



The Standardisation of Lutheran Congregational Singing and Liturgical Melodies in Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria

SAMULI KORKALAINEN

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*The Standardisation of
Lutheran Congregational Singing and Liturgical Melodies
in Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria*

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Lutheran Congregational Singing and Liturgical Melodies
in Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria**

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Abstract

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This study focuses on attempts to standardise Lutheran congregational singing and liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. The research question is *how and why congregational singing was standardised both in general and in liturgical melodies in particular*. The purpose of the study is to gain a deeper understanding of the philosophical, theological, political and societal background of the standardisation process as well as the interaction between congregational singing and other (music) culture. My key concepts are standardisation, congregational singing and liturgical melodies.

The method of this study is a close and critical reading of sources. Rather than strictly following one particular theory, I applied many different theories and theoretical trends. My main research perspectives are local, translocal and transnational which I use to open up the nature of dynamic contexts and to analyse different levels of the process of standardising congregational singing and liturgical melodies. This study is based on printed and hand-written primary source materials, including hand-written chorale books and altogether twenty-two printed collections of liturgical melodies published in Finland and two in Ingria. The secondary source material was applied to provide the liturgical, cultural, administrative and political context in which these documents appeared.

There are three main chapters in this thesis. Firstly, I dig into the thoughts and ideas that created the inspiration for standardising congregational singing; this includes the aesthetics of Romantic philosophy, different trends of Lutheran theology as

well as political and societal changes and thoughts in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. From there, I turn my attention to what was done in practice; how was the standardisation process put into action, which phenomena impacted it and what kind of interaction there was between the Lutheran church and the other forms of Finnish and Ingrian (music) culture. The third main chapter focuses on the impact of the abovementioned thoughts and ideas and the process of standardising congregational singing on liturgical melodies. Local, translocal and transnational networks are evident in everything I explore, and the use of the concept of standardisation has proved useful.

Keywords: congregational singing, liturgical melodies, standardisation, church music, Finland, Ingria, nineteenth century, local, translocal, transnational

Tiivistelmä

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in Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria*

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Tässä tutkimuksessa syvennytään luterilaisen seurakuntalaulun ja messusävelmien standardointipyrkimyksiin 1800-luvun Suomessa ja Inkerinmaalla. Tutkimuskysymyksenä on, millä tavalla ja miksi seurakuntalaulua ja erityisesti messusävelmiä standardoitiin. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on saada syvällisempi käsitys standardointiprosessin filosofisesta, teologisesta, poliittisesta ja yhteiskunnallisesta taustasta sekä seurakuntalaulun ja muun (musiikki)kulttuurin vuorovaikutuksesta. Avainkäsitteitäni ovat standardointi, seurakuntalaulu ja messusävelmät.

Tutkimusmenetelmänä on lähteiden kriittinen lähiluku. En ole seurannut vain jotain tiettyä teoriaa, vaan hyödyntänyt monia erilaisia menetelmiä ja teoreettisia välineitä. Keskeisimpiä tutkimusnäkökulmiani ovat paikallinen, ylipaikallinen (translokali) ja ylijajainen (transnationaalinen), joita käytän dynaamisten kontekstien luonteen avaamiseen sekä seurakuntalaulun ja messusävelmien standardoimisen eri tasojen analysointiin. Tutkimus perustuu painettuun ja käsin kirjoitettuun primaariaineistoon, johon sisältyy käsin kirjoitettuja koraalikirjoja sekä yhteensä kaksikymmentäkaksi painettua messusävelmistöä Suomesta ja kaksi Inkerinmaalta. Sekundaarisen lähdeaineiston avulla olen hahmottanut sitä liturgista, kulttuurista, hallinnollista ja poliittista kontekstia, jossa nämä aineistot on tuotettu.

Tutkimuksessa on kolme päälukua. Ensiksi syvennyn niihin aatteisiin ja ajatusmalteihin, jotka olivat seurakuntalaulun standardoimisen taustalla. Näihin kuuluvat romanttisen filosofian estetiikka, luterilaisen teologian eri suuntaukset sekä poliittiset

ja yhteiskunnalliset muutokset ja aatteet 1800-luvun Suomessa ja Inkerinmaalla. Tämän jälkeen keskityn siihen, mitä tehtiin käytännössä: miten standardointiprosessia toteutettiin, mitkä ilmiöt vaikuttivat siihen ja millaista vuorovaikutusta oli luterilaisen kirkon ja muun suomalaisen ja inkeriläisen (musiikki)kulttuurin välillä. Kolmannessa pääluvussa keskiössä ovat messusävelmät, ja selvitän, miten edellä mainitut aatteet ja ajatusmallit sekä itse standardointiprosessi vaikuttivat niihin. Paikalliset, ylipaikalliset ja ylijärjestyneet verkostot tulevat ilmi kaikessa mitä tutkin, ja standardoinnin käsitteen käyttö osoittautuu hyödylliseksi.

Avainsanat: seurakuntalaulu, messusävelmät, standardointi, kirkkomusiikki, Suomi, Inkerinmaa, 1800-luku, paikallinen, ylipaikallinen, ylijärjestyneet

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I dedicate this book to my dear godchildren, Kalle, Paulus, Iris, Jouka, Kerttu and Aulis. I am not expecting you to follow in my footsteps but to find your own path, one that is intriguing, meaningful and unique. However, there is one wish I have for you: When it is your turn to travel and explore the world, please remember to send me postcards.

In Itä-Pasila, Helsinki, on Ash Wednesday 17 February 2021,

Samuli Korkalainen

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the first half of the nineteenth century, congregational singing in Finnish and Ingrian Evangelical Lutheran parishes was incoherent and disorganised. The books used in every Divine Service, i.e. Agenda (1693) and the Hymnal (1701) were more than a hundred years old as was the last published Chorale Book (1702). There were no comprehensive collections of liturgical melodies; liturgical singing in general was on the decline in comparison with earlier centuries. In the seventeenth century six different series of liturgical music were still used in Finland; at the beginning of the nineteenth century only one of them was left. Neither the Introit nor the Litany was recited anymore. Most importantly, people sang hymns and liturgical melodies with local chorale variants learned by heart, in other words, in a different way in every parish – or even every village.

While the educated classes were eagerly developing musical culture in Finnish and Ingrian societies – both among ordinary people and in the new arenas of high culture – congregational singing was also being standardised. In this process the liturgical melodies shifted from monophonic Gregorian chant to polyphonic and accompanied liturgical music. Pastors, teachers and musicians acted locally, yet the phenomenon was transnational. Parallel processes were under way in other regions in Lutheran Europe, e.g. in Sweden, Germany and the Baltics, and the local changes in Finland and Ingria took place in active contact with European trends.

1.1 Theoretical Framework, Methods and Related Studies

The aim of this study is to explore the attempts to standardise Lutheran congregational singing and liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. My research question is, *how and why congregational singing was standardised both in general and in liturgical melodies in particular*. The purpose of the study is to gain a deeper understanding of the philosophical, theological, political and societal background of the standardisation process as well as the interaction between congregational singing and other (music) culture. In other words, the goal is to outline local processes in Finland and Ingria and place them in a broader, transnational (music) cultural, philosophical, theological, political and societal context.

My key concept is ‘standardisation.’ Nineteenth-century debaters did not talk about it but usually used the word ‘improvement,’ which was understandable from their point of view; they considered the vernacular singing style and standard in the parishes modest. Nevertheless, when assessing the state of congregational singing in eighteenth-and-nineteenth-century Europe, it is worth remembering that unaccompanied unison congregational singing should rather be seen as folk music, not as art music. According to Hannu Vapaavuori (1997, 96–97), ordinary people did not participate in the discussion about congregational singing in Finland. According to my own research, the situation was similar in Ingria. Authors who dealt with the topic in the newspapers were principally pastors, more schooled churchwardens and members of the educated classes, including some professional musicians.

Therefore, it is likely that ordinary people were satisfied with their singing and did not see any reason to improve it. According to the Finnish folk music scholar, Heikki Laitinen (2003, 16–18), the same was true in the discussion about music between the gentry and ordinary people in general; it was not equal in quantity or value. The former was a small crowd, but it had all the power. The people were not yet a nation, nor had they a common heritage but rather many different kinds of traditions. The upper classes created the concept of ‘nation’ and decided what kind of music could legitimately express it. Hymn-singing was, however, an exceptional phenomenon because it crossed the different strata; regardless of the social position, everybody sang from the same books and in the same churches.

The Finnish ethnomusicologist and collector of Finnish folklore, Erkki Ala-Könni (1975, 198–199), defined nineteenth-century congregational singing as folk music. According to him, singing chorale variants in unison, rich in ornament and based on oral tradition, was the traditional main genre of spiritual folk music. He called these variants ‘folk chorales.’ Nineteenth-century Lutheran congregational singing in Finland and Ingria was thus not poorly sung or unskilled art music but spiritual folk music that the art-music-oriented elite did not consider high-quality music. From this point of view, it would be misleading to see the process as an improvement. As a researcher, it is not my task to take a stand on whether congregational singing became better or worse; instead, I am merely describing the process that led to its standardisation.

Theoretical Framework

This study falls most naturally within the area of the cultural history of music. The present-day cultural history in Finland belongs to the so-called new histories that have grown since the 1980s. Common to these approaches is the effort to make visible what has previously been hidden. Among other things, everyday history has been important; in history, life is not lived by quantities, nations and numbers, but by concrete people in a concrete time and space (Immonen 2001, 19). Music history is also more than studying sheet music and making music analysis; both of these achieve only a small part of how music has been present in the everyday lives of past generations (Sarjala 2002, 177).

Cultural history assumes that all social forms, intellectual categories, systems of representation, fields of objects and discourses as well as human infrastructures are historical in nature. This emphasises the placement of phenomena in time and space, not their commitment to continuity or categories of progress. There are several levels of time and space present simultaneously and in parallel. Together they form an on-going whole that is unique in each moment in its own special way; i.e. a multi-layered present. Moreover, the basic idea of cultural history is that human activity is culturally determined in all respects; all our activities and our whole world of life are cultural in the sense of cultural history. This perspective is deepened by the idea that culture is divided into a deep structure and a level of activity. Every culture has certain *a priori* rules that guide a person in daily activities as well. They explain why cultural order exists and what structures it. The study of cultural history is also holistic; every historical present is a totality to which all phenomena belong. It is also about dialogue; two present times, the time of the scholar and the time of the past, are reflective of each other. The relationship of cultural history to history is active; i.e. it sees history and historical knowledge as a key structuring of a human presence in the world and future orientation (Immonen 2001, 20–25).

All of this means that cultural history encounters life in all its richness, without hierarchical valuation. It makes no distinction between everyday life and celebration, elite and popular, high and low, or ordinary people and those in power. Different areas of culture are structured as equal objects of human choices, parts of a lifestyle (Immonen 2001, 25). In the cultural history of music, music is not encased in sheet

music, nor in the traditional language of music theory; it is not an object with a precise outline but a wide area and a network of meanings. Music spreads to society and is intertwined with different phenomena; the researcher encounters all sorts of things from sensibility (*Sinnlichkeit*) and the construction of identities to politics and social tensions (Sarjala 2002, 177).

I have chosen an interdisciplinary approach to the cultural history of music, which means that this thesis draws on many fields. From the perspective of cultural-historical music research, music is an integral part of society, closely intertwined with various social phenomena and meanings; interdisciplinarity is required for this precise reason. The researcher of cultural history is interested in how a member of a culture, i.e. the one who observes and experiences, is acting. The focus is not only on cultural products or their values and meanings, which in my case refers to various musical works. Cultural history does not view art only as art, nor does it seek to value it by taking a stand on whether it is good or bad. Art is one way of structuring the world and through it, one area of cultural and lifestyle choices. I am thus interested in the grassroots level and the ordinary human experience and not only in the structure of macro-level (high) culture. I analyse my material from the perspective of socio-political factors, such as human interaction and everyday history. Although my research also includes traditional analysis based on notation and description of the features of music, I am not limited only to that, as it alone easily ignores how music has been present in the lives of people of times past. In this study, music is an area or network of meanings where a wide range of issues are encountered, from sensuality and the construction of identities to politics and social tensions. Music spreads to society and is tightly intertwined with different phenomena and meanings (Immonen 2001, 25; Sarjala 2002, 176–185).

In recent years, I have also acquainted myself with another interdisciplinary field within which I naturally place this research, namely Christian Congregational Music Studies. The research of hymns and liturgical melodies has traditionally concentrated on lyrics and melodies; many historical volumes published on church music have focused on composers, works and musicians. In addition, it is problematic that the existence of music has been considered first and foremost as an art form rather than as liturgical or congregational practice.

The lack of reflections of church musicians and lay-people, the experiences and meanings formed by and in congregational singing situations has led to a narrow perspective. During the last decade, the field of Christian Congregational Music Studies has expanded that perspective by combining a variety of approaches, such as musicology, theology and ethnomusicology, as well as history, all of which discuss congregational music from different perspectives. According to Mark Porter (2014, 154–155), congregational studies, practical theology, ritual studies and liturgical studies, as well as turns to ethnography in theology and ethics, have laid the foundation for increased interdisciplinarity regarding the studies of congregational music and worship practices. Despite this development, music still tends to be seen ‘as something of an outsider, set apart as its own field of study and finding itself largely absent from the developments of these interdisciplinary fields.’

Porter (2014, 156) thus underlines the impact of ethnomusicology on interdisciplinary congregational music studies. Ethnomusicology has broadened the research of music beyond the Western art music canon and at the same time increased the diversity of disciplinary tools necessitated by such studies. Ethnomusicology, underlines Porter, has not been the only discipline to make important contributions, but it has served to underline the potential of Christian congregational music as a field of study in its own right and has encouraged further conversations across disciplinary boundaries.

Based on my own experience (cf. Porter 2014, 159–165), Christian Congregational Music Studies scholars represent such disciplines as theology, history, ethnomusicology, popular music studies, religious studies, inter-cultural studies, sociology, liturgical studies and psychology, among others. With such interdisciplinarity, the art music canon has been mostly replaced by questions of musical understanding, power structures, political relationships, identities and social and cultural values, just to name a few.

Main Research Perspectives: Local, Translocal and Transnational

As is typical for this kind of historical research, I am not using only one particular theory; I combine influences from different theories and theoretical trends. I structure the research object by raising the level of abstraction of the study with the help of conceptualisation (Danielsbacka *et al.* 2018, 11–13).

In recent decades global history has been regarded as a history of entanglement and interconnectedness. This kind of refocusing has meant discharging the limitations of nationalist historiographies as well as a historical meta-narrative of ‘global’ developments (Freitag and von Oppen 2010, 1–2). My approach is in line with this kind of thinking. I am using local, translocal and transnational perspectives to open up the nature of dynamic contexts, and to analyse different levels of the process of standardising congregational singing and liturgical melodies. However, there are no fully shared general definitions of these concepts in historical research, so it is necessary to open up their use in this study.

In nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria, most Lutheran parishioners lived a relatively immobile life; i.e. they mostly stayed in their home villages and home parishes. Consequently, they experienced the changes described in this thesis locally. They became acquainted with instruments previously unknown to them; they listened to – or even participated in – four-part singing in their parish church or local school; they encountered new religious movements and nationalist ideas, *et cetera*. All this happened in the local environment conducted by pastors, churchwardens, primary school teachers and other schooled people. The ideas however came often from far away and flowed from place to place.

This thesis is thus an area study of two closely related regions, Finland and Ingria. The challenges of these kinds of studies have historically been that they have promoted localism and regional limitation in such a way that there have also been blind spots. Consequently, an intermediary concept of ‘translocality’ has been created for better understanding and conceptualising connections beyond the local since they are neither necessarily global in scale nor inevitably connected to global moments (Freitag and von Oppen 2010, 3). In earlier research, the notion of translocality drew attention to various forms of mobility without losing sight of the importance of localities in peoples’ lives. Seen as a way of situating de-territorialised notions of transnationalism, which focus largely on social networks and economic exchanges, translocality takes an agency-oriented approach to transnational experiences (Brickell and Datta 2011, 3).

I here use the translocal perspective to analyse networks and contacts between individual agents and regions across parochial, municipal and regional borders as well as an interaction between people who spoke the same language, shared the same

denomination or had a common historical background with their neighbouring regions and countries. I do not want to see translocalities only as specific areas or border zones with intense interaction but, like Freitag and von Oppen (2010, 5), use the concept more broadly, i.e. both as a tool and a research perspective. As a tool 'translocality' describes the abovementioned empirical phenomena, whereas as a perspective it conceptualises research on these phenomena.

In the descriptive sense, we refer to translocality as the sum of phenomena which result from a multitude of circulations and transfers. It designates the outcome of concrete movements of people, goods, ideas and symbols which span spatial distances and cross boundaries, be they geographical, cultural or political. Translocality as a research perspective, in contrast, more generally aims at highlighting the fact that the interactions and connections between places, institutions, actors and concepts have far more diverse, and often even contradictory effects than is commonly assumed. (*Ibid.*)

I also use the notion of 'transnationalism,' although it would not be necessary. If translocality is understood according to Freitag and von Oppen's view presented above, as a wide concept, various possible spatial orders are taken as its starting point. The concept assumes a large number of possible boundaries which might be transgressed, including but not limited to political ones. From this perspective, transnationalism could be considered a special case of translocality (Freitag and von Oppen 2010, 12). However, due to the unique geographical and political context of nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria, I have considered it useful to make a distinction between translocality and transnationalism. The first one refers to connections between Finland and Ingria that were historically and culturally bound together in many ties but that were clearly distinct regions and belonged to different Lutheran churches. The translocal view also helps to outline connections between towns, for instance, Saint Petersburg and Helsinki, or even within the borders of the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland. A transnational point of view, on the other hand, is a useful tool for studying flows between different countries and empires. To put it simply, in this thesis, the local dimension refers to one parish or municipality, translocality to an interaction between different towns, regions and dioceses within the geographic area of this study, whereas the transnational view is used to examine pan-European impact or Lutheranism as a whole.

The transnational dimension has been seen as a project to reconstruct processes and contacts of the human past that transcend any one nation-state, empire or other politically defined territory, i.e. focusing more on movement of objects, people, ideas and texts across boundaries. As Isabel Hofmeyr has put it:

The key claim of any transnational approach is its central concern with movements, flows and circulation, not simply as a theme or motif but as an analytical set of methods which defines the endeavour itself. Put another way, a concern with transnationalism would direct one's attention to the "space of the flows". (Citation from Brown *et al.* 2010, 232.)

Steven Vertovec (2009, 3) makes a distinction between 'inter-national' and transnational. The former refers to an interaction between national governments or 'to-ing and fro-ing' of items from one nation-state context to another, whereas the latter applies to constant linkages and ongoing exchanges among non-state actors based across national borders, such as businesses and non-governmental organisations as well as individual sharing of religious beliefs, common cultural and geographic origins and other kinds of interests. Transnationalism refers widely to the collective features of such connections, their constructing and maintaining processes as well as their wider implications.

Local actors who standardised congregational singing in the parishes of Finland and Ingria were also influenced by broader pan-European thoughts and ideas, not only by notions arriving from surrounding regions. Such mobility of conceptions, texts and artefacts – and the fact that they also reached these outlying areas of Europe – was possible due to three reasons: newspapers that were published increasingly towards the end of the century, the interaction between people who travelled more and more and people moving from Central Europe to Finland and Saint Petersburg (Lehtonen 1994, 31).

Methods

The main method of this study is a close and critical reading of sources. It includes three different kinds of methods. Firstly, source analysis considers the time and place of the composition of the material in question as well as its relationship to other comparable documents. The review also includes analysing the situations that affected the content, assessing the text genres, determining what is relevant to the goals and objectives of the thesis and defining the significance of the research material by comparing its similarities and differences to the related source material. Secondly, the research material is also examined and critically evaluated in the context of the history of the period. By contextualising, I aim to understand and describe the phenomenon under study in its theological, social, political and cultural contexts. Thirdly, the reasoning is done by writing; words and expressions are therefore not only related to the clarity and comprehensibility of the text but are also the tools I use to make selections. Thus, the structure of the thesis that results from my research process is a research result in itself; I do not think of it just as a structural solution to the text (Danielsbacka *et al.* 2018, 14).

Due to a lack of comprehensive sources or material, I have here and there had to extract information from fragmentary material and to track clues through multiple sources to discover hidden connections. In other words, I have attempted to solve a jigsaw puzzle of separate pieces.

Main Related Studies

Until the present time, there has been only one broad study about congregational singing in nineteenth-century Finland and no comprehensive inquiry into the topic in Ingria. Hannu Vapaavuori's 1997 dissertation in practical theology, *Virsilaulu ja heräävä kansallinen kulttuuri-identiteetti. Jumalanpalveluksen virsilaulua ja -sävelmistöä koskeva keskustelu Suomessa 1800-luvun puolivälistä vuoteen 1886*¹ is the closest study related to this thesis. It explores how the awakening of national cultural identity in nineteenth-century Finland influenced the development of hymn melodies and congregational singing in the Lutheran Church. Vapaavuori explores the theological and

1 *Hymn singing and the awakening national cultural identity. Hymn singing and hymn melodies: The debate on their use in the Finnish church between the late 1840s and 1886.* English translation of the title by Andrew Stevenson and Lotta Vapaavuori (Vapaavuori 1997, 5).

political justifications that were applied to improve congregational singing, those who were actively involved in the debate and by what means they taught parishioners and finally, what process led to the authorisation of the new Finnish and Swedish Hymnals by the General Synod in 1886.

In this study, I row partly in the same waters with Vapaavuori. Nevertheless, my point of view and research question differs from his. Whereas Vapaavuori stays inside the Lutheran Church and focuses on the debate in the Finnish newspapers, I aim to widen the research horizon by making a comparison on the one hand, between the Church and the surrounding society, and on the other hand, between Finland and its neighbouring regions as well as Lutheran Europe as a whole. This is how I can show that the Lutheran Church was not a separate section of society, nor were Finland and Ingria isolated from the ideas and movements on the continent. The intellectual historical background is also handled more widely and deeply in this thesis by outlining the common philosophical, theological, cultural and political atmosphere of the time. With this approach, a deeper understanding of the motives of people active in the process of standardising congregational singing has been achieved. As opposed to Vapaavuori's thorough orientation mainly to hymns, I am focusing more on liturgical melodies, which complements his research. Finally, the geographical boundaries of Vapaavuori's work are limited to Finland, whereas this thesis covers Ingria as well.

Another closely related study is Kaarlo Jalkanen's dissertation from 1976 in church history, *Lukkarin- ja urkurinvirka Suomessa 1809–1870*² as well as another study two years later (K. Jalkanen 1978), covering the years between 1870 and 1917. Jalkanen studies the nature of the work and the social status of churchwardens and organists. He focuses on their remuneration, manifold duties, the appointment to the posts, legislative reforms affecting them and the aims of the overall re-organisation of their training. Jalkanen touches on many of the topics of this study, but from a musical point of view, not deeply enough. Because of his research perspective, everything related to music is only one interest among others. Jalkanen limits his attention to the churchwardens and organists, whereas I am interested in other agents as well, for instance, pastors and primary school teachers.

2 *The professions of precentor and organist in Finland 1809–1870*. English translation of the title by Peter Jones (K. Jalkanen 1976, 362). Jones uses the English word 'precentor,' whereas I am using the word 'churchwarden' (see Chapter 1.3).

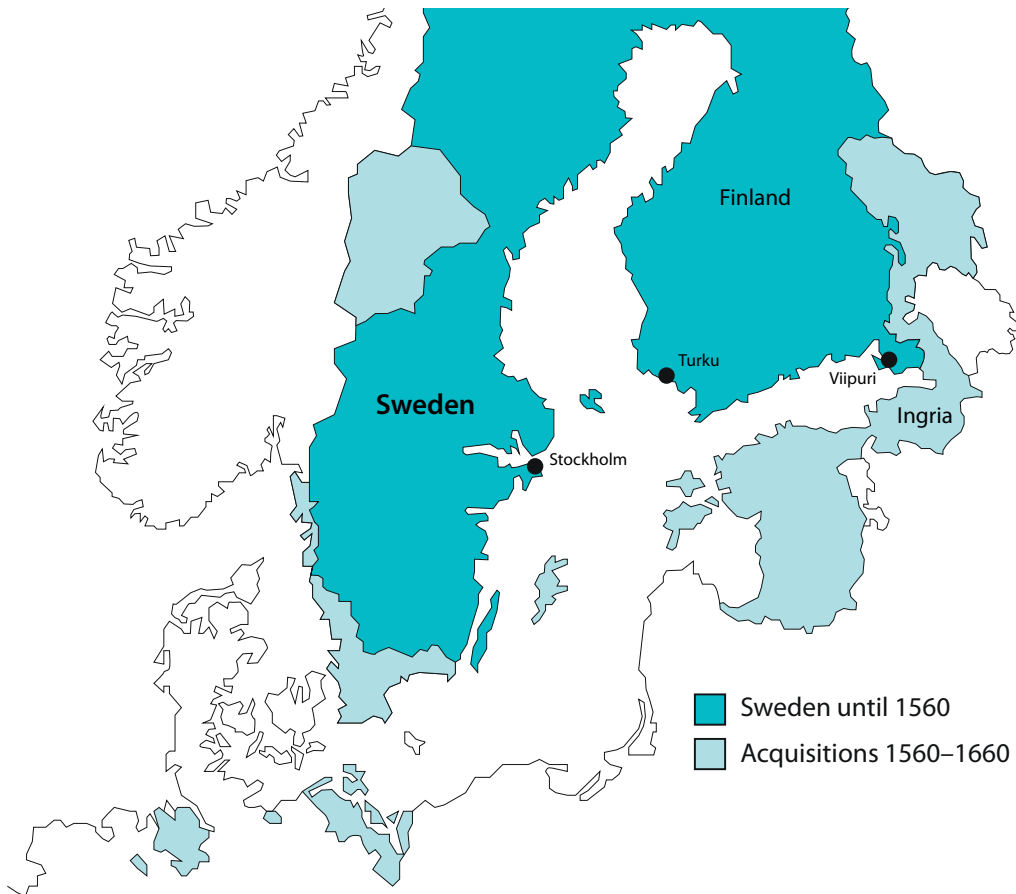
Canonical and National Music History

In Finland, as in many other countries, music history has long been written as an inevitable success of national art music culture. Many studies have emphasised national continuity that extends from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present day. The most important person in the canon of Finnish music has been the composer Jean Sibelius (1865–1957). Along with – and based on – the national canon, the aim of music history has also been to demonstrate the value of Western art music (see e.g. Sarjala 2002, 12–15). A similar orientation has limited the research of Finnish church music history. Despite many high-quality studies, there have been blind spots, one of the most significant of which has been the nineteenth century. Presumably, the reason has been that ‘chaotic’ congregational singing as well as the scarcity and simplicity of liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland have not met the standards that were later set, nor the style and level that was later achieved.

