to assist revolutionaries and warn them of impending danger (Mustonen, 1909; Smirnov, 1933). This paradox stemmed from the fact that Russian legislation was not applicable in Finland, so Finnish authorities could regard the attempts of the imperial police to arrest and prosecute Russian revolutionary groups as interference in the internal affairs of the Grand Duchy.

Of the various Finnish political organizations opposed to tsarism that offered considerable assistance to revolutionaries, the most fervent was the party of “active resistance” (so called the Activists), founded in 1904. They resembled the Russian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries in that they assassinated Russian officials, procured weapons, and dreamed of an armed revolt in collaboration with their Russian counterparts. The Activists provided active support to Russian revolutionaries, supplying them with finances, weapons, illegal literature and transportation (Kujala, 1987, p. 92; 1988, p. 4).

Many Russians involved in the 1905 Revolution fled to Finland afterwards. The terrorist wing of the Socialist Revolutionary Party headed by the notorious Yevno Azef had one of its headquarters in Finland, where Azef, together with Boris Savinkov, visited the famous Finnish artist Eero Järnefelt. Some Russian terrorist groups which had sought to assassinate Prime Minister Stolypin, also found shelter in Finland. Leo Trotsky and Vladimir Lenin fled to the Grand Duchy to find asylum in the “Vaasa” cottage in the small village of Kuokkala. In 1907 a Bolshevik laboratory for manufacturing explosives was discovered several kilometers from Kuokkala. Finland was also significant as the original meeting place of Lenin and Joseph Stalin, as well as its use as a base for a special Russian committee that provided assistance to political refugees and money to revolutionaries (Musaev, 2004, p. 285).

Perhaps the positive image of the Finns that the Bolsheviks had formed before 1917 predisposed Lenin to recognize Finnish independence in 1917. Members of the Finnish delegation that had lodged a petition with the Soviet of People’s Commissars, later admitted that the promptness with which the Soviet government took its decision surprised them (Idman, 1953, p. 208). There are many explanations for why the Bolsheviks acceded to Finnish independence; some considered it only temporary in light of the imminent world revolution. In Grigory Zinoviev’s graphic words, Finnish territory was “the Russian Revolution’s window on Europe” (Ketola, 1989, pp. 49, 57). Contemporary Finnish historians, however, agree that Bolshevik leaders were genuinely grateful to the Finns for their assistance and consequently thought Finland had “earned its right of independence” (Kallenautio, 1985, pp. 22–23).

Conclusion

Russian images of Finland and the Finns were conditioned by the economic, political and cultural relations between the two peoples and the political predilections of those who created such images. Contrasts between the 19th and 20th century Russian images of Finns were related to the interests of their creators. While in the 19th century, writers, poets, scientists, ethnographers, and tourists determined that image, in the early 20th century their place was taken by conservative nationalists and the ruling elite. Their image of Finns, unlike that of the intellectuals, was politicized. They saw Finns as “separatists,” “terrorists,” and “parricides”—images that justified Nicholas II’s policy of unification and centralization.

Unfortunately, the “Bobrikov period” and the “Stolypin Reaction” cast such a shadow on the last decade of Finland’s development within the Russian Empire that it erased from historical.
consciousness the previous century of fruitful cooperation under tsarist rule. During the Soviet period, the perception of the Russian Empire as a “prison for peoples” dominated historical research on both sides of the border. It seems that it is now time to investigate the positive aspects of earlier Russo-Finnish coexistence.

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Medieval Finland Depicted in Post-Modern Music: Rautavaara’s Opera Thomas
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Abstract
Einojuhani Rautavaara (b. 1928) is one of Finland’s best known composers. His 1985 opera Thomas is particularly interesting for an imaginative view into the history of Finland, and for its synthesis of various languages, literary styles, and contrasting styles of music often used simultaneously. Thomas is the story of a medieval bishop of Finland, originally English, who failed at a crusade against the Novgorods of early Russia. He dreams of taking control of an independent Finland for himself, but through his own moral failings loses his religious calling. In the opera, we see the conflict of the Church with paganism, as well as the historical background of the Baltic area with several warring trade, political, and religious factions. Bishop Thomas is a sometimes crude and greedy man, but also as a man with a vision of an independent country, a vision that came centuries too soon to be realized.

Einojuhani Rautavaara, still actively working in his eighties, is one of Finland’s internationally best known composers. Though praised for his symphonies, chamber music, and vocal works, his ten operas are masterpieces of both music and drama. His 1985 opera Thomas is particularly interesting on many levels, those of an imaginative view into the history of Finland, various languages and literary styles, as well as contrasting styles of music. The unusual combination of these becomes a valid means of expression in this work which depicts the clash of cultures and religions. Thomas is the story of an early medieval bishop of Finland, originally an English Dominican friar, who mounted a crusade against the Novgorods of early Russia. In the process, he dreams of taking control of an independent Finland for himself and loses his own religious calling. In the opera, we see the conflicts of the medieval Roman Catholic church with the mystical paganism of the Finnish wilderness, as well as the historical background of the Baltic area at that time: the weak Swedish monarchy, the growing power of the merchants of Gotland, the long-reaching military might of the papacy, the political suspicions of the Novgorods and, in short, everyone’s drive to acquire more territory and power. Bishop Thomas emerges here, in Rautavaara’s view, as a sometimes crude and greedy man, but also as a man with a vision of combining his spiritual world with that of the mystical Finns in an independent country, a vision that comes centuries too soon to be realized.

Rautavaara’s Biography and Style Development
As a composer, Rautavaara, born in 1928, went through several style periods in finding his own way. His earliest works in the 1950s play with Finnish folk music, such as his Pelimannit [Fiddlers] suite for piano based on actual eighteenth century Finnish fiddle tunes, and go on to imitate the neo-classical composers Stravinsky, Prokofiev, and Shostakovich, as can be heard in his First Symphony (1956/1988). After completing his studies at both the Helsinki Sibelius Academy and the University of Helsinki in 1953, he did further work at Juilliard and the Tanglewood Summer Institute in America, and then went on to twelve-tone studies in Germany and Switzerland. Experimenting with the strictly regimented constructs of serialism in the 1960s, he soon found that he needed more expressive possibilities. A free tonal style followed in the 1970s with many references to traditional triads and lyrical melodies, a style sometimes called neoromanticism. A variety of other techniques at the same period made his works dramatically different from one another. His Vigils (1971–1972/1996) was a large choral work using the austere musical style of the Orthodox Church; his Third Symphony (1959–1961) gives homage to Bruckner, a late Romantic composer; his Cantus Arcticius (1972) includes recorded Arctic bird song; his opera Abduction of the Sampo (1974/1982) on the Kalevala tale, electronically distorts the spoken voice of the witch Louhi in a truly terrifying way. Other techniques include spoken choir works, aleatoric or chance elements, where the composer gives the performer or conductor sections for random order or free rhythm; bits of jazz, or quotes of well-known tunes. By the end of the 1970s, a free use of twelve-tone rows began to reappear in his works.

1Modificata for orchestra, (1957), a first effort at this style; Praevariata (1957), later withdrawn, with not only a twelve tone row, but a row of irregular rhythmic figures, becoming what Rautavaara considered a set of variations with decisions made pre-compositionally (Rautavaara, 1989, p. 195).

2Marjatta matala neiti [Marjatta, the Lowly Maiden] (1975), a children’s opera based on a Kalevala tale.
In 1985, his opera Thomas combined many of his previously explored techniques in a mixture of styles and techniques called for by the clash of characters and situations. This type of musical eclecticism is termed postmodernism, meaning a rejection of the often dry, strict rules of atonality and serialism in favor of using many of the styles of the past and present often juxtaposed. Each of Rautavaara's compositions since that time has called for its own innovations, often widely varying from work to work.

The History of Bishop Thomas's Era in Finland

The opera Thomas is a work of art, of the imagination, but is also based on a historical person and event. We may well ask how much of the story is actual history and how much is invented? The known facts about Bishop Thomas are few. The historical Thomas served as Bishop of Turku from about 1220 to 1245, a period of about 25 years. Called Thomas Anglicus, he was an English-born Dominican with ties to both the Sorbonne in Paris and the Papal Court in Rome, and had previously been a Canon in Uppsala (Wuorinen, 1965, p. 37). He instigated or was part of a crusade against the Novgorods of Russia, is known to have been involved in the mutilation and killing of a man and the forging of a papal document, resigned as Bishop after the failed crusade, and retired to a monastery on the island of Gotland, dying in 1248 (Oppermann, 1937, pp. 206-212). Rautavaara keeps this outline and adds imaginative and interpretive details.

The paucity of historical information led me to a number of questions: how did the

3 An excellent summary in English of Rautavaara's musical style and its evolution may be found in an article by musicologist and composer Mikko Heiniö, “A Portrait of the Artist at a Certain Moment,” (1988); The Finnish Music Information Centre also has a wealth of information on Rautavaara online (See “Composers and Artists,” n.d.).

4 According to C. J. A. Oppermann (1937), “In a letter from Thomas, Feb. 12, 1245, Bishop Thomas requested the Pope to be allowed to resign his post, as he was filled with remorse because he had caused to be mutilated a certain man who died from the effect, and had also falsified certain papal letters. The Pope appointed the Archbishop of Uppsala and the Dominican Prior in Denmark to receive his resignation and also see that he was suitably provided for, and the old bishop passed his last years in a Dominican monastery in Gotland” (p. 212).
Upon being murdered by an enraged Finnish peasant, Henry became the martyred Patron Saint of Finland. Some fifty years later, in 1209, the Pope authorized the Danish Bishop of Lund to establish Finnish bishoprics (Jutikkala & Pirinen, 1974, p. 24), asserting his right to do so over that of the King of Sweden. By 1216, the King of Sweden obtained from the Pope the right to title of lands conquered by his predecessors and placed the Finnish bishoprics under the Archbishop of Uppsala. Four years later, about 1220, Bishop Thomas arrived from Uppsala. By that time, the Swedes had settled on the western and southwestern coasts of Finland. But Sweden maintained no officials or troops there. A loosely connected province, Finland was mostly left alone by the weak Swedish monarchy. The Church, with its claims to authority over many lay matters such as crimes, heresy, and schools, effectively ruled Finland for several decades. This state of affairs evidently suited Bishop Thomas. The Swedish monarchy meant little to him, and, with his connections to the Sorbonne Dominicans and directly to the Pope, his subordinate position tied to the Archbishop of Uppsala also mattered little. The Pope was too far away to interfere with Thomas, barely knew Finland’s location, but could be relied upon for help against threats to the Church, wherever it might be. By the time of Bishop Thomas, hostilities had already begun in the Baltic area over various trade, political, and religious interests between the Swedes, the wealthy merchants of the island of Gotland off the coast of Sweden, the Danes, the Germanic Knights of the Sword who ruled over Estonia and Livonia, the German city merchants who organized themselves into the Hanseatic League about 1250, and the Germans at Novgorod, who were themselves under attack from the Tartars. (Wuorinen, 1963, pp. 30–36).

5 According to Sawyer, during the 12th century there was a controversy in many countries between the royalty and the Church over which had the power to appoint bishops, and which had authority over the other. The most famous example of this is the conflict between Henry II of England and his Archbishop Thomas à Becket, who was murdered in his cathedral (1993, p. 114).

6 Of this period, Wuorinen says, “Until about the middle of the 1200s the Church in Finland was largely independent of the feeble monarchy. The earliest forms of administration grew out of its undertakings and purposes and appear to have represented the only real ‘government’ well into the 14th century.” (1963, p. 39)

In Finland, during the time of Bishop Thomas, settlements largely fell into three regions, the southwest Finland Proper, the central Tavastia or Häme, and the eastern Karelia, which usually allied itself with the Novgorods. Bishop Thomas used armed forces to attack the Häme area to his sphere of influence, and the Häme people, in turn, often raided Karelia (Lavery, 2006, p. 27). In 1227, Duke Alexander Jaroslav, known as Alexander Nevski, enforced baptisms in the Orthodox faith among the Karelians, hoping to bind them closer to Novgorod, and then attacked Häme. A 1228 counterattack by the Häme on Karelia followed. In 1229 the Pope gave his blessings to a crusade against Novgorod making Finland a papal protectorate. The German Knights of the Sword were summoned by him to help. Alexander Nevski defeated the combined forces of Swedes, Finns, and others in the eventual attack in the summer of 1240, and that of the late arriving Germans in the famous battle on a frozen lake in 1242 (Jutikkala & Pirinen, 1974, pp. 12–26).

Rautavaara’s Additions to the Historical Cast of Characters

The opera Thomas was commissioned by the Joensuu Song Festival and its artistic director, baritone Jorma Hynninen, to celebrate the 150th anniversary in 1985 of the publication of the Kalevala. In discussing what kind of opera and characters would be suitable, Rautavaara got many ideas from Hynninen. Bishop Thomas versus the Kalevala-era paganism was suggested. Hynninen took the lead role of Thomas and recommended three fine bass singers in his teaching studio. The trio suggestion eventually became a tenor, a high bass, and a low bass, playing the roles of Kalevala-era pagan priests or Magi (Rautavaara, 1989, p. 321). Other characters were added: the leader of the German Knights of the Sword, a merchant from Gotland, two servant friars, and a female spirit, the Finnish Maiden. The mute Finnish Maiden represents the mystical pagan religion, the people of Finland, and perhaps the conscience of Thomas, since it is not clear whether she is meant to be real or part of a dream as Thomas lay dying. The idea for her came from an unfinished operatic sketch of Rautavaara’s, The Golden Girl. The high voiced birdsong of the Maiden was designed for Rautavaara’s wife, soprano Sini Rautavaara (Rautavaara, 1989, p. 317). In addition, a chorus serves as a connecting device, at various times becoming narrators, as interpreters of thoughts, as a choir of monks, as the Finnish people, and as participants in pagan rituals.
Rautavaara’s Story

Rautavaara’s story has a three-part structure: it opens with Bishop Thomas on his deathbed in a Gotland monastery remembering the events of his life, moves in a flashback back to the preparation for and the actual crusade, and then returns to the dying man. In the Prologue, Thomas recalls being Bishop in Turku, his childhood in England, the accusations against him for causing the mutilation and death of a man, and his dream of an independent Finland under his rule, tied loosely to Rome, rather than to Sweden. Act One turns back to the crusade against Novgorod. It opens with the Finnish people praising Bishop Thomas for leading the crusade. In a second scene with his two friars, Thomas crudely discusses how he will use outside forces to gain his personal goal of power. Eventually alone, Thomas sees a statue of the Virgin Mary change into a mute Maiden who sings like a bird. She represents a guiding spirit, a combination of the Virgin Mary, the Marjatta of the Kalevala, and the forces of nature, as well as the people of Finland. She, with her birdsong, and the chorus of Finnish people, speak with what Thomas and the others call incomprehensible speech. Evidently, foreigners have been complaining about the difficulties of learning the Finnish language for centuries! How an English bishop who speaks English, French, and Latin managed to build a functioning church in Swedish- and Finnish-speaking Finland is another problem. In a pagan ritual resembling the Roman Catholic Communion rite, Thomas accepts an intoxicating drink from the three shamanistic Magi, representing the magic of Kalevala-style paganism. Thomas then experiences an unprecedented emotional connection with the natural world, and with the pain and laughter of the common people. It’s a revelation to him as a teacher of a faith that now seems dogmatic and intellectual. In Act Two, all the characters plus the Maiden go off to battle. With the fight going poorly, many want to retreat. Bishop Thomas produces a papal document ensuring everyone’s salvation, but the merchant from Gotland questions it as a forgery. Asking his servants to take the man away and give him a rest for his eyes, Thomas is shocked by the resulting blinding and death. In Act Three, Thomas escapes death in the mass slaughter of his forces when the Maiden rescues him. She is called away into the forest by the Magi. Thomas awakes from his dream-like flashback, now again on his deathbed in Gotland, hearing again the accusations, the voices of the Maiden and shamans, and the English children of his childhood. He questions it all, saying he sang like an erring bird in the darkness, singing the sound of morning into the night, hoping for an independent Finland well before it was possible.

Multiple Languages and Word Styles in Rautavaara’s Libretto

The Finnish language libretto, written by Rautavaara himself, includes bits of Latin, Chaucerian English, wordless birdsong, and echoes of the Kalevala style of verse using repetition and alliteration. All of these appear successively, and at times layered together. The chorus sets the scene and mood of pagan Finland right at the beginning with their song using the structure of the Kalevala verses, saying:

Time is at the beginning, time is the end’s beginning,
the beginning is at the end of time, the end is in the beginning.
Rise, seeing king, blind Soma!

In Finnish we can easily hear the repetition of words, the alliteration of the words beginning with the same letter sound, and parallel pairing of verse.

Aika on alussa, aika on lopun alussa
alku aikojen lopussa, loppu ajan aikaessa
nouse näkevää kunigas, sokea jumala
Soma!

Soma, not to be confused with the Finnish May Day homebrew sima, made from fermented lemon, sugar, and yeast, is the name of both an ancient intoxicating drink and the god invoked. Rautavaara took the ideas of time without beginning or ending, as well as the intoxicating drink, Soma, from ancient Hindu writings, rather than Finnish legends, to extend the idea of mysticism far back into antiquity.7

More memorable of the Kalevala style verses is Thomas’s song, the words appearing three times in the opera, twice in the Prologue, and again at the very end, though never to the same melody. This symbolically sums up all the action, and tells us that the vision of an independent Finland came too early:

“Suddenly sang the bird, the bird sang in the darkness.
In the dark it err’d. It err’d like a man

7 Rautavaara likely was influenced by a folklorist, Castren Bregenhøj, who wrote a 1983 paper connecting these Vedic ideas with the Finnish Sampo era, trying to show ancient linking themes in folklore (See Rautavaara, 1989, p. 318).
and sang the sounds of morning into the night, across the evening and beyond time.”

In Finnish, we can again hear the alliteration, parallelism of paired verses, and repetition of material.

"Äkkiä lauloi lintu, lintu lauloi pimeässä, pimeässä se erehtyi, se erehtyi kuin ihminen ja lauloi aamun äänet yöhön, iltaan pitkin, ajan taakse (S. Rautavaara, 1986, pp. 12, 15, 55).

One of the early scenes is in a monastery and calls for Latin. A Gregorian chant is sung by a male chorus. “Ecce sacerdos magnus” is an actual antiphon, a response, taken from the Office Hours of the Roman Catholic Church, the daily prayers of the monasteries, this one particularly for the vespers of a Bishop confessor. The words translate to: “Behold the great priest, who in his days, pleased God” (Bruhn, 2003, p. 133 ftnt). The use of past tense is ironic, since we learn in the course of the drama that Thomas failed miserably to please God. In Act One, Thomas tells his two friars in a crude way how he intends to exploit other forces involved in the crusade. The two friars answer with short comments. One speaks in Latin and the other sings the same comment simultaneously in Finnish, for the benefit of the Finnish audience. For example, one says “Coeca cupiditas,” and the other says “Sokea ahneus,” both meaning “blind greed.” In the Prologue, memories of Thomas’s childhood are evoked by a children’s chorus singing in old English: “Com Thomas! Com pley mid us!” He hears his mother calling, “Thomas, com hom, hit is some derk,” with some electronic distortion to give it an echo of great distance. The mystical Finnish Maiden is mute, but sings in bird-like calls and trills, symbolizing nature.

At times these languages are layered. In the opening Prologue, the Gregorian chant begins by itself and soon retreats into the background. We hear the chant, the Old English of the children’s chorus, the mother’s voice calling Thomas in from play, and, finally, added to all those, the two friars singing simultaneously in Latin and Finnish, “Why hast thou forsaken us?” A similar layering of languages happens at the end of the opera. The chorus condemns the Bishop in Latin, while, in Finnish, the Knight Gobyn, the Gotland merchant, and the two friars join in accusations and Thomas, also in Finnish, mourns all the defeat and destruction. Following that group, the Magi and the chorus, now representing the Finnish people, sing in Kalevala style verses, the English children return, the Maiden has birdsong vocalization, and Thomas sings his melancholy Finnish song about the bird singing in the darkness, all eventually layered together. The end of the opera has Bishop Thomas joining in with these pagan elements, accepting in prayer that his purpose throughout all these events may have been to bring the vision of an independent Finland that reconciles his intellectual Christianity and the mystical and emotional elements of the Finnish people and their paganism.

Musical eclecticism

In Thomas, the characters and their interactions called for competing musical styles, sometimes layered together. Rautavaara has explained his musical decisions in this opera in several sources, all of which rely on the reader’s prior knowledge of types of scales, chords, and twelve-tone serialism, and also the usual rules associated with them (Rautavaara, 1989, pp. 318–320; see also Rautavaara, 1985). He chose a simple five-tone pentatonic scale as the basis for ritual music for the chorus of the pagan Finns. A pentatonic scale represents antiquity, and can be found in some of the oldest known folk music, not only from the Orient but in other locales. Playing only on the black keys of the piano gives you this sound. The chorus, adapting to its various functional roles, changes its musical style to suit the circumstances. At times they are monks singing chant in the irregular pulses and narrow winding melodic range of Gregorian chant. Later they become a cathedral choir, singing in normal tonality with imitative entrances in a quasi Renaissance Latin motet style. Using twentieth century choral techniques, they at times whisper the curses of the people or add successive expanding layers of voices to create big static blurs of sound with many clashing pitches, sometimes called “field technique.” The English children and the mother sing in a very simple folksong style in common tonal context with predictable rhythms.

For the three Magi, Rautavaara based their music on an octotonic scale, one of eight notes, which alternates whole and half steps. Not only did he choose his melodies for the Magi from this symmetrical scale, he associated their music with minor mode tonal chords that symmetrically alternate several different tonal centers, but do not settle in any one key. They sing very slowly. This associates them with timelessness, calmness, and with a lack of music’s usual tension and resolution. To connect the three Magi with the pagan wilderness, Rautavaara announced their arrival on stage with a recording of howling wolves or hunting horns.
The Maiden has a wordless melodic line, in unspecified time values. The composer wrote the pitches he wanted the performer to sing, but left the timing indefinite, only indicating a general idea. The orchestra, at the same time, has simple repetitive patterns in unspecified timing, relying on the conductor to tell them when the Maiden is done and the regular beat resumes. In music terms, this is called aleatory or chance technique, because the results will never twice be the same. The maiden’s entrances are preceded by recorded sounds of birds twittering. Her melody is also based on a symmetrical scale, related to but more complicated than that of the Magi. In all of these groups using a scale of some sort, we can usually hear a reference to a tonal center, or key, in a sustained long bass note underneath the higher melodic activity.

From the symmetrical scale of the Magi, Rautavaara described how he noticed the possibility of altering some notes and making a 12-tone series (1989, p. 320). This is a way of organizing music pitches that uses all the twelve notes of the chromatic scale, meaning all the piano keys between C in one octave and the next higher C, in such a way that there is no repetition of any note, nor, usually, any implied connection to tonal music. The usual rules require this pattern to be followed exactly in all the melodies, and arranged in numerical order up and down for the accompaniment. A different row of twelve notes, derived from the original by moving the last six notes up or down a half step, is designated for each of the characters of the Knight, of the merchant, and also for Bishop Thomas and his friars. Rautavaara explained this alteration process from the symmetrical scale of the Magi as one of evolving relationships (1989, p. 320). The rhythms for these characters using twelve-tone rows are tightly controlled and indicated. The Knight, the merchant, and the two friars sing narrative words that advance the story, usually in an animated quick rhythm. Thomas tends to reflect on the meanings of everything, and sings more lyrically, and slowly.

Another writer has pointed out that much of the melodic material of both the pagan group, using scales, and the Christian group, based on serial rows, contains similar small intervals, predominately small half steps, whole steps, and thirds, making them blend easily when they are used together (Bruhn, 2003, p. 137). Can the average listener hear these differences between scales and rows? Probably not. Why compose like this? Stravinsky once claimed that he composed best when he set himself some limitation to struggle against. Similarly, Rautavaara has said that an interest in the basic small unit of musical material has been central to all of his composing work, since it allows the music to grow freely, organically. He compares his choice of notes and intervals in his serial twelve-tone row to a genetic code which nature unfolds in relationship to environmental factors (Rautavaara, 1985, p. 48). The musical results often grow seemingly as unpredictably as plants, ending far afield from his original concept.

What complicates an understanding of Rautavaara’s use of tone rows, but also redeems them for the listener, is Rautavaara’s preference for keeping his strict use of the rows to the orchestral accompaniment and allowing the singer to have an expressive vocal line that is freely related to, but not controlled by, the underlying tone row. He also often deliberately arranges tonal relationships in his twelve-tone rows, allowing for the sweet harmony of thirds and occasional chords, and often moves by thirds to another triad in his accompaniment, unrelated to any key, mitigating the lack of common practice tonality. Rautavaara has also said that a composer needs to compromise between a rigid mathematical approach and a chaotic emotional one, sometimes breaking the taboos of the various musical systems. A musical analyst, even one with great experience in twentieth century musical techniques, wanting to account for the purpose of each note in this opera would have a hard time, because of the freedom given to each technique. The average listener of this twelve-tone music may well hear a certain kind of melodic color associated with each character, without being able to identify the means being used. He can probably more easily hear the rhythmic changes, the rapid narration of the Knight and the merchant and the longer, more lyrical, contemplations of Bishop Thomas. There is no

8 “The more constraints one imposes, the more one frees one’s self, and the arbitrariness of the constraint serves only to obtain precision of execution” (Stravinsky, 1947, p. 68).