The impact of national music history and the musical canon on Finnish church music was discussed very little in prior related studies. Reijo Pajamo and Erkki Tuppurainen (2004), for instance, do not analyse the effect of nationalism in any way in their extensive work on the history of Finnish church music, although the words ‘nationalisation’ and ‘nationality’ appear in the titles. They have titled the chapter dealing with the years 1870–1917 *Kirkkomusiikin kansallistuminen* (‘Nationalisation of Church Music’; *ibid.*, 225–345). The Finnish word *kansallistuminen* is passive in nature, which, strictly interpreted according to the title, means that nationalisation just happened by itself. If the process had been active, there would have been the word *kansallistaminen*, which is active in nature; the actors, however, being different from the ordinary people. The process of nationalisation of church music was active, as Vapaavuori (1997) has shown. Nevertheless, he does not mention the Finnish word *nationalismi* (nationalism) in his dissertation at all, even though he explains the political and cultural changes as well as national thoughts and ideas that had an impact on hymn-singing. However, it is worth remembering that nationalism was translated into Finnish as *kansallisuusaate* (literally, ‘idea or ideology of nationality’) in the nineteenth century and since then, this word has been used. In more recent studies, the word *nationalismi* has been used more but not in studies related to the history of Finnish church music. *Kansallisuusaate* is perceived as a more neutral word than *nationalismi*. Nevertheless, Ilkka Liikanen (2005, 222) points out that the concept of

nationalismi has been used little in Finnish historiography overall due to a desire to distance the process in Finland from national movements in other countries. Therefore, the notion of ‘national awakening’ (*kansallinen herääminen*) has been used to underscore the uniqueness of the Finnish process. That is also the word Vapaavuori (1997) uses, even in his title.

In the past twenty years, there has also been a different kind of research. Especially in the area of the history of organ music, composers who have been left out of the canon and therefore partly forgotten have been highlighted. Peter Peitsalo (2003, 2015 and 2017) has studied Sulo Salonen (1899–1976) and the New Objectivity (*Neue Sachlichkeit*), Torsten Stenius’ (1918–1964) conception of *musica sacra* and Lauri Hämäläinen’s (1832–1888) liturgical organ music. Ville Urponen (2003) has examined Väinö Raitio (1891–1945) as an organ composer, whereas Jan Lehtola (2017) has raised from oblivion the American pianist and organist William H. Dayas (1863–1903), who lived in Helsinki for a few years in the 1890s.



Map 1. Swedish Kingdom as a Great Power in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Geographic Area and Time Frame

Geographically this thesis covers the area of the Grand Duchy of Finland as well as Ingria³. The inclusion of Ingria in this study is based on the unique relationship between these two areas. In the nineteenth century, Finland and Ingria were parts of the same Russian Empire, shared the same language and major denomination, and had a tight historical bond; as Finnish-speaking Lutherans, together they formed a significant minority that differed both religiously and linguistically from the majority of the population in the Eastern Orthodox and Russian-speaking empire. However, Ingria was not part of the Grand Duchy of Finland but outside its borders. From an administrative perspective, Ingrian Lutheran parishes were closer to the Baltic countries than to Finland; from a liturgical perspective, they followed the Baltic-German tradition, which was of Prussian origin, whereas Finland shared its liturgical tradition with Sweden. Consequently, Ingria belonged to the same religious, linguistic and cultural sphere as Finland, but also differed from it in a significant way. This kind of unique and intriguing relationship gives rise to an interesting comparison. However, Ingria is handled more narrowly in this study than Finland for the simple reason that much less research material is available; during the Soviet era, an enormous amount of the material about Ingria was destroyed and disappeared. In addition, Ingria was a small region compared to Finland as a whole, which naturally means that it will not receive an equal share in this dissertation.

Ingria was a Russian region extending from the Finnish border at that time on the Karelian Isthmus to Saint Petersburg and beyond, continuing to the Estonian border. After the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617 when Ingria was annexed to the Kingdom of Sweden (see Maps 1 and 2), the region was settled by Lutheran Finns; the original population consisted of Votes⁴, Izhorians⁵ and Russians, all of whom were Eastern Orthodox. By the 1660s, Ingrian Finns made up the majority of the area's inhabitants. After the Battle of Poltava in 1709, Ingria was ceded back to Russia. Even though the city of Saint Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) in 1703, was in the middle of Ingria, Lutheranism remained the principal religion and Finnish was the language most spoken in the Ingrian countryside.

3 *Inkeri* or *Inkerinmaa* in Finnish, *Ингерия* or *Ингерманландия* in Russian, *Ingermanland* in Swedish and German, *Ingeri* or *Ingerimaa* in Estonian.

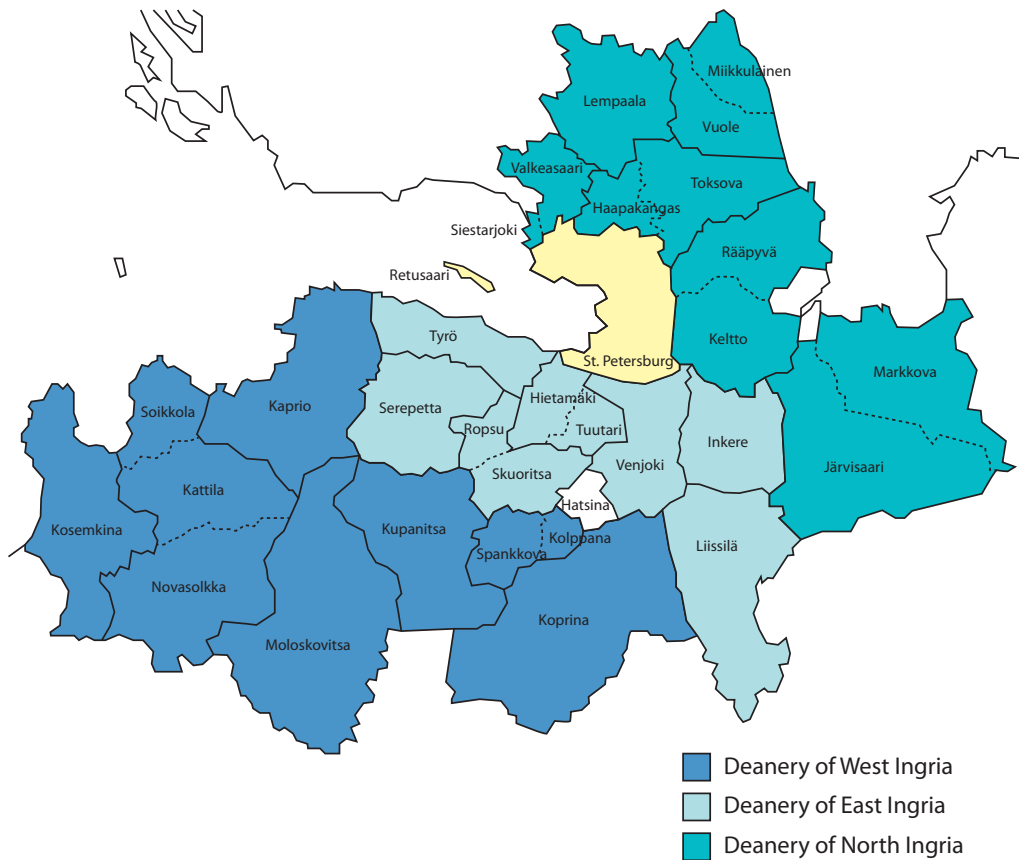
4 *Vatjalaiset* in Finnish, *Vađđalaizõd* in Votic.

5 *Inkerikot* or *inkeroiset* in Finnish, *žora* in Izhorian.



Map 2. Baltic provinces of the Swedish Kingdom in the seventeenth century.

Ingria was a multi-ethnic region; among Finnish, Votic, Izhorian and Russian villages, German colonies were established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Estonians started to move to Western Ingria, and they made up a third of the inhabitants in some municipalities. However, the interaction between different ethnic groups was restrained and, for example, there were few mixed marriages. Even Ingrian Finns were divided into two groups that did not always tolerate each other; the *äyrimöiset* had moved from Äyräpää in eastern Karelian Isthmus, whereas the *savakot* had moved mostly from Savo region but also from the Jääski and Lappee jurisdictional districts (Hakamies 1991; Sihvo 1991). From my research perspective, the differences between these Lutheran Finnish groups are irrelevant, and therefore I will speak only about Ingrian Finns.



Map 3. Ingrian Lutheran parishes and deaneries in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The connections between Finland and Ingria had been close, but when Finland was incorporated into the Russian Empire as a Grand Duchy in 1809, they became even closer. Nevertheless, despite these connections between Finland and Ingria, Finnish Lutheran parishes in Ingria were not a part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. The administration of these parishes (see Map 3) was somewhat undefined until 1832 when they became part of the Saint Petersburg Consistorial district, which belonged to the Lutheran Church of Russia, along with the Baltic countries and some other Lutheran minority groups in the Russian Empire. For that reason, Ingria started to follow a different liturgical tradition than Finland. Most of the pastors of the Ingrian parishes came from Finland, and the Finnish Hymnal and one of the Finnish chorale books were in use, but the church administration and the liturgy were different.

It is also worth remembering that Saint Petersburg was home to a large number of Finns who were not Ingrian Finns but subjects to the Grand Duchy of Finland. Finnish Finns were held in higher esteem than Ingrian Finns, who were Russian subjects and often considered penurious provincials because they were serfs until 1861. Saint Mary's Finnish Parish was one of the meeting places for these two groups of Finns. Throughout the nineteenth century, more and more people moved from Finland to Saint Petersburg. While it is impossible to get an exact figure, by the 1880s, more than twenty thousand Finns lived in the city, not including Ingrian Finns. The Saint Petersburgian Finns had close connections to their homeland; many of them sent their children to Finland to complete the matriculation examination because it was not possible at the Saint Petersburg Finnish Church School, and from the 1880s onwards, many Ingrian Finns also sent their children to Finnish schools (Engman 2004, 16, 112–118, 498, 503).

The period covered in this study is around the nineteenth century. Many relevant things happened around the turn of the nineteenth century, and some processes continued into the twentieth century, which is why the exact starting and ending years are difficult to give. I open up these a bit here. Both the first printed chorale book and the collection of liturgical melodies were published in 1837, but many of the hand-written chorale books, which belong to my primary material, are from the time prior to that time. The discussion of the liturgy started at the end of the eighteenth century and was actively going on both in Russia and Sweden, as well as in Finland, during the first decades of the nineteenth century. In Finland, the new process of compiling an official chorale book and a collection of liturgical melodies started in 1903 and lasted about twenty years; it is worth its own research, especially because there is a huge amount of different kinds of research material on it. For that reason, my research on Finland ends in 1903. As for Ingria, on the other hand, I continue for another three years because, after a process that started in the 1880s, a collection of liturgical melodies was published in 1906 and it was the last one in Ingria. In addition, the political climate in the Russian Empire changed crucially at the turn of the century; the Russian government started a Russification policy whose aim was to abolish the cultural and administrative autonomy of non-Russian minorities throughout the entire empire. It meant difficult times for all national minority groups, including the Ingrian Finns, and many musical, ecclesiastical and national endeavours dried up (Luther 2000, 89–90; Murtorinne 2015, 186–187).

Other Related Studies

To make a comparison between Finland, Ingria and neighbouring countries, of particular importance are the studies of Anders Dillmar from Sweden and Toomas Siitan from Estonia. Dillmar's doctoral dissertation *"Dödsbugget mot vår nationella tonkonst": Häffnertidens koralreform i historisk, etnohymnologisk och musikteologisk belysning*⁶ (2001) provides a broad view of congregational singing in nineteenth-century Sweden, paying attention to the aesthetics of the chorale and the theology of music of the time. He has studied the actual singing and playing practices in an 'ethno-hymnological'⁷ approach. The main character of the study is Johann Christian Friedrich Häffner (1759–1833), who had a great impact on congregational singing and liturgical melodies in Finland as well.

Siitan's dissertation *Die Choralreform in den Ostseeprovinzen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des protestantischen Kirchengesangs in Estland und Livland*⁸ (2003) analyses the reform of congregational singing in Estonia and Livonia in the first half of the nineteenth century. In this process, the central place was occupied by German pastor Johann Leberecht Ehregott Punschel's (1778–1849) writings on the aesthetics of congregational singing and by his Chorale Book, first version, published in 1839. Punschel's activities, like Häffner's in Sweden, were directly associated with the Protestant restoration movement in the first half of the nineteenth century, and their ideas about aesthetics are intelligible only when projected onto the background of German publications of their contemporaries. Similar thoughts also found their way to Finland and Ingria, but Häffner and Punschel had also a more direct effect through their notebooks. Many Finnish chorale books, one of which was also used in Ingria, and collections of liturgical melodies were based on Häffner's Chorale Book (1820–1821) and his and Olof Åhlström's (1756–1835) collections of liturgical melodies (1799, 1817 and 1818). Punschel's Chorale Book was used in Ingria, at least the accompaniments for liturgical melodies.

6 *"The stab of death to our national art of music": The chorale reform during the time of Häffner in elucidation of history, ethnohymnology and theomusicology.* English translation of the title by Dillmar (2001, 502).

7 Ethno-hymnological is a concept created by Dillmar himself, but it has neither been generalised nor established in the later research of hymnology.

8 'The Chorale reform in the Baltic Provinces in the first half of the nineteenth century. A contribution to the history of Protestant church-singing in Estonia and Livonia.' English translation of the title by the author of this thesis.

There are many studies concerning the liturgy in Sweden and Finland, written by, for instance, Edvard Rodhe (1923), Carl Henrik Martling (1992) and Christer Pahlmblad (1998) in Sweden, and G.O. Rosenqvist (1935), Olavi Rimpiläinen (1980), Martti Parvio (1988 and 1992) and Jyrki Knuutila (2007 and 2011) in Finland. Instead, almost all the information in this thesis about the Russian Lutheran liturgy, the Baltic-German liturgical tradition in Russia and Baltic countries and their origins in Prussia is based on a 2013 study by Lithuanian theologian and scholar of church history Darius Petkūnas, *Russian and Baltic Lutheran Liturgy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*.

The church history of nineteenth-and-twentieth-century Finland is still partly unwritten, a situation that also applies in part wider to the history of church music. There are many studies about prior liturgical music and manuscripts, also published in recent years, especially by Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen (e.g. 2010 and 2016), as well as about later liturgical and musical development in the twentieth century, for instance, by Anna Maria Böckerman (2005, 2010 and 2011). This study fills in a lacuna in the research of nineteenth-century liturgical music in Finland. As for Ingria, there are no studies whatsoever concerning congregational singing and church music. The study combines my research interests and education in church music and liturgy as well as theology, and adds to that an abiding interest in history.

Chapter 3.5 in this thesis is mostly based on my article *The Training of Churchwardens and Organists in Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria* (Korkalainen 2017b). Issues dealing with Finland in Chapter 3.2 are based on my article *Soitinten käyttö kirkkolaulun keittämisessä 1800-luvun Suomessa*⁹ (Korkalainen 2017a), but, in this thesis, I have widened the view (there is, for instance, a broader section about the harmonium) and added the section dealing with Ingria. The content of *The Role of Music and the Lutheran Church in the Awakening of Ingrian-Finnish National Identity, 1861–1919* (Korkalainen 2019), has been distributed throughout this study, although a large part of it has been left out because the time frame of the article extends beyond the scope of this study. I have also written an article about the Finnish organist and musicologist Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960; Korkalainen 2020).

9 'The use of musical instruments in the development of church-singing in nineteenth-century Finland.'

1.2 Research Material

In addition to the studies mentioned above, this study is based on printed and hand-written primary source materials, including about twenty hand-written chorale books that include liturgical music and altogether twenty-two printed collections of liturgical melodies published in Finland and two in Ingria.

In Finland, there are dozens of hand-written chorale books preserved from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of which are copies of other hand-written or printed chorale books and many self-written according to the local singing tradition. Reijo Pajamo (1995) sifted through many of them in the 1990s, and according to his entries, I have checked all of the chorale books that also include liturgical melodies and found others as well. Unfortunately, some of the chorale books Pajamo listed in the 1990s have since disappeared because their holders have passed away or they have been lost in the archives and libraries that preserved them. In this study, I have used altogether twenty hand-written chorale books. Because almost all of them belonged to churchwardens, they usually include only the congregation's or churchwarden's parts but not the liturgist's ones. Hand-written chorale books show that even though eight series of liturgical melodies of the Catholic tradition were regularly used in medieval Finland as well as six series in the seventeenth century, by the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, there was only one left (Tuppurainen 2000, 120, 123). This late series for Sundays in the ordinary time of the church year is titled in many hand-written chorale books, according to its title for the *Kyrie* melody, *Aliud Kyrie Dominicale*. In addition to the abovementioned chorale books, there is one hand-written sheet of music that includes parts of the Mass sung by the liturgist in the National Archives of Finland.

The last printed collection of liturgical melodies in Finland was published in 1702, but after using hand-written collections for 130 years, Fredrik August Ehrström's (1801–1850) *Suomalainen messu* ('Finnish Mass') was published in 1837. By the end of the nineteenth century, twenty other collections were published as well, although none with an official church authorisation. Most of these collections were thin individual booklets, but some of them were parts of a broader volume, i.e. a chorale book, a choir collection or a book that was made for teaching music theory and church-singing. Ten of the collections were only in Finnish, whereas eleven of them

were in both Finnish and Swedish; one collection was in German. Eight collections contained one-part settings and fourteen collections had four-part settings, meant either for four-part singing or organ accompaniment. In eight of the collections, the notation was the *sifferskrift* numbered notation that was developed for a simple instrument called the psalmodikon (see Chapter 3.2). Music in eighteen of these printed collections was mostly based on the *Aliud Kyrie Dominicale* series; only one collection was composed by the editor himself. One German collection in Finland, as well as two collections published in Ingria, were based on Baltic-German liturgical melodies, the latter including some similar parts with Finnish collections. More detailed information about the contents of all of these collections is in Chapter 4.3.

In this thesis, material includes Swedish predecessors of the Finnish collections of liturgical music. In 1799, J.C.F. Hæffner and Olof Åhlström jointly published a collection of liturgical melodies. It had to be renewed according to the new 1811 Handbook; both of them published a new version of their own, Hæffner in 1817 and Åhlström in 1818. Most of the published collections of liturgical melodies in Finland were based on these three collections.

I used secondary source material to provide the liturgical, administrative and political context in which these documents appeared. The Divine Service Agendas from Sweden, Russia and Finland are of particular interest. Administrative documents by, for instance, the diocesan chapters, consistories and the General Synod provide additional information. The Finnish National Library's digitised newspaper collection (digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi) made it easy to use Finnish and Swedish newspapers published in Finland and Saint Petersburg. I have also ploughed through archival material, for instance, about the Kolppana Seminary in Ingria and the churchwarden-organist schools in Finland.

1.3 Conceptual Remarks

The fact that I have written this thesis in English should not be taken for granted. There are not many studies or articles in English concerning the history of Finnish church music; most of the academic texts of this area are in Finnish, Swedish or German. Because the culture in Finland and Ingria, or in fact in Northern coun-

tries and the Baltics, differs measurably from English-speaking regions, I have encountered a variety of lexical problems. There are no English equivalents for many Finnish and Swedish words, and in these cases, I had to decide which word to use. In addition, many words have slightly changed meanings over time; I have tried to stick to the nineteenth-century meanings, which may differ from present-day ones.

Congregational Singing, Mass and Liturgical Melodies

The concepts of ‘congregational singing’ and ‘liturgical melodies’ are in the title and repeated throughout the dissertation; they belong to my key concepts alongside standardisation. I share the definition of ‘Christian congregational music’ with other scholars in the disciplinary field of Christian Congregational Music Studies as ‘any and all music performed in or as worship by a gathered community that considers itself to be Christian’ (Ingalls *et al.* 2016 [2013], 2). Congregational singing is a narrower concept that includes only the sung part. In this thesis, it thus refers to hymns and liturgical melodies sung by the congregation – and, in fact, more to the act of singing than melodies or lyrics. ‘Hymn-singing’ is even narrower, including only hymns, whereas ‘church-singing’ refers to all of the sung parts of the Divine Service, i.e. hymns and liturgical melodies regardless of who sang them, the congregation, liturgist, churchwarden or choir.

One special feature of the Finnish language which the reader should be aware of is that there are two different verbs in Finnish referring to singing. *Laulaa* means ‘to sing,’ whereas *veisata* means usually ‘to sing hymns or other religious songs.’ Nowadays, the use of the verb *veisata* has decreased and it usually refers either to monotonous (religious) singing or to a special kind of hymn-singing (for instance, the hymn-singing tradition of the Awakened Movement¹⁰). In all of the material in this thesis, *veisata* refers to hymns and liturgical melodies and *laulaa* to other, secular singing, although even then both verbs referred to any kind of singing (cf. Niinimäki 2007, 25–27). Consequently, when I use the concepts ‘congregational singing,’ ‘hymn-singing’ or ‘church-singing,’ almost every time there is the Finnish verb *veisata* or the noun *veisuu* behind them if the original text is in Finnish.

10 *Herännäisyys* in Finnish.

Another lexical problem considers the word ‘Mass’ because it has had variations in meaning in different times and places. When using the word ‘Mass’ in academic texts, the researcher has to take special care to define it. For a theologian, for instance, the word refers to the Eucharist or the liturgical celebration of it, whereas a musicologist can find it also as a musical setting of the Mass – especially in the Roman Catholic Church – or even a concert composition. The word ‘Mass’ is perhaps the most difficult for a scholar of Protestant church history and music history because there is so much variation in the use of this word in different eras, countries and denominations. In my case, the word ‘Mass’ is difficult because in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria – as well as in neighbouring countries – it referred to the liturgical melodies sung by the pastor and the congregation, except for the hymns. For example, all of the collections of liturgical melodies in Finland were titled either *Suomalainen messu* (‘The Finnish Mass’) or *Svenska mässon* (‘The Swedish Mass’).

The Latin word *missa* comes originally from the verb *mittere*, ‘to release, dismiss,’ and in theological studies it usually means ‘dismissal,’ ‘prayer at the conclusion of a liturgy,’ ‘liturgy’ or ‘Mass.’ The Latin dismissal at the end of the Holy Mass is *Ite, missa est*; literally translated ‘Go, it is sent,’ but usually ‘Go, the Mass is ended.’ Based on this, the most usual present-day definition for ‘the Mass’ is ‘the Eucharist,’ especially in post-Reformation use as understood and celebrated in the Roman Catholic Church. To make this even more complicated, in the sixteenth century, many Protestants objected to the term as unscriptural and associated with the ‘popish’ view of the nature of the sacrament. Nevertheless, the German liturgy formulated by Martin Luther (1483–1546) in 1526 was called *Deutsche Messe*, and, for example, both the Finnish word *messu* and the Swedish word *mässa* are used to also designate the Lutheran service.

From a musical point of view, ‘the Mass’ can also refer either to a musical setting of most or all of those invariable parts of the Mass that may be sung by a choir or congregation, or to the Proper or variable parts. More specifically, by its musical definition, the Mass can be divided into two parts, the Proper (*proprium de tempore*; variable parts of the Mass) and the Ordinary (*ordinarium missae*; invariable parts of the Mass). Naturally, ‘the Mass’ can mean a concert composition as well, but that is of no importance from my study’s point of view.

In this thesis, when I am using the word ‘Mass,’ I always mean the musical setting of the variable and invariable parts of the Lutheran Divine Service, sung by the liturgist, churchwarden, congregation or choir, excluding the hymns. I avoid using ‘the Mass’ with its present-day meaning, i.e. the Divine Service with the Holy Communion.

Handbooks and Agendas

Titles of different Church Handbooks and Divine Service Agendas vary a lot in different languages, and they do not always follow any logic. For that reason, they were also translated into English differently in earlier related studies. In this thesis, I use the word ‘agenda’ to mean a book that includes only the orders of Divine Services. If there is something else as well, such as prayers or instructions for other services (funerals, baptisms, *etc.*), I call them ‘handbooks.’

Hymnals and Chorale Books

A ‘hymnal’ is an official collection of hymns used in congregational singing. In the nineteenth century, hymnals contained only hymn texts; written melodies were in separate hand-written or published ‘chorale books.’ Many of the chorale books included only melodies, but harmony parts were also provided in some of them. A chorale book can contain either melodies for all of the hymns of a particular hymnal or only a limited selection of them.

Churchwarden

I am using the word ‘churchwarden’ to mean *lukekari* in Finnish, *klockare* in Swedish, *Küster* in German and *kõster* in Estonian. The words ‘precentor,’ ‘cantor’ and ‘parish clerk’ were used in earlier related studies, but I find them all problematic. Precentor and cantor are not accurate because the post was not first and foremost that of a musician; individuals in this position had many tasks besides musical ones. Parish clerk, on the other hand, sounds like someone who performs secretarial duties and is not a musician at all.

I have found an interesting comparison and a convincing justification for the use of the word churchwarden from literary studies. Douglas Robinson (2011, 48–49) discusses different translations of the word *lukekari* in the English translations of

Aleksis Kivi's (1834–1872) novel *The Seven Brothers* (*Seitsemän veljestä*). Robinson is aware that a *luukkari*'s job was extremely diverse, including besides musical tasks, for example, caring for church property, taking the collection and digging graves, i.e. tasks performed by the present-day sexton¹¹, and teaching basic literacy and Sunday school classes. According to Robinson, the clerical duties performed by the *luukkari* and the leading of hymns would both seem to be irrelevant to the task crucial to Kivi's plot, namely teaching parishioners to read and write. For that reason, Robinson continues, 'parish clerk' and 'hymn leader,' used in Alex Matson's translations (1929, 1952, 1973), are not sufficient to describe *luukkari*'s duties. Richard Impola (1991) uses the word 'sexton' in his translation, but sextons do not teach literacy. Robinson considers Irma Rantavaara's (1973) use of churchwarden excellent. He underlines that like *luukkari*, the Anglican churchwarden does the sexton's job but also liaises between the clergy and the laity, in which capacity he would be responsible for spiritual counselling, helping parishioners apply the church's teachings to practical living, and possibly also – given culture with a significant number of illiterate parishioners – instruction in reading and writing. The only job performed by the old *luukkari* that is not performed by the Anglican churchwarden is playing the organ, but in Finland, it did not become the *luukkari*'s task until the end of the nineteenth century. Robinson (*ibid.*) also has a convincing justification for using the word churchwarden related to the social structure of that time; in the Finnish Lutheran Church, especially in the rural areas, pastors tended to be much more educated than the ordinary people, and perceived as so close to God as to be unapproachable, whereas the *luukkari* was the church official who stood socially closest to the townspeople, as was the case with churchwardens in England as well (cf. Wirilander 1974, 98–100).

Sivistys

The final lexical difficulty relates to the Finnish word *sivistys*. It is one of the key concepts of history of nineteenth-century Finland and was used very much in nationalist writings in the nineteenth century, both in Finland and Ingria. The word has no exact equivalent in English; in fact, that one Finnish word covers a wide range of cultural terminology in English. Dictionaries give translations such as 'education,' 'civilisation,' 'refinement' or 'culture.' In Finnish, the meaning of this word is wider;

11 *Suntio* in Finnish, *kyrkvaktmästare* in Swedish.

it covers education, knowledge, culture, sophistication, ethics, morals and mental development as well as civilisation. In addition, it can be used to describe either a person or a society, such as nation. The word's meaning is similar to the German word *Bildung* (Kokko 2010, 7–8). In this thesis, I either use the German word or translate it in different ways depending on the context, by using words such as ‘culture,’ ‘education,’ ‘to civilise,’ *et cetera*.

1.4 Liturgical Music in Finland and Ingria before the Nineteenth Century

To understand attempts to standardise congregational singing and liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria, a small glimpse of earlier history is needed. Because the purpose of this chapter is only to give background to my actual research topic, I have merely put together the results of previous studies; I have been thinking especially of English-language readers because it is difficult to find comprehensive literature on the subject in languages other than Finnish and Swedish.

Medieval Period: Dominican Liturgical Tradition

In the sixteenth century, by the time the Lutheran Reformation reached the area of present-day Finland, the Roman Catholic Church had existed there for about four centuries. In Karelia, the most eastern and south-eastern part of Finland, as well as in Ingria, Eastern Orthodoxy had become the dominant denomination. The western and southern parts of present-day Finland were the diocese of Turku, the most eastern diocese of the Kingdom of Sweden. Along with Catholicism, the language of worship was Latin, but if there was a sermon, it was delivered in vernacular, i.e. in Finnish or Swedish (Maliniemi 1955, 107).

The central tradition of Western plainchant, Gregorian chant, i.e. the music performed in the Roman Catholic Mass and the monastic Office, had been rather homogeneous in all of western and central Europe since the latter part of the eighth century. Strict instructions for liturgical life unified the practices; orders and dioceses had nevertheless their own idiosyncrasies that appeared, for instance, in selections

of chants as well as a bit in the bodies of melodies (Hannikainen 2017, 324). The liturgical material of the late medieval diocese of Turku was based on the liturgical tradition represented by the Dominicans. Pope Eugene IV authorised the Dominican liturgy in the Diocese of Turku in 1445, and all of the Divine Services in Turku Cathedral were read mainly according to it, which most likely influenced the whole diocese (Parvio 1988, 544).

The Order of Friars Preachers, the Dominicans, was founded by Saint Dominic (1170–1221) in 1215. A year after that, Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) recognised them, as a result of which the Order spread rapidly in Europe. At first, the Dominicans sang the office following the practice of the diocese in which their new monasteries were located. Consequently, there was a great variety of liturgical usage throughout Europe. Following the Cistercian model, the Dominican liturgy and chant became unified in all of the convents of the Order in the middle of the century. It was based on the work of the Master General of the Order, Humbert of Romans (d. 1277), who compiled a manuscript that served as the standard reference for all of copies used by the Dominican convents. Pope Clement IV (r. 1265–1268) recognised it to be an official liturgy in 1267, after which no changes to the manuscript were allowed without the approval of the Holy See. There were only three copies of the model manuscript deposited in Paris, Bologna and Salamanca. The one from Paris, called Humbert's Codex, is nowadays kept in the archives of the Order in Rome (Huglo 2011, 197–198; Parvio 1988, 545).

Liturgical books printed in Germany were in use in the Diocese of Turku; several missals, psalters and breviaries¹² from the 1480s and subsequent decades have been found in Finnish church archives. The *Missale Aboense* from 1488 and the *Manuale Aboense* from 1522 were printed particularly for Finland. To the wide repertoire of medieval Latin liturgical music the diocese of Turku had made some contributions of its own, especially connected with the consolidation of the cult of the patron saint of Finland, the English-born martyred Bishop Henry. However, none of the

12 A missal contains all of texts and instructions needed for the celebration of the Masses during the church year. A psalter and a breviary are books for the Divine Office, also called the Liturgy of the Hours; in a psalter, there is the Book of Psalms from the Bible, whereas a breviary contains an official set of daily prayers including psalms supplemented by hymns, readings and other prayers as well as antiphons.

printed books contained any kind of notation; on that account, from a musical point of view, the preserved hand-written manuscripts are more interesting than printed liturgical books (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2016, 157–158; Taitto 1994, 18–19). Worth mentioning is also the book of Latin songs, *Piae cantiones*, printed in 1582, which included medieval songs for church and school, used mostly at the Cathedral of Turku. According to modern scholars (see e.g. Mäkinen 1964), both these lyrics and melodies are of Central European origin, but it does not diminish the significance of the collection; on the contrary, *Piae cantiones* is a sign that Finland was not isolated from the Central European singing tradition in Latin.

The Reformation: Slow Change to Vernacular Singing

The influence of Martin Luther spread around the Baltic Sea in the 1520s. As stated in recent research, the process of the Swedish Reformation occurred slowly, and, for a century, there was a constant alternation between more Lutheran and more Catholic approaches (see e.g. Pirinen 1991, 274–277, 311–313). The early Reformation both in Germany and Scandinavia was devoted first and foremost to the reform of sermon, canon law and university teaching; the need to change the liturgy and folk piety was more or less a consequence of this initial reforming ambition (Berntson 2016, 49). Moreover, Finland has been characterised as a conservative region; not all of Reformation changes adopted from Germany were immediately put into practice, not even some that were adopted in Sweden (Pirinen 1991, 283–285, 328–329). The transition from medieval Catholic Latin music to vernacular singing took place gradually over a long period of time. There are numerous examples of the usage of medieval liturgical books after the Reformation. Even in the seventeenth century, it was possible to hear Latin songs in Finnish churches along with Finnish and Swedish ones. Despite the vernacular singing, the melodies remained largely unchanged; vernacular songs were formed simply by replacing the Latin text with vernacular lyrics (Hannikainen 2015, 152; 2017, 324).

In Germany and some other Central European countries, vernacular hymns found their way into public services long before the Reformation, but in Scandinavian countries, the situation was different. Whether any vernacular hymns were also used in Finland before the Reformation is unlikely; at least there are no sources whatsoever of literate Finnish from before the Reformation (Kallio 2016, 125). However,

it is not completely unthinkable because in the printed and hand-written sources from the 1540s on, there are short, one-stanza refrains in the vernacular sung by the congregation between the Latin stanzas of the sequences sung by the choir (Hanikainen and Tuppurainen 2010, 72, 75, 81).

The translation of liturgical material into Finnish and Swedish started in the 1520s. The leading reformer in Stockholm, Olaus Petri (1493–1552), published a Handbook¹³ in 1529 and the Agenda¹⁴ in 1531, both in Swedish. The New Testament in Swedish was published in 1526, the first preserved larger hymnal in 1536 and the whole Bible in 1541. The 1527 Diet of Västerås announced that the vernacular *could be* used in the Divine Services and according to the Church assembly in Uppsala in 1531, the Mass *should be* conducted in the vernacular language, at least in the cathedrals. Later, the 1571 Swedish Church Order suggested that the Mass *should be* held in the vernacular, i.e. in Swedish or Finnish, but it was only slowly that these became the main languages of the Church (Pahlmblad 1998, 23–25, 42–43, 228–236; Andrén 1999, 37–38, 59, 64, 85).

In Finland, the bishop-to-be of Turku, Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–1557), who is considered the founder of literary Finnish, published the most central liturgical texts in Finnish, i.e. the Catechetical Primer¹⁵, Prayer Book¹⁶, New Testament¹⁷, Handbook¹⁸, Agenda¹⁹, Passion²⁰ and Psalter²¹ as well as two books that included Finnish translations of some Old Testament texts²² in 1543–1552 (Pirinen 1991, 280–285, 291–296). It seems that Agricola was not too interested in translating the new German and Swedish metrical hymns into Finnish. The only exception was Nikolaus Decius's hymn *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* (*O Lamb of God, innocent*) as a continuation of the *Agnus Dei* in Agricola's Agenda. In addition, the medieval hymns in his Prayer

13 *Een handboeck påå svensko.*

14 *Then Svenska messan epter som hon nu bolles j Stocholm medh orsaker hwar före hon så ballen wardber.*

15 *Abckiria* 1543.

16 *Rucouskiria Bibliasta* 1544.

17 *Se W'si Testamenti* 1548.

18 *Käsikiria Castesta ja muista Christikunnan Menoista* 1549.

19 *Messu eli Herran Ehtolinen* 1549.

20 *Se meiden HERRAN Jesusen Christusen pina, ylesnousemus, niste Neliest Euangelisterist coghottu* 1549.

21 *Daavidin Psaltari* 1551.

22 *Weisut ja Ennustoxet Mosesen laista ja Prophetista Wloshaetut* 1551 included the Old Testament canticles as well as all of the Major Prophets' books and nine Minor Prophets' books. The remaining Minor Prophets' books were published in *Ne prophetat Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi* in 1552.

Book are rather difficult to fit the pre-existing melodies (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2016, 171). This all has been interpreted to indicate his limited interest in singing. Nevertheless, as Kati Kallio (2016, 132) points out, it would be a mistake to juxtapose songs with metrical texts. In the Catholic tradition, the chanting was mostly unmeasured, and here, the most central texts were biblical. ‘Thus,’ Kallio continues, ‘the Prayer Book, New Testament, Mass, and Psalter by Agricola could all be regarded as kinds of songbooks, although unmeasured ones. [...] This changes the perspective on Agricola’s attitude towards song: he did in fact translate texts to be sung, although these were not measured songs for the laity.’

In the Diocese of Turku, the earliest-known Lutheran manuscripts which include Finnish text are from the 1540s. However, the vernacular did not replace Latin soon; even many middle-seventeenth-century manuscripts contain Latin settings of the Mass and daily offices from the Middle Ages. These manuscripts, often called ‘Lutheran Graduals,’ are almost entirely written both in Finnish, Swedish and Latin, and they contain material for the Ordinary of the Mass, hymns, antiphons, sequences and occasional music. Translations of newer Lutheran hymns were often included in these collections as well (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2010, 6–7; 2016, 160–161; see also Tuppurainen 2019). In Sweden, the oldest preserved of these kinds of collections are the Hög and Bjuråker manuscripts probably from the early 1540s (Adell 1941, 7–9). The first printed Lutheran Gradual, called *Een liten songbook*, was published in 1553 at the latest²³ and it was also known in Finland (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2010, 6–7; 2016, 160–161).

The oldest preserved manuscript that includes the order of the Mass in Finnish is called the Codex Westh. It is possibly from 1546 and originally belonged to the schoolteacher and chaplain of Rauma, Mathias Johannis Westh (d. 1549). The Codex Westh also includes four Chant ordinaries for Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the remaining part of the church year, following the Swedish collections mentioned above (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2016, 163; Tuppurainen 2012, 7–11, 16–17).

23 Hannikainen and Tuppurainen stated in 2010 that the first version of *Een liten songbook* was published in the 1540s, but in 2016 they referred only to the 1553 edition. According to my preliminary examiner, Professor Mattias Lundberg, there is no clear evidence that an undated folio edition of the book would be older than the widespread 1553 quarto edition. The latter one is the only securely dated edition, even though hypotheses have been advanced that the other edition was a prior version. I express my gratitude for this information.

The liturgical unmeasured chant was thus maintained during the first century of the Swedish Reformation, whereas the earliest extant Swedish hymn print was not published until 1536; the first Finnish hymnal was published in 1583 and the first chorale book with Finnish text not until 1702. Hitherto, the hymn texts and melodies circulated orally and via manuscripts. The hymns were not the priority as the Reformers did not have that many resources for translations and printing. In addition, according to Kallio (2016, 128), no earlier examples of songs in Finnish in stanzaic, rhymed and iambic forms have been found. Another factor may have been the disposition to just follow locally appreciated traditions of the Church. In the preface to the Psalter, Agricola describes the traditional practice of Psalter chanting and suggests, ‘so let the pastors read their verses two by two in turn, as has been, and should be, the custom in a choir’ (*ibid.*, 135; Agricola III 1931, 211). Thus, it seems that Agricola wanted to maintain the traditional song genres of the medieval Church, partly translated into the vernacular, partly still in Latin. Kallio (2016, 136) also suggests that Agricola may have been a realist: ‘Introducing new Lutheran congregational singing on a large scale could have been laborious and caused resistance both among the clergy and the laity.’ In any event, for Mikael Agricola, church-singing was still based on the traditional chant by pastors and learned choirs, i.e. in a medieval manner; congregational singing was secondary.

Lutheran Hymnals in Finland

After the death of the Reformation King Gustav Vasa (r. 1523–1560) in 1560, the development of the liturgy followed the different visions of his sons and successors; Eric XIV (r. 1560–1568) and Charles IX (r. 1599–1611) favoured the Calvinist approaches with a simpler liturgy, whereas John III (r. 1568–1592) tried to restore the Catholic tradition, including the traditional chants (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2016, 172). It was he who ordered the headmaster of the cathedral school in Turku, Jacobus Petri Finno (c. 1540–1588) to publish some Finnish books, one of them being the first Finnish Lutheran hymnal, published around 1583. Finno collected and translated hymns mostly from Swedish and German hymnals and himself wrote seven hymns. His hymnal draws from the medieval Catholic tradition, reforming it according to Lutheran ideals (Kurvinen 1929, 16, 146–148). This book also meant a change in the Church’s perspective on the laity because it was intended for congregational use. It is assumed, however, that in the course of the sixteenth century, the amount of congregational singing was still modest.

The next Finnish hymnal was a substantially expanded version of Finno's, published by the vicar of Masku parish, Hemmingius Henrici²⁴ in 1605. His hymnal included several hymns taken directly from Germany and the French Huguenot Psalter. He also wrote hymns himself (Kurvinen 1929, 91–95). Hemmingius included all of Finno's 101 hymns and 141 new texts, twenty-six of which were probably written by Hemmingius himself. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the reign of Charles IX marked a slow beginning of Lutheran orthodoxy in Sweden. The Catholic aspirations had gone with the reign of John III and his son Sigismund (r. 1592–1599). Unlike Finno, Hemmingius has three hymns about the papal Antichrist and opposition to the Catholic Church is evident (Väinölä 1995, 8–9).

In 1607, minister Simon Johannis Carelius (d. 1610) edited a new version of Hemmingius's hymnal that was bound together with Luther's Catechism. This edition was likely meant for the usage in the Diocese of Viipuri, whereas Hemmingius's 1605 version spread in the Diocese of Turku (Laine 2017, 128–129). In addition, the bishop of Viipuri, Olaus Elimaeus (d. 1629) published a more concise hymnal in 1621, including only 151 hymns, a hundred from Finno's and forty-seven from Hemmingius's hymnal, as well as two new hymns. Elimaeus's hymnal was closer to Finno's than Hemmingius's (Lempäinen 1988, 375; Väinölä 1995, 7–8). The expanded edition of Hemmingius's hymnal came out in at least six editions throughout the seventeenth century (Väinölä 1995, 9). Finnish hymnals from Finno's hymnal to the 1701 Hymnal, which was still in use in the nineteenth century, are shown in the Table 1.

Table 1. Finnish hymnals published between 1583 and 1701. All of them included only lyrics.

year	editor or title	number of hymns
1583	Jacobus Petri Finno	101
1605	Hemmingius Henrici of Masku	242 (incl. all the hymns of Finno 1583)
1607	Simon Johannis Carelius	242 (= Hemmingius 1605)
1621	Olaus Elimaeus	151 (incl. 100 hymns of Finno 1583 and 47 of Hemmingius 1605)
1646	<i>Manuale Finnonicum</i>	253 (expanded edition of Hemmingius 1605)
1685	Johannes Gezelius the elder	244 (expanded edition of Hemmingius 1605)
1686	<i>Suomalaisten Sielun Tavara</i>	293 (expanded edition of Hemmingius 1605)
1693	<i>Manuale</i>	300 (incl. almost all the hymns that were published in Finnish)
1701	<i>Uusi Suomenkielinen Wirsi-Kirja</i>	413 (incl. all the hymns of Finno 1583; only two hymns from Hemmingius 1605 is missing)

24 Usually in Finnish *Hemminki Maskulainen* or *Maskun Hemminki* and in Swedish *Hemming från Masko*.

One of the earliest preserved collections of hymn melodies in Sweden was Olaus Erics's songbook from around 1600. In Finland, probably from the same time or even a little bit earlier, is the earliest part of the manuscript from Loimijoki (present-day Loimaa) parish. According to Hannikainen and Tuppurainen (2016, 173), it was presumably written as a copy of an earlier source, maybe already from the 1580s. The manuscript from Loimijoki includes seventy-seven mostly German melodies, most of which included the first stanza in Swedish. Worth mentioning are also the chorale manuscript from Kangasala, *Liber Templi Ilmolensis* from Ilmajoki and a manuscript known only by name *Notae Psalmorum*, all of which were probably from the 1620s.

The Swedish Agenda and Handbook, that were two different books up to that point, were revised and merged in 1614; and published both in Swedish and Finnish. Since then, the traditional Gregorian chants gradually began to be displaced. The order of the Divine Service established the position of the new forms of Lutheran hymns as 'the hymn of the day.' Consequently, the traditional chants began to be replaced in churches little by little. However, the 1697 new Swedish Hymnal, its Finnish equivalent, the 1701 Finnish Hymnal, and the 1702 Finnish melody collection, still included many hymns from the medieval tradition as well as some antiphons and sequences (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2016, 173–174). There were 413 hymns in the 1701 Finnish hymnal; 238 of them were already in Hemmingius's hymnal, but there were 113 new hymns as well. Alongside the hymnal for the first time, a chorale book, titled *Yxi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja*²⁵ ('A Necessary Note-book'), was also published in 1702 (Väinölä 1995, 11).

Liturgical Melodies in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

The Handbook was revised again in 1693, and the Finnish translation was published in 1694. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Divine Services were still held according to it both in Finland and Ingria. It was written many times in the Handbook that 'pastor sings' or 'congregation sings,' but there were no notations for the melodies. The latest official collection of liturgical melodies was in the 1697

25 Erkki Tuppurainen edited a facsimile and critical edition of this chorale book in 2001, but he left the liturgical melodies out of this volume (see Yxi Tarpelinen 2001 [1702]).

Swedish Hymnal as well as in the 1702 Finnish chorale book, and it consisted of four different series of liturgical melodies, originating from the Catholic era prior to the Reformation. These series soon seem to have fallen into disuse and the number of liturgical melodies continuously lessened. Consequently, according to hand-written chorale books, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, only one series of liturgical melodies was used. It was a combination of the Sunday series (*Alind Kyrie Dominicale*, so-called *Orbis factor*) and Swedish tradition, and it was called *Suomalainen messu* ('The Finnish Mass') in Finnish and *Svenska Mässan* ('The Swedish Mass') in Swedish.

In Sweden, a supplement²⁶ which included melodies for prayers, Scripture readings, the Bridal Mass and the Litany was often bound together with the 1697 Chorale Book or included in some editions. Similar melodies were added in the 1702 Finnish Chorale Book's collection of liturgical melodies (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 129, 137). All of those melodies, although modified, were included in *director cantus* of Turku Cathedral School and Cantor of the Cathedral, Johann Lindell's (1719–1787) collections of liturgical melodies. These two booklets are for pastors; one is in Swedish (J. Lindell 1784a) and the other in Finnish (J. Lindell 1784b). They indicate that liturgical singing was much richer at the end of the eighteenth century than a hundred years later. Lindell's Swedish version was published as a facsimile by Folke Bohlin (1968a). There is also one eight-page booklet (J. Lindell s.a.) without a title, year or editor's name, which is most likely edited by Lindell (Bohlin 1968b, 36–38). It includes two Creedal hymns and a *Te Deum*, two versions of the congregation's response to the *Benedicamus* as well as the *Kyrie* and *Agnus Dei*, all of them in Swedish. In the facsimile published by Bohlin (1968b, 60–63), there are also hand-written additions for the congregation's responses of the Salutation and Preface salutation as well as one Amen. This booklet was clearly meant for churchwardens. In all the three of these collections, only the text and staves were printed, whereas notes were supposed to be hand-written. Lindell's collections taken together constitute an interesting example of the late-eighteenth-century liturgical singing in Finland.

26 *Allmänt bruk at siunga Bönerna/ Wälsignelsen/ Epistlerna och Evangelierna: samt Brudmässan och Litanien.*

There are no sources about liturgical melodies used in Ingria. Most likely they were similar ones with Finland because the 1693 Swedish Handbook was also in use in Ingria, and most pastors came from Finland. Naturally, when Ingria was settled by Finns in the early seventeenth century, the liturgical singing tradition passed as such from Finland to Ingria. Liturgical melodies used since the new Imperial Agenda²⁷ from 1832, however, originated in Prussia and spread to Ingria through the Baltic-German tradition.

1.5 Social Structure in Early Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria

To understand changes that happened in the Lutheran Church in Finland and Ingria, it is important to know the kind of society it was a part of. Starting in the Swedish era, a population of two nationalities lived in Finland: Finns constituted an absolute majority, whereas the coastal areas were mostly inhabited by Swedes – not only as members of the ruling class but also as an urban population and long-settled peasants.

As a legacy of Swedish rule, there were two higher estates in Finland, the nobility and clergy, and two lower estates, burghers and land-owning peasants. All of them consisted of free men and had specific rights and responsibilities. They were also represented at the Diet. In early-nineteenth-century Finland, the population in rural areas was mostly rural commoners, i.e. independent farmers and the non-landowning poor. In addition to these peasants, there were always pastors and some public officials, sometimes also noblemen and military or court officers living in their residences and manors, whereas almost all of the burghers lived in towns (Wirilander 1974, 303–312). The town gentry was tied to the countryside manors, officials' residences and vicarages by family ties (Lehtonen 1994, 31, 84). In rural Ingria, almost all of the Finnish-speaking people were serfs. The nobility and the gentry consisted of Russians and Baltic Germans, whereas the clergy came from Finland (Sihvo 1991, 181–182; Murtorinne 2015, 139–140, 143–146, 163). Society both in Finland and Ingria was not egalitarian, and the dominant estates were hereditary. Because all of the estates were permanent, many people were left outside them, and there was only a little adjustment. Simply put, regardless of stratum, people lived their whole life in the very compartment in which they were born (Wirilander 1974, 28–32).

27 *Agende für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden im Russischen Reiche.*

Finland has often been described as a country between East and West, with features of both. After centuries as the eastern province of the Kingdom of Sweden, Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire in 1809. As part of Russia, in terms of political dependence, Finland was part of Eastern Europe, but its social class structure was clearly Western European. The main reason for this was that the independent peasantry had already established itself when Finland had been part of Sweden (Alapuro and Stenius 1987, 12). Ingrians, on the other hand, were a typical Eastern European minority group because they were serfs and under strict control by the Empire (Sihvo 1991, 181–182).

However, Finland and Ingria shared at least three similar features that were typical for Eastern European national minorities. Firstly, their language and religion were different from the dominant ones of the Empire; Finns and Ingrian Finns were Finnish-speaking Lutherans, whereas the Russian Empire was mostly Russian-speaking and Eastern Orthodox. Secondly, the language and culture of the upper class differed from those of the majority of people; in Finland, they spoke Swedish, and in Ingria, Russian or German. Finally, the ultimate decision-making power came from outside the region, despite Finland's status as an autonomous Grand Duchy (Alapuro and Stenius 1987, 12; Sihvo 1991, 181–182).

The largest difference between Finland and Ingria was that the local elite in Finland was not an extension of the Empire; even though Finland was part of the Russian Empire and the ultimate decision-making power came from outside the region, the local administrative power was in the hands of the Swedish and bilingual (Finnish and Swedish) upper classes. Nevertheless, in Finland, the social boundaries also coincided with the language boundaries because the majority of the ordinary people spoke Finnish, whereas the language of the majority of the nobility and gentry was Swedish (Alapuro and Stenius 1987, 12).

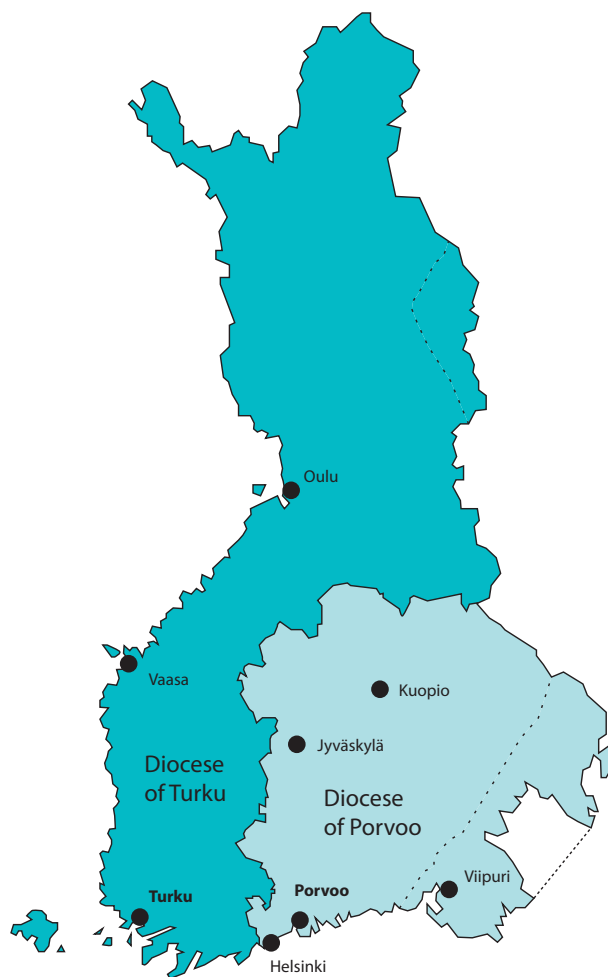
When I use the concept of the 'ordinary people' in this thesis, I mean the population that did not belong to the local elite. This group included, for instance, non-land-owning poor in rural areas, servants and workers, some lower administrative workers and rural craftsmen, i.e. people with no political rights and whose social mobility was limited. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, clear societal boundaries started to crumble to some extent, and some professions were in the seam between the estates. Churchwardens belonged to these groups because they were not mem-

bers of the clergy, but the literacy that was required of them raised their prestige above that of the peasants and workers (Wirilander 1974, 98–99); the status of the primary school teachers was similar (more about social structure, see Chapter 2.3).

1.6 Congregational Singing in Finland and Ingria in the Nineteenth Century

In the first half of the nineteenth century, congregational singing in Finland and Ingria was mostly unaccompanied and in unison; in addition, it was not of general interest. Attention was paid to churchwardens and organists as conductors of congregational singing only if their work was particularly commendable or remarkably poor. Right at the beginning of the century, in the Hämeenlinna Deanery, there were attempts to activate churchwardens to establish and rehearse singing groups that would lead congregational singing in the Divine Services. Magnus Jacob Alopaeus (1743–1818), who served as bishop of Porvoo from 1809 to 1818, also occasionally intervened in the congregational singing. In his 1812 visitation in Valkeala parish, Alopaeus gave instructions to sing earnestly and evenly without anyone raising his voice above the others. In Anjala in 1813, he said that singing had to be steady and restrained and that the verses had to be started and ended at the same time. In the Diocese of Turku (see Map 4), churchwardens' poor singing was also occasionally pointed out (K. Jalkanen 1976, 64–65).

In the 1840s serious attention began to be paid to the improvement of congregational singing in Finland. There were many reasons for that: religious and national awakening, the rise of Finnish culture, the general progress in educational matters and impacts from other Lutheran countries, especially Sweden (K. Jalkanen 1976, 65–66). The question about congregational singing was handled for the first time in the clergy conferences of both the Turku and Porvoo Dioceses in 1842. In Turku, Archbishop Erik Gabriel Melartin (1780–1847) encouraged his clergy to ensure that the churchwardens taught young people in hymn-singing at confirmation schools for a few hours each day. In Porvoo, Bishop Karl-Gustaf Ottelin (1792–1864) urged the clergy, when recruiting churchwardens, to pay special attention to their skills so that they could teach four-part singing at the confirmation school (Minutes of the 1842 Clergy Conference in Turku, 65; Circular letter of the Porvoo Diocese 7 September 1842; Rosenqvist 1935, 411).



Map 4. The dioceses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, 1812–1851.

Many pastors and members of the bourgeois intelligentsia started to consider the standard of congregational singing poor. They claimed that it was incoherent, even chaotic, and among ordinary people, regular and uniform congregational singing was unknown. Many churchwardens could not read music at all but sang by heart. They also sang in a loud voice, which was considered more important than correct and ‘aesthetic’ singing (e.g. *Suometar* 9 February 1855; *Oulun Viikko-Sanomia* 3 December 1859 and 10 March 1860; *Sanomia Turusta* 2 March and 11 May 1860. See also Hagelin 1837, III–IV, and Vapaavuori 1997, 119–121). Moreover, due to a lack of printed chorale books, people were singing hymns by using local chorale variants that differed from one another in different parishes or villages; even an individual

singer could have his or her own version. Naturally, there was also similar variety in singing liturgical melodies, as seen from the hand-written chorale books. Consequently, contemporary descriptions explained situations where parishioners sang in a loud voice and mostly without listening to the singing of the others (e.g. Bucht 1857, 5; Colliander 1874, 26; *Suometar* 8 December 1854). From the 1880s onwards, the Finnish newspaper *Inkeri*, published in Saint Petersburg, had similar descriptions of the standard of congregational singing in Ingrian parishes (see e.g. *Inkeri* 29 September 1889).