9 Rautavaara says of this: “Naturally, the linking together of various (and to many people contradictory) systems must of necessity come to break the taboos of each system. But then it must be noted that what is at issue in Thomas is specifically the fusing of different “disciplines,” or different cultures. That this takes place on the level of the tonal material can be regarded as symbolic of this fusion. Furthermore, it is my belief that all artistic taboos are evidence of short-sightedness (in time and place) and often of racism” (1985, p. 53).
need to count from notes one to twelve endlessly in order to appreciate the music, though we can recognize on an intellectual level that the technique is there.

What happens when the events of the opera make these different musical systems happen at the same time? Giving all of them some intervals in common helps, or anchoring them to some common bass pitch, which can serve as a temporary key center. Other aspects help to distinguish them one from another. In the time-honored manner of Mozart’s operatic comedy ensembles, each character has his own personality in his type of melody, the speed of his music, his actions on stage, even the language or style of words or lack of words that he sings. More than identifying their individuality, it is the synthesis of all these musical styles, now including tonal music, the ancient five-tone scale, modal church music, odd symmetrical twentieth century scales, plus twelve-tone rows, as well as the distinct multiple languages, that is the remarkable feature of this opera. In the sixteenth century, Renaissance composers arranged multiple simultaneous melodies in polyphony, each line with its own melody and words that all fit together to make beautiful sonorities. So, in the twentieth century, Rautavaara managed to meld a wide variety of musical systems, each with its own set of rules, and convince us that it is dramatically and musically both necessary and exactly right.

Culture, religion, languages, literary styles, recordings from nature, old and new musical techniques are all presented individually and then combine harmoniously in this opera. The combination of techniques, its post-modernism, serves the dramatic function at the end of the opera of reconciling the contrasts into a unifying whole, pointing toward the vision of Thomas for a Finland that unites the best of both Christianity and the paganism of the wilderness. Ultimately, it is the story and the vividness of the action that is raised to new heights by the underlying music.

To be the successful writer of a play requires a good knowledge of how to build a story towards a climax and its resolution, and also the understanding of theatrical conventions, scenes changes, and the limits of stage activity. To be the composer of a symphony or a large vocal work requires a completely different set of skills. That Rautavaara is able to do both well, and provide much for the patrons of each art to ponder with awe is most impressive. The opera Thomas’s message of melancholy at the doomed early attempt at Finland’s independence lingers in the mind and ear long after the performance.

References


Topelius’s “Rinaldo Rinaldini” as European Cultural Artifact

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Abstract

Two German works—C. A. Yulpius’s Rinaldo Rinaldini and Friedrich Schiller’s Die Räuber—represent a literary and cultural tradition which spread throughout Europe and influenced generations of readers and writers. Zacharias Topelius taps into this European tradition explicitly in his short play entitled “Rinaldo Rinaldini.” In portraying schoolboys acting out the adventures of robber captain Rinaldo Rinaldini, Topelius ingests the robber romanticism tradition while at the same time using it to creative and didactic effect. His work is both a European cultural artifact in its reflection of the tradition but also in his manipulation of tradition. In this, it also joins the long tradition of adaptations of robber novels.

As a man well read in the Scandinavian and European literature of his time, Zacharias (Zachris) Topelius (1818–1898) also travelled extensively in Europe. His travels—and more importantly, his travel accounts—have even prompted Maija Lehtonen to call Topelius one of Finland’s most European writers. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his short, three-act children’s play called “Rinaldo Rinaldini,” a work drawing on a widespread current of nineteenth-century European culture which had erupted late in the eighteenth century and which was still active as Topelius composed his work in the 1850s. In a playful reflection of both the reception and actual content of Christian August Vulpius’s popular robber novel Rinaldo Rinaldini (1799), Topelius creates a tale relevant and meaningful to both adults and children. In adopting the name of the German novel for his tale “Rinaldo Rinaldini,” Topelius not only invokes the particular novel but an entire tradition called German robber romanticism. This tradition was a European phenomenon, and Topelius’s utilization of it in his short play illustrates the currency of the tradition in mid-nineteenth-century Finland as well as Topelius’s own creative appropriation of the tradition. After a brief summary of the relevant cultural background, our attention will turn to Topelius’s play and to his creative use of this cultural material.

Cultural Background

Robber novels began sprouting up in Germany in the 1790s and continued to be a powerful cultural and literary phenomenon until the 1850s, with approximately 320 robber novels published during this time—not including an additional 70 new editions and reprints (Dainat, 1996, p. 43). The craze quickly spread beyond Germany, propelled in part by the novel Rinaldo Rinaldini, written by the brother-in-law of Germany’s most accomplished writer, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The name of Christian August Vulpius (1762–1827) soon became secondary to his authorship of Rinaldo Rinaldini, long viewed as the prototype of the German robber novels and as the fountainhead of a popular genre (Dainat, 1996, p. 4). His Rinaldo Rinaldini achieved international success, perhaps on a different literary plane and ultimately less enduring than Goethe’s works, but, during the first half of the 1800s, every bit as widespread. Appearing first in 1799, with a second edition appearing the same year, Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuber-Hauptmann (Rinaldo Rinaldini, captain of banditti) was quickly translated into English (1800) and French (1800 and 1801), and then into other European languages, including Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Polish, and Hungarian (Simanowski, 1998, p. 334). Danish and Swedish were among the first translations—Danish in 1800 and Swedish in 1801.2 The first Finnish translation appears to have been much later, toward the end of the 1800s.3

1 “Vor allem zeugen die Reisebriefe davon, daß Topelius einer unserer europäischsten Schriftsteller ist” [The travel letters prove above all that Topelius is one of Finland’s most European authors] (translation mine), (Lehtonen, 1998, p. 186).

2 The Danish translation, first published as anonymous, was entitled Roverkaptainen Rinaldo Rinaldini, En romantisk Historie fra vort Aarhundrede (Rahbek, 1800-1802). The Swedish translation was also published with an anonymous author and entitled Röwar-anföraen Rinaldo Rinaldini. En romantisk historia från det förflutna århundradet, i tre delar eller femton böcker (Lindh, 1801-1802). A copy is located at the National Library of Sweden, according to the Regina database. Tarkiainen also cites 1801-1802 as the date of the Swedish translation.


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its numerous translations, *Rinaldo Rinaldini* spawned many subsequent editions as well as adaptations, spin-offs, and imitations following its original publication (Dainat, 1996, p. 66).\(^4\)

Topelius’s play, written nearly sixty years later, can be viewed as one of these spin-offs and as tapping into this popular tradition. Topelius had, incidentally, travelled throughout Germany in the summer of 1856, shortly before writing his play drawing on the German title.\(^5\) This play, “*Rinaldo Rinaldini eller Röfvarbandet*” [Rinaldo Rinaldini or the robber band] was first published in 1858 in the magazine *Eos* and was later published as part of Topelius’s well-known collection of children’s stories, *Läsning för barn* [Stories for Children] in 1865 (Tarkiainen, 1943, p. 250). In addition to sharing its title, Topelius’s play reflects many of the well-established themes of the German novel and of the tradition which it represents. Topelius’s choice in title really does strive to be representative—to invoke not only Vulpius’s novel but to evoke a type of fiction, a whole tradition of noble outlaws and robber-oriented stories.

In addition to *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, Topelius also explicitly invokes another pillar in this tradition of German robber romanticism—not a novel but the famous first play of Friedrich Schiller. Associated with the *Sturm und Drang* movement in German literature, Schiller’s *Die Räuber* [The Robbers] was published in 1781 and first performed in 1782. Though not invoked as part of Topelius’s title, the dramatic form and also themes of Topelius’s play clearly recall the famous German poet and playwright, whose works were as internationally popular and even more influential (and ultimately, more enduring) than *Rinaldo Rinaldini*. *Die Räuber* was an immediate sensation, stunning theater-goers and causing some to stomp their feet, scream, sob—and even faint (Simons, 1981, p. 71). Young men in Germany took inspiration from the freedom-loving robber Karl Moor, gathering in bands (Biener, 1974, p. 45) and, in some cases, mimicking the murders, robbing, and burning in Schiller’s drama (Köpf, 1978, p. 71). Such imitators actually caused performances of *Die Räuber* to be canceled in Germany—and elsewhere (Biener, 1974, pp. 45–46).\(^6\) Like *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, *Die Räuber* spread to nearly every European country in pure or adapted versions (see Arnold, 1905). The play was translated into Swedish by 1799 and into Danish by 1832.\(^7\)

Both Schiller’s *Die Räuber* and Vulpius’s *Rinaldo Rinaldini* were well known in Scandinavia and in Finland. Robber novels were certainly prevalent in Sweden before 1850; and numerous robber plays and operas were performed in Helsinki, both in Swedish and in German theaters (Tarkiainen, 1943, pp. 247–249).\(^8\) Topelius himself is known to have had an interest in robber novels as a child and viewed robber-related performances, mentioning several in his diaries in the 1830s (Tarkiainen, 1943, p. 250).\(^9\)

Topelius’s play, though drawing on the general robber romanticism tradition, relies most

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\(^4\) Many German titles began to phonetically mimic the title of *Rinaldo Rinaldini* through the 1820s and 1830s: *Rolando Rolandini* (1825), *Sallo Sallini* (1828); *Concino Concini* (1831), *Rocco Roccini*—to name just a few (Dainat, 1996, p. 29; Plaul, 1983, p. 242).

\(^5\) Topelius took a trip centered on Germany but including other nearby European countries from May to August 1856 (Lehtonen, 1998, p. 178).

\(^6\) The play was censored and banned in Italy, for instance (Lukoschik, 2004, p. 57).

\(^7\) The Swedish translation appeared as *Röfvarbandet: Sorgespel i fem akter af Friedrich Schiller* (1799). The Danish translation (*Roverne: et Skuespil i fem Acter*) appeared in a six-volume collection of Schiller’s works, translated by Frederik Schaldemose and published by Martinske Bogtrykkerie in 1832. The earliest Finnish version I have found in the National Bibliography of Finland is *Rosvot: murhenäytelmä viidessä näytöksessä* (1879).

\(^8\) For example, Alessandro Stradella and *Fra Diavolo* appeared in Helsinki in 1852–1853; an adaptation of Schiller’s *Die Räuber* by A. F. Broström in three acts called *Röfvarbandets upplösning* appeared in 1852 and 1854 (at a minimum); and Fredrique Elenore Baptiste provided a stage adaptation of *Rinaldo Rinaldini* (Tarkiainen, 1943, p. 250). Viktor Rydberg’s youthful works of the 1850s contain elements of robber romanticism, as does, more explicitly, Karl August Nicander’s *Röfvarbandet i Tusculum* (1835) (Tarkiainen, 1943, p. 248).

\(^9\) For instance: *Fra Diavolo eller Den ryktbare Röfware-Anförraren i de Abbruziska Bergen, Ein Tag aus dem Leben des Banditen Alessandro Massaroni* (a melodrama by Planché), *Die Erscheinung in Schloss Fiumare* (a three-act play by Filippo Bonafonti whose full title was *Rinaldo und Serafine oder die Erscheinung in den Ruinen des Schlosses Fiumare*), and *Röfvarkulan i Calabrien* (also known as *Den ryktbara röfvaranföraren Barbarossa uti Kalabriens skogar*) (Tarkiainen, 1943, pp. 249–250).
heavily on the two specific works of *Die Räuber* and *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, works that reflect a German origin but an international and especially European significance. Topelius uses Schiller elsewhere in his work (Rancken, 1968, p. 333) and exhibited interest in the German Gothic novel, or *Schauerroman*, influenced by, among others, Walter Scott and Friedrich Schiller (Lehtonen, 1995, p. 9). Announcements for Schiller’s *Die Räuber*, usually under the title *Carl von Moor eller Röfwarbandet*, were common in Helsinki and Åbo in the 1810s, 1820s, and 1830s. In addition to mentioning performances of Schiller’s *Die Räuber* in Finnish in 1837 and in Swedish in the 1840s and 1850s, Topelius saw the play in the spring of 1858—the same year he published his “Rinaldo Rinaldini” (Tarkiainen, 1943, p. 249).11

*Rinaldo Rinaldini* was similarly well-known in Finland and in the milieu of Topelius. A Swedish translation of *Rinaldo Rinaldini* was offered for sale in Åbo as early as 1801 (*Åbo Tidningar*, 1801, p. 4). Performances featuring Rinaldo Rinaldini appeared as early as the 1830s in Finland—as one Åbo newspaper attests—announcing a play called *Scener ur Rinaldo Rinaldini* [Scenes from Rinaldo Rinaldini] (*Åbo Underrättelser*, 1833, p. 5). Numerous references are made to *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, the novel, and to Rinaldo Rinaldini, the noble robber, in Finnish newspapers (mostly Swedish-language, but some Finnish-language as well) of the 1850s and 1860s. In an ironic and humorous complaint against the coming of the railway, an 1851 article in *Borgå Tidning* laments the loss of highwaymen and robbers, such as the great Rinaldo Rinaldini, with the advent of the railway.12 An 1855 article in *Åbo Tidningar* about a current criminal named Kahle opens by describing the robber as “En ny Rinaldini” [a new Rinaldini] (pp. 3–4). In a story called “Joulun Aatto” [Christmas Eve] published in *Suometar* in 1864, Rinaldo Rinaldini is mentioned as one of many old robber novels on the shelf of the main character (p. 3).13 All of these references confirm a general knowledge of Rinaldo Rinaldini in Finland in the mid-1800s.

**Narrative Elements of Robber Romanticism in “Rinaldo Rinaldini”**

Topelius knew *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, *Die Räuber*, and many other robber-related works. Like Topelius’s title, “Rinaldo Rinaldini,” which immediately conjures up an entire tradition, the names Topelius selects for his characters reinforce that cultural and literary context.14 The basic plot of the play consists of schoolboys taking a short excursion living out the adventures of robbers that they have read about in books. (A parallel and eventually intersecting plot line features schoolgirls who assume the role of gypsies rather than robbers.) In assuming the role as robbers, the boys also assume new names of famous robbers, both literary and historical. Robert Friman, fittingly named “Fris-man” (or, “free-man”) to reflect the common theme of freedom in robber novels, assumes the identity of Rinaldo Rinaldini because he brought the book to school about the famous literary robber. Carl Kronfelt becomes Carl Moor, the name of Schiller’s robber captain; and Joe Forsberg assigns himself the name Svarta Jonas, or Black Jonas, a known accomplice of the famous German robber Schinderhannes around 1800.15

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10 For example, “Carl von Moor eller Banditerne” is mentioned in *Åbo Allmänna Tidning* (1816, p. 4); “Carl v. Moor eller Röfwarbandet af Schiller” in *Åbo Tidningar* (1822, p. 3); “Carl von Moor eller Röfwarbandet” in *Finland’s Almuna Tidning* (1824, p. 8); and “Carl von Moor eller Röfware bandet af Schiller” in *Helsingfors Tidningar* (1830, p. 4). All newspapers referenced are available at the National Library of Finland: Digital Collection <http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/main.html>.

11 The Finnish version of *Die Räuber* was entitled *Carl von Moor* (September 1837). Swedish versions were performed by Fr. Delandin in 1843 and Stjernström and Andersson in the 1850s (Tarkiainen, 1943, p. 249).

12 “Man skall hådanefter kunna genomströfva Spanien och Italien i alla möjliga riktningar, utan att råka ut för ens den aldrabetydligaste skugga af

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13 A similar reference in another story is also found in *Helsingfors Dagblad* (“Klas Borgelins,” 1862, p. 4).

14 References to *Rinaldo Rinaldini* the novel (either the real version by Vulpius or the version referred to in Topelius’s play) will be italicized. References to Topelius play, a relatively short work, will be in quotation marks (“Rinaldo Rinaldini”). Rinaldo Rinaldini is also a character in both works (*Rinaldo Rinaldini* and “Rinaldo Rinaldini”).

15 Black Jonas, or *Der Schwarze Jonas*, was the alias of Christian Reinhold, who, near the end of the 1700s was a famous robber and who joined Johannes Bückler (alias Schinderhannes) around 1800. Ignaz Ferdinand Arnold portrays a
Other boys assume similar names drawing on robber tradition: Mazarino, referring to the Italian brigand Alessandro Massaroni;16 Gonzalov, a noble robber mentioned alongside Rinaldini and Mazarino in the 1840s;17 and Lassemaja, or Lasse-Maja, a famous Swedish thief.18

This ritual of renaming or assigning names not only evokes the robber romanticism tradition but lies at the thematic core of Topelius’s play. One of the central themes—if not the central theme—is role playing. In robber novels and plays where outlaws must disguise themselves or assume different aliases in order to escape detection in society, role-playing represents not only an important plot element but can rise to thematic importance, as in Rinaldo Rinaldini, where Rinaldini uses disguise flamboyantly and constantly changes his name or introduces himself with various names and titles.19 In Topelius’s play the renaming assumes importance when Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) makes his claim to be captain of their (imaginary) robber band, partly on the basis of his ideas for renaming the boys.20 Similarly, Schiller’s robber Spiegelberg, in conflict with Karl Moor to be captain, also attempts to assert his fitness for leadership of the band by reminding the robbers of his ideas: “und wer diesen Gedanken entsponnen, sagt, muß das nicht ein erleuchter politischer Kopf sein?” (Schiller, 1958, 1.2; p. 513) (“and the man who thought up the idea, tell me, mustn’t he have a brilliant, political head?” [Schiller, 1979, p. 47]). One often sees such parallelism in “Rinaldo Rinaldini” between the fictional literary models and the boys who are mimicking those models—but also bringing them to life.

One of the interesting aspects of role-playing in Topelius’s “Rinaldo Rinaldini” is the ambiguity suggested by such scenes as Forsberg’s (alias Black Jonas’s) attempt to become captain of the imaginary band of robbers. All the boys have decided to play a role—to pretend to be robbers—and once this happens (in Act 1, scene 1), rarely is this fiction dispelled. Given this underlying fiction, the uncertainly emerges about whether this entire scene is real—whether Forsberg the schoolboy really wants to be captain or whether he is simply playing a role, such as the role of Spiegelberg. This theme of role-playing runs throughout Topelius’s “Rinaldo Rinaldini.”

Central to both the plot and the thematic core of the play is the pseudo-criminalization of reading Rinaldo Rinaldini. The play opens with the boys neglecting their studies and instead reading from a book about the noble robber Rinaldo Rinaldini. The stark contrast between the romantic novel and their geometry lesson—an orderly, exact science—lays the foundation for the conflict that arises when the teacher returns. As if foreshadowing the coming criminalization, Forsberg’s first words to his teacher—who walks in on a scuffle among the boys—assert his innocence: “jag är oskyldig, “jag är oskyldig” (Topelius, 1906, p. 71) (“I’m innocent” [Topelius, 20].

20 “Men det var jag, gossar, som gaf er namn....Därfor borde jag vara er kapten” (Topelius, 1906, p. 81) [“But it was I who gave you all your names, boys...and therefore I ought to be your captain”] (Topelius, n.d., p. 119). Unless otherwise noted, English translations are from published sources (listed in the References). In some cases, especially in the Foss translation of Topelius, translations are not necessarily exact or literal.
The teacher discovers that the boys were reading another book instead of their geometry lesson, but even before he knows the nature of the book, the teacher criminalizes the boys' bringing it, describing it as "smuggling." The real punishment, however, occurs when he finds out the book is not just a deviation from their lessons but romantic fiction about Rinaldo Rinaldini. The punishment—that they must stay in school "arrest" and miss the May Festival—elicits what in robber narratives mark the "impetus to crime."

An impetus to crime implies an external force, event, or person which serves to launch the protagonist into crime, such as a villainous or oppressive act or person. The impetus to crime in Schiller's Die Räuber occurs when Karl Moor's brother Franz forces an estrangement of his father through deceit, effectively severing his ties to society. Karl's utterance reflects the force of his brother's deceit to drive him to become a robber:

Ich habe keinen Vater mehr, ich habe keine Liebe mehr, und Blut und Tod soll mich vergessen lehren, daß mir jemals etwas teuer war!...es bleibt dabei, ich bin euer Hauptmann! (Schiller, 1958, 1.2, p. 515)

(I have no father now, I have no love now, and blood and death shall teach me to forget that ever I held anything dear!...—it is agreed, I shall be your captain! [Schiller, 1979, p. 49])

Impetus to crime plays a large role in many other robber novels that belong to the type—and upon which the boys then recreate their own impetus to crime. In the pages of their book, Rinaldini laments his persecution by the world: "vi är förföljda af världen" (Topelius, 1906, p. 69) ("we are persecuted by the world" [Topelius, n.d., p. 109]). Using Rinaldini's words as their model after their punishment from the teacher, Forsberg utters them almost verbatim: "vi är förföljda af mänskligheten" (Topelius, 1906, p. 74) ("we are persecuted by the world" [Topelius, n.d., p. 113]). This perceived persecution serves as the impetus to crime—or at least the imaginary launch of a robber career. Forsberg, with fiery and romantic rhetoric, incites his fellow schoolboys to revenge and robber pursuits:

Ha, tappre riddare, vi maste hamna oss på dessa vildjur, som kalla sig människor... Hvad säger jag? Människor? Nej, bödlar äro de, tyranner i människohamn! Vi måste draga ut till de Apenniniska Bergen... (Topelius, 1906, p. 74)

Ah, valiant knights, we must revenge ourselves upon these wild beasts who call themselves men. What do I say? Men? No, executioners they are, tyrants. We must depart to the Apennines... (Topelius, n.d., p. 113)

His condemnation of their "enemies" and call for retreat into the Apennines—the Italian hideout of the robber Rinaldini—though exaggerated in its actual content, recalls in detail the vehemence and indictment found in Karl Moor's cursing of the establishment or society in general—"Menschen—Menschen! falsche, heuchlerische Krokodilbrut" (Schiller, 1958, 1.2; p. 514) ("Men, men! False breed of hypocrites and crocodiles!" [Schiller, 1979, p. 47])—and his resolution to become leader of their band after his impetus to crime: "Ja, bei dem tausendarmigen Tod! das wollen wir, das müssen wir!... - Räuber und Mörder! - So wahr meine Seele lebt, ich bin euer Hauptmann!" (Schiller, 1958, 1.2; p. 515) ("Yes, by the thousand arms of death! we shall, we must!...Robbers and murderers! As sure as my soul breathes, I am your captain!" [Schiller, 1979, p. 49]).

The structure of Topelius's "Rinaldo Rinaldini" after this impetus to crime is vaguely reminiscent of the beginning of Schiller's Die Räuber after Karl Moor's decision to become a robber (in Act 1, scene 2). We do not meet Karl again until several scenes later (in Act 3, scene 2) when we find him transformed and in the midst of robber life. Similarly, in Topelius's play, an
impetus in the first scene is followed by a significant break—a scene with a completely different cast of characters (the schoolgirls). When we return to the schoolboys, they too are transformed, having assumed new names and fully playing new roles in the midst of their pseudo-rober life (in Act 2).

A core element of robber novels and plays is the concept of the noble robber—combined with its corollaries, the contrastive characters of the bad robber and the ignoble citizen. Like Vulpius’s Rinaldini, who often displays good manners and courtesy as well as heroic rescues and interventions, Topelius’s Rinaldini (or Friman), while reminding the girls that they are captives, still offers to escort them home for their protection:

Kom, rofvare, så följa vi zigenerskorna. Det skall ingen saga om oss, att vi lämnat raska zigenerskor utan beskydd. (Topelius, 1906, p. 95)

(Come, my robbers, let us escort the gypsy maids to their homes. Let it not be said that we left brave gypsy girls without protection. [Topelius, n.d., p. 134])

Except for the bad robber of the group, the band espouses the highest principles, which Friman (alias Rinaldini) reiterates after condemning Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) and kicking him out of the band for violating these principles: “vi ärö mänsklighetens befriare. Vi måste försvara de oskyldiga. Vi måste föra krig mot allt orätt i världen” (Topelius, 1906, p. 83) (“we are the defenders of humanity. We must protect the helpless, and fight against every wrong in the world” [Topelius, n.d., p. 122]). These noble ideals, ironically, were well articulated early on by Forsberg himself as he read from his Rinaldo Rinaldini book. In the book, Rinaldini describes his band in terms of the Robin Hood type who steals from the rich and gives to the poor, embracing the highest ideal of righting the wrongs of the world: “Vi får bara plunder de rika, som röfvat sin rikedom af de fattiga. Och så dela vi med oss åt de fattiga, och så ställa vi allt igen på rätt här i världen” (Topelius, 1906, p. 70) (“We must rob only the rich, who have plundered the poor, then we will share our plunder with the poor, and in that way we will put things to rights in the world” [Topelius, n.d., p. 109]). Vulpius’s Rinaldini also states explicitly his desire to endow his inherently ignoble profession as robber with some semblance of nobility:

Auch empfehle ich euch Schonung der Weiber, Kinder und Greise. Als Männer läßt uns auftreten und gebt eurem Handwerk so viel Edles, als es ihm zu geben möglich ist. (Topelius, 1906, p. 483)

(I advise you also to be considerate to women, children, and old-timers. As men, let us act in such a way as to give our work as much nobleness as it is possible to give it. [my translation])

Forsberg (alias Black Jonas), ironically, rejects these ideas. As the boy who had been the most vocally excited about the book, he takes his role to the extreme, embodying the common figure in robber stories of the bad robber, who serves as a contrast to the noble robber. Traits of the typical noble robber—respect for law, sympathy for the weak, moderation, and aversion to unnecessary bloodshed—contrast with those of the bad robber, whose villainy can be dishonest, unscrupulous, immorally opportunistic, and sadistic. Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) does not reflect the depravity of Schiller’s bad robbers, Schweitzer and Schufterle, who brag about the heinous deeds they commit—the ransacking of a church, the killing of women and children, and the act of throwing a baby onto a fire (Act 2, scene 3)—but he does strongly resemble Spiegelberg in Schiller’s Die Räuber in his vocalness to obliterate all laws and rule with violence, along with his aspirations to be captain:

Vi tala inga lagar. Vi göra hvad vi behaga....den som sager något annat än jag, den får sig på ryggen. (Topelius, 1906, p. 80)

(We tolerate no laws. We do as we please....if anyone has a different opinion from mine he shall be clubbed. [Topelius, n.d., p. 119])

In his overzealous execution of robber activities, Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) resembles Spiegelberg and other bad robbers in Karl Moor’s band. When he robs the beggar boy, he asserts that “En rofvare tar hvad han får” (Topelius, 1906, p. 82) (“A robber takes what he can get” [Topelius, n.d., p. 121]) as he empties out the boy’s bag. He exclaims: “Jag är en rofvare, och jag gör hvad jag vill” (Topelius, 1906, p. 83) (“I am a robber...and I..."