The newspaper *Inkeri* ran a serial story in 1891 (from 4 January to 19 April) in which a narrator from the Ingrian countryside told of his brother Simo, who performed his military service as a servant to an officer in Saint Petersburg. In the story, Simo also visits Saint Mary's Finnish Church in 1845. The description of congregational singing corresponds to those published in Finnish newspapers, but unlike them, the vernacular singing style and its incoherence was not seen as negative thing but rather as a source of enthusiasm. As the author, a pseudonymous -mi -ka describes it:

In particular, church-singing enchanted a man like my brother. Here, everyone shouted as best they could. And although our Simo was never a particularly singing boy – he hardly knew a single melody from the Hymnal at the time – that general shouting appealed to him in this unfamiliar church, and to his surprise he found that his voice was heard, even over many other voices, if he really got excited.²⁸ (*Inkeri* 22 February 1891. Transl. by the author.)

However, Simo actually got overly excited, and during the next hymn, he shouted so loud that people were turning to look at him. A familiar lady kindly instructed him after the Service:

28 'Erittäin oli kirkkolaulu hurmaawa weljeni kaltaiselle miehelle. Täällä huusi jokainen minkä jaksoi. Ja vaikka meidän Simo ei koskaan ollut erittäin laulawa poika, tuskinpa tunsi hän silloin ainoatakaan nuottia wirsikirjasta, niin weti toki tuo yleinen huuto tässä wieraassa kirkossa hänenkin mukansa, ja ihmeekseen huomasi hän että kyllä se hänenkin äänensä kuuluu, jopa käypi monen toisen äänen ylikin, jos oikein innostuu.'

Simeon should not shout in the church as terribly as he did today. It no longer feels like singing in honour of God, but an evil scream that bothers people in the house of the Lord.²⁹ (*Ibid.* Transl. by the author.)

The Organist of Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki (the present-day cathedral), Rudolf Lagi (1823–1868) did not like congregational singing as much as Simo. According to his description, it was incoherent and disorganised at every level. It is no wonder that Lagi, along with many other contemporary experts, wanted to standardise it.

The congregation, which in its entirety is not always endowed with lungs as strong as its churchwarden, regardless of the ornaments, *et cetera*, cannot hold the notes as long as him, and consequently, reaches the fermata at the end of each verse long before him. Usually, it is the feminine part of the congregation endowed with a livelier temperament that first finishes its line, then comes the more phlegmatic male part and finally the churchwarden who holds the fermata as long as there is still a single air particle left in his lungs. When accompanying singing on the organ, the organist considers it his duty to hold the fermata even for a while longer until the churchwarden has lost his breath in order to reveal that his instrument, however, has the strongest lungs.³⁰ (Minutes of the 1864 Clergy Conference in Kuopio, 176. Transl. by the author.)

Finland and Ingria were not alone. The situation was similar in Lutheran Europe as a whole at the turn of the nineteenth century (Siitan 2003, 18). However, the Swedish musicologist Folke Bohlin (1993, 126–127) does not describe congregational singing in Sweden at that time as arbitrary chaos but rather uses the term ‘multiheteropho-

29 ‘Simeonin ei pitäisi huutaa niin hirveästi kirkossa, kuin se tänään tapahtui. Se ei tunnu enää laululta Jumalan kunniaksi, mutta pahalta kiljumiselta, jonka kautta ihmiset Herran huoneessa tulevat häirityksi.’

30 ‘Församlingen som i sin helhet icke alltid är begåfvad med lika starka lungor som dess klockare orkar oaktadt driller etc. icke hålla ut tonerna lika länge som denna och hinner följaktligen till fermaten vid hvarje versrads slut vida tidigare än denna. Vanligen är det den med ett lifligare temperament begåfvade qvinliga delen af församlingen som först blifver färdig med sin versrad, derpå kommer den mer flegmatiska manliga delen och sist klockaren som uthåller fermaten så länge ännu en luftpartikel finnes qvar i hans lungor. Beledsagas sången af orgel anser organisten sin skyldighet vara att uthålla fermaten ännu en stund sedan klockaren redan mistat andan för att dymedelst ådagalägga att hans instrument dock har de starkaste lungorna.’

ny.' The whole congregation, therefore, sang the same melody, but without the need for complete unity. The slow pace of the singing had led the people to try to enliven the long tones by decorating them with melismata. Naturally, Bohlin continues, this did not happen in the same way every time and every place, but local variants and ways of singing emerged, which the Swedish musical elite consciously set out to eradicate as early as the end of the eighteenth century. Anders Dillmar (2001, 29–36) points out that there is a large amount of Swedish evidence of older – by which he means the time before Hæffner's 1820 Chorale Book – 'individual-related' hymn-singing. Based on previous research, Dillmar summarises its characteristics with words such as powerful, slow, rhythmically and melodically heterophonic, richly ornamented, sometimes in forms of *glissandi* and vocal tremors. It is clear that intonation was based on older conceptions of tonality and that the free singing situation has resulted in singing rich in sound and dissonance.

The Norwegian scholar Harald Herrestal (1995, 44–45) has also pointed out that in the eighteenth century, the congregation in Norwegian churches did not care about the unity of singing, either; everyone sang as if they were alone in the church, just how they had learned in their childhood. In Iceland, this practice continued until at least the 1870s (*ibid.*, 45). In Estonia, Livonia and Courland, the standardisation process of congregational singing happened at about the same time as in Finland (Siitan 2003).

In this thesis, I am focusing on the attempts to standardise congregational singing in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria from three perspectives. Firstly, in Chapter 2, I dig into the thoughts and ideas that created the inspiration for standardising congregational singing. Secondly, in Chapter 3, I present how the standardising process was put into action, which phenomena had an impact on it, and what kind of interaction there was between the Lutheran church and the other (music) culture of the society. Finally, in Chapter 4, I turn to the impacts the thoughts and ideas and the standardising process itself had on liturgical melodies, i.e. how they changed during the nineteenth century. There is a small conclusion at the end of each chapter; broader conclusions come in Chapter 5. At the end of the thesis, there is a long Ap-

pendix 1, which includes detailed tables on the contents and background materials of all of the nineteenth-century printed collections of liturgical music. Appendix 2 is a timeline that summarises the key events of the study.

Ingrian parishes have Finnish, Swedish, German and Russian names, and many Finnish town and municipalities both Finnish and Swedish names. In this thesis, I always use the Finnish names.

2 THOUGHTS AND IDEAS BEHIND THE STANDARDISATION

To understand attempts to standardise congregational singing in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria, there is a need to enter into the thoughts and ideas that affected them; i.e. to outline the philosophical, theological, political and societal background that penetrated the cultural climate. It is worth remembering, however, that the span of the inquiry is rather long, and all of these areas are very complex. Lutheran theology during the era of the Lutheran Orthodoxy, for instance, was not as congruent as often described and it was divided into multiple alignments after the Enlightenment. By the same token, the political situation in Europe was not uniform; political thoughts and ideas were multitudinous. The same applies to philosophical ideas. In addition, it is sometimes difficult to draw a line in which thoughts and ideas are philosophical, theological or political, especially in nineteenth-century Europe, where many intellectuals were both philosophers and theologians – as well as political thinkers. For all of these reasons, I focus only on features that I find necessary to understand my research topic; firstly, Romantic philosophy and its aesthetic principals, which reshaped chorale melodies and the style of congregational singing; secondly, different theological dimensions that affected mostly the liturgy; finally, those political and societal changes that had an impact on the attempts to standardise congregational singing and liturgical melodies in Finland and Ingria. Most of the influences came to Finland and Ingria with a delay, and the discussion in Central Europe had often already moved on. For this reason, some of the European thoughts of the nineteenth century, such as the ideas of the Cecilian Movement, did not get to Finland until the twentieth century.

2.1 Ideas of the Enlightenment and Romantic Philosophy

The question has often arisen, from the point of view of Central European protestant church music, why the magnificent and rich baroque was followed by a period of such inexpressive and lifeless character. Many authors have even called it a ‘decline’ (see e.g. Dahlhaus 1989 [1980], 181, or Moberg 1932, 275–307). This kind of tendentious reading of music history is unilateral and does not represent the view of

contemporaries. However, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the purpose and aesthetic principals of liturgical music were separated from art music, but many features were adopted from the aesthetics of the Enlightenment. This period of Romanticism has often been seen as the opposite of the Enlightenment that preceded it, but in more recent research, this view has been criticised; nowadays Romanticism is seen more as an extension of the Enlightenment (see e.g. Beiser 2003, 43–55).

According to Carl Dahlhaus (1989 [1980], 179), music history, when dealing with church music, has often passed more or less unnoticed for the simple fact that the period from the French Revolution (1789–1799) to the First World War, ‘the long nineteenth century,’ was a bourgeois age. Even though the Church was not a bourgeois institution, the principals that provided the foundation for the composition and reception of church music were influenced by a bourgeois spirit, considered so self-evident at the time that it was not even recognised as bourgeois. The key concept of the bourgeois orientation that took root in church music from the latter part of the eighteenth century was ‘edification.’ Hitherto, church music had been justified as singing God’s praises, but now it was related first and foremost to the congregation with the object of instilling devotion. To kindle devout feelings, humble or uplifting, church music needed to count on those members of the congregation who had a limited understanding of music. To achieve this goal, edifying church music embraced the aesthetic ideas of classicism: noble simplicity and silent grandeur (*ibid.*, 179). ‘Edification’ was actually the main function of all church music; everything that seemed to be edifying was to be kept, whereas everything else was either to be abolished or to be revised. To ‘edify’ meant to bring about emotions of reverence, whether merely sentimental or more elevating in nature (Feder 1975 [1964], 323).

One of those with the greatest influence on the aesthetics of Protestant liturgical music at that time was the German-Romantic theologian and philosopher, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). Like many other thinkers at the time, Schleiermacher made a division between Christian and generally human, spiritual and corporal (see e.g. Schleiermacher 1850, 83–125). It was important to get from finite to infinite; one option that Schleiermacher’s philosophy offered to achieve this was deepening to the inner examination of one’s own mind. According to this kind of attitude, liturgical music no longer had an independent function; it was related to the spoken word and considered subordinate to the cult. Schleiermacher (*ibid.*, 112) stated that

even where the music was most important, it never appeared on its own. He also gave an example of this:

Playing the organ before the hymn is only an introduction to the hymn, and if it is more, it is wrong. Playing the organ at the end of the Divine Service, as a matter of fact, is no longer part of the cult but a voluntary addition, hence the organists often play marches as well.³¹
(*Ibid.* Transl. by the author.)

The Swedish church musician Abraham Mankell's (1802–1868) book *Den kyrkliga orgel-spelningen* ('The Ecclesiastic Organ-Playing') was published in 1862 and it was well-known in Finland as well. Mankell's views were coloured both by his Pietist background and his Romantic context; he idealised 'sublime simplicity' partly for confessional reasons. According to Mankell (1862, 42–43, 67), 'religious playing' should resemble 'a humble prayer in tones,' 'appeal to the heart' and 'attune the mind to the supermundane.' In Finland, the function of liturgical organ-playing in the latter part of the century was, similarly with Schleiermacher and Mankell, considered supporting congregational singing, connecting different parts of the liturgy, characterising the spirit of the hymn lyrics and creating an atmosphere of prayer. For instance, the Organist of the Old Church in Helsinki, Lauri Hämäläinen taught his pupils to strive to awaken religious emotions through organ-playing (Peitsalo 2017, 253).

In addition to edification, another key concept in the Romantic aesthetics of nineteenth-century music was 'elevation of mind,' which was related to sensibility – the main category of the music aesthetics of the Enlightenment. Bourgeois audiences became self-aware during the Enlightenment and sought emotion from the music. Music that did not reach the heart, i.e. that was not comprehensible as a reflection of inner emotion, was deemed meaningless noise. Romanticism turned this psychological aesthetics to metaphysical aesthetics (Dahlhaus 1989 [1980], 89). Through an emotional experience, it was possible to understand being part of the super-sensory world, to have a connection with transcendence, with the ultimate source of being, i.e. God, Absolute or Genius. Naturally, these thoughts also applied to church music.

31 'Das Orgelspiel vor dem Gesang ist nur Einleitung des Gesanges, und ist es mehr, so ist das un-recht. Das Orgelspiel am Ende des Gottesdienstes ist eigentlich kein Theil des Cultus mehr, sondern eine freiwillige Zugabe, daher denn die Organisten auch oft Märsche spielen.'

In practice, this was interpreted so that the most important requirements of liturgical music were simple pure harmonies without surprising modulations as well as the controlled form and content of the piece. According to Schleiermacher (1850, 92), the qualities of a religious composition were simplicity and chastity; the latter manifested itself in such a way that virtuosity and other technical capabilities were not unnecessarily presented in music.

A direct consequence of this kind of bourgeois attitude in many Protestant states, for instance in Prussia, Saxony and Württemberg, was the profound change of education. This change meant destroying the institutional foundations that had maintained church music from the mid-sixteenth century, i.e. the Latin grammar schools. The new Gymnasium was separate from the church, and music, having been in the central position for centuries in grammar schools, was suppressed from the curriculum. In the same process, the cantor lost his former function as a mediator between church and school as well as music and language instruction. In the end, the *alumni*, the musical offices provided at church by the Latin scholars, were also abandoned because they were seen as burdensome and time-consuming. The institutions of church music therefore declined due to a notion of education that enabled the politically impotent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German burgher to cast an image of himself as a spiritual and intellectual being (Dahlhaus 1989 [1980], 179–180).

In the case of Protestant church music in Central Europe, underlining edification and elevation of mind worked against polyphonic music while preferring chorale singing by the congregation. Many musicians started to stress the importance of hymn-singing as the best kind of church music. At the same time, the actual state of congregational singing gave cause for complaint; many schooled musicians and members of the clergy saw it as extremely poor. These attempts to improve congregational singing went hand in hand with a similarly strong desire to reform hymns, a combination that in many cases led to rhythmically extremely simple chorale melodies and almost purely ethical lyrics (Feder 1975 [1964], 336).

The German composer and organist Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814, also known as Abbé Vogler), who worked as Royal *Kapellmeister* in Stockholm from 1786 to 1799, embraced the aesthetic ideas described above. He published an organ method³² in three volumes in 1798, 1799 and 1800, in which he instructed that the proper sing-

32 *Organist-Schola med 8 graverade tabeller.*

ing tempo of a hymn was slow and that the congregation's singing should be followed step by step. Not only the tempo should be chosen according to the chorale, but also the accompaniment. Vogler differentiated between the so-called 'chorale style' and 'musical style,' with a focus on the question of harmonies; according to Vogler, the 'musical style' did not sound bad, but it did not fit the church modes, nor did it aid in edification as required by the chorale. The older chorales were in church modes, which originally had no alterations so that their accompaniment, according to Vogler, should also be purely diatonic. For him, 'chorale style' thus meant pure diatonic scales both in the melody and accompaniment. Many other Germans had also pointed out the special position of the modes and demanded proper accompaniment for them; at the same time, they had elevated Johann Sebastian Bach's (1685–1750) four-part chorales as models for chorale arrangements. This kind of Bach School, however, with its highly chromatic harmonisations, was altogether unsuitable for Vogler. In the first part of his organ method, he warned organists against Bach's four-part chorale settings. What Vogler expected instead was a dissonance-free diatonic texture that was based on pure triads (Rathey 2004, 98–102).

Besides edification, unifying was one of the main goals in standardising congregational singing in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria as well. In addition, the uplifting and homophonic settings of the chorales and liturgical melodies described above were seen as the best vehicles for unifying congregational singing, considered to be suffering from the usage of local chorale variants. The first Finnish published four-part chorale book, Anders Nordlund's (1808–1880) from 1850, accurately represented this model. It was mostly based on Hæffner's Chorale Book from Sweden; two-thirds of the melodies and harmonies were taken from Hæffner (Vapaavuori 1997, 235). In the early nineteenth century, German-born Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner promoted chorale reform in Sweden. In his chorale book edition from 1808 as well as in his well-known and widespread Chorale Book, which was printed in two volumes in 1820 and 1821, Hæffner changed the rhythmic, melodic and harmonic design of the chorales into homophonic syllabic form by using mainly minims and rejecting the use of three-four time. According to Hæffner, a chorale had to be 'simple,' 'elevated,' 'serious' and 'solemn' (Dillmar 2001, *passim*; Vapaavuori 1997, 87). Not only Nordlund, but all of the chorale books published in Finland in the nineteenth century followed Hæffner's principles (see Figure 1).

146 361.

361
a

En - fös Her - raa Su - ma - laa - ni Nie - mu - wir - fin fiit - tai - - fi? En - fös juur - ta aut - ta.

361.

361
b

En - fös Her - raa Su - ma - laa - ni Nie - mu - wir - fin fiit - tai - - fi? En - fös juur - ta

147

Figure 1. The beginning of the chorale *Sollt ich meinem Gott nicht singen* (*I will sing my Maker's praises*) from Lagi and Faltin's 1871 Chorale Book. Rhythm in the first version is in even-note form, whereas the second version is in original form. There was a discussion in nineteenth-century Finland on returning to the rhythmically livelier original melodic forms, but the dominance of the even-note chorales nevertheless continued.

For his view on the proper design of the chorales, Häffner had received influences directly from Germany. When he came to Sweden in 1781, he was only twenty-two years old but had already got a wide range of education and experience as a musician. As a child, he had become acquainted with Luther's chorale melodies and Bach's music through his father, who worked as a schoolmaster and church musician, and through a local pastor in his home parish. At the age of ten, he began to study organ-playing in Schmalkalden under Johann Gottfried Vierling (1750–1813), who later published a four-part chorale book. After that, for several years he toured different German towns, studied aesthetics and recitation, and also became acquainted with Catholic church music, Herrnhutian hymn-singing and theatre music. Therefore, Häffner knew the German discussion on hymn-singing and German chorale books of the time; his own followed much of their style, especially Johann Adam Hiller's (1728–1804) from the 1790s (Dillmar 2001, 88–95).

Similar ideas were present in Finland as well. For instance, Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) who was a member of the committee to compile a Swedish hymnal wrote how great a blessing it was to have 'beautiful, simple, dignified hymn melodies, for they lift, like wordless prayers, the heart of the singer immediately before

the throne of God.³³ For Topelius, these kind of chorales were supermundane: ‘Their great preference is the freedom from the restrictions that enclose our earthly concepts and reflections that constantly imposes on us.’³⁴ For that reason, it was important to make sure that there were melodies in the hymnal that did not entangle congregational singing with difficult-to-sing melodies. On the other hand, it was worth avoiding such trivial and meaningless melodies that would have flattened it (Topelius 1876, 13).

Hæffner’s Chorale Book was in use in some places in Finland even before Nordlund published his book, so the aesthetic principle was known in Finland by the first part of the nineteenth century. Nordlund’s Chorale Book also spread in Ingria and was used in the Kolppana Teacher and Churchwarden Seminary from its founding in 1863 on. Presumably, the Romantic aesthetic idea with even-note chorales was already rooted in at least some people in Ingria because Punschel’s German Chorale Book, printed already in 1839, was in use in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia, to which the Finnish Lutheran parishes in Ingria belonged. Finally, it is worth mentioning that many chorale books with *sifferskrift* numbered notation (see Chapter 3.2), as well as all of the published collections of liturgical music, followed, to quote Schleiermacher, the ideas of simplicity and chastity.

Another sign of embracing these aesthetic principals in Finland and Ingria was the change of the training of churchwardens and organists; a master-apprentice training was replaced by educational institutes, the churchwarden-organist schools in Finland and the Kolppana Churchwarden and Teacher Seminary in Ingria (see Chapter 3.5). One piece of evidence for the adoption of the aesthetic ideas described above was the teaching material used in these schools, especially the organ methods. At the beginning of the century, there were few organs in Finland and almost none in Ingria, but they became more common towards the end of the century (see Chapter 3.2). They were not always positively received, however, since many people thought they just interfered with singing. In any case, organ-playing was taught in the churchwarden-organist schools and Kolppana Seminary.

33 [S]köna, enkla, värdiga psalmmelodier, ty de lyfta, såsom ordlösa böner, den sjungandes hjerta omedelbart inför Guds thron.’

34 ‘Deras stora företräde är friheten från inskränkningar, som widlåda våra jordiska begrepp och dem reflexionen beständigt påtrugar oss.’

In nineteenth-century Germany, a large number of organ methods were published, and the aesthetics of the Romantic philosophy are clearly visible in many of them. For example, Friedrich Schneider (1786–1853) in his organ method (1830) regarded the organ specifically as an instrument of the Divine Service and emphasised the role of the organ in elevating the souls of the congregation above worldly things as well as in contemplating invisible divine things:

The organ is consecrated to the sanctuary and to sacred music; and is intended to be subservient to the edification of a congregation assembled together for divine worship; to support and to accompany, in a proper manner, the singing; and to be instrumental in promoting a devotional frame of mind and the edification of the soul, and its elevation above every thing earthly, to the contemplation of things invisible and divine; a noble object, which can only be attained by a style of performance suited to the holiness of the place and the sacredness of the subjects. The proper management of this sublime instrument can induce a devotional spirit and an elevation of mind in the scientific hearer, as well as in any individual of feeling. The sound of the organ is able to insinuate itself by mild and tender tones and then the mind is filled with the pious tranquility of filial devotion, but it can also elevate itself to majesty and pomp, and peal and roll like storm and thunder, and then it elevates our hearts with sublime emotions.³⁵ (Schneider 1830, 1–2. Transl. by Charles Flakman in Emmett s.a., 2–3.)

35 ‘Die Orgel ist dem Tempel der heiligen Musik geweiht und soll zur Erbauung einer zur Gottesverehrung versammelten Gemeinde dienen, soll den Gesang auf eine würdige Weise unterstützen, begleiten, soll andächtiger Stimmung und Erbauung der Seele und ihrer Erhebung über alles Irdische zur Ahnung und Beschauung des Unsichtbaren, des Göttlichen – förderlich sein. Die Orgel ist da zur Verherrlichung des Gottesdienstes, und zur Erhaltung des Gesanges. Sie ist bestimmt theils allein zu wirken, um andächtige Gefühle vorzubereiten und anzuregen, theils die sich im Gesang einer ganzen Gemeinde aussprechende Gefühle auf würdige Weise zu unterstützen und zu erhöhen; ein hoher Zweck, der nur durch ein der Heiligkeit des Orts und der Würde der Gegenstände angemessenes Spiel erreicht werden kann. Eine würdige Behandlung dieses erhabenen Instruments kann sowohl kunstsinnigen Hörer, so wie jeden gefühlvollen Menschen zur Andacht stimmen und das Gemüth erheben. Der Orgelklang vermag sich durch sanfte, liebliche Töne einzuschmeicheln, und fromme Ruhe der kindlichen Andacht erfüllt das Gemüth; aber er erhebt sich auch zur Majestät und Pracht, und brauset und rollet wie Sturm und Donner und erschütteret mit erhabenen Empfindungen unser Hertz.’

Ernst Friedrich Richter (1808–1879), on the other hand, urges the organist not to bring out his own personality when accompanying at a Divine Service. He writes in his *Katechismus der Orgel* ('Catechism of the Organ'; 1868, 109) that adequate accompaniment of congregational singing and free imagination are most needed at Divine Services. Then he describes how an accompanist can prevent congregational singing from falling into a sluggish tempo and how to avoid monotony and boredom with doing changes in harmonisation. Then he continues:

However, all of this must be done with insight and moderation, without disturbing the singing and without causing undue attention. The organist should play in such a way that, with all artistic performance, attention is not directed to his own person, but to the actual matter, which is the only way to produce the right effect.³⁶ (Richter 1868, 109. Transl. by the author.)

On the other hand, there were plenty of German organ methods of a practical-theoretical nature without philosophical reflection. Their emphasis was on the presentation of suitable repertoire and the technical study of organ-playing through short rehearsal pieces or wider works of music. August Gottfried Ritter's (1811–1885) organ method (s.a.) was one of the best-known.

Many of these German organ methods were available and in use in Finland and Ingria. Pedal etudes by Schneider were played in the churchwarden-organist schools in Helsinki and Viipuri, and Gustav Merkel's (1827–1885) organ method³⁷ (s.a.) was in use both in Helsinki and Turku. Richter's small compositions belonged to the curriculum in Helsinki, so it is probable that his 'Catechism of the Organ' was also known (Mietintö 1909³⁸, 53–56). Ritter's organ method was used both in the church-

36 'Alles dies muß aber mit Einsicht und Mäßigung geschehen, ohne Störungen des Gesanges, und ohne ungehöriges Aufsehen zu erregen. Der Organist soll so spielen, daß bei aller künstlerischen Ausführung die Aufmerksamkeit nicht auf seine Person, sondern auf die Sache gerichtet ist, durch welche allein er die rechte Wirkung hervorzubringen vermag.'

37 Oskar Merikanto (1868–1924) translated Merkel's organ method into Finnish in the early twentieth century (see Merkel and Merikanto s.a.).

38 This survey was made in 1909, but I assume that the same teaching materials had already come into use by the nineteenth century because all of the books mentioned here had already been published at that time, and Richard Faltin recommended many of these in 1887.

warden-organist schools in Helsinki, Turku and Viipuri as well as in the Kolppana Seminary in Ingrid (KA, The archives of the Kolppana Seminary, Da:6; Mietintö 1909, 61, 67, 69). According to newspaper advertisements, Johann Gottlob Werner (1777–1822; 1807), Christian Heinrich Strube (1803–1850; 1850) and Carl Christian Kegel's (1770–1843; 1830) organ methods were also offered for sale in Finland. Likewise, the Swedish translations of Justin Heinrich Knecht's (1752–1817; 1825 [1795]) and Carl Heinrich Zöllner's (1792–1836; 1842 [1838]) organ methods were also available (*Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* 24 July 1841; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 9 August 1858). The Organist of Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki, Rudolf Lagi owned Christian Heinrich Rinck's (1770–1846) *Theoretisch-Practische Anleitung zum Orgelspielen* (Tuppurainen 1994, 106, footnote 232).

The dominance of the German philosophy, including the aesthetics of music and understanding of the nature of liturgical music, is thus evident when sifting through the teaching material of the schools mentioned. One reason for this in Finnish churchwarden-organist schools was that German-born Richard Faltin (1835–1918) inspected these schools in 1887. He recommended many German books; the only exception was the vocalises of the Italian Giuseppe Concone (1801–1861), which Faltin recommended for teaching singing. The only French book whatsoever used in these schools was the Belgian Jacques-Nicolas Lemmens's (1823–1881) organ method (1862), used at first in the Churchwarden-Organist School in Turku. According to Richard Faltin, it was 'unsuitable' and, thus, on his recommendation, it was replaced by Ritter and Merkel's (Mietintö 1909, 67–69). However, Lemmens also had an indirect influence in Finland; the Swedish church musician Gustaf Mankell (1812–1880), brother of Abraham Mankell, published an organ method (1867) that was predominantly a translation and revision of Lemmens's. In addition, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* (1 September 1884) introduced Lars Nilson's (1830–1904) *Tekniska studier för pedalspelning* ('System of Technical Studies in Pedal Playing'), which followed Lemmens's method. According to the article, Mankell's pupil and successor as the teacher of organ at the Royal Conservatory of Music, August Lagergren (1848–1908) recommended Nilson's book. Later Lagergren himself published an organ method (1894) that followed Lemmens and Mankell's principles, aiming to achieve 'absolute *legato*'.³⁹

39 I express my gratitude to my Swedish colleague Jonas Lundblad, who helped me to map the organ methods published in nineteenth-century Sweden.