24 This passage is found in an alternative edition of Rinaldo Rinaldini. See Vulpius, n.d. [1941].
do as I please" [Topelius, n.d., p. 121]). In actually robbing the beggar boy, Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) breaks the code of the noble robber. His words—"Nej, se sadaa usla brödkanter! Täcks du bjuda sådan rättmat åt hederliga röfvare?" [Topelius, 1906, p. 82] ("Look at the miserable bread crusts! Is that food to offer decent robbers?") [Topelius, n.d., p. 121])—echo those of the bad robbers in Rinaldo Rinaldini, who similarly torment their victim with complaints and demands for more: "Geh zum Teufel mit deinem Paar Lumpenpenningen! Schaff mehr!" [Vulpius, 1974, p. 49] ("Go to the devil with your paltry pence. Give us more" [Vulpius, 1824, p. 25]).

When robbers break the code of the band in Rinaldo Rinaldini, they receive immediate punishment, as when six of Rinaldini's men attempt to rob the old Donato and Rinaldini intercedes to condemn the act: "Wer war der Schurke, der die erste Hand an diesen kraftlosen Greis legte?" [1974, p. 51] ("Which is the villain that first laid hands on this feeble old man?" [1824, p. 26]). Friman (alias Rinaldini), acting as the noble robber captain, expresses similar anger as he finds that his band has broken the noble robber code: "Hvem af mitt folk vågar plundra en tiggargosse?" [Topelius, 1906, p. 83] ("Who of my people has ventured to rob a beggar?" [Topelius, n.d., p. 121]). Rinaldini punishes the violator on the spot with a gunshot to the arm: "Ohne ein Wort zu sprechen, schoß Rinaldo" [Vulpius, 1974, Book 1; pp. 51–52] ("Without another word, Rinaldo instantly fired at him" [Vulpius, 1824, p. 26]). This robber (Paolo) escapes with his life, but other violators are not so fortunate. Punishment in Topelius's play is not nearly as harsh, but Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) receives unanimous criticism by the fellow schoolboy robbers and eventually is kicked out of the band by Friman (alias Rinaldini):

> För den här gången må du få nåd, men jag vill inte mera ha dig i bandet. Gif strax tillbaka åt gossen hvad du tagit ifrån honom, och packa dig sedan din väg.

(1906, p. 83)

(I will spare your life this time, but you must no longer remain in my band. Return to the boy the plundered articles, and get you gone as fast as you can! [n.d., p. 122])

The incident receives enough condemnation to almost disrupt the entire apparatus of role-playing and the imaginary existence as robbers when some of the boys threaten to stop being robbers. Boström (alias Mazarino) says, "då vill jag inte vara röfvare" [Topelius, 1906, p. 82] ("Then I will not be a robber any longer" [Topelius, n.d., p. 121]), followed by Kronfelt (alias Carl Moor), who echoes the sentiments: "vill jag inte mer a tjäna i bandet" [Topelius, 1906, p. 83] ("I will withdraw from the band") [Topelius, n.d., p. 121]). In the end, however, the boys remain true to their parts, with nothing in their language indicating that they are not real robbers. They do not use the words "play" or "game" to describe their acting out as robbers—perhaps realizing that, in actually assaulting the beggar boy, they have in fact crossed that line between fiction and reality. Even more noteworthy is the reaction of the beggar boy, who seems unfazed by the incident, giving no indication that what has transpired or the band before him is a fiction. Friman (alias Rinaldo Rinaldini) shines in this moment as noble robber, contrasting starkly with the bad robber Forsberg (alias Black Jonas). Like the "real," literary Rinaldini, who offers money to an old man (Donato)—"ich möchte gern eine gute Handlung ausüben. Nimm diese Börse" [Schiller, 1958, Book 1; p. 27] ("Permit me to do a good action. Take this purse") [Schiller, 1974, p. 15]—Topelius's Rinaldini (or Friman), as robber captain, sends the beggar boy on his way with a silver penny: "Var inte ledsen nu. Har har du en silfverpenning" [Topelius, 1906, p. 83] ("Be not distressed. Here is a small silver coin" [Topelius, n.d., p. 122]). Again, the beggar boy accepts the performance at face value, thanking Friman (alias Rinaldini) and actually calling him "nådiga herr röfvare" [Topelius, 1906, p. 83] ("dear Mr. Robber" [Topelius, n.d., p. 122]).

Just as Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) representing the bad robber provides a contrast to illuminate the noble robber, so too does the ignoble citizen figure. The contrast between a noble robber and an ignoble citizen, who commits immoral or evil acts without legal consequences as a free citizen, is poignant in its ability to highlight corruption and moral or legal contradictions in individuals and also in a society. Franz Moor, a non-robber, is the clear villain in Schiller's Die Räuber, exceeding the robber Karl Moor in his vices. Similar ignoble citizens, or villains, are found in Rinaldo Rinaldini as well. Topelius's schoolboy robbers, conscious that they need an opponent in order to carry out their noble goal of fighting "against every wrong in the world" [Topelius, n.d., p. 122], target a farmer who beats his horse. For the boys, he represents the archetypal ignoble citizen. They call him "en tyrann" [Topelius, 1906, p. 84] ("a tyrant")
Schaad: Topelius’s “Rinaldo Rinaldini”

[Topelius, n.d., p. 122]) and a “nedrigt” (Topelius, 1906, p. 84) (“mean and wicked” [Topelius, n.d., p. 123]) man who must be punished.25 The boys rob him of his turnips and kidnap him, leading him “blindfolded and hands tied behind him” (Topelius, n.d., p. 124) (“bär en näsduk knuten för ögonen och händerna bakbundna” [Topelius, 1906, p. 85]). Even in his protests—in which he highlights his role as honorable citizen (“byälderman” [Topelius, 1906, p. 85]; “village councilman” [Topelius, n.d., p. 124])—the farmer is portrayed negatively. He is portrayed as a simple tyrant, hurling verbal abuses so incessantly upon the boys that even the constable, later, must silence him: “Hall er mun, kärä far” (Topelius, 1906, p. 97) (“Hold your peace, my good man” [Topelius, n.d., p. 135]).

The scene with the tyrant farmer, the ignoble citizen, provides a dramatic opportunity for the noble robbers to fulfill their calling. They rescue the mistreated horse and punish the villain. Friman (alias Rinaldini) speaks eloquently—indeed, nobly—in first telling the farmer he was rightly punished for beating his horse and then mercifully releasing him, while at the same time insisting that the horse be given its freedom:

Du har blifvit straffad med ratta, för att du slog din häst som en tyrann. Men nu är du tillfångatagen och avvändad; du kan gå….Carl Moor, led fången till vägen och återgif honom hans karra, men hästen later du lopa. (Topelius, 1906, p. 86)

(You have been justly punished for beating your horse like a tyrant. You have been captured and disarmed. Now you may go…. Carl Moor, lead the captive back to the highway. Give him back his cart, but let the horse go. [Topelius, n.d., pp. 124–125])

Although Friman (alias Rinaldini) is playing a role here of the noble robber, his words and all the action are generating real consequences—this is actually happening. The two main encounters of the schoolboys as robbers, one recognizes, are both driven by high ideals: Forsberg (alias Black Jonas) is punished and cast out as a “bad robber,” and the farmer is punished as a tyrant but granted mercy and then released.

25 Kronfelt (alias Carl Moor) says “Det är nedrigt. Han måste straffas som en förbrytare mot mänskligheten” (Topelius, 1906, p. 84) (“Mean and wicked….He must be punished” [Topelius, n.d., p. 123]).

Deflation of the Heroic Robber Model

In adopting the robber theme and invoking the genre of robber romanticism, Topelius’s play levels a critique at the genre, sometimes subtly, sometimes not so subtly. During the early 1800s in Europe, robber novels and plays enjoyed tremendous popularity while receiving a proportional amount of disdain from many of the literary elite. For example, in the poem “Den Vereinigten Staaten” (1827), Vulpius’s brother-in-law, Goethe, slights the robber stories of his day:

Benutzt die Gegenwart mit Glück!
Und wenn nun eure Kinder dichten,
Bewahre sie ein gut Geschick
Vor Ritter-, Räuber- und
Gespenstergeschichten
(Translation mine)

(Use the present with good fortune! And if your children begin to author, May a kindly fate guard them from writing old knight tales, robber novels, and ghost stories)

The schoolboys’ teacher reflects this disdain in his direct condemnation of Rinaldo Rinaldini: “Lättingar och oduglingar bli ni; sådant lar man sig af romaner” (Topelius, 1906, p. 73) (“Idlers and good-for-nothings that’s what you will become from reading such books as this” [Topelius, n.d., p. 112]). From the very beginning of the play, the deviancy of that type of fiction is alluded to. The play opens with a narrative of “den tappre Rinaldo Rinaldini” (Topelius, 1906, p. 69) (“the brave Rinaldo Rinaldini” [Topelius, n.d., p. 108]), but Rinaldini’s words are constantly being interrupted by the noise of studying from the boys. This interruption of the romantic by the mundane reflects the general drowning out of romanticism by realism. Even when Rinaldini finally is able to speak (through Forsberg) and the boys begin role-playing as robbers, their role functions to slowly deflate the very genre which they have conjured up.

The two main encounters of the schoolboys are seeped in the mock heroic. Compared to the villainy in Rinaldo Rinaldini or Die Räuber, the beating of a horse, though a genuine offense to the young boys, approaches the mundane. This mundane villainy also occurs in the verbal abuses which the farmer heaps upon the boys. The farmer’s insults seem especially deflated compared to the curses that the priest heaps upon Karl Moor and his band in Die Räuber: “ihr
Diebe—ihr Mordbrenner—ihr Schelmen—giftige Otterbrut" (Schiller, 1958, 2.3; p. 550) ("You thieves—you murderous incendiaries—you scoundrels—poisonous brood of vipers" [Schiller, 1974, p. 87]). The farmer’s insults, in contrast, are comic in their content as well as their incessant hyperbole, recurring over and over, almost uncontrollably, in sequences during Acts 2 and again in Act 3. The farmer simply yells at the boys with a string of absurd insults, such as: "Edra palsternackor, edra morötter, edra fiskmåsar, edra tallkottar, edra göktutingar, edra blindbrömsar, edra krabbalsattare, edra konterfeyn..." (Topelius, 1906, p. 97) ("You parsnips, you carrots, you seagulls, you pine cones, you cuckoo-tooters, you blind gadflies, you pickled crabs, you phoneys..." [translation mine]). In addition to the mundane villainy of the farmer, we see deflation of the heroic in the schoolboys’ robbing the farmer not of silver or gold but of his turnips. The grandiose, hyperbolic reaction of the boys to their victory over this farmer and their modest booty also help to deflate the heroic robber model. Finally, near the end of the play when the constable confronts them, he makes the humiliating and trivializing threat of squirting them with water from a fire truck to force them out of their robber’s cave—not exactly a heroic mode of attack.

The crime of beating a horse recalls the story by Heinrich von Kleist (yet another German author) about a law-abiding merchant turned robber after, among other things, his horse is mistreated. While no evidence has been found linking Topelius’s “Rinaldo Rinaldini” (or any of his work) to Kleist’s novelle “Michael Kohlhaas” (1808/1982), the parallels are interesting not only in their similar subject matter—robbers and a mistreated horse—but also in their common program of deflating the kind of heroic paradigm found in popular robber stories. Kleist did this already in 1808, when “Michael Kohlhaas” appeared, portraying in the first half of his story a noble robber engaged in a grand fight for justice. But in the second half of the work, Kleist turns this paradigm on its head and, through the disclosure of various details in the story, presents a deflated view of his opponents and of his entire campaign for justice. Whether purposely or coincidentally, Topelius’s text creates an intertextual bond with Kleist’s entire narrative through his simple adventure of schoolboys robbing a farmer who mistreated his horse.

One reason Topelius’s deflation of the robber romanticism genre is so effective lies in the steadiness with which the schoolboys remain in character throughout Act 2 and Act 3 in the play. Their role-playing completely defines their language and their behavior, blurring the lines between role-playing and reality. The illusion is not dispelled until near the end when the schoolgirls, growing tired of playing gypsies and playing captive to the robbers, begin uttering the real names of the boys. The boys, however, stay in character, insisting on discipline and, true to their game, even threatening to shoot their captives (though eventually some boys join the girls in their plea to go home).

The play ends with a lengthy reconciliation as the boys give themselves up to the constable. Reflecting the heavy moralizing for which Topelius is often known, the scene does provide some interesting reflection on robber romanticism and Topelius’s use of this cultural currency in his work. His story—featuring young schoolboys (and girls) takes the romantic Rinaldo Rinaldini and diffuses its anti-social, rebellious aspects (and omits its melancholy undertones) and stresses the morality of obeying the law at all times and the importance of oath and loyalty. In a last, ceremonial gesture of giving up his robber scepter, Friman (alias Rinaldo) summarizes their “heroic deeds” and speaks of their glory for posterity. This gesture symbolizes the noble outlaw morphing into a dutiful citizen and is accompanied by the heavily didactic tone and lengthy, direct preaching of the constable. The end shows an eradication of all the ambiguity and contradiction inherent in the concept of the noble robber. Topelius, in smoothing out moral complexities, essentially conveys the message that these robber stories are only fit as stories, not to be played out in reality. But it is clear that they can function as tales of morality, for the boys have clearly learned noble traits—such as loyalty—from the Rinaldo Rinaldini story.

Despite the heavy-handedness of the approach at the end, the play remains an entertaining work and an interesting text as a European cultural artifact. Its plot and themes draw on three-quarters of a century of European literary and cultural tradition while at the same time reflecting the singular outlook and style of its author. Vulpius’s Rinaldo Rinaldini and Schiller’s Die Räuber are clearly present, and the work reflects the general model of robber romanticism. But this reflection is not a simple recasting of a cultural phenomenon but also an ironic one, which deflates the heroic robber model while also employing it in creative ways. In this, Topelius’s

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"Rinaldo Rinaldini" not only draws on the European cultural tradition but also becomes part of it. Perhaps he even propelled it forward. Some have suggested Topelius's little play influenced Kivi's *Seitsemän Veljestä* in its portrayal of a band of boys playing outlaw from society, committing petty theft and receiving moral counsel from a local authority (Tarkiainen, 1943, p. 256). Whether this is the case or not, Topelius's "Rinaldo Rinaldini" remains much more than a simple children's play.

References


Lihakirja J. V. Lehtosen täyttäessä 60 vuotta: 8.XII.1943 (pp. 247–

27 Both feature a typical robber romantic theme of cooking out by the campfire—in both cases (the seven brothers and the schoolboys playing robbers) they roast the turnips they have stolen.
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Abstract

The current study intends to present high school students' opinions of and attitudes towards the minority language of Meänkieli in the Swedish Tomedalen. The redrawing of the national border between Finland and Sweden in 1809, with all of its long-lasting consequences, will be briefly discussed. The method used in this study adopts a qualitative approach in order to find out young peoples' attitudes towards their minority language. Some high school students reported on their attitudes by writing essays and filling in background questionnaires. The preliminary results of data analysis differentiate between positive and negative attitudes, further dividing both of those categories into four subcategories. The high school students' attitudes and opinions were found to underline the importance of the need for the standardization of this minority language, but also of its relationship with the Finnish language spoken in the area. The lack of peers speaking Meänkieli was another important factor for these students. The results indicate that a larger study investigating the reasons behind the attitudes would be welcome. Better knowledge in this study area would probably be of service to the young people who choose to stay on in the Tomedalen, giving them more reasons for continuing to use their own language and strengthening their positive attitudes towards it.

Keywords: attitudes toward language use, minority language, Meänkieli, Sweden, Tomedalen, Matarenki.

Introduction

In this article I will present part of my thesis research on Swedish Tomedalen high school students' attitudes towards their minority language, Meänkieli. With this particular study I want to discover whether or not the granting of official status to Meänkieli as a minority language in year 2000 has had any discernible impact on students' attitudes towards it. Are attitudes more positive or rather negative? Although my intention is to first and foremost present attitudes towards Meänkieli, the Finnish language also plays a role here. The students themselves compare Meänkieli to Finnish, but it is also important to discuss both Meänkieli and Finnish given the history behind the development of Meänkieli.

I interviewed the informants for this study a total of four times between 2004 and 2006. All of the informants were at the time students at the local high school in Övertorneå (known as Matarenki in Meänkieli). Matarenki is situated in the Swedish Tomer valley “in the county of Norrbotten along the Swedish side of the Torne River, which forms a part of the border between Sweden and Finland” (Winsa, 1998, p. 19). This topic is of particular interest to me since I myself grew up in Övertorneå using two languages (Swedish and Finnish), with Meänkieli in close proximity.

The method used in this study adopts a qualitative approach in order to find out young peoples' attitudes towards and opinions of their minority language. Some high school students reported on their attitudes by writing essays and filling in background questionnaires. The preliminary results of the data analysis differentiate between positive and negative attitudes, further dividing both of those categories into four subcategories. I will conclude by discussing the most important findings about the high school students’ positive and negative attitudes as well as suggesting further research.

A Brief Historical Background: The Tomer Valley

The language situation in the Tomer Valley before the 19th century was that both Swedish and Finnish (and Sámi in some places) were used. Sweden then lost Finland to Russia in the war of 1808-1809, but before this Finland had been a part of the Swedish kingdom for over 600 years. Therefore the Finnish language had, for example, been used as a language of instruction in the first elementary schools in the Tomer Valley with the very first one being established in 1854 in Haparanda (Winsa, 1998, p. 17).

Since the French revolution of 1789, however, there had been a movement throughout Europe that proclaimed the idea of having “one state—one language” (Hansegård, 1990, p. 19). Towards the end of the 19th century this idea also grew stronger in Sweden and voices of concern about the Finnish-speaking people of the Tomer Valley were raised. Since Finland was now part of Russia, but still with their Finnish language intact, the Swedish government felt that the people on the Swedish side of the Tomer Valley could be a potential threat to Sweden; the threat being the Finnish language that both the Russian (Finnish) and the Swedish sides of the Tomer Valley shared (Jaakkola, 1973, p. 40f.; Elenius, 2007, p. 63f.).
Steps to ensure the safety of Sweden had to be taken.

One measurement towards the Swedification of the Finnish-speaking Torneальdians was to establish elementary schools that were subsidized by the Swedish government. This meant that the language of instruction would now be Swedish instead of Finnish and the children of the Torne Valley would gradually lose their first language (i.e. Finnish), since it was forbidden to speak it in school. When students spoke Finnish in school, they would most typically receive some form of corporal punishment (Wingstedt, 1998, p. 62f.; Winsa, 1998, p. 16f.).

In 1919 a special Royal Commission was appointed to investigate whether there was a need to use the Finnish language as a language of instruction in the Torne Valley. The Commission did not find that such a need existed (Winsa, 1998, p. 17). Yet, in 1955 it was still possible to choose Finnish as a voluntary extracurricular subject in gymnasiums (high schools) in the region (Winsa, 1998, p. 18).

It would take another twenty years before reform of the Swedish home language was carried out. This reform meant that children with a home language other than Swedish would be able to choose to attend lessons in the home language, e.g. Finnish. In practice this would amount to some 1–2 hours of lessons per week (Winsa, 1998, p. 18).

During the 200 years that Finland and Sweden have been separated, the Finnish language in the Torne Valley has grown into a distinctive language of its own and has been given the name Meänkieli (Torneadal Finnish was also used prior to the 1980s). The Swedish Tornedalians’ Association was established in 1981 and ever since has worked towards gaining official recognition of both the Meänkieli language and the Meänkieli-speaking people of the Torne Valley by the Swedish government (Svenska Tornedalingars Riksförbund, n.d.). At the same time both the Association as well as individuals, such as Swedish author Bengt Pohjanen and Swedish researchers Erling Wande and Birger Winsa, have been promoting a positive attitude towards Meänkieli and the minority that speaks it. It seems that the attitude issue is not yet resolved within the minority itself either (Hyltenstam, 1999, p. 114f.).

In 2000 both Meänkieli and Finnish, together with Romany Chib, Sámi and Yiddish, received official status as minority languages in Sweden (Regeringskansliet, 2010). According to the government, “the aim of the policy is to protect the minorities, promote their participation in community affairs and public decision-making and help keep long-established minority languages alive” (Regeringskansliet, 2010). The new language law of the 1st of July 2009 further strengthens the rights of all of the Swedish minority languages (Språkrådet, 2010).

Language Attitudes

Language planning and language policies are of vital importance when considering attitudes towards a language, with these attitudes (whether positive or negative) also including the group of people that actually speaks the language in question. According to Tollefson, “the commonly-accepted definition of language planning is that it refers to all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties” (1991, p. 16). Language policy, in return, is usually defined as language planning conducted by governments (Wingstedt, 1998, p. 4). Therefore we can conclude that how a government or a society looks upon matters as language rights is of the utmost importance.

Hyltenstam (1999, p. 130f.) claims that attitudes towards Meänkieli have, within the Meänkieli-speaking community itself, always been divided to some extent. On one hand, those who have negative attitudes towards Meänkieli do not perceive it as a language worth preserving. On the other hand, those who have positive attitudes towards Meänkieli feel strongly about the issues of standardization and preservation of the language. (Hyltenstam, 1999, p. 130) Winsa (2007, p. 79) claims that Swedish language laws in more recent years (2000 and 2009) have given the minority language-speaking people a stronger and more positive position. However, it seems difficult to entirely change attitudes towards their own minority language. There is a history of low self esteem and of persistent governmental language oppression in the Torne Valley, which today can still be seen in the negative attitudes towards Meänkieli from part of the Swedish-speaking community as well as some of the Meänkieli-speakers themselves.

Debate about whether Meänkieli is a language as such or merely a vernacular was especially strong during the 1980s and 1990s at a time when the Swedish Tornedalians’ Association (STR-T) and also private individuals were working hard in order for Meänkieli to reach the status of a minority language (Hyltenstam, 1999, p. 132f.). Swedish researcher Hansergård (1988, p. 306), for example, claimed that all Finnish varieties spoken in Sweden are vernaculars. The lack of a standardized form for Meänkieli is a problem that affects views concerning its status as a language even today.
It is not only the lack of a standardized form for Meänkieli that lies behind the negative attitudes towards it. People who have negative attitudes towards Meänkieli usually state that it is only a mixture of Finnish with some Swedish loanwords, and therefore not a language at all, but rather a vernacular. Winsa (1998, p. 19f.) explains that the vocabulary of Meänkieli is “a mixture of several Finnish varieties and other languages.” East, West and North Finnish varieties are all represented in the Meänkieli vocabulary, as well as loanwords from Sámi, Norwegian and Swedish languages (Winsa, 1998, p. 19; Hyltenstam, 2007, p. 263ff.).

There is a language law that protects the language rights for Meänkieli, but there is no single standardized form for Meänkieli in use. If there were to be one standardized form to write in, but still many varieties to speak in, it would perhaps result in people adopting more positive attitudes towards Meänkieli. The Swedish Tornedalians’ Association’s (STR-T) recommendation for a standardized form of Meänkieli is that all varieties of the language are allowed and accepted as such (Winsa, personal communication, November 18, 2010). This recommendation, while tolerable, is neither practical nor functional.

Hyltenstam (1999, p. 131) states that the name changing from (Tornedalen) Finnish into Meänkieli [Our Language] has somewhat transformed the attitudes of the minority language-speakers into more positive ones. One of the reasons behind the name changing was to distinguish Meänkieli from Standard Finnish (Winsa, 1998, p. 20). Furthermore Winsa (1998) states that an even more important reason behind the name Meänkieli was to stress the speakers’ new collective identity. Today the name Meänkieli is synonymous with the language itself.