The impact of many organists who published organ methods was also felt directly through their pupils. Gustaf Mankell taught at least two Finnish organists, Lauri Hämäläinen and Rudolf Lagi. The founder of the Turku Churchwarden-Organist School and the Organist of Turku Cathedral, Oscar Pahlman (1839–1935) was both Mankell and Gustav Merkel's pupil. Richard Faltin and the Organist of Porvoo, Gabriel Linsén (1838–1914) studied under Ernst Richter in Leipzig (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 28–29; K. Jalkanen 1978, 42; Tuppurainen 1994, 106–107, 207), Faltin also under Friedrich Schneider in Dessau (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 20–26). Gustaf Mankell himself gave concerts in Finland in 1865 and C.H. Rinck's pupil, the organist of Saint Anna's Church in Saint Petersburg, Johann Zundel (1815–1882) in 1846 (Urponen 2010, 34–35, 41).

As mentioned, the organ was used in Divine Services to transitions as well. The idea was to connect different parts of the liturgy; preludes, chorale harmonisation, supplemental cadences and modulations followed each other 'like pearls in a chain' (Peitsalo 2017, 253, 266). In Germany, composed transitions were often considered better than improvisation. For instance, Friedrich Schneider (1830, 69) criticised organists who improvised and modulated endlessly and aimlessly instead of playing composed music. A similar attitude was evident in Finland as well; in the latter half of the nineteenth century, both Lauri Hämäläinen (1869, 1870 and 1878) and Richard Faltin (1892) published collections of chorale preludes and endings. Faltin also published short preludes and endings for hymns (1871 and 1889); both of them were included in each chorale also in the revised edition of Faltin and Otto Immanuel Colliander's (1848–1924) *Chorale Book* (1897). Hymns were thus preceded by a short prelude and terminated with an ending, i.e. an additional, usually plagal cadence carrying on the final note of the hymn melody (Peitsalo 2017, 253).

It is also notable that improvisation was not included in a curriculum in any Finnish churchwarden-organist schools, nor in the Kolppana Seminary, whereas modulation skills were considered necessary. Most likely, ready-made formulas were favoured in the teaching of modulation as well. At least Gotthilf Wilhelm Körner's (1809–1865) *Der praktische Organist* (1890), which included small organ pieces, preludes and postludes for hymns as well as formulas for modulation, were used in Turku. Ludwig Bussler's (1838–1900) *Praktische Harmonielehre* (1875) was a manual for harmonisation in Turku and Viipuri (Mietintö 1909, 53–56, 66–69).

2.2 Lutheran Theology

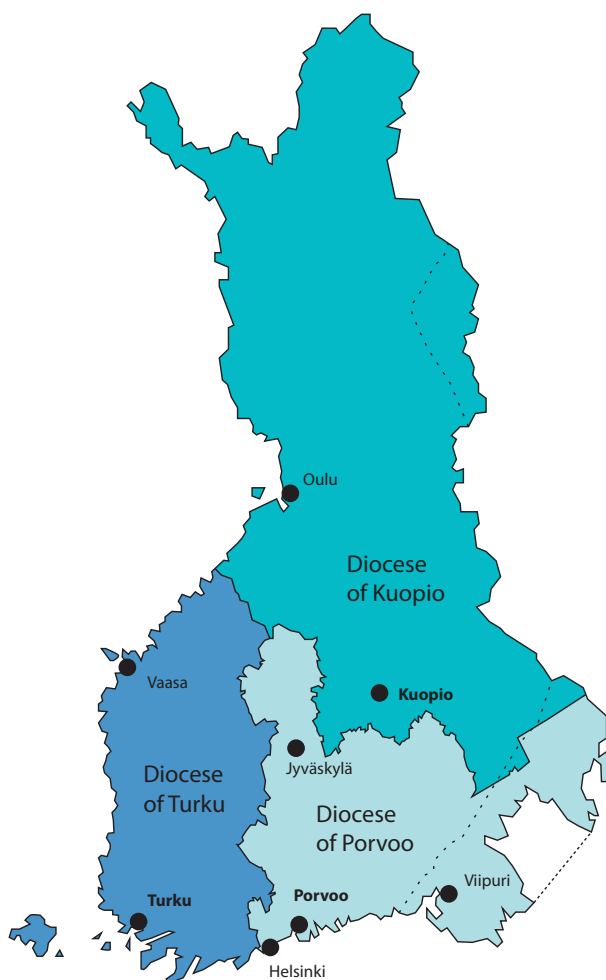
I have dealt with the impact of the Enlightenment philosophy, but now it is time to ask: What was the theological reason for the transition from rich and flourishing Baroque music culture to simple and solemn practice? And how was this change seen in Finland and Ingria? I will next present the theological trends that had an impact on liturgy and congregational singing in Finland and Ingria. At the beginning of each chapter, I briefly present the trend in question, and then I discuss its impact in Finland and Ingria. I approach the topic by referring to earlier related studies but also by analysing texts of Professor of Practical Theology and later Bishop of Kuopio (see Map 5) and Savonlinna (see Map 6), Otto Immanuel Colliander, who often discussed questions about congregational singing, hymnology and liturgy in the late nineteenth century, and also published a four-part chorale book with Richard Faltin.

It is necessary to start this review from the end of the sixteenth century. The reason for this is that Lutheran Orthodoxy formed around this time but was still influential in the nineteenth century, as theologically represented in the Handbook (1693) and Hymnal (1701), still in use in early-nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. According to Colliander (1877, 181), in the Reformation era, the Lutheran liturgy was celebrated in its fresh life and its rich diversity. Unfortunately, it did not remain untouched for long. Through the ‘dead faith of Lutheran Orthodoxy,’ the inner life of the Church grew more rigid, leaving little life-giving essence in these liturgical forms. They lapsed, claimed Colliander, ‘into empty shells and a Catholic *opus operatum*⁴⁰.’ But Rationalism and Pietism seemed to have had an even worse impact on the liturgy in Colliander’s eyes.

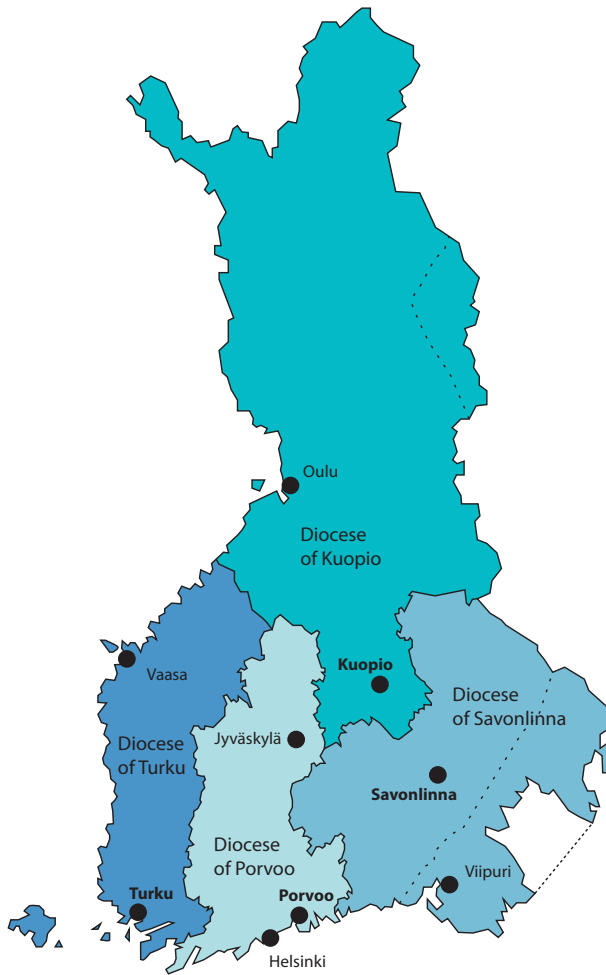
The period following the deaths of Martin Luther in 1546 and Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) in 1560 was characterised by theological controversies which were resolved in an authoritative Lutheran statement of faith, the 1577 Formula of Concord (*Formula concordiae*). This reconsolidation of theology started an era called

40 Colliander refers to Catholic doctrine, according to which the sacraments derive their efficacy *ex opera operato*, ‘from the work performed,’ i.e. regardless of the pastor or recipient, whereas Lutherans have stressed the significance of personal faith. Colliander himself underlined personal faith much more strongly than mainstream Lutheran theology in his own time or later (Murtorinne 1986, 171).

Lutheran Orthodoxy; it lasted until the Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. To put it briefly, characteristic to this sentiment were the definition and consolidation of the correct Lutheran doctrine, the verbal dictation theory as well as the firm confidence that the doctrine expressed in Lutheran recognition is biblical and contains the truth of Christianity. This kind of theology naturally also had an impact on hymnody and liturgy (for more information about Lutheran Orthodoxy, see e.g. Baur 2010).



Map 5. The dioceses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, 1851–1897.



Map 6. The dioceses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, 1897–1923.

In the era of Lutheran Orthodoxy, congregations maintained the full rituals in their normal Divine Services, as suggested by Luther. Holy Communion was celebrated on each Sunday and festival. Divine Services were conducted in the vernacular, but in many Lutheran countries, Latin was also present. Even though Colliander claimed that liturgy lapsed ‘into empty shells,’ church music flourished, and this era is considered as a ‘golden age’ of Lutheran hymnody. From a musical point of view, the liturgy was in fact richer than it was to become, in the nineteenth century (see further e.g. Blume 1975 [1964], 186–250).

Neology and Rationalism

In the eighteenth century, the European Enlightenment, adopting the sentiments of the modern Scientific Revolution, challenged many traditional Christian assumptions but also gradually influenced the Protestant theology. In contrast to Lutheran Orthodoxy's dogmatic and theoretical character, Lutheran theologians started to defend the notion of the harmony between reason and revelation as well as underlining the pragmatic nature of Christianity. The chief sentiment of this kind of Enlightenment theology, known as Neology, dominated Lutheranism in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially in Germany. It also dominated Lutheran theology in Finland by the end of the 1820s, mostly through the most influential Finnish theologian and the first archbishop of Finland, Jakob Tengström (1755–1832; Murtorinne 1986, 11–16).

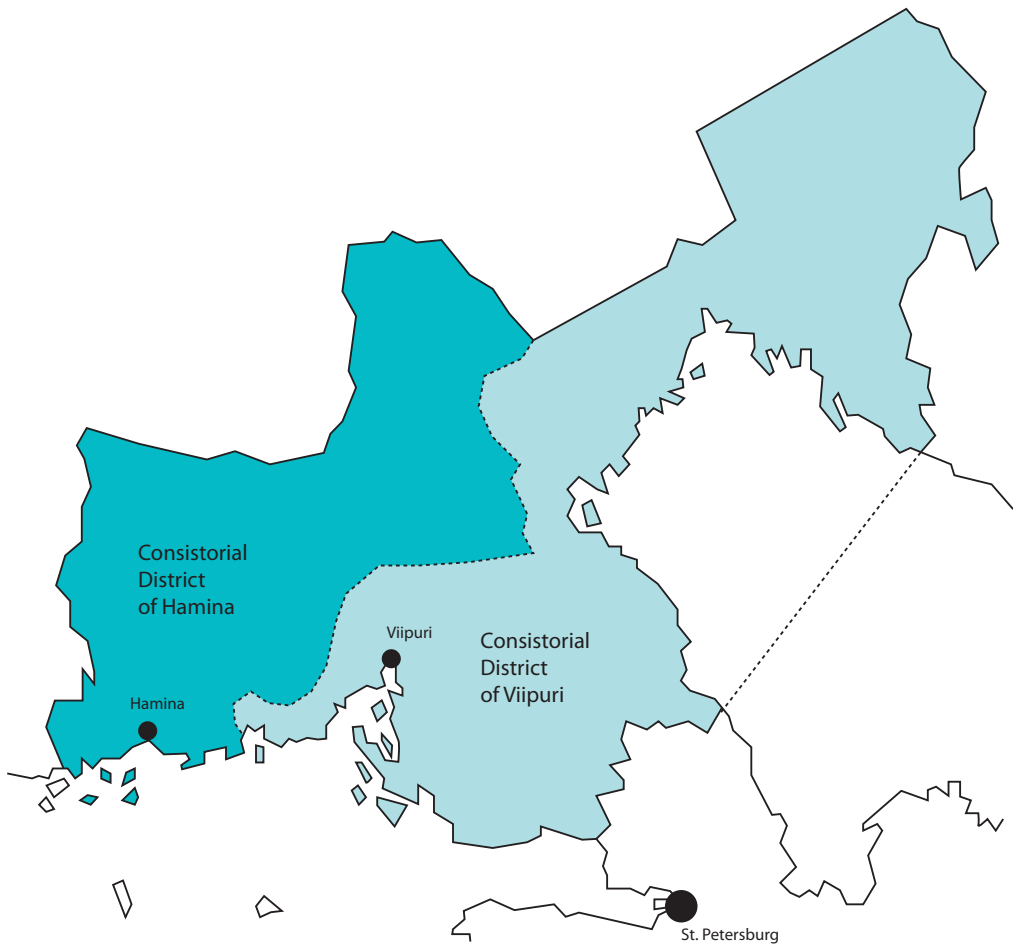
In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, influenced by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the European Enlightenment theology split into two opposite wings, the more liberal Rationalism and the more conservative Supranaturalism, which turned back towards Lutheran Orthodoxy (Murtorinne 1986, 13–14). In this way, Lutheranism mirrored developments in other Protestant denominations as well as Roman Catholicism. Regardless of denominational differences, however, the real division was increasingly between those who embraced the new thoughts of the Enlightenment and those who rejected them.

The Enlightenment also produced a change in the traditional liturgy and the Lutheran hymn. The liturgical forms had been disintegrating since the time of the Reformation, but now Pietism, Neology and Rationalism, diminished both the appreciation for and amount of music. According to rationalistic thought, the goal of the liturgy was to be determined by the very purpose of the church itself, which was to help its members reach the highest level of morality and satisfaction consistent with contemporary religious and moral circumstances and the needs of the community (Petkūnas 2013, 67–68). From then on, the most important part of the Divine Service was the sermon and the service neglected liturgical formulas and merely preserved their remnants. From the sung parts, only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* as well as some isolated hymns and the *Magnificat* of the Vespers remained. The popularity that the Lutheran hymn had enjoyed during the era of Lutheran Orthodoxy was not completely lost, but because the official German hymnals restricted themselves only to hymns from the Reformation era, many older hymns were left out and forgotten (Blume 1975 [1964], 256–257).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the old Swedish 1693 Handbook was still in use both in Sweden, to which Finland still belonged, and Ingria. The discussion about renewing the Handbook and the Hymnal started in Sweden at the end of the 1780s. When traveling around Europe, King Gustav III (r. 1771–1792) had seen the liturgical richness of both the Catholic and Anglican Mass and thereby embraced a new sense of aesthetics as well as a general cultural perspective to the liturgy. At the same time the Swedish clergy still mostly remained satisfied with their conservative liturgy. In fact, Jakob Tengström was the first to take an official initiative of renewal of the Handbook in 1786, but his proposal was not even discussed at the clerical estate in the Diet. The discussion took place three years later in the Diet when the King wanted to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the 1593 Uppsala Synod by also making changes to the Divine Service. In May 1792 – six weeks after the murder of King Gustav III – the Privy Council decided that diocesan chapters had to make proposals for changes needed in the Handbook (Marling 1992, 81–84). Consequently, there were different kinds of proposals, based on which the Handbook Committee, founded in 1793, finally made the final proposal in 1799. However, a new king, Gustav IV Adolf (r. 1792–1809), did not favour it and declared that he would do nothing to promote the renewal of the Mass (*ibid.*, 86–87). Despite that, the process restarted in 1809, but by that time, Finland was no longer part of the Swedish Kingdom. Nevertheless, the Finns observed the project; at least Jakob Tengström did it with great interest because the new Swedish Handbook, published in 1811, was a fulfilment of his Neological thoughts about liturgy.

The 1811 Swedish Handbook was published in 1817 in Finnish⁴¹ for Finnish-speaking parishes in Sweden. In the same year, there was a discussion at the Clergy Conference in Porvoo about whether it would have been allowed to use it also in Finland. The proposal was dismissed, but the Handbook nonetheless spread in Finland because many pastors preferred both its Enlightenment theology and renewed language (Rosenqvist 1935, 417). From the point of view of singing, there was only one difference in comparison with the 1693 Handbook: the opening hymn was added.

41 *Käsi-Kirja, josa säätään, kuinga Jumalan-Palvelus Ruotsin Seurakunnissa toimitettaman pitää. Ylitsekatsoitu, Parattu ja Lisätty, niin myös Kuning. Maj:tin Armolisella suostumisella Waldakunnan Säädyiltä noudattamisexi otettu Herrainpäivänä Stockholmissa Wuonna 1809.*



Map 7. Old Finland, i.e. the areas Sweden lost to Russia in 1721 and 1743, and that were joined to the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812. There were two consistorial districts, Viipuri and Hamina.

Rationalism, on the other hand, directly affected Old Finland through a new agenda. Even though Finland became a part of Russia in 1809, the south-eastern part of Finland in fact already belonged to the Russian Empire. Sweden lost this area called Old Finland⁴² (see Map 7) to Russia in the 1720s and 1740s. In the eighteenth century, although the uppermost administration of the Lutheran parishes of Old Finland was Russian, located in Saint Petersburg, they were allowed to have a similar congregational life with the Lutheran Church of Finland, and the vast majority of pastors were still educated at the Porvoo Grammar School⁴³ and the Royal Academy of Turku. There were two consistories, Viipuri and Hamina, led by the local vicars.

42 *Vanha Suomi* in Finnish, *Gamla Finland* in Swedish and *Старая Финляндия* in Russian.

43 *Porvoon lukio* in Finnish, *Borgå gymnasium* in Swedish.

Liturgical life had remained similar, and the 1693 Swedish Handbook was also still in use in Old Finland (Halila 1949, 100–101; Laasonen 1991, 409–412, 415). According to Erkki Kansanaho (1986, 48), the people of Old Finland primarily considered themselves Finns, even though the border separated them from the rest of Finland for decades. Alongside language and history, the central explanation for this was the Lutheran Church. This is perhaps why the Russians considered the population of Old Finland disloyal and blamed the Church and clergy for it.

To unify all of Lutherans in the Empire under a single liturgy, a publication called the Imperial Liturgical Directives⁴⁴ was published in Russia in 1805. A Rationalistic point of view was clearly expressed in the introduction:

The Protestant Church has no other purpose than to assist its members in achieving the highest human determination in morality and contentment, with constant regard to the existing religious and moral circumstances and needs of the parishes. And it recognises no other expedient means for this than the right use of the Bible and reasoning.⁴⁵ (Imperial Liturgical Directives 1805, 2. Transl. by the author.)

According to the Liturgical Directives, the Holy Communion was reserved only for special occasions (Petkūnas 2013, 64). From a musical point of view, this meant that in comparison with the 1693 Handbook, both singing hymns and liturgical melodies decreased because the whole Communion Mass with all of its sung parts was left out when there was no Lord's Supper.

The aim of the Liturgical Directives was to unify the Lutheran liturgy in the Russian Empire, but this aim was not achieved. The biggest reason for this was the small number of instructions for officiating the liturgy; for example, no exact words but only formulas were given for prayers. Consequently, many pastors considered the

44 *Seiner Kaiserlichen Majestät allerhöchst bestätigte allgemeine liturgische Verordnung für die evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden im Russischen Reiche.*

45 'Die protestantische Kirche hat keinen andern Zweck, als ihren Mitgliedern zur Erreichung der ganzen höchsten Menschenbestimmung in Sittlichkeit und Zufriedenheit behülflich zu seyn, mit steter Hinsicht auf die jedesmaligen religiösen und moralischen Umstände und Bedürfnisse der Gemeinden. Und sie erkennet dazu keine andere Mittel für zweckmäßig, als den rechten Gebrauch der Bibel und Vernunft.'

Liturgical Directives a regulatory document, a loose frame into which they could place all of the parts of the liturgy in a form with which they were already familiar (Kansanaho 1956, 147; Petkūnas 2013, 57, 68–69). In Old Finland, both the Viipuri and Hamina Consistories received copies of the new liturgy to be distributed to the parishes. In addition, they were required to translate it into Finnish and to give instructions by following the Rationalistic spirit of the liturgy for using it. In Viipuri Consistorial District, there were efforts to get a new agenda by, for instance, the Vicar of Rautu, Jakob Åkerstedt (1757–1827), but they went nowhere (Kansanaho 1956, 147–148 and footnote 26).

The only exception was the Hamina Consistory, which applied the College of Justice in Saint Petersburg for an exemption from these new regulations in the Liturgical Directives because conservative and ordinary folk would be offended by the new Rationalist theology. The Consistory received the response that the Liturgical Directives must be implemented without further delay. Nevertheless, they did not translate the book as such into Finnish and Swedish but published in 1808 a brief agenda ⁴⁶that attempted to build a proper service according to the general outlines of the Divine Service given in the Liturgical Directives. Even though it differed from the Liturgical Directives in some ways, the service was to a large degree liturgically impoverished in comparison with the Swedish 1693 Handbook. The result was that in the Hamina Consistorial District, pastors were forced to perform the liturgy strongly influenced by Rationalism, whereas in Ingria and the Viipuri Consistorial District, pastors were allowed to interpret the new regulations as they saw fit; i.e. by using the 1693 Handbook and the 1805 Imperial Liturgical Directives side by side (Kansanaho 1956, 147–148; Petkūnas 2013, 70–72). Besides the Hamina Consistorial District, the 1808 Hamina Agenda was also used in Parikkala parish, which was under the authority of Viipuri Consistory because Vicar Henrik Fenander (1763–1831) was thrilled about it. In 1812 when Old Finland was joined to the Grand Duchy of Finland, bishop of Porvoo Magnus Jacob Alopaeus instructed parishes to go back to using the 1693 Swedish Handbook (Kansanaho 1956, 149–150).

46 *Käsi-Kirja jossa Käsitetty on Kuinga Jumalan-palvelus Kristillisten Seremoniain ja menoin kansa, Friedrichshaminan Hippakunnan Ruotsin ja Suomen Seurakunnissa pidettämän ja toimitettaman pitää. Sen kaikkein korkeimmast wahvistetun, Lutheruxen opin Seurakunnille Wenäjän Waldakunnassa ulosannetun Liturgin asetuxen jälkeen ojettu Wuonna 1806.*

In other parts of Finland, Rationalistic thought took root more slowly. In 1817, committees were set up to make proposals for a new agenda, hymnal, church law and catechism. As already mentioned, Archbishop Jakob Tengström, the chair of these committees, was influenced by Neology (Murtorinne 1992, 12–13, 44). However, during the renewal work, neo-Lutheran thought arrived in Finland from Germany, in reaction against Neology (*ibid.*, 47–48). Together with the influence of Pietistic movements, these thoughts were the reason why the process of publishing new books was postponed until the end of the century.

In Sweden, J.C.F. Hæffner and Olof Åhlström's 1799 collection of liturgical melodies had to be renewed according to the 1811 rationalistic-minded Handbook. For some reason, the men did not do it together this time but rather each published their own versions, Hæffner in 1817 and Åhlström in 1818. Both of these collections followed the 1799 collection and included only one series of liturgical melodies. In addition, only the *Sanctus* had alternative melodies. Hæffner harmonised the melodies, which no longer resembled the earlier published Gregorian-based melodies, for four-part choral singing or organ accompaniment. There was accompaniment even in the liturgist's sung parts in Hæffner's 1817 edition. These solutions were based on Central European rationalistic insights, according to which four-part choral singing and devout solemnity were the best tools for raising the congregation's spiritual life (Vapaavuori 1994, 24–25). Hæffner's liturgical style had a huge impact on liturgical singing in Finland and to a certain extent also in Ingria (see Chapter 4).

In addition, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, a new Swedish Hymnal was published in 1819. It did not affect congregational singing in Finland as much as Hæffner's liturgical work. There was a discussion, however, about whether or not the Swedish Hymnal should have been taken into use in Swedish-speaking parishes in Finland as well. The archbishop with his Rationalist ideas naturally supported the idea, but it was nevertheless dismissed (Hallio 1928, 20–22; Niemi 1954, 16–18, 35–37). According to the Vicar of Saint Catherine's Swedish parish in Saint Petersburg, Herman Kajanus (1852–1913), they took into use a new edition in 1834 which included both the 1819 Swedish Hymnal, albeit slightly modified by his predecessor Eric Gustaf Ehrström, and some parts of the 1832 Imperial Agenda (Kajanus 1980 [s.a.], 23–24). According to a pseudonymous Furumo⁴⁷ in *Borgå Tidning* (29 May 1850), both the new Swedish Hymnal and the Handbook were in use in the Swed-

47 According to Hilja Niemi (1954, 36, footnote 82), the pseudonym Furumo was used by Pastor Johan Granbom.

ish-speaking parishes in Russia; it is possible, however, that he had seen Ehrström's version of the Hymnal and mistakenly thought that the Agenda also came from Sweden since the Hymnal was from there.

Pietism and Spiritual Movements

Pietism was an influential religious reform movement that began among the German Lutherans in the latter half of the seventeenth century. As a phenomenon of personal religious renewal, it emphasised personal faith against doctrine and theology and later became concerned with social and educational matters. One of the most remarkable impacts of Pietism was a new emphasis on the role of the laity in the church (Wallmann 1997 [1990], 11). Pietism was divided into many different alignments; there is no need to introduce the whole multiplicity of different groups; it will suffice to outline the starting points and main trends: Halle Pietism and the Bohemian Brethren.

During the period of the Lutheran Orthodoxy, some Lutheran theologians started to argue that Christianity was not so much a system of doctrine as a guide for practical Christian living. The most well-known among them was Johann Arndt (1555–1621), whose writings, mainly of a mystical and devotional kind, were very popular in seventeenth-century Lutheran Europe (Wallmann 1997 [1990], 20–21). Arndt's chief work, *Wabres Christentum* (*True Christianity*; four books, published in 1605–1609) was a guide to the meditative and devotional life. The central feature of the book was the mystical union between the believer and Christ. Arndt endeavoured to shift Lutheran theology's strict focus on Christ's death *for* His people to the life of Christ *within* His people. Arndt was highly respected both among Protestants and Catholics, but especially among German Pietists (*ibid.*, 23, 26–32). The founder of Pietism, Pastor Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) from Frankfurt repeatedly called attention to Arndt and his books (*ibid.*, 53–55).

The year 1675 has often been considered a starting point for Pietism. In that year, Spener published his book *Pia desideria* (*Pious Desires*), in which he called for greater commitment to Christian living and the fundamental reform of theological education. Focusing on personal transformation through spiritual rebirth and renewal as well as the piety of the individual, the movement generated 'little churches within the church' (*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*) for prayer, reading the Bible, moral observation and

works of charity. Even though Spener did not aim to leave the Lutheran Church, he was deeply offended by what he considered the ignorance of the clergy and the church's lack of spiritual vitality (Wallmann 1997 [1990], 67–74).

Spener's notions were institutionalised in the town of Halle in Germany by August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), who established Francke Foundations (*Frankesche Stiftungen*) schools as well as an orphanage, a printing house and similar facilities. These Halle Foundations, still functioning today, put into practice Pietist beliefs regarding sanctified living, practical education and concern for neighbours in need (Wallmann 1997 [1990], 103–107, 117). Steps for establishing smaller religious communities received their final and characteristic expression in the Bohemian Brethren's Congregation in Herrnhut, founded by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) in 1722 (*ibid.*, 170–173).