### Table 1. Skills in Finnish or Meänkieli (n=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Meänkieli</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaks the language</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaks a little</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaks some</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehends, but does not speak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaks both, but mixes them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the background questionnaires as many as 26 out of 30 informants have declared Swedish as their mother tongue, the rest of them (four) claim that they are bilingual. All of the bilinguals claim to have Finnish as their second language, not Meänkieli. When the informants are asked if they speak Finnish or Meänkieli, four of them claim to speak Finnish and seven claim to speak Finnish a

### The Informants

I interviewed two groups of high school students in Matarenki, Sweden for the first time in the fall of 2004 with a total of four such encounters over a two-year period. In all, 40 informants reported on their attitudes in essays on three different occasions and on three different topics:

1.) Vad är tvåspråkighet (för dig)? [What is bilingualism? (to you)]
2.) Kulturell identitet—beskriv Torndalen och en tornedaling. [Cultural identity—describe the Torne Valley and a Tornedalian.]
3.) Meänkieli. Varför eller varför inte? [Meänkieli. Why or why not?]

These informants have also filled in background questionnaires. The material gathered from the last (third) essay has been of particular interest and value when writing this article, since my main goal has been to find out how young people perceive Meänkieli; are their attitudes mainly positive or negative? (For different methods on gathering material for investigating language attitudes, see Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003, p. 39ff., p. 51ff.)

All 40 of the informants have never been present in all four of the encounters. In this article I will only present the results of those informants who have both filled in the questionnaire and taken part in writing all of the three essays, a total of 30 students. The first two tables consist of questionnaire answers to open-ended questions, whilst the third table consists of questionnaire answers to multiple-choice questions. Amongst the informants there are students represented who speak either Finnish or Meänkieli and students who cannot speak either Finnish or Meänkieli.
Eight of them say that they speak neither language. Three claim to have some [nägorlunda] knowledge of both languages and yet another three have answered the question only by "yes," not specifying which language they mean. Therefore I can only assume that these informants speak both languages. The distinction between a little and some in this table is made mainly because of word choices made by the informants in the background questionnaires. My interpretation of the words is that those students who speak some are somewhat more skilled than those who only speak a little. This is also backed by the finding that the students who speak some refer to both languages, whilst those who claim to speak a little refer only to the Finnish language. Four informants claim to comprehend either one or both languages. However, according to their own data they are not active users of the languages. Only one informant claims to speak both languages, but says she mixes them. The informant does not state clearly what she means by mixing (on what level: vocabulary, grammar or other?). No one claims to speak only Meänkieli. However, the ones who have reported that they speak/comprehend Finnish can also be said to speak or at least comprehend Meänkieli.

Table 2. Choice of language: Finnish/Meänkieli (n=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Meänkieli</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The informants were also asked which language they would choose, if they mastered both Finnish and Meänkieli, and which they would select if forced to choose between them. As many as 26 say that they would choose Finnish. Often they give extra comments on this question with phrases such as "Finnish, since Finnish is a (real) language."

Phrases such as this indicate that most students still do not consider Meänkieli as a language, but rather as a local variant of the Standard Finnish language. The Swedish loanwords in Meänkieli constitute one reason for the informants to treat Meänkieli as a vernacular rather than a language. Many comments were given stating that Meänkieli is not a real language, only a mixture of Finnish with Swedish loanwords incorporated.

Others comment on the fact, that Meänkieli is only spoken and understood on the border between Finland and Sweden (the Torne Valley). However, three informants chose Meänkieli and one of them gives this comment:

It depends. Living here on the border with Finland I would choose Meänkieli [...], then more people would understand the language and it's also an easier language.

These students clearly make a distinction between Meänkieli as a language of its own and as a dialect of Finnish. They also appreciate the fact that Meänkieli would be a unifying factor for all Tornedalians, both Swedish and Finnish.

The last of the 20 questions in the background questionnaire pertain to language used in the home with parents. I asked the informants to differentiate which language(s) they speak with their parents. Twenty-one of them claim to speak only

Table 3. Choice of language used with parents (n=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Only Swedish</th>
<th>Mostly Swedish, some Finnish and Finnish</th>
<th>Mostly Finnish, some Swedish</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Swedish with their mothers and almost as many (20) claim to speak only Swedish with their fathers. The students speaking only Swedish with their mothers are not all the same as those who only speak Swedish with their fathers. The language mix is more diverse with students having, for example, a Finnish mother and a Swedish father, although no direct research regarding family
Eight informants speak mostly Swedish but also some Finnish with their mothers, and seven informants report on using the same languages with their fathers. An interesting aspect here is that one informant, who earlier claimed to speak neither Finnish nor Meänkieli, now says that he speaks mostly Swedish with his parents but also some Finnish. One reason for this differentiating answer could be that the informant does not appreciate his own language skills, hence he claims to only speak one language (Swedish). Or else he belongs to the group of people who use Swedish in every other domain except at home (cf. e.g. Winsa, 1998, p. 23) and does not count the home domain language as a “use of language.”

Along with the informants mentioned above, there are another four informants: one who claims to speak equally as much Swedish and Finnish with his father, one who speaks mostly Finnish but also some Swedish with his father and one speaks only Finnish with his father. The last informant speaks equally as much Swedish and Meänkieli with his mother (marked in the table as Other).

The first category has to do with the geographic area in question. The Tomé Valley is considered to be a strong argument for anyone living in that area to speak or learn Meänkieli. Here are some excerpted comments from the essays concerning this matter:

1.) “...ett slags skyddspråk = hemligt och respektgivande, som bara en riktig tornedaling kan.” [some sort of protective language = secret and respectful that only a real Tornedalian can speak.]
2.) “...är en del av vår kulturhistoria...” [It’s part of our cultural heritage.]
3.) “...en fördel i Tornedalen.” [An advantage to master it in the Tomé Valley.]
4.) “... alla pratar det i Tornedalen.” [Everyone speaks it in the Tomé Valley.]
5.) “…ett måste att kunna i vår kommun...” [A must to master it in our municipality.]

The high school students clearly feel that Meänkieli is part of the geographical area as well as the cultural heritage and also that it belongs to the identity of being a Tornedalian.

The following examples concern the second category: the importance of the minority language itself. The outlook here is that the students have considered what sort of prestige the language itself (Meänkieli) has since it has been declared an official minority language.

6.) “viktigt att bevara eget minoritetspråk.” [It’s important to preserve our own minority language.]
7.) “minoritetsspråk ska man kanske försöka bevara.” [One should try whenever possible to preserve minority languages.]

8.) “sager ja till bevarande av språk, men behöver det inte själva.” [I’m positive towards preserving the minority language, but personally I don’t need it.]

Studying these comments, we can clearly see that the students are not certain of what Meänkieli really means to them or what a minority language means on a more mundane level. Even though this category is portrayed as a positive one, I feel that some phrases in the excerpts denote a slightly negative tone in their meaning: whenever possible and don’t need it are such phrases. The students seem to think that preserving a minority language is something that happens, without any effort and that language preservation is an issue for others to concern themselves with. They are not even sure of why “we” should be preserving minority languages.

9.) “lättare att förstå (än standardfinska), kan gissa ord.” [It’s easier to understand Meänkieli (than Standard Finnish), one can just guess the words.]

10.) “förenar oss med Finland.” [Meänkieli unites us with Finland.]

11.) “förenklar gränsområdet, men inte nödvändigt att kunna i resten av Finland eller Sverige.” [Meänkieli simplifies cross-border co-operation, but is not necessary to speak/master elsewhere in Finland or Sweden.]

12.) “folk slipper lära sig det finska språket.” [No one has to learn how to speak the Finnish language (if they can speak Meänkieli).]

According to the comments in this category, the students find that Meänkieli is more important to learn than Finnish, since it’s easier to understand and because the necessity of it on the border is greater. Finnish is portrayed as a difficult language, one that they would not have to learn if they mastered Meänkieli.

The comments in the last category are more diverse. They do not have a single unifying factor, hence the title Other(s). All excerpts refer to Meänkieli, except for the last one (17) which refers to both Meänkieli and Finnish.

13.) “skulle vara kul att lära sig.” [Meänkieli would be fun to learn.]

14.) “skadar inte att lära sig det.” [It wouldn’t hurt to learn the language (Meänkieli).]

Of all the subcategories the importance of the minority language elicited the fewest responses.

According to the results here, we can rely on the fact that just because a language is officially acknowledged as a minority language, it does not give these young people reason enough to preserve it solely based on that. Furthermore, what we find is that although the students feel it to be more or less important to preserve a minority language, they don’t feel that it’s important to maintain it by using it themselves. How, then, can we preserve Meänkieli, if we don’t have people to maintain it?

The last two categories are quite even when it comes to numbers of excerpts. The third category, Meänkieli vs. Finnish, contains seven comments and the last category, Other(s), contains eight comments. Firstly there are some excerpts that explain what the informants considered when comparing usage of Meänkieli to Finnish. The intention in this category is to enhance the positive features of Meänkieli.

15.) “bra för gamla som inte lärt sig engelska i skolan.” [Meänkieli is good for old people who haven’t learned English in school.]

16.) “bra som turistattraktion.” [Meänkieli would be a good tourist attraction.]

17.) “vore bra alt kunna meänkieli eller finska eftersom man måste läsa ca 100 poäng språk.” [It would be useful to learn Meänkieli or Finnish since we have to study at least 100 points’ worth of languages.] (For further information on the Swedish school system, see Skolverket, 2009).

In certain comments, such as number 17, languages are portrayed as being of common benefit. Both Meänkieli and Finnish are seen as useful languages, just like German, English or French. Since the students have to study at least two languages in school (cf. Skolverket, 2009), then why not a language that feels closer to home? Yet another comment (15) states that even old people need one (foreign) language to express themselves in, and since they (usually) do not have a good command of the English language, that “foreign” language could well be Meänkieli. And someone also points out that Meänkieli would be a great tourist attraction. This I could agree on, if only I knew what the informant really meant with the comment (16). How would it be possible to “sell” a language, or to market it as a tourist attraction?
Negative Attitudes towards Meänkieli

The following comments concerning Meänkieli (and/or Finnish) are of a negative quality. Compared to the positive ones (above 34 excerpts), the negative comments are almost even in number: 33 to be exact. I have also divided the negative comments into four subcategories (see Table 5 below).

In the essays the students wrote, amongst other things, about why they think that it would not be necessary to speak/learn Meänkieli and, if they could choose between Meänkieli and Finnish, what would be their choice? The answers were divided into three even groups: Finnish vs. Meänkieli, Usefulness (of the language) and Aesthetics (pertaining to the name of a language, and also to what a language sounds like). The fourth group Other(s) only garnered two comments. Some of these comments might belong to more than one group, but to ease interpretation, I have placed every comment in only one main group.

Table 5. Factors Against Meänkieli (n=33)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish vs. Meänkieli</th>
<th>Usefulness</th>
<th>Aesthetics</th>
<th>Other(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results can be read from the table below. As in the case of positive example excerpts, I have chosen words and phrases concerning negative aspects from the material, which have been translated from Swedish into English. The first category consists of 10 comments and below can be found a few examples, followed by my own interpretations. In this category the students explain how the Finnish language affects Meänkieli according to their opinions.

18.) "standardfinska självklart, man kommer länge med det." [Standard Finnish of course, you can get by more easily with it.]
19.) "finnarna kan inte förstå oss bara genom finska ändelser." [The Finns cannot understand us simply by putting Finnish suffixes on Swedish words.]
20.) "riksfinska är mer värt." [(Standard) Finnish has more worth (as a language).]
21.) "prioriterar 'riktig' finska, då kan man förstå både meänkieli samt standardfinska talare." [I prioritize real Finnish, then it's easier to understand both Standard Finnish and Meänkieli-speakers.]

It seems that the students think of Finnish as being the stronger language choice because Finnish is used in a larger area (Finland and parts of Sweden). Meänkieli is considered to be more tied to the geographic area of the Torne Valley, and therefore not the best choice if one would want to communicate with more people than those who live in the area. If we compare this negative factor—the geographic area—with the similar positive one, it looks like it has both positive as well as negative aspects to it. For those students who wish to stay on in the region, Meänkieli is a good choice, but for those who seek themselves elsewhere, learning Finnish would be of greater use.

The second category concerns the usefulness of Meänkieli: do the students feel that they can put their Meänkieli-language skills to good use? The following comments shed some light on the matter.

22.) "så få talar det, ingen nytta." [There are so few who speak Meänkieli, it's of no use.]
23.) "kommer att försvinna." [(Meänkieli) will vanish.]
24.) "inga ungdomar talar det." [Young people do not speak Meänkieli.]
25.) "det finns viktigare språk/säten att lära sig." [There are more important languages/subjects to learn than Meänkieli.]