From a musical point of view, Pietism, together with Rationalism, diminished the role of music in the Lutheran liturgy. It would however be false to claim that music would have collapsed under the impact of the battles between Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism. The mission of the music, i.e. to proclaim the revealed Word, had not changed. The music had to be based on a biblical text and a chorale; to support these or translate them into the language and understanding of the congregation. The inherent mysticism of the Pietistic movement inspired composers, although its puritanism, sobriety and rationality led the most prominent Pietistic musicians to a theoretical rejection of all higher art music. All of the prominent Pietistic leaders, among them Spener, Francke and Zinzendorf, agreed that only plain hymns with simple organ accompaniment were appropriate for the pious Christian (Blume 1975 [1964], 254–255).

Many Pietism-based awakening movements also came into being in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Finland and Ingria. During the nineteenth century, the plethora of earlier spiritual movements crystallised into four major groups; the Prayer Movement⁴⁸, the Awakened, the Evangelical Movement⁴⁹ and Laestadianism⁵⁰. Because there were clergymen among all of their leaders, these

48 *Rukoilevaisuus* in Finnish.

49 *Evangelisuus* in Finnish, *den evangeliska rörelsen* in Swedish.

50 *Lestadiolaisuus* in Finnish, *laestadianismen* in Swedish.

movements remained within the Lutheran Church, in contrast with, for instance, the situation in Sweden, where the revivalist movements became the origin of free churches (Murtorinne 1992, 106). This meant that the Finnish spiritual movements did not create their own liturgies – as the Herrnhut Brethren did in Germany, for example (see Feder 1975 [1964], 335). Instead, they had a remarkable impact on hymn-singing by creating new local hymn texts and by bringing hymns from abroad as well as by strengthening hymn-singing in homes and using common hymn-singing outside the churches, i.e. at new kinds of spiritual gatherings.

The first and the oldest of the four major spiritual movements in Finland was the laity-led Prayer Movement, which had its roots in a popular revival movement in South-West Finland. Long devotional meetings and a great deal of kneeling and praying were the hallmarks of the movement and the reason for its name. Even after the appearance of the new Hymnal and Handbook in 1886, the Prayer Movement distinguished by holding to the 1776 Old Church Bible, the 1693 Handbook as well as the old Hymnal from 1701 (Murtorinne 1992, 110–117).

The background to the second group, the Awakened, was an ecstatic popular revivalist movement that sprang up in the 1790s in Northern Savo. In the 1810s it came under the leadership of Paavo Ruotsalainen (1777–1852), a peasant from Nilsiä, who emphasised faith as something to be awaited or longed for. In the 1830s, Ruotsalainen started to collaborate with an Ostrobothnian Pietistic movement led by some younger clergymen, and he also became the most authoritative person within this group. The movement overcame class boundaries, bringing the educated classes and peasants closer to each other (Murtorinne 1992, 127–141). Nevertheless, the movement underwent a crisis in the 1840s and 1850s when Pastor Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg (1811–1893) and revivalist clergy from southern and south-western Finland joined together to establish the Evangelical Movement. This movement, third of the major spiritual movements in Finland, was also supported in many Swedish-speaking parishes (*ibid.* 154–163, 167–174).

The fourth of these major groups likewise started in the 1840s when the sermons of Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861), the Vicar of Kaaresuvanto, Sweden's northernmost parish, generated revivalist sentiments that spread into Finnish Lapland on the eastern bank of the Tornio River. The movement was distinguished by its

doctrine of confession and absolution granted by the community of believers. Laestadianism's policy of strict separation from the rest of society as well as the ecstatic outpourings of its members at their meetings were off-putting features for many (Murtorinne 1992, 178–188).

Hymn-singing was a part of the religious prayer meetings⁵¹ of all of the Finnish Pietism-based movements, but besides the Hymnal, there also were other collections of spiritual songs (Suojanen 1984, 30). The most commonly used were *Sionin Wirret* ('The Hymns of Zion'), published by the Herrnhut Brethren in Stockholm in the 1740s, translated into Finnish in 1790, and the Finnish collection *Halullisten Sieluin Hengellisiä Lauluja* ('The Spiritual Songs for Devout Souls') also published in 1790. By the end of the century, the hymn-singing traditions of these movements started to separate from one another. Wilhelm Malmberg (1854–1922) edited and revised a new version of *Sionin Wirret* for the Awakened in 1893, whereas the Prayer Movement stuck to the old songbooks. It is noteworthy that, unlike in Sweden, new Pietistic songs were sung in Finland using chorale variants as melodies (Moberg 1932, 441–442). The reason for this was that the editor of *Sionin Wirret*, Elias Lagus (1741–1819) marked each song with a reference to a hymn with the same meter. That way the people did not have to learn new melodies. Even today, both the Awakened and Prayer Movement sing their songs mostly using chorale variants. The Evangelical Movement got its own collection in 1874–1881 when *Siionin Kannel* ('The Zion Kantele') appeared for the first time in booklet form (Suojanen 1984, 143, 149, 169–170). Laestadians also published several small song collections in the late nineteenth century (*ibid.*, 157). When discussing the impact of spiritual movements from a musical point of view, one noteworthy feature is that they brought in new repertoire from outside of official hymnals (see Chapter 3.10).

The vernacular hymn-singing tradition by the Awakened was also a counterreaction to the standardisation process of congregational singing. The Awakened did not want to embrace the new uplifting and uniform way to sing chorales but continued using chorale variants and unaccompanied singing. Even after the number of the organs in Finnish churches as well as the number of musical instruments in homes and schools had increased during the nineteenth century, the Awakened continued singing *Sionin Wirret* unaccompanied. There might have been at least three reasons

51 *Seurat* in Finnish.

for this. Firstly, at the time that congregational singing was changing to be accompanied and unified, the Awakened wanted to maintain their singing tradition as a vernacular singing style and continue using chorale variants of their own tradition because they often emphasised their peasant background. There were no composers among them, nor a need for new compositions (see Suojanen 1984, 149–152). Secondly, the Pietistic idea of everybody's personal faith might have been related to everybody's personal voice as well. In a spiritual sense, the accompaniment was something outward and unnecessary. Finally, the third reason might have been just practical; the prayer meetings of the Awakened happened mostly at peasant homes and in summer in the open air, so there was no practical chance to use instruments. There were no leaders or preceptors for singing either who would have taught the 'right' and uniform melodies.

O.I. Colliander had a Pietistic background; he was born on a manor famous for the use of the Awakened tradition. Nevertheless, he did not appreciate Pietistic singing traditions. According to Colliander (1880, 16, 262), Pietism initially sought to awaken living personal Christianity, but soon fell into a one-sided subjectivity that ignored the reality of ecclesiastical life. As a result, the hymn began to be seen to be for private devotion, and the new hymns were marked by subjectivity. Zacharias Topelius (1876, 14–15) thought that spiritual songs of the Pietism-based movements represented the folk poetry and vernacular singing style. For that reason, they were usable in their religious meetings but did not reach the uplifting character and ecclesiastical purpose of the hymns. Topelius thus drew a clear line between them and did not want to include many songs from, for instance, *Sionin Wirret* to the Hymnal.

Beckian Biblicism

In the middle of the nineteenth century, a large number of clergymen among the Awakened left the movement and started to support the Biblicist theology of the German Professor Johann Tobias Beck (1804–1878), who worked at the University of Tübingen. Beckian Biblicism⁵² became mainstream among Finnish theologians in the latter part of the century; a small related folk movement was formed in Central Ostrobothnia as well (Murtoirinne 1986, 135–138; 1992, 170–172).

52 Sometimes also called 'Biblical Realism.' In Finnish, usually *beckiläisyys* or *beckiläinen biblismi*; in Swedish, *den beckska biblicismen*.

According to Beck, the Bible was an integrated system in and of itself, i.e. an unconditional authority over both reasoning represented by the Enlightenment theology and ecclesiastical confessions. Beck claimed that there was no such thing as ‘speculative knowledge’ but only ‘believing knowledge,’ which he called *gnosis*. Anything not given in the Bible and believed as such did not qualify as real knowledge of God. Beck’s ideas were strongly based on Württemberg Pietism⁵³ (Murtorinne 1986, 135–136; Welch 1972, 197).

O.I. Colliander was clearly a Beckian, even though he had a Pietistic background. During Colliander’s studies, Beckian Biblicism was already such a powerful sentiment in Finnish theology that it was only natural that he embraced it. As a theologian, his first discipline was hymnology, about which he also wrote his licentiate dissertation (1880), but he was also interested in systematic theology, especially biblical theology. In his later years, Colliander turned to church history as well, focusing mostly on genealogy (Murtorinne 1986, 166–168, 172).

Colliander’s interest in biblical theology also had a prominent influence on his thoughts about liturgy, church music and congregational singing. The Divine Service, according to Colliander (1877, 179), had to be practiced in forms that should approach the apocalyptic models from the Bible as closely as possible. He found the early forms of the Christian liturgy were in close proximity to the biblical models; he mentions as examples the *Sanctus*, *Alleluia*, *Te Deum* and *Gloria* as well as antiphonies and responses. It is noteworthy that all of these parts were sung in the Divine Service. Colliander (*ibid.*) also made the traditional Lutheran distinction between the Church Triumphant (*ecclesia triumphans*; those already in heaven) and the Church Militant (*ecclesia militans*; Christians on earth); he underlined the importance of awareness of their different character in the liturgy. Because the congregation still lives on earth and is bound by the unresolved bonds of sin and finiteness, it has to be pronounced in the cult as well, which is why there were also other essential standings in the liturgy. In this group, Colliander included the Confession of sins, *Kyrie* and *Credo* as well as the sacraments. For all of these, Colliander (*ibid.*) concluded, Jesus handed a mandate to the Church before his ascension. Colliander was not alone with his biblical thoughts, however; as Vapaavuori (1997, 56–60) points out, many other peo-

53 More about biblical approach of the Württemberg Pietism, see e.g. Stoeffler 1973, 96–101.

ple discussing congregational singing in Finnish newspapers referred to the Bible as well. Additionally, some other Beckian theologians were interested in church music; Alfred Kihlman (1825–1904) and Carl Gustaf von Essen (1815–1895) published in 1862 a proposal to edit the Swedish hymnal, although it considered only lyrics but no melodies (Murtorinne 1986, 140, 145).

It seems that the biblical references as such did not have any concrete impact on congregational singing; i.e. any visible or audible changes. The idea was rather to give a solid theological and spiritual foundation for standardising it. The whole liturgy had to be based on the Bible, which was considered the only norm for Christian teaching by Lutherans.

Liturgical Interest in Prussia

In the whole of Western Europe, the period after the Napoleonic wars (1803–1815) was an era of the resurrection of traditional Christianity. The renewal of congregational singing and publishing new chorale books were only some of the many different renewals that happened in all of the Lutheran churches in Germany and Scandinavia after 1815 (Siitan 2003, 18).

The process started from Prussia. King Friedrich Wilhelm III (r. 1799–1840) was very interested in theology and liturgy and undertook a brave liturgical reform in his realm. He was determined to unify the Protestant churches, i.e. to homogenise their liturgy, their organisation and even their architecture. Former Lutherans and Reformed would in the future be ‘Evangelical,’ united by a common Evangelical liturgy. The first union rite was published as a short booklet in 1816 and was soon followed by many different orders of service printed in succession. From these developed the 1821, 1822 and 1829 Prussian Agendas⁵⁴. They aimed to restore many liturgical elements, that the Lutherans had lost through many increasingly impoverished agendas, and to introduce the Reformed liturgical uses that had never been

54 *Kirchen-Agende für die Königlich Preussische Armee* (‘Church Agenda for the Royal Prussian Army’) 1821, *Kirchen-Agende für die Hof- und Domkirche in Berlin* (‘Church Agenda for the Court and Cathedral Church in Berlin’) 1822 and *Agende für die evangelische Kirche in den Königlich Preussischen Landen. Mit besonderen Bestimmungen und Zusätzen für die Provinz Pommern* (‘Agenda for the Evangelical Church in the Kingdom of the Prussian Lands with Special Regulations and Supplements for the Province of Pomerania’) 1829.

used in their liturgy. At the beginning of the reform, using this liturgy was meant to be voluntary, but in 1834 the King declared that it was henceforth mandatory to use it in every Prussian Evangelical parish (Feder 1975 [1964], 377; Petkūnas 2013, 150–154). From a musical point of view, the Prussian Agendas represented a combination of many different kinds of liturgical traditions, such as Lutheran intonation formulas, Gregorian chant and Russian Orthodox church music. *A cappella* arrangements were made by Berlin musicians and Dmitriy Bortniansky (1751–1825), the Director of the Russian Orthodox Court Chapel in Saint Petersburg (Herbst 1968, 180–186; Feder 1975 [1964], 377).

Liturgical changes in Prussia encouraged those who wanted to accomplish something similar in the Russian Empire. In 1828, after Tsar Alexander I's (r. 1801–1825) call for the establishment of a common liturgy and a single church government for the Lutheran Church in the Empire, a commission was established to pursue this task. The primary source material for the new liturgy was the 1708 German translation of the 1693 Swedish Handbook, the 1811 Swedish Handbook as well as the 1829 Prussian Union Agenda. The 1805 Liturgical Directives with their Rationalist theology were mostly forgotten (Petkūnas 2013, 169–170). The new Imperial Agenda was published in 1832 and translated into Finnish in 1835 for the Finnish parishes in Ingria and Saint Petersburg. It was also taken into use here and there in South-Eastern Finland. What was special about the congregational singing in this book was that virtually all of the liturgical melodies, except hymns and pastor's parts, were meant to be sung by a four-part choir. The congregation was supposed to sing them only if there was no chance to establish at least a small choir in the locality (The Imperial Agenda 1832, 20–21).

Neo-Lutheranism

As a reaction against Neology and Rationalism on the one hand and the Prussian Union on the other hand, in many Lutheran churches there was a revival of confessional Lutheran doctrine, known as Neo-Lutheranism. In Finland, it has been called 'ecclesiastical direction' and competed mostly with Beckian Biblicism. Neo-Lutheran movements in different countries focused on a reassertion of the identity of Lutherans as a distinct group within the broader community of Christians, with a renewed focus on the Lutheran Confessions as a key source of the Lutheran doctrine.

Associated with these changes was a renewed focus on traditional doctrine and liturgy; i.e. a return to the theology and the agendas of the Reformation era. One trend of Neo-Lutheranism was the so-called Erlangen School, whose liturgical principles spread to Finland, especially through the Swedish liturgical scholar and bishop-to-be of Strängnäs, Uddo Lechard Ullman (1837–1930); Ingria, on the other hand, was influenced by the Baltic-German theologian Theodosius Harnack (1816–1889), who worked during his career at both Erlangen and Dorpat (present-day Tartu) universities (Murtorinne 1986, 178–181; Petkūnas 2013, 185–186. More information about the Erlangen School, see Welch 1972, 218–227).

Even though O.I. Colliander was mostly Beckian, his views about the liturgy and congregational singing were strongly influenced by U.L. Ullman, who had become acquainted in Erlangen with the ideas of the theologians such as Theodosius Harnack, Wilhelm Löhe (1808–1872) and Theodor Kliefoth (1810–1895). They had a unanimous view of the nature of the liturgy as a polarity between the gifts of God and the counter gifts of man, divine and human, outside and inside, sacramental and sacrificial as well as the unity between these two poles. In the liturgical function, a pastor does not represent *sacramentum* or *sacrificium* but rather both of them. In one direction, a pastor acts *towards* the congregation and, in the other, *with* the congregation (Bexell 1987, 29–39; Martling 1992, 118). The same division, as well as an emphasis on the contribution of the congregation, was also found in the German theologian and church musician Ludwig Schoeberlein's (1813–1881; 1859, 97–100) book, to which Colliander (1880, 58) referred in his licentiate dissertation.

In Christian worship, the perfect cult had two kinds of elements, the sacramental and the sacrificial. As a result, the essential elements of the Divine Service were (1) the sacramental factors; i.e. the word of God and the holy communion; (2) the sacrificial factors; i.e. common confession, prayer and thanksgiving; and (3) the sermon that combined the sacramental proclamation of the word of God and the sacrificial confession of the congregation (Colliander 1880, 59). It was natural for Colliander that an ordained clergy was needed to lead the sacrificial elements, but the Christian concept of the congregation also required a contribution from the congregation. The nature of the congregation as a spiritual clergy required that the cult must have a place for activities in which the congregation appeared as a unified, collective subject, and its division into leaders and followers disappeared. Such a

part of the Divine Service was, according to Colliander, congregational singing. Few other parts were so clearly sacrificial in nature; the hymn was ‘the great *sacrificium* of the Christian congregation’ where the congregation freely gave itself as a sacrifice (*ibid.*, 60–61, 65).

For Ullman, one requirement for the Divine Service was that it had to be demotic (*folkmässig*); the concept was more theological than nationalistic and referred to ordinary people’s innocent and immediate life, the purest and finest threads fused with the people’s heart. In a demotic Divine Service, an actively participating congregation was necessary; one way to realise this was through congregational singing. According to Ullman, the best example of this was Martin Luther’s and older Lutheranism’s hymn poetry with its textual originality, naivety, conciseness and freedom; as well as with the rhythmically expressive life of the chorales and their simple cordial euphony (Bexell 1987, 165–168). In Finland, Zacharias Topelius (1876, 14) described the poetic character of the hymns as a refined, spiritualised and Christianised ‘folk poetry,’ the concept, again, referring not to folklore but to simplicity and clarity. For Topelius, a hymn was not a hymn if it did not touch a God-fearing peasant woman or if its main meaning was not perceived by gifted children aged twelve to fifteen years. He was also of the opinion that the name of the poet should not be displayed in the hymnal – at least not immediately in connection with the hymn – because the personality of the poet was not intended to be revealed. Just as the creator of a folk song is often not known, the hymn should be the property of God’s people and the poet should gladly make it available to them without seeking his or her own glory (*ibid.*, 76–78). Unlike Ullman, Topelius focused only on lyrics and did not write much about melodies or the act of congregational singing.

Colliander, in contrast, wrote a lot about liturgical music and congregational singing. In addition to Ullman and Schoeberlein, his musical thoughts and ideas were based on Gerhart Chryno Herman Stip’s (1809–1882) two-part volume⁵⁵ (1842) about improving the German hymnal, Gottlieb Wenzeslaus Weiss’s theoretical book⁵⁶ (1842)

55 *Beleuchtung der Gesangbuchbesserung, insbesondere aus dem Gesichtspunkt des Cultus I–II.*

56 *Versuch einer Theorie und geschichtlichen Uebersicht des Kirchenliedes nebst einer vergleichenden Kritik des Breslauer und Jauerschen Gesangbuches.*

about church-singing, Johann Peter Lange's (1802–1884) introduction to hymnology⁵⁷ (1843) as well as Lorenz Kraußold's (1803–1881) book⁵⁸ (1844) about theory of church-singing (Colliander 1880, 29–32). According to Colliander (1877, 178), only music that stands in the service of the liturgy and mediates it can and must be called church music, whereas any music that is not in direct connection with the cult of the church does not have the ability or permission to be called church music. When this kind of music, for example, the oratorios, had the task of interpreting religious ideas and emotions and it was able to offer an art experience with religious content, could it be called religious music but not church music.

The impact of Neo-Lutheranism was clearly seen in the 1886 new Finnish Handbook and its liturgy because it was based on the 1693 Swedish Handbook. It was both liturgically and musically richer than the 1811 Swedish Handbook and the 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda. Rationalism and Pietism also affected it; the so-called pulpit liturgy was broad and detailed, which was a sign that the sermon still was the most important part of the Divine Service.

The Influence of Neo-Lutheranism in Russia: The New Agendas

Neo-Lutheran influences increased sharply in Russia when Theodosius Harnack became Professor of Practical Theology at the University of Dorpat in Livonia in 1843. Consequently, it was first the Livonian Consistorial District in which his thoughts spread most widely, and as a result, the 1849 Livonian Synod created a liturgical committee (Petkūnas 2013, 187–191). In 1851, Harnack published *Liturgische Beiträge* ('Liturgical Contributions') to reinsert many forgotten elements back into the liturgy (*ibid.*, 201–202). Four years later, the 1855 Livonian Synod was already convinced that these ideas should be enjoyed by the whole Lutheran Church of Russia; the Synods of the City of Riga and Estonia agreed (*ibid.*, 207–208). Meanwhile, in 1853, Theodosius Harnack had moved back to Erlangen in Bavaria, and his absence made his critics take a stand. Most of the critics were Pietists, and the debate continued for many years (*ibid.*, 209–227). Finally, the 1859 Livonian Synod accepted the committee's proposals for the Divine Service (*ibid.*, 244); the report was not an

57 *Die kirchliche Hymnologie oder die Lehre vom Kirchengesang, theoretische Abtheilung, im Grundriß.*

58 *Versuch einer Theorie des Kirchenliedes.*

actual agenda but rather recommendations for the liturgy (about the contents of the report, see *ibid.*, 228–239). However, the Livonian Consistorial District was only one of eight in the Lutheran Church of Russia. From a musical standpoint, the report included an interesting question concerning the choir. It was stated that the situation had changed and the German congregations in Livonia had started to sing the liturgy. As a result, the committee stated that the proper task of the choir was to support congregational singing and, when necessary, to lead it (*ibid.*, 235).

Theodosius Harnack returned to Dorpat in 1866, and in 1871, he started to publish a series of volumes about liturgical formularies for the completion and revision of the 1832 Imperial Agenda. The third part⁵⁹, published in 1878, handled the Chief Divine Service and Minor Offices. In 1877 and 1878, Harnack also published his two-piece systematic examination of the theological basis of the liturgy, known as ‘Harnack’s Practical Theology’⁶⁰ (Petkūnas 2013, 271, 299–318).

Based on the example of the Livonians and the works of Theodosius Harnack, there was also interest in liturgical revision in other consistorial districts from the 1870s onward, at first in Courland (Petkūnas 2013, 319–345) and Estonia (*ibid.*, 346–347). Finally, the discussion began to concern Ingria as well when in the 1876 Saint Petersburgian Synod the Vicar of Keltto and Rääpyvä, Johan Vilhelm Murman (1830–1892), who had twenty years earlier published a collection of liturgical melodies for the psalmodikon in Finland (Murman 1856), presented a paper with pastor Albert Masing (1839–1914). As a result, the Synod appointed a committee to make a Saint Petersburg revision of the 1832 Imperial Agenda (Petkūnas 2013, 349–351).

The General Consistory had kept reminding consistorial districts that there was only one officially approved liturgical book, the 1832 Imperial Agenda. However, for several years parallel formularies had been published in Livonia and also elsewhere. Finally, the Livonian Synod got tired of waiting for the General Synod to be summoned – no General Synod had been held in the previous fifty years – and they published their own Livonian Agenda in two volumes in 1885 and 1886. Latvian and Estonian translations appeared in 1889 (Petkūnas 2013, 373, 386, 396–398).

59 *Liturgische Formulare. Zur Vervollständigung und Revision der Agende für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche im Russischen Reiche 3, Der Hauptgottesdienst und die Nebengottesdienste.*

60 *Praktische Theologie von Dr. Th. Harnack I–II.*

Dissatisfaction with the 1832 Imperial Agenda increased further in other consistorial districts as well. That is why the General Consistory summoned a meeting of the general superintendents⁶¹ of the consistorial districts in November 1892 in Saint Petersburg to evaluate the Livonian Agenda. They heard Pastor Julius Hermann Müthel (1841–1906), who convinced them that the agenda needed some changes (*ibid.*, 399–404). As a result, in 1893, the draft edition was published in Saint Petersburg, which again gave rise to criticism in the consistorial districts (*ibid.*, 405; further about critical thoughts, see *ibid.*, 414–471).

One question that arose as a critique of the 1893 draft edition concerned the singing of the liturgy. Some pastors considered it proper and important, whereas others saw it only as a vestige from the past. The 1832 Imperial Agenda directed the liturgist to sing all of the Versicles and prayers, whereas congregations were considered ill-equipped to sing the responses; consequently, some parts of the liturgy were sung only if there was a choir. Musical notation for all of these was not provided in the Agenda itself but in a musical supplement. The Livonians took the initiative to bring liturgical singing back to life in Russia; the 1885 Livonian Agenda included almost all of the melodies sung by the liturgist in the body of the text. This solution infuriated the pastors, who considered liturgical singing to be a move backward to a time best forgotten; they saw it as a Catholicising tendency and resisted it strongly. The spokesman of this group, Pastor Alfons Meyer of Sarata, who was a Pietist, asserted that music was reflective and passive, whereas prayers were active and suited only for the spoken word. According to him, liturgical singing was out of date and simply nonsense, i.e. a meaningless flapping of the lips. Many articles were published for and against. The discussion showed that the old distinction was still alive; on one side there were Rationalism and Pietism, and on the other Neo-Lutheranism. The Neo-Lutherans encouraged pastors and parishioners to appreciate and to build upon the Reformation's theological and liturgical traditions, which included the rich liturgical singing. It had fallen into disuse, but now it was the time to bring it back to life (Petkūnas 2013, 462–465).

61 There were no bishops in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia; the consistorial districts were led by general superintendents.

Finnish pastors in Ingria seemed to be tired of the ongoing debate about liturgy. They would have wanted permission to use the new 1886 Finnish Agenda. For that reason, the Finnish congregations in the Saint Petersburg Consistorial District applied the Consistory at the 1889 Saint Petersburgian Synod to send a petition to the General Consistory for permission to use it (Minutes of the 1889 Clergy Conference in St. Petersburg, 11; *Inkeri* 24 March 1889). The following year, the special session of the Finnish-speaking pastors in the synod was told that the application was being taken into consideration (Minutes of the 1890 Clergy Conference in St. Petersburg, 14). Nevertheless, a year later, in 1891, Dean Carl Edvard Palander (1811–1900) announced that the General Consistory would reject the application and that the parishes in Ingria were forbidden to use the new Finnish Handbook (Minutes of the 1891 Clergy Conference in St. Petersburg, 12). Whining and complaining by Ingrian pastors continued until the 1897 synod, where a member of consistory, Pastor Otto Rokkanen (1847–1916), brought the matter before pastors and stated that the manuscript of the new Imperial Agenda had already been turned over to the Ministry of the Interior, which meant that discussion about adopting the liturgy of the Church of Finland in Ingrian parishes was out of order (Minutes of the 1897 Clergy Conference in St. Petersburg, 19).

‘The Agenda for the Evangelical Lutheran Parishes in the Russian Empire’⁶² was finally published in 1897. The Chief Divine Service followed the 1885 Livonian Agenda and the 1893 Saint Petersburg revision (Petkūnas 2013, 473). The musical supplement in German was published in the same year. Many of the choir’s parts were now supposed to be sung by the congregation, although the choir still had its share as well (Imperial Agenda, Musical Supplement 1897). The new Imperial Agenda was translated into Finnish⁶³ and published in 1900; O.I. Colliander served as a consultant to the translation committee. As members of the imperial church, the Ingrian Finns, like other ethnic groups, were now expected to use their own language translations of the Agenda (Petkūnas 2013, 490–491).

62 *Agende für die evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden im russischen Reiche.*

63 *Kirkko-Käsikirja Wenäjän Keisarikunnan Ewankelis-Luterilaisille Seurakunnille.*

2.3 Political and Societal Changes and Thoughts

Besides philosophy and theology, and in a strong connection to them, political and societal circumstances had a significant impact on congregational singing and liturgy. In this thesis, it is not necessary to outline the whole trajectory of political changes in eighteenth-and-nineteenth-century Europe, but only to name those that affected the Lutheran church music and congregational singing in Finland and Ingria. In this chapter, the first topic under discussion is Finland's new political position as an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. Becoming part of Russia gave the Lutheran Church a position where it could independently align its own liturgy – and its music as well – regardless of what was going on in Sweden or elsewhere in Russia. After discussing the political situation, I describe the changes in the social structure. In Finland, the social status of the different professions, such as pastors, churchwardens and primary school teachers, influenced the authority with which they were able to teach and influence ordinary people. In Ingria, on the other hand, the abolition of serfdom in the 1860s opened up completely new possibilities for cultural and educational activities and thus also for the development of church music. Finally, I focus on nationalism because standardising congregational singing was intertwined with the national awakening and was seen as part of the nationalisation project.

The French Revolution was a shock to many churches. It hit the longstanding religion policy in Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Orthodox realms, called 'the alliance of throne and altar,' with a decisive strike (Juva 1978, 169). However, it came back into the international policy context when Tsar Alexander I formed the Holy Alliance with Prussia and Austria in 1815. Even though it was not a successful foreign policy move, the idea behind it and the Tsar's attitude had a huge impact on the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland as well as Lutheran parishes in Ingria. The Tsar's flexible approach in his policy towards the different Christian denominations needs to be seen against the background of his own religious beliefs. Even though he was Eastern Orthodox, he was influenced by inter-denominational revivalist Christianity (Murtorinne 1992, 15–16).

At the Diet of Porvoo in 1809 after a return to peace, Tsar Alexander I agreed that the constitutional laws from the time of Swedish rule would remain in force, and

he maintained the privileges of the Finnish estates and the Lutheran faith as long as the Finns remained loyal to the Russian crown (Murtoirinne 1992, 11). This was a significant and by no means self-evident decision since Russia with its Eastern Orthodox state church was strongly identified with the East, whereas Lutheranism was seen as a Western sect that scarcely concerned Russia. Moreover, it was forbidden for Russians to convert to Lutheranism (Petkūnas 2011, 9). The decision was thus primarily political. Already during the conquest of Finland, the Russian military leadership had feared that the people would take up arms and therefore sought to establish confidential relations with the local clergy and church leaders. The ultimate idea was that the clergy would work to maintain peace and order among the people. In return for their loyalty, the new authorities promised the clergy the emperor's favour in recruitments and many other matters (Murtoirinne 1992, 11).

The Bishop of Turku was the chairman of the clerical estate in the Diet, and his position as a trusted confidant of the Tsar meant a remarkable chance for the church. For example, the Lutherans were allowed to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation in 1817. As a sign of the Tsar's favour, twenty-six churchmen were awarded the degree of Doctor of Theology. Moreover, the Tsar decided to elevate the Diocese of Turku to an archdiocese, and its bishop, Jakob Tengström, to an archbishop. The main reason given by the Russian rulers for this was that the archbishop would be required in Finland, as in the Swedish Church, to chair the clerical estate in the Diet. A more important, yet not stated reason was that the Tsar wanted to weaken the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland's links with Sweden. It was no longer a part of the Uppsala church province, nor were the bishops consecrated in the Uppsala Cathedral anymore. Thus, even though the Tsar kept the laws in force and maintained the Lutheran faith in Finland, he did not want the church to have too close a relationship to Sweden (Murtoirinne 1992, 15–18).

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was now independent and no longer part of the Swedish Church anymore. The freshly appointed archbishop was asked by the Tsar to chair committees whose task was to create a new handbook, hymnal, catechism as well as church law. These books were supposed to demonstrate that the Finnish Church now decided on its own affairs, albeit under the patronage and protection of the Tsar (Murtoirinne 1992, 17). These committees did eventually come up with a decision, but only in the latter part of the century.

From a musical point of view, this all meant that there were no changes in the liturgy, nor in congregational singing; liturgical melodies as well as hymns remained the same. However, a strong connection between Finland and Ingria began to break in the liturgical sense because the new 1832 Imperial Agenda was taken into use in Ingria, whereas in Finland the use of the 1693 Handbook continued. This also meant that the liturgical melodies used in Ingria changed to be different from the ones used in Finland. The same Hymnal was nevertheless used in both regions.

Another political incident that had an impact on congregational singing, especially on liturgical melodies, was the question of Old Finland. As stated earlier, when Finland became part of Russia in 1809, the south-eastern part of the country already belonged to the Empire. This meant that the Lutheran parishes of Old Finland had close relations both to the west and to the east. The 1808 Hamina Agenda was taken into use in Hamina consistorial district, but it was left out in 1812 when Old Finland was joined to the Grand Duchy and the Lutheran Church of Finland. Nevertheless, in the 1830s and 1840s, many parishes in south-eastern Finland started to use the aforementioned 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda, translated into Finnish in 1835. This has a clear impact on four-part singing (see Chapter 3.3).

Social Structure

The social structure changed remarkably in many European countries in the nineteenth century. This change and its individual features have been described in various studies using different concepts such as ‘modernisation,’ ‘industrialisation,’ ‘scientification,’ *et cetera*. In this study, I describe the change of social structure because it also significantly affected the Lutheran Church and congregational singing.

According to Ernest Gellner (1998 [1997], 14), mankind has passed through three stages: foraging, agriculture and scientific or industrial society (for detailed descriptions, see *ibid.*, 14–30). While the first stage is not relevant to this thesis, the change from an agrarian society to an industrial one happened both in Finland and Ingria in the nineteenth century. Agrarian societies were based on food production and storage and relatively stable technology. It was one’s social standing, station and its entitlements that determined one’s fate. Agrarian society was organised hierarchically, with each stratum and its members guarding its standing and its privileges.

The lowest of the large strata in this society were the rustic agricultural producers, who were segregated into local village communities. The agricultural producers were generally tied to the land, a situation which helped to impose discipline (*ibid.*, 1997, 16–19). In the first half of the nineteenth century, this was the situation in rural Finland and especially in Ingria, where serfdom lasted until 1861. Gellner (*ibid.*, 27) also points out that in agrarian societies qualification-related posts were not numerous and consequently, provided that the recruits were trained well enough, the positions could be filled by any random method, with heredity the simplest and most widely used. Feudal society, Gellner continues, was inegalitarian in that it turned the dominant stratum into a distinct and hereditary estate. Because all of the estates were permanent and many people were left outside even the lowest estate – land-owning peasants – even these lowest strata were ‘hereditary’ with few exceptions. As a rule, people lived out their lives in the stratum in which they were born (Wirilander 1974, 28–32). One example of this was that the office of churchwarden was mostly hereditary both in Finland and Ingria in the first half of the nineteenth century, which had a huge impact on the practice of congregational singing (see Chapter 3.5).

The position of the elite classes in Finland changed decisively after 1809. With self-government, the former local nobility rose to nationwide status. Finland had changed from the borderland of the Kingdom of Sweden to an autonomous Grand Duchy; in a few generations the Swedish-speaking military nobility of the eighteenth century was transformed into a nobility of civil officials; they completed civil service degrees and took their place in the new central administration. Until the late nineteenth century, the majority of those who rose to the highest office were the sons of high officials. Over the course of the century, however, the number of civilian officials grew steadily, and some of them had to be recruited from the other estates. University education enabled a career and thus became a central form of social advancement for the commoners. A new phase in social mobility began in 1865 when the first students who had attended a Finnish-language school started their studies at the university. The number of students with a peasant background began to rise from the 1870s on. The rise of this new educated class made a remarkable change in the social structure; one’s status was no longer so much determined by ancestry but by education. The hereditary gentry was replaced by the bourgeois intelligentsia⁶⁴ (Liikanen 2005, 231; Vuorinen 2010, 24).

64 *Sivistysporvaristo* in Finnish, *bildat borgerskap* in Swedish.

The position of the clergy was strong in the agrarian culture, and in Finland and Ingria as well. As Gellner (1998 [1997], 18–19) puts it, the ritual and doctrinal maintenance of the inequal principles of the legitimacy of membership and leadership also required the clergy and, in this manner, the religious upper stratum to share power and authority with the nobility and rulers in the agrarian world. In Finland and Ingria, after the Reformation, the Small Catechism by Martin Luther was taught to the people, who were supposed to learn it by heart. At the end of the Small Catechism, there was a supplement called the Table of Duties, in which Luther taught that the authorities were appointed by God. Fathers were authorities for wives and children, employers for employees, pastors for parishioners and so on, leading finally to the governing authorities, to the king or the emperor. This was Luther's own version of the so-called Doctrine of the Three Estates (*politia*, political authorities, *ecclesia*, religious authorities, and *oeconomia*, household and marriage), which derived from the Middle Ages (Nieminen 2006, 67–69; Paaskoski 2015, 110; Wirilander 1974, 25–28).

According to the Table of Duties, people obeyed and honoured the clergy. This was evident in the cases where a pastor in a rural parish began teaching four-part singing to his parishioners (see Chapter 3.3). People were used to obeying the clergy – that was the Divine order – and they didn't question it; for that reason, it was possible for a pastor just to tell the parishioners to come and rehearse four-part singing. Pastors on the other hand, according to the same Table of Duties, were responsible for their parishioners. Teaching the congregation to sing in four parts was considered a part of training and edifying them. Both in Finland and Ingria, it was first the clergy who took care of improving congregational singing.

Little by little, during the nineteenth century, the nobility and most of the higher officials concentrated more and more in towns (Wirilander 1974, 312–314). At the same time, the system of four estates began to crumble and the new mobile bourgeois intelligentsia, i.e. teachers, administrative officials and other educated people, spread to rural areas. They competed with the nobility for offices, cultural and social capital, status, influence and prestige. Another enemy for them were the conservative clergy who opposed their radical educational project (Vuorinen 2010, 24). In the 1860s, the national school system was established, and primary schools were founded in many places (see Chapter 3.8). All of this meant that the Table of Duties lost its position as a model for the social structure.

Marja Vuorinen (2010, 24–25) approaches this change in the social structure from the point of view of elites. The progressive discourse of the nineteenth century criticised all of the strongholds of old power, i.e. the nobility, the clergy and the wealthy town bourgeoisie. With the rise of academic education, the growth of the civil officials and the emergence of modern cultural professionalism, an unprecedented number of first-generation members rose to the elite, but they were no longer integrated into the old elite institution, the nobility. The members of the national elite were now people of the same educational level, competing on an equal footing for the same positions and only separated by a less and less significant status related to descent.

According to Kaarlo Wirilander (1974, 98–99), the churchwardens were in the seam between the estates; they did not belong to the clergy, but the literacy required of them, raised the prestige of the profession above the other peasants. In 1869, the office of churchwarden changed to be first and foremost that of a musician and, after that, four churchwarden-organist schools were founded in Finland (see Chapter 3.5). Towards the end of the century, the status of churchwardens rose even further as they received more education and higher skills in music. All of this also meant that it was no longer pastors' but churchwardens and primary school teachers' task to take care of congregational singing. Towards the end of the century, standardising congregational singing changed to be more a lay project; i.e. voluntary-based and independent of supervision by the clergy.

Many churchwardens not only took care of congregational singing but public education as well, and also promoted *Bildung* among ordinary people in many ways. Both in Finland and Ingria, churchwardens established local libraries, subscribed to newspapers and wrote in them, and participated in municipal administration. All of these efforts raised their prestige even more. One example of this was the Churchwarden of Ylivieska, Pietari Päivärinta (1827–1913) whose background was very poor, including even begging. He had no schooling whatsoever and had taught himself to read. His musical career started by making a psalmodikon and learning *sifferskrift* numerical notation. After that, he received training from several churchwardens and was finally able to play the violin and conduct four-part singing; in the 1850s he also built an organ that was removed to Revonlahti church in 1890. In 1862, the Chapter of the Kuopio Diocese gave him permission to issue certificates,

after which he had plenty of churchwarden trainees. Before working in Ylivieska Päivärinta worked as churchwarden in Alavieska and Oulunsalo and was involved in founding a library in all the three of them. From a young age, he read many newspapers and practically all the literature available in Finnish. He also started writing; at first short writings in newspapers, but from 1876 on, he wrote books and novels as well. At the end of the century, he was probably the best-known Finnish folk writer. In addition to municipal and parochial positions of responsibility, Päivärinta was a member of the peasant estate in the Diet from 1882 to 1891, and a member of the 1876, 1886 and 1893 General Synods (Havu 1921, 20–22, 39; Teperi 1981, 689–700; Valanki 1999 [1977], 239; Ahola 2000).

National Movements

Nationalism was a significant ideology in nineteenth-century Europe and one that made a great impact on music – and on churches as well. It also influenced outlying regions and small nations. In both Finland and Ingria, different kinds of national efforts were behind the standardisation of congregational singing and many musical phenomena related to it; therefore, nationalism and nationalistic thoughts must be addressed in this study. Nationalism is a concept that has been interpreted very differently in different studies. The confusion is compounded by the fact that its interpretation also varies in different languages, and the term ‘nation’ has different historically-determined connotations. For that reason, it would be better to talk about different ‘nationalisms’ instead of one ‘nationalism’ (see e.g. Hroch 2015 [2005], 3–27). There is no reason to delve into these differences in this study. I just use the terms nationalism and nation to outline the general characteristic of people’s consciousness and self-identification with a community named as a ‘nation’ and the forming of this group. The terms are thus neutral in this thesis.

When Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, it did not entail significant changes at the beginning; on the contrary, the first decades of the Grand Duchy can be seen as downright uneventful (see e.g. Jussila 1999 [1995], 21–37). Under Swedish rule, Finland and the Finns had been understood linguistically and historically as their own entity but in the constitutional and political sense there had been only one ‘people of Sweden.’ Although as early as the eighteenth century, Finland and Finns had been spoken of as a people (*gens* or *populus*), a home-

land (*patria*) and a nation (*natio*), it was not accompanied by the idea of having its own state at some future point. In the early nineteenth century, Finland's special administrative status as a grand duchy was often emphasised – in the words of Lars Gabriel von Haartman (1789–1859), 'My country's happiness is to belong to Russia' – but it was not justified by national theories. More important than national culture or involvement of the people in building their future was earning the trust of the monarch. Another strategy was constitutional thinking, according to which Finland was a state in the new sense and sought to keep power in the Finn's own hands under the laws of the previous Swedish era. To put it briefly, Finland was an area of competence of the nationally organised administration, not the field of national politics (Liikanen 2005, 224–228).

Nevertheless, around the middle of the nineteenth century, there were many ideological, social and cultural changes, and the awakening of national cultural identity was evident in every sphere of Finnish society (Jussila 1999 [1995], 38–40). Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, nationalist groups consisted mainly of non-dominant groups, namely the middle class and peasants, but in Finland, in the 1840s and 1850s, the Fennoman Movement had an exceptional number of upper-class members; i.e. nobles and higher officials. This was only natural since the position of the gentry was not based on landholding but on consolidating the state. Therefore, the upper classes of Finland had strong reasons to embrace and accept the language and culture of the majority of the population. Once again, it was about being between East and West; both linguistic and cultural unity was needed to create national self-awareness against the dominance of Swedish-speaking culture on the one hand and to strengthen Finland's position as part of the Russian Empire on the other. The Fennoman Movement was thus a mixture of the state civic religion and the national liberation movement. At the same time as efforts were made to strengthen the state and thus the position of the elite, the Fennomen identified themselves with the common people and along with them, as opposed to the foreign-speaking upper class. In practice, this also meant that the Swedish-speaking gentry turned largely Finnish-speaking voluntarily, and many of its members were involved in promoting this change. The goal of Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881), one of the leading figures of the Fennoman Movement, was to create national unity based on Finnish-language culture. He urged those educated at the university to use Finnish and create Finnish-language literature. The national education system also needed to be

created to inculcate national unity and patriotism in the whole population. However, these cultural demands did not include the idea of changing the relations between social groups (Alapuro and Stenius 1987, 12–14).

In the 1860s, public education began with the establishment of a national school system independent of the Church. The formation of primary schools⁶⁵ gave pupils without a wealthy background or with Finnish as a mother tongue access to education (Leino-Kaukiainen and Heikkinen 2011, 22–24). A Decree on Rural Municipalities, passed in 1865, changed the municipality types from ecclesiastical to civil ones (Jussila 1999 [1995], 16). With the easing of the political climate, the strong growth of the Finnish-language press got under way (Nieminen 2006, 105–111). These and many other similar changes had an impact on ecclesiastical life and church music as well.

Benedict Anderson (1991, 5–7) claims that national communities are always imagined. He does not mean that these communities are fake. Rather, Anderson believes that any community so large that its members do not know each other on a face-to-face basis must be imagined to some degree. In the nineteenth century, a central question concerned what bound people together. What features created national identity? Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the German-romantic philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) declared: ‘Since every people is a People, it has its own national culture as it has its own language’ (*ibid.*, 67–68). This combination of language, culture and nation was widely adopted, and in Finland and Ingria as well. According to Miroslav Hroch (2015 [2005], 35–36), national movements are typically started by a number of more educated citizens of one ethnic group trying to spread national awareness with a focus on cultural, linguistic and social goals. In this phase, political demands are added as well but only in some cases. Usually, national political programmes are not formed until a mass national movement occurs. In Finland, this did not happen until the 1870s (Liikanen 2005, 232–236), whereas in Ingria, it never happened due to the Russification policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and later, due to restrictions and persecution by the Soviet government (Korkalainen 2019, 247–249).

65 *Kansakoulu* in Finnish, *folkskolan* in Swedish, sometimes also called ‘folk school’ in English.

Defence and celebration of one's own language were thus one of the most typical features of nineteenth-century national movements; to quote J.V. Snellman, 'without Finnish we are not Finns' (Hroch 2015 [2005], 204–205). Ever since the Lutheran reformation in the Swedish Kingdom in the early sixteenth century, written Finnish had been used almost exclusively in religious texts; i.e. the Divine Service agendas, hymnals, catechisms as well as other Christian textbooks. In the nineteenth century, the need to improve the position of the Finnish language began to be stressed both in Finland and Ingria, and Snellman's nationalistic ideas of Finnish as a fully-fledged national language gained remarkable support. Different kinds of efforts were made to improve the status of the language and to modernise it (Nieminen 2006, 91–93). Consequently, by the end of the century, Finnish had become a language of administration, journalism, literature and science in Finland, along with Swedish. The most important contributions to improving the status of Finnish were made by the philologist and collector of oral poetry, Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884). In addition to compiling the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, his impact on the development of modern vocabulary in Finnish was considerable (Kuusi and Anttonen 1985, 30–32). The Finnish Literature Society (*Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura*, SKS) was founded in 1831 to promote literature written in Finnish, the *Kalevala* being one of its first publications. The first publicly presented play in Finnish, *Silmänkääntäjä* by Pietari Hannikainen (1813–1899), was seen in Lappeenranta in 1846 and Kuopio in 1847. The first novel written in Finnish – as well as by a Finnish-speaking author – *Seitsemän veljestä* (*Seven Brothers*) by Aleksis Kivi was published in 1870.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Herder had the idea that every nation had its own national history and culture. Ordinary people had created this history and culture through folksongs, poems, stories, *et cetera* and now it only remained to be discovered (Saukkonen 2005, 95). In Finland, as in many other European countries, the educated classes – writers, teachers, pastors, lawyers, doctors – were interested in folk culture. Many journeyed to Karelia in a quest to find 'the Finnish spirit' and 'the soul of the nation' by collecting folk songs and oral poetry. Karelianism was a political ideology based on assumptions about the common language and culture of the territory from Finland all the way to Lake Onega⁶⁶ and the White Sea⁶⁷. It

66 *Ääninen* in Finnish, *Onegasjön* in Swedish, *Онежское озеро* in Russian.

67 *Vienanmeri* in Finnish, *Vita havet* in Swedish, *Белое море* in Russian.

was constructed by academic linguists and ethnographers, poets and writers (Sihvo 1999, 185–188, 195). In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Finnish collectors also went to Ingria and collected large quantities of folk poems (Mustonen 1931, 20). Folk poems about Kullervo, one of the main characters in the *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland, were collected specifically in White Sea Carelia⁶⁸ and Ingria. For that reason, many patriotic enthusiasts often called the Ingrian Finns ‘the tribe of Kullervo’ (see e.g. Kolppanan seminaari 1913, 50; *Suomalainen Kansan-Kalenteri Wenäjällä* 1908, 118–119).

However, as Heikki Laitinen (2003, 11) states, the priority of those who collected folk songs was not to store them in archives for later research but to make them live in a new context as a new type of performance. Therefore, interest in folk culture did not mean adopting it as such but rather ‘improving’ it so that people could hardly recognise their own music and poetry anymore. Simple folk melodies were harmonised and arranged, for instance, for choir or piano accompaniment according to the classical-romantic style, bawdy lyrics were cleaned up, fragmentary oral poetry was pieced together and re-written to get a solid heroic history of the nation, *et cetera*. It also meant civilising, that is, educating youth as well as refining language and the arts (Kurkela 1989, 46–49; Vapaavuori 1997, 309–310). It is also worth remembering that from a musical point of view, older rune songs, for example, those collected for the *Kalevala*, were seen to be too far away from the musical taste of the upper classes. For that reason, newer stanzaic folk songs became more popular among them (Laitinen 2003, 15–16).

Hroch (2015 [2005], *passim*) makes a distinction between ‘state-nations,’ i.e. situations in which a modern nation developed as a direct consequence of a civic society forming within an established state (such as France, England or Sweden), and the national movements of non-dominant ethnic groups in multi-ethnic empires in nineteenth-century Europe. Both Finland and Ingria belonged to the latter group, but the process of the national identification of the Ingrian Finns differed from the identity process of Finnish Finns. The biggest difference was that the Finnish Finns had never been serfs, whereas serfdom was a distinguishing characteristic of Ingrian Finns’ history. Serfdom was also a common theme in Ingrian poems, songs and

68 *Vienan Karjala* in Finnish, *Vita Karelen* in Swedish, *Беломорская Карелия* in Russian.

plays written at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. In 1861, the Emancipation Reform by Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881) abolished serfdom throughout the Russian Empire. This meant more freedom for cultural purposes for the Ingrian Finns and started a national awakening among them (Nevalainen 1991, 234–237).

Hroch (2015 [2005], 73–74) places Ingrian Finns into a group of ethnic minorities that were unlikely to achieve significant success due to their small size. According to him, these restricted ‘folk communities’ had certain national ambitions, mostly limited to linguistic and cultural goals, but if it is possible to speak of any national movement at all, it never attained any significant results. Regarding Ingria, I slightly disagree with Hroch; he does not take into account Ingria’s unique historical connection with Finland. Naturally, Hroch is focusing on the nation-building processes and mentioning Ingrian Finns only in a list of many ethnic groups; from that point of view there were no results whatsoever, but that never was the goal of the Ingrian Finns. Constructing a national identity for the Ingrian Finns did not involve a desire to become part of Finland or to declare independence or even to establish an autonomous position within the Russian Empire. Ingrian Finns considered it extremely important to understand their historical roots and their close connections with Finland, which they viewed as their ethnic and linguistic homeland. But from a national point of view, Finland was not their ‘fatherland.’ Rather, Finland was seen as a mother and Ingria a child (see e.g. a poem by Aapo Iho in Mustonen 1931, 5). Gellner (1998 [1997], 96–98) talks about the ‘navels’ of nations; ‘some nations possess genuine ancient navels, some have navels invented for them by their own nationalist propaganda, and some are altogether navel-less.’ Using Gellner’s metaphor, the situation in Ingria was unique in the sense that, whereas the umbilical cord of other nations extended to their own history or was invented based on their own territory, the umbilical cord of Ingrian Finns extended to Finland.

Many people emphasised that Ingria was part of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, the Lutheran Church and the Finnish language were still the most important factors in Ingrian national identification. Many Ingrian authors underlined the role of the Lutheran Church (e.g. Paavo Räikkönen in *Suomalainen Kansan-Kalenteri Wenäjällä* 1893, 75). According to Jaakko Raski (1932, 74), the religious, spiritual and national education of the Ingrian-Finnish people had always been the church’s duty, and

the parish catechetical meetings had also been national awakening meetings. Juuso Mustonen (1931, 18–19) claimed that the Lutheran Church had been the most distinguished agent maintaining Finnish language and culture in Ingria. It is thus possible to say that if we think about national symbols (see e.g. Hroch 2015 [2005], 236–237), in Ingria, the Lutheran Church was one of these symbols. One reason for this, according to Raski (1932, 66–67), was that the Baltic German church administration indirectly protected Finnishness in Ingria against the Russification policy. For instance, the Germans used the name Ingria, whereas for Russians the area was the Saint Petersburg Governorate. In addition, when both ecclesiastical and secular administrations used foreign languages, the position of the Finnish language remained strong among the people.

According to Hroch (2015 [2005], 125), in Protestant countries, the leading role in national movements was played by secular scholars such as university professors and state officials. This was also the situation in Finland. Nevertheless, Hroch (*ibid.*, 128) also claims that Protestant pastors' participation in national movements mostly depended on their ethnic roots and brings up Finland as an example of this. From that point of view, it is understandable that there were also nationalist goals in the standardisation of congregational singing that was at first mostly a project of the clergy. Standardising church-singing was actually seen as a precondition for admittance to the circle of civilised European nations. As Hannu Vapaavuori (1997, 56–69) has shown, justifications for hymn-singing were called for in light of the national cultural awakening. With the aid of the Bible, the Church Fathers and naturally Martin Luther, Finnish hymn-singing was shown to be an integral part of the long history of Christian church music. It was also felt that the teaching of hymn-singing would develop the musical skills of the ordinary people, enhance their morality and thus enable them to aspire to be a civilised nation (*ibid.*, 80–88). It was typical in nineteenth-century national movements to compare one's own nation to the others; national distinctness was a reflection of Herder's dream that the purpose of all national cultures was to enrich the culture of all of mankind. Especially in the case of smaller nations, an awareness of being 'behind' led to a determination to catch up with the more evolved cultures and motivated them to reach the same cultural standard (Hroch 2015 [2005], 201–202).

In Ingria, the situation was different; by the first part of the nineteenth century, only pastors were educated, and they were mostly born in Finland. But in the last decades of the century, primary school teachers educated in the Kolppana Seminary became the new ‘intelligentsia’⁶⁹ of Ingria along with the clergy. It was notable that these teachers were Ingrian-born. For that reason, the Kolppana Seminary became both the central place and the symbol of Ingrian nationalist thought (Nevalainen 1991, 234–237). Teachers educated in Kolppana strove to teach their pupils the Finnish language, national view of life and solid Lutheran faith (Luther 2000, 83). The Ingrian-Finnish intelligentsia also actively read Finnish nationalistic publications, for example, those by J.V. Snellman and Zacharias Topelius, both of whom, like the Ingrian Finns, had no interest in leaving the Russian Empire. This is all seen clearly in the autobiography of Pietari Toikka (1862–1930), who was the principal of the Kolppana Seminary from 1885 to 1898:

It was thanks to Snellman that I came to Kolppana. His fiery speeches had such a rejuvenating impact on me that they evoked an irresistible desire to do something, especially for my own underprivileged tribe of Kullervo. On receiving an invitation from the Seminary Board, I considered it a sign from Providence for my forthcoming activities. I thought I heard a voice whispering: ‘Go, work for your own people. Teach, raise the children of your people. Steel them as suitable weapons in the fight against darkness, violence and oppression. Make them skilled sowers of seeds of the light for all of Ingrian schools. Work, forge, steel them!’⁷⁰ (Ruotsi 1913, 50. Transl. by the author.)

69 According to Hroch (2015 [2005], 130), there were major internal differences within the ‘intelligentsia,’ i.e. the social class that played a decisive role in national movements. The question thus cannot be limited to professions, but the development of an intelligentsia has to be seen as related to the status of this class in the overall social context. In other words, it varied according to the different educational systems and social structures. For that reason, I consider it justified to use the word ‘intelligentsia’ also in the case of Ingria, even though it may sound pompous.

70 ‘Se oli suurimmaksi osaksi Snellmanin ansiota, että minä Kolppanaan tulin. Hänen sytyttävät puheensa vaikuttivat minuun niin elvyttävästi, että minussa heräsi vastustamaton halu tehdä jotain juuri oman kovaosaisen Kullervo-heimoni hyväksi. Saatuaani seminaarin johtokunnalta kutsumuksen, pidin sitä sallimuksen viittauksena tulevan toimintani varalle. Olin kuulevinani sisällisen äänen kuis-kaavan: “Käy työhön, oman kansasi hyväksi. Opetä, kasvata kansasi lapsia. Terästä heitä sopiviksi aseiksi taisteluun pimeyttä, väkivaltaa ja sortoa vastaan. Tee heistä taitavia valon siemenen sirottelijoita kaikille Inkerin kouluille. Tee työtä, tao, terästä.”’

A remarkable change also took place among the clergy in Ingria in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Even though the pastors who came from Finland had promoted Ingrian-Finnish nationalistic goals, they spoke Swedish or German at home, which made them different from the ordinary people. Towards the end of the century, Finnish became the home language in many Ingrian vicarages. At the same time, a similar change happened in Finland as well (Raski 1932, 73–74).

As already mentioned, folk songs and melodies were diligently collected both in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. In Finland, chorale variants were also collected, but they were not seen in the same light by the clergy, the bourgeois intelligentsia or more schooled churchwardens. On the contrary, for many of them chorale variants were a sign of corruption. In the first Finnish four-part chorale book by Anders Nordlund (1850), which was also in use in Ingria, there was not a single melody that could be considered a Finnish folk melody. In the 1850s, Rudolf Lagi attempted to create a chorale book by using Finnish chorale variants, but the profusion of different versions made it impossible. The atmosphere towards them was however changing. In the 1890s, Ilmari Krohn and Mikael Nyberg (1871–1940) collected and published Finnish chorale variants, and the General Synod decided in 1898 that there should be Finnish ‘folksy’ melodies in the official chorale book (Vapaavuori 1998, 161–163). Nevertheless, not everyone who wanted to improve congregational singing was excited by chorale variants and may have even seen no value in nationalist reasonings. For example, according to O.I. Colliander (1880, 78–79), folk songs had their roots in the national community, which rested on national uniqueness and were an immediate expression of the inherent national spirit. Hymns, on the other hand, as sacrificial cult songs, sprang from the Christian community, which rested on the general salvation. Folk songs and hymns thus differ and form completely independent and essentially different types of poetry. One is people’s singing with national uniqueness, whereas the other is congregational singing, i.e. God’s people’s singing with ecclesiastical commonality.

There was also a combination of theology and nationalism that Vapaavuori does not mention but that had an impact on congregational singing, namely the new definition of the church, ‘the people’s church,’⁷¹ formulated by representatives of the ‘ecclesiastical direction’ church policy faction. In the 1880s, along the lines of

71 *Kansankirkko* in Finnish, *folkkyrka* in Swedish.

Central European models, instead of being a 'state church' many Finnish theologians wanted to see the church as a 'people's church.' The concept was flexible; it was easily linked to the Fennoman Movement's concepts of the people and the nation. This new programme provided a way to combine the spiritual movements and church associations into a joint action supporting the church, thereby weakening the criticism from these movements. The concept was however understood in different ways; the 'ecclesiastical direction' group focused on the educating role of the church, whereas the main priority for the Pietism-based biblical faction was that a core of believers should take responsibility for the church's activities (Murtorinne 1992, 331–333, 393–396). From a musical point of view, the idea of 'the people's church' opened ways to improve congregational singing to become more of a lay project rather than a task of the clergy (see Chapter 3.3).

Little by little, the Fennoman Movement began to reach not only the upper classes but also the peasants. Consequently, language strife was no longer the only decisive issue; the people were becoming a fully-fledged group of political actors. 'The will of the people' and 'the wishes of the people' were raised outright as the supreme basis of power. However, as a representative institution, the Diet remained the same. Therefore, the forms of voluntary civic activity became more important from a point of view of the expansion of the political field (see Chapter 3.9; Alapuro and Stenius 1987, 14–17; Liikanen 2005, 232–235).

2.4 Case: Debate about a Concert

In this chapter, I present one case as an illustrative example of how the abovediscussed philosophical, theological and political thoughts and ideas were present and tied together in nineteenth-century Finnish discussion about church music. This case was a debate in Swedish-speaking newspapers after a concert in Helsinki in 1854. Even though this debate concerns a concert with only solo performances, it also reveals attitudes towards congregational singing and the role of church music in general.

The Organist of Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki, Rudolf Lagi, gave a 'sacred concert'⁷² on Sunday 10 December 1854. The idea was to give an organ concert, but at that time in an organ concert, there always had to be another performer as well, either a singer, instrumentalist or choir and at least one hymn (see Chapter 3.2). Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, the idea of miscellany, or mixed concerts, had been the norm in the whole of Europe, even in a sacred context (Weber 2008, 1, 40–42). Accordingly, Lagi's programme (see Table 2) also included two arias and a chorus. There was also an orchestra accompanying two organ pieces. Because amateurs were not usually mentioned by name, only the accompaniment was mentioned in the programme and concert reviews. Most likely it was a twelve-member Ullanlinna Spa⁷³ Orchestra, composed of German musicians and assembled by Carl Gottlieb Ganszaue (1820–1868); Lagi gave several concerts with this amateur orchestra in 1853 and 1854 (Salmenhaara 1995, 340, 488).

72 *Hengellinen soitelma* in Finnish (*Suometar* 1 December 1854), *Andlig Konsert* in Swedish (*Morgonbladet* 4 December 1854; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 and 9 December 1854; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 7, 8 and 9 December 1854).

73 Officially *Utrikasporin kylpylä- ja kaivovuoneyhtiö* in Finnish and *Utrikasborgs bad- och brunnsinrättnings bolag* in Swedish (see Tommila 1955).

Table 2. The programme of Rudolf Lagi's Sacred Concert 10 December 1854 in Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki, as reported by Lagi himself (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 and 9 December 1854; *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 7, 8 and 9 December 1854; transl. by the author). The name of the 'Music lover' (*Musikälskare* in Swedish) mentioned in number 2 is not given, nor the name of Lagi's pupil mentioned in number 3; neither by Lagi beforehand, nor by reviewers afterward. The melody of the chorale in number 3 was *Vater unser in Himmelreich*.

1. Concerto for organ with accompaniment by an orchestra, by G.F. Handel.
Allegro maestoso performed by the undersigned.
2. Bass aria from the oratorio St Paul by Mendelssohn,
performed by a music lover.
3. Fantasy for organ on the chorale number 8 in the Old Swedish Hymnal,
performed by the undersigned and one of his pupils.
4. Soprano solo from the oratorio St Paul, performed by miss In de Bétou.
5. *Adagio* and *Finale* from the abovementioned organ concerto by Handel,
performed by the undersigned.
6. Chorus from the oratorio Christus by Mendelssohn,
performed by a singing society.
7. Adagio for organ with accompaniment by an orchestra, by C.G. Höpner,
performed by the undersigned.

After the concert, the music critic of the newspaper *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, Fredrik Berndtson (1820–1881), who used a pseudonym B., wrote that Mr Lagi had been mistaken about what a sacred concert meant (*Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 12 December 1854). A pseudonymous K.C. responded in the newspaper *Morgonbladet* (14 December 1854) and defended Lagi; behind the pseudonym was Karl Collan (1828–1871), who was a Finnish author and composer. Both of them then wrote one more response (*Morgonbladet* 18 and 21 December 1854).⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Information about who were behind these pseudonyms is taken from Sarjala 1994, 257–258.

Berndtson's starting point was spiritual and theological. He claimed that Lagi's concert was 'not sacred enough.' However, it is noteworthy that his arguments did not emerge, for instance, from the lyrics of the songs performed, but were rather aesthetic; Berndtson was indeed appointed Docent of Aesthetics in 1847 (Sarjala 1994, 257). Following the ideal of the church music according to the aesthetics of Romantic philosophy, he claimed that the music of Lagi's choice should have been 'purer' and 'simpler' instead of 'some refined, modern fantasies with consequent chromatic harmony and tone digressions.'⁷⁵ He added that the music was only 'small chamber music' that was inappropriate for a sacred concert (*Finlands allmänna tidning* 12 December 1854).

There was also a related political aspect. According to Lagi's announcement in the newspapers (see e.g. *Helsingfors Tidningar* 6 December 1854), the concert was open for working and serving classes as well. The distinction between them and the upper classes was expressed clearly, however; they were allowed to come to the side galleries of the church and their tickets were cheaper. Tickets had to be purchased from the caretaker of the church, whereas upper classes bought their tickets either from Beuermann's music store or from the university.

The reason for inviting lower classes to the concert was to edify them and thus enhance their morality by giving them an uplifting feeling of the sacred music. According to Berndtson (*Finlands allmänna tidning* 12 December 1854), the concert failed here; in his view, Lagi did not pay enough attention to demands and perceptions of the public: 'As they [the pieces of music] were now given, they had to make only a partial, poor impression.'⁷⁶ In Berndtson's view, a too complicated repertoire may have been perceived and enjoyed only by about ten listeners among the thousand spectators.

75 '[N]ågra raffinerade, moderna fantasier med åtföljande kromatiska harmoni- och tonutvikningar.' (*Finlands allmänna tidning* 12 December 1854.)

76 'Så som de nu gåfvos, måste de göra endast ett halft, armt intryck.'

What then should have been on the programme? Berndtson's response was organ music:

Pure and uplifting organ music, the simple, magnificent, deeply gripping chorales; one should perform pieces that at one time correspond to the sacred, devout nature of the organ and the public's mind for the magnificently simple but warmly gripping.⁷⁷ (*Finlands allmänna tidning* 12 December 1854. Transl. by the author.)

In his response, Karl Collan wrote about the sacred nature of the organ as well. He also mentioned congregational singing:

Putting sound into an organ, making noise and storming so that the arches shake, is not a difficult art. To seek to reproduce simple, pure and artless compositions in a spirit similar to theirs as well as to skilfully accompany the singing, to utilise the organ's resources that are rarely used during Divine Services and chorale singing, this is another, from the previous widely separated art.⁷⁸ (*Morgonbladet* 14 December 1854. Transl. by the author.)

The concept of Genius was central to the Enlightenment philosophy, and in music, it often referred to a great composer or performer. Both of these aspects can also be found in the debate about Lagi's concert. In his response, Collan used the great names of Georg Frideric Handel (1685–1759) and Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) to justify Lagi's repertoire:

For more than a century, the former has been revered as the greatest 'sacred' composer. The latter, though closer to the taste of a newer age, has, however, at least in his ecclesiastical pieces, honoured its easy-going interests. Is there a simpler, more magnificent, more noble and high music than

77 '[...] ren och upplyftande orgelmusik, den enkla, storartade, djupt gripande choralen, man bör exequera stycken, som på engång motsvara orgelns heliga, andaktsfulla karakter och allmänhetens sinne för det storartadt enkla, men varmt gripande.'

78 'Att sätta ljud i en orgel, att bullra och storma så att hvalfven skaka, är en konst, som ej är svår. Att söka återgifva enkla, rena och flärdlösa kompositioner på ett deras anda motsvarande sätt, och att skickligt akkompagnera till sång, att anlita orgelns under sjelfva gudstjensten och vid koralsång sällan användbara ressurser, detta är en annan, från den förra vida skild konst.'

Handel's organ concerto performed by Mr Lagi? And yet, there certainly are people who consider e.g. the solemn first *Allegro* as no better than a regular polka!⁷⁹ (*Morgonbladet* 14 December 1854; transl. by the author.)

In addition, not only Handel and Mendelssohn but Collan also brought up Fredrik Pacius⁸⁰ (1809–1891), who was considered a major authority within Finnish musical life in that time:

Mr. Pacius, at one of the rehearsals for the concert, openly expressed his admiration for the magnificently simple and high spirit that Handel put into the organ concerto in question. – That Mr Lagi, with the support of this authority, did not for a moment hesitate to perform the piece at his concert, even if it could not be perceived by anyone, is just natural.⁸¹ (*Morgonbladet* 14 December 1854. Transl. by the author.)

The debaters also disputed the concept of an artist. According to Collan (*Morgonbladet* 14 December 1854), to be an artist for the public composed of most diverse elements of society meant little in those days: 'Nothing else is needed than what is also required to be a diligent reviewer; a good portion of charlatanry, and an equal amount of good courage. But being an artist for connoisseurs and lovers of the art, "that is more".'⁸² Berndtson disagreed. He asked why artists performed if not to be understood and enjoyed, to be fulfilled by a living feeling, an idea, to convey their joy to their fellow human beings, whether by using tones, speech, colours or pictures? He continued that if an artist speaks to the audience in a language and in a way that

79 'Under mer än ett århundrade har den förre blifvit vördad såsom den störste "andlige" kompositör. Den sednare, om ock mera nära en nyare tids smak, har dock minst i sina kyrkliga stycken hyllat dennas lättfärdiga intressen. Finnes en mera enkel, mera storartad, mera ädel och hög musik, än Händels af Hr Lagi utförda orgelkonsert? Och dock, de finnas säkert, som anse t. ex. det högtidliga första Allegrot för ej bättre än en vanlig polka!'

80 It is worth mentioning that Collan got married to Fredrik Pacius's daughter Maria Margareta (1845–1919) in 1866 (Collan-Beaurain 1921, 260–264).

81 'Hr Pacius, vid en af repetitionerna till konserten öppet uttalade sin beundran för den storartadt enkla och höga anda, som Händel inlagt i den ifrågavarande orgelkonserten. – Att Hr Lagi med stöd af denna auktoritet icke ett ögonblick tvekat att uppföra stycket vid sin konsert, om det ock icke af en hvar skulle kunna uppfattas, faller af sig sjelft.'

82 'Dertill behöfs intet annat, än ungefär hvad som erfordras till att vara en dråplig recensent: en god portion charlataneri, och ett lika stort quantum godt kurage. Men att vara en konstnär för kännare och älskare af konsten, "det är mera."'

is neither understood nor enjoyed, everyone would think he or she has failed. This leads back to simplicity; according to Berndtson, an artist should provide the kind of music that is perceived and enjoyed by every ear, even the least educated, to make every human heart beat, and for whose perception no musical-aesthetic studies are needed. The great masters have also composed such music, Berndtson continues, and one should invite the public into ‘the House of the Lord’ to listen to that kind of music (*Morgonbladet* 18 December 1854).

This short debate shows that both philosophical, theological and political arguments were used in the discussion of the role of church music in nineteenth-century Finland. Thoughts and ideas behind the discussion were not named directly, but the choice of words shows their effect.

2.5 Conclusion

The standardisation of congregational singing and liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria did not take place in an ideological vacuum. Many philosophical, theological and political ideas underpinned it, and all of them were transnational.

The aesthetic ideas of Romantic philosophy spread to Finland both directly from Germany and through Sweden. The key concepts were ‘edification’ and ‘elevation of mind.’ As for congregational singing, these thoughts contributed to the desire to get rid of the local chorale variants and replace them with unified and standardised chorales. J.C.F. Hæffner’s homophonic and even-note versions of the chorales came into general use in Finland, especially through Anders Nordlund’s *Chorale Book*, which also spread to Ingria. In addition to Hæffner, there were direct connections to Germany as well. Many Finnish musicians studied there, and several German musicians moved to Finland; from a perspective of congregational singing, the most important one was Richard Faltin. German teaching material, such as organ methods, also dominated in the churchwarden-organist schools in Finland and the Kolppana Seminary in Ingria. Many of these books were available in Finnish music stores as well, some of them also as Swedish translations.

From a theological point of view, the 1693 Swedish Agenda and the 1701 Finnish Hymnal, both of which were still in use in Finland and Ingria at the beginning of the nineteenth century, represented Lutheran Orthodoxy. The ideas of Enlightenment theology, i.e. Neology and Rationalism, spread in Sweden, Finland and Russia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; yet in Finland, their tangible impact remained small, as, despite attempts, a new handbook and hymnal could not be published. Influences nevertheless came from both West and East; the 1811 Swedish Handbook was taken into use in some parishes and the 1808 Hamina Agenda, based on the 1805 Imperial Liturgical Directives was used for a short time in Old Finland.

Through the transnational connections to Germany, Beckian Biblicism was a major theological trend in Finland in the second half of the century, but it did not have much impact on congregational singing. Partly due to its dominance, however, new spiritual songs of Pietism-based movements were not included in the 1886 Hymnals. However, Pietism influenced congregational singing strongly because singing together played a central role in these movements' gatherings and in many homes, which strengthened singing in the churches as well.

The 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda brought the Prussian ideas of the liturgy that were introduced in three 1820s Agendas. From a point of view of church music, the greatest change was that most of the sung parts of the liturgy were supposed to be sung in four parts by a choir; the congregation sang only the hymns. In practice, however, the change was not so great because there usually were no choirs, as a result of which the congregation sang the liturgical parts as well. The Imperial Agenda was in use in Ingria and spread also to south-eastern Finland; there it had a remarkable impact, especially on experiments with four-part congregational singing.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Neo-Lutheranism rose to oppose Enlightenment theology and Pietism. For liturgy, the most influential group of theologians was the Erlanger School whose effects flowed to Finland and Ingria through transnational connections. The Swedish theologian U.L. Ullman brought these thoughts to Sweden, and his writings were also well-known and much-cited in Finland. The 1886 new Finnish Handbook was thus clearly neo-Lutheran. In Ingria, the impact was even more direct because one of the theologians of the Erlanger School, Theodosius Harnack, was working at the University of Dorpat. His litur-

gical thoughts were widely adopted at first in Livonia and then in other consistorial districts. After publishing many consistorial agendas and instructions, finally, the new Imperial Agenda was taken into use in 1897.

Societal and political changes had an impact on congregational singing as well. At first, standardising it was mostly the clergy's task because they had an authority that was based on the Luther's Small Catechism. Towards the end of the century, these attempts changed to be more a voluntary-based lay project, in which primary school teachers and churchwardens were more active.

From a perspective of nationalist thinking, it depends on the angle of whether the attempts to standardise congregational singing in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria can be considered as a local or transnational phenomenon. There were local nationalist premises and goals, but the processes did not differ significantly from those in other European countries. Both Finnish and Ingrian-Finnish national movements had their own unique features, but they were part of a much wider flow in the whole of Europe. Ultimately, although nationalism always appeared in the nineteenth century in a local context, the phenomenon itself was transnational.

3 MUSICAL INTERACTION AND CHANGES

The previous chapter considered the intellectual-historical background, i.e. the theological, philosophical and political thoughts and ideas that were behind the standardisation of congregational singing and liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. In this chapter, I am concentrating on the concrete actions that were taken to standardise congregational singing and the phenomena that had an impact on it. The focus is both on the Lutheran Church and musical life in general: how was the standardisation process put into action in the parishes, what other local and national phenomena influenced it; and what kind of interaction was there between Finland and Ingria, on the one hand and the actors in the parishes and the rest of society on the other?

In a nutshell, it can be said that hymn-singing was a universal feature in Finland and Ingria in the late nineteenth century. In addition to churches, hymns were sung at school and gatherings of new voluntary associations and societies. Hymns and church music were a substantial part of the choral repertoire in general and had a strong place at national and regional song and play festivals. Even among the Eastern Orthodox, a discussion arose on the possibility of congregational singing in their church, as many of the parishioners were fascinated by Lutheran hymn-singing.

3.1 Changes of the Lutheran Chorale

After the Enlightenment, in the Lutheran areas of Central Europe, the aim of church music was to edify the congregation, which meant favouring congregational hymn-singing instead of polyphonic music. The importance of congregational singing was underlined, but simultaneously its quality was criticised; many musicians considered the chorale the best kind of church music, but according to them, congregational singing tended to be of extremely poor quality. Moreover, there was an equally strong desire to reform the chorale. With this process, both the sacred art

song and the spiritual song⁸³ found their way into congregational singing, but neither of them achieved a strong position. The former was often regarded as too difficult for ordinary people, whereas the latter was not considered dogmatic enough (Feder 1975 [1964], 336–339).

According to Georg Feder (1975 [1964], 340), ‘only bad things about congregational singing are reported by most sources.’ There is no reason to doubt this claim, but it is also important to keep in mind that those sources are written by educated people with musical training; we do not have sources about the experiences of ordinary people. However, there are facts to stick to. Many old chorale melodies were rhythmically and melodically simplified, which according to experts meant that they became ‘tampered’ and ‘disfigured.’ This all led to dragging tempos, both intentionally and unintentionally. In fact, during the first part of the nineteenth century, the tempos had already become extremely slow; the chorale being notated in minims was supposed to be sung so that a minim should last two seconds, sometimes even slower. Due to such slow tempos, the congregation started to enliven the chorale melodies by adding ornamentation. Added to this was the widespread practice of *Sekundieren*, i.e. the male voices singing an accompanying part below the melody, as a result of which organists were forced to use only the most basic harmonisation in order to avoid harmonic conflicts (*ibid.*, 339–340).

The situation in Finland and Ingria differed slightly from that of Central Europe because many of the rural churches could not afford an organ in their church. Consequently, congregational singing was mostly unaccompanied and in unison (K. Jalkanen 1976, 64). Nevertheless, as in Central Europe, tempos were extremely slow, and ornamentations were added to enliven the melodies. With local variants dominating, the original forms of the chorales were largely forgotten (KK, F.L. Schau-man’s collection, Lagi s.a. [1864?]; Colliander 1877, 191–192; 1898, 3–4).

83 Feder uses here the concept of the ‘spiritual folk song,’ but I find it a bit misleading because these songs were not folk music in the true sense of the word; it does not refer to, for instance, chorale variants. I think ‘folk’ refers here to the style; melodies of the new spiritual songs were easier to absorb and catchier than the traditional chorales. From a textual point of view, lyrics were based more on the religious experiences of the authors than the interpretation of the doctrine by educated theologians. More about these spiritual songs in Finland and Ingria in Chapters 3.9 and 3.10.

It is difficult to assess how well Finnish musicians or clergymen knew the situation in other Lutheran countries. In newspaper discussions, other countries were referred to but often in a tendentious manner; either the goal was to show the backwardness of congregational singing in Finland or on the contrary, to emphasise its uniqueness (Vapaavuori 1997, 85–87). The aforementioned process in Sweden was well-known in Finland; in the early nineteenth century, J.C.F. Hæffner promoted a chorale reform in Sweden and changed the design of the chorales into even-note form. However, Hæffner's reform was not entirely a novelty but largely reactive because there is a general tendency towards equal note-values in Swedish hand-written chorale books from circa 1770–1810.⁸⁴

In Finland, many published and hand-written chorale books followed Hæffner's Chorale Book, published in two parts in 1820 and 1821; the most important and powerful was the first published four-part Finnish chorale book by Anders Nordlund from 1850 (see Vapaavuori 1997, 227–236). The diocesan chapters recommended that every parish purchase it (K. Jalkanen 1976, 88). However, most of the copies of the edition burned in the Great Fire of Vaasa in 1852 (J. Krohn 1889, 823), and Nordlund's Chorale Book did not spread as widely as was hoped. In the first half of the nineteenth century, in addition to Hæffner, at least Georg Joseph Vogler's (1799) and Christian Heinrich Rinck's (1814) chorale books were in use in Finland (*Sanomia Turusta* 2 March 1860; Colliander 1898, 3–4).

In the second half of the century, O.I. Colliander started a discussion on returning to the original melodic forms of the Reformation era and the seventeenth century. They were rhythmically much livelier than syllabic versions of chorales. Colliander received little response and the dominance of the even-note chorales continued (Colliander 1898; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 240–241). Some chorales with more varied rhythm were found only in Lagi's Chorale Book, finalised by Richard Faltin (Lagi and Faltin 1871; see Figure 1, p. 48), as well as Colliander and Faltin's Chorale Book (1888); however, syllabic chorales made up the majority in both of them. All the other chorale books included only even-note rhythms.

84 I express my gratitude to my preliminary examiner, Professor Mattias Lundberg, for this information.

The state of congregational singing in Ingria was very similar to that in Finland. In the first half of the nineteenth century, people were mostly singing by using local chorale variants (see e.g. *Inkeri* 29 September 1889). There is no information about using Hæffner's Chorale Book in Ingrian parishes, but there was another influential chorale book that was certainly used to some extent, namely Johann Leberecht Ehregott Punschel's from 1839. As Hæffner's Chorale Book in Sweden, Punschel's in the Baltic countries was a combination of local aims and transnational influences; it was a combination of many earlier German chorale books, but Punschel's main goal was to standardise congregational singing in Livonia, Courland and Estonia. He did not pay much attention to the local repertoire, and there are no local melodies included in his Chorale Book; there were only a few local variants from commonly well-known chorale melodies (Siitan 2003, 17, 19).

When Nordlund published his Chorale Book in Finland, it also spread to Ingria. It was the one used in the Kolppana Seminary as well, so it was also used in most Ingrian parishes at the end of the century. When O.I. Colliander and Richard Faltin published their Chorale Book in 1888, based on the new 1886 Finnish Hymnal, a discussion arose in Ingria on whether it or Nordlund's should be used. Some churchwardens even suggested that they should make their own Chorale Book for Ingria, but it never happened (*Inkeri* 29 September, 6 and 20 October 1889). Syllabic chorales thus dominated in Ingria in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

3.2 Musical Instruments

When the discussion on improving congregational singing spread in the newspapers in the second half of the century, a debate arose as to which musical instrument was the most practical for teaching parishioners to sing. At first, discussing various musical instruments did not entail a question about accompaniment. Even at the end of the century, when there already was an organ or an organ harmonium in most churches, many parishioners as well as churchwardens preferred unison singing without accompaniment (see e.g. G. Lindell 1861/1874, 13). The reason for this was that the first experiences with organ accompaniment were not always positive. Many churchwardens and organists did not know how to play in such a way that the accompaniment would have supported the congregational singing; it rather

hindered it. In addition, versions of the melodies in hand-written or printed chorale books were often different from parishioners' own variants. For these reasons, in many churches, the congregation stopped singing altogether (Vapaavuori 1997, 198–199). Therefore, musical instruments were not meant to be used first and foremost for accompaniment but preferably for learning melodies. Usually, there were two instruments mentioned in newspapers: psalmodikon⁸⁵ and violin.

Psalmodikon

The psalmodikon (see Figure 2) is a single-stringed instrument that was usually played by laying it on a table and using a bow. A string made from a sheep intestine stretched over a long wooden box with a fretted, hardwood fingerboard marked in half-steps and notation numbers marked beside the fingerboard. It is possible to play only slow tunes within a two-octave range with this simple, usually homemade instrument that can be played by people with little musical training (Kukkasela 1857, 51–53; Kuuliala 1960, 52–53; Leisiö 1976, 74).

In 1830, the Swedish Lutheran pastor Johan Dillner (1785–1862) published his famous book *Psalmodikon*, which was a hymnal with numerical notation called *sifferskrift* (see Figure 3). Among some other scholars, Kaarlo Jalkanen (1976, 66), Herbert Tampere (1975, 41) and Igor Tönurist (1996, 128–129) think that Dillner himself developed the psalmodikon on the basis of the monochord and zither, but that cannot be the whole truth. According to Folke Bohlin (1992, 92), it was developed earlier in Denmark and already spread widely in Norway. Leif Eeg-Olofsson (1978, 230) states that in Denmark the psalmodikon and numerical notation were already in use in the early 1820s. Likewise, in Norway, Christian Gottfried Bohr (1773–1832) had published the first publication with numerical notation in 1825 (*ibid.*, 231). It spread wider there, however