Seen from the perspective of young people, one strong factor for not learning/speaking Meänkieli is that their peers do not speak it (example 24). It is understandable that if one's peers do not speak a language, there is greatly reduced social impetus to learn it. Meänkieli is often synonymous with "old folks" language, and so students conclude that the language will be extinct in the not so distant future. Therefore there are no valid reasons to study a language that no one is going to need. Most of the comments in this category were similar to example 25, i.e. there are more important languages or other (school) subjects to learn and Meänkieli is not considered
an “important” language (or subject in school). These sorts of comments come mostly from students who stated that they were going to leave their homes in Matarenki and go to study elsewhere (in only Swedish-speaking areas). Therefore they do not see the value in learning to speak Meänkieli or even to put the language to use, even if they happen to master it.

The third category, Aesthetics, has a somewhat mismatched name, but it pertains to the fact that the students comment on the image and the “look” of Meänkieli.

26.) “ingel specie/It vackerl språk.” [Not a particularly beautiful language.]
27.) “låter oseriöst.” [Doesn’t have street cred.]
28.) “namnet på språket är fel, låter som ett skämt.” [The name (Meänkieli = “Our language”) doesn’t sound right, sounds like a joke.]
29.) “ett fiantigt namn.” [A sissy name.]

These comments above show quite clearly why the students have such negative feelings towards Meänkieli, and the image that the language is portraying for them. Mostly it has to do with the name Meänkieli itself, as they do not think that this Finnish name for a minority language spoken in Sweden is an accurate one. Some commented on the fact that they do live in Sweden and that they are Swedes, even if the minority language is of Finnish origin. However, I did not ask the informants directly about whether they perceive Meänkieli as a language or a vernacular; therefore I cannot draw any direct conclusions about their opinions of Meänkieli being of Finnish origin.

Image and peer opinions are important to young people everywhere. If young people were to learn the minority language, maybe a good way to entice them into learning it would be to change the name. The informants themselves did not give name changing as an option, but the discussion in their essays came close to the idea. Give the name an image that the young ones can relate to. Or does the name, Meänkieli, hold such stability that it would not be meaningful to try and change it (Hyltenstam, 1999, p. 131)? Also, perhaps when these students grow up, they will feel differently about the name and the images they currently associate with it, won’t be such a big issue.

The last category, Other(s), only contains two comments, so I include them both as excerpted examples below.

30.) “orkar inte hjälpa till att bevara det genom att lära sig det.” [I don’t have the energy to learn the language (Meänkieli) in order to preserve it.]
31.) “vill inte ha det som skolämne.” [I don’t want Meänkieli as a(n obligatory) school subject.]

Even if the first of these two examples has been labelled as “negative,” it is not my impression that this is the complete truth. The student is not necessarily against Meänkieli, but cannot muster up the effort it takes to try and learn it. In order to preserve and maintain any language, one has to use it actively (Winsa, 1998, p. 20 f.). This requires a positive attitude as well as an effort, hence the negative labelling of this particular comment. The last comment (31) is common amongst young people if they feel forced to do something against their own will, but here the negative attitude towards something that is compulsory might also be combined with a negative attitude towards the language itself. Compare this with the situation for the Swedish language in Finland (Alvarez, 2005).

Discussion

The high school students portrayed in my study have both positive as well as negative attitudes towards and opinions of Meänkieli. On one hand they do comprehend that it is of utmost importance to speak/learn and maintain a minority language, but on the other hand they fail to see the importance of maintenance under the current circumstances pertaining to the status of the language. Therefore I cannot conclude that Meänkieli having received official status as a minority language has had any major impact on the positive attitudes of these high school students. A standardization of the language would probably have a more positive effect, since the students feel that it is difficult to learn a language that has no set rules of standards or rather has no single set of rules, but many.

The name of the language, Meänkieli, is one of the factors mentioned that seem to affect the status of the minority language (compared with Finnish or even Swedish). Meänkieli (the name) is conceived to belong to Finland and not to portray the fact that they live in Sweden and are Swedish citizens. They claim not to have negative attitudes towards Finland or the Finnish language, but they do think that the name of their own minority language should in some way reflect their identity of being Swedes, despite the fact that Meänkieli is not of the same language origin as Swedish. Another factor is peer opinions. The students
Tamminen: High School Students’ Attitudes

cannot master the language well enough to use it freely with their peers. They also consider Meänkieli to be “old folks’” language and therefore not interesting enough for themselves to pursue.

I do not think that by making Meänkieli an obligatory subject, students will maintain it by putting the language into active use. Compulsory subjects are not what students want, even though that is what the whole school system is built upon. I would suggest that the schools in the Torne Valley (who have children that want to learn the language) either create an integrated model where both Finnish and Meänkieli are taught, or that pupils could choose which language (if any) they would like to learn. The integrated model requires positive attitudes from all involved: school staff, parents, pupils, as well as the whole community. It also requires that at least the language teachers have sufficient skills in both Finnish as well as in Meänkieli.

It would also have been interesting to find out how many of these students plan to stay on in the area. They are still young, of course, and their plans might change many times yet. The closest University is in Luleå (about 95 miles/150 kilometers south of Matarenki), so if they want to educate themselves further, they have to move elsewhere. Maybe it would have served a better purpose to ask them whether they would consider coming back after having graduated? And if so, would this have an effect on their choice of language, i.e. would they choose to use Meänkieli or would they choose to speak only Swedish? These questions would be interesting to pursue in another study.

If the purpose was to enhance the attitudes towards Meänkieli amongst students, then some of the factors mentioned above should be taken into account. It would be of great value to let the students see how Meänkieli could be used in the community so that they feel that it is a language worth learning and speaking, not just an “old folks’ language” waiting for extinction.

The results indicate that a larger study investigating the reasons behind the attitudes would be welcome. A better knowledge in this study area would probably serve the young people who choose to stay on in the Torne Valley, giving them more reasons for continuing to use their own language and strengthening their positive attitudes towards it.

References


Book Review


At long last, we have a collection of Varpu Lindström’s pioneering articles in Finnish-Canadian women’s history in one place. These articles bring together her most important and award-winning work and most influential research into one publication. They span the range of her considerable career, from her early work on Finnish-Canadian settlements in Ontario and British Columbia to her latest research into the issues of Finnish-Canadian immigrants in Russian Karelia. Taken together, these articles provide broad insight into Lindström’s contributions to history and women’s studies research in Canada. From an international perspective, these articles provide a lens through which to view the struggles, contributions, and controversies of Finnish immigrant women in Canada as evidence of the issues of migration and integration into the larger global community.

Lindström’s opening article in this collection, “Utopia for Women? The Sointula Experiment, 1901-1905,” provides perspective on women’s roles in Matti Kurikka and A. B. Mäkäiliä’s Sointula Colony in British Columbia in. In it she examines the nature of women’s roles in the commune, including the important issues of equal rights, social security, and freedom from child care, as well as the freedom of women within the commune to control their own bodies in terms of sexual relations, the openness of discussions within the commune regarding sexual intercourse, and the freedom of individuals—including women and men—to engage or not to engage in sexual relations with any individual of his or her choosing and to initiate or terminate those relations at will. Lindström’s examination of the rights and roles within the context of the commune is set as the culminating factor in the eventual disintegration of the commune.

In the award-winning “I Won’t Be a Slave! Finnish Domestics in Canada,” Lindström examines the crucial role that domestic service played in attracting women to and subsequently shielding them from the harshest privations of immigrant life. It is based on her dissertation research which also yielded Defiant Sisters: A Social History of the Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada, 1890-1930. The article within this collection reminds us of the relatively high wage and consequent status within immigrant circles Finnish domestics enjoyed. It also examines how the status and wage of the Finnish domestic in Canada—in spite of the hard work which Finnish women were already accustomed to—created an influx of single women into the community, allowing for a relatively balanced gender ratio and also allowed for immigrant women to move out of domestic service and into other occupations as they became available.

In “The Radicalization of Finnish Farm Women in Northwestern Ontario,” Lindström utilizes ethnographic interviews with Taini Davis, daughter of Kirsti Pitkänen, to tell of the hardships and opportunities for social and political development for women in early twentieth century rural Ontario. The isolation, workload, and limited time available for social outlet are examined as part and parcel of the women’s radicalization in which these were both constraints on and motivation for radicalization. Finnish Canadian woman and girls were active within the immigrant farms communities in the Young Communist League, the Socialist Party of Canada, and other radical organizations. According to Lindström and her informant, international education opportunities were sought in the Soviet Union for the development of radicalization of Davis, as a young woman, partly in response of the isolation and lack of opportunity for growth within the party felt by Davis’s mother who, in turn, sought to create of her daughter a dedicated socialist. Privation of farm life figured highly in the radicalism of women and youth in Kivikoski, especially in response to the social problems concomitant with poverty and social isolation. As the second generation found more opportunities for social and economic development in the mainstream and with the blocks to upward mobility in Canadian society that
radicalization brought to young people, many moved away from socialist tenets and toward a mainstream political bent, albeit with a strong social conscience developed through participation in socially conscious upbringing. The article posits the radicalization of women as a founding feature of their later involvement in political life “beyond one’s own community or even country” (p. 96).

In the next article, “Finnish Women’s Experience in Northern Ontario Lumber Camps, 1920-1939,” Lindström discusses the prospects for work for Finnish women who, like their male counterparts, arrived alone and found much autonomy in selecting work. From working-class backgrounds and experienced in hard work, the universally literate Finnish immigrant women found work in lumber camps in northern Ontario via the newspapers written in the Finnish communities. Once in the camps, Finnish women strove to maintain propriety and needed “physical health, good strength, and self confidence” to be able to survive in the primitive conditions of the camps (p. 102). Finnish immigrant women, according to Lindström, “expected to work hard and to be in charge of their own reputation” and thus managed to do well in employ in the camps (p. 102). They attended to the cleanliness and provided good food in large quantities for the men in the camps. While the majority of Finnish women chose not to work in the camps, those who did were well compensated and able to save money as a result of the favorable pay in the camps. Social isolation and lack of health care for both families and women who worked at the camps is noted as limitation of such employment, but social benefits included the effects of unionization and political activism on women’s class-consciousness. Overall, Lindström finds that Finnish women raised living standards and social life in the camps and also supported men’s socialist and union activities that enhanced overall conditions in the camps. Finnish women, according to Lindström, served as pioneers and opened up the camps of northern Ontario to work by strong and healthy women.

In the final article of the collection, “Propaganda and Identity Construction: Media Representation in Canada of Finnish and Finnish-Canadian Women in the Winter War, 1939-1940,” Lindström examines how images of women in the popular media were manipulated to enhance support for Finland during the time of the Winter War. In the media, Lindström notes, admiration for tiny Finland as it stood up to the giant Russia was splashed across mainstream Canadian media. Early on, Finland, recognizing the need to be able to recruit international support, “provided the North American press with photos designed to depict a nation of civilized, healthy, athletic and beautiful people” (p. 126). The Finnish community in Canada, regardless of religious or social background, seized the opportunity to use this favorable media attention to solicit support for Finland’s war effort. Finnish and Finnish Canadian women were depicted as fair-haired, traditional, beautiful, emancipated, and womanly while simultaneously serving as soldiers and fundraisers, without much thought for the contradictions among these representations. The folk costume was wielded as a symbol of the Finnish women’s traditional values and strength, notwithstanding the fact that the costumes were worn only on rare ceremonial occasions within Finland. Other images included that of sturdy women factory workers. As the war progressed, images of women working in heavy industry—while maintaining their femininity—also became staples in the Canadian media as well as the educated emancipated Finnish woman who “received the right to vote eleven years before their Canadian sisters” (p. 137). Women in the Lotta Svärd organization with its uniformed soldiers were used to portray Finnish women as daring and brave soldiers fighting next to their men in contradiction to the reality of the organization which served as a “political auxiliary organization for conservative Finnish women.” (p. 140). Women were even depicted as fierce soldiers, serving together in a “fully mobilized army of women,” in an article Lindström observes as “bizarre” (p. 141). These diverse images of Finnish women were put to use in a fundraising effort into which the images of idealized Finnish-Canadian women were also added. Lindström closes the article by noting that the media portrayal of Finnish women “fit with exotic—but not too exotic— notions of ‘white goddesses,’ and in this manner makes productive use of ‘a normally marginal group of immigrant women in Canada’” (p. 146). Thus, Lindström leads us through the cycle of
production of a fleeting image of Finnish femininity as it is used to in Canada to promote support of Finland in its war effort, but also as a precursor to the publicity campaigns used to recruit Canadian women into the war industry and later into the armed forces.

Individually, these articles provide insight into the history of women in Canada in the various occupations they undertook. They also provide us a window into the workings and the importance of the activism and political consciousness of Finnish Canadian women in their multiple endeavors, from farming, to communal living, to employment as maids and domestics and camp cooks. Lindström also reminds us of the uses of the racialized and exotic images of Finnish women in the mainstream Canadian press as aspects of propaganda designed to produce a particular consciousness in the dominant society. As a collection, these essays draw together some of the most important and ground-breaking works to date from this award-winning scholar and researcher.

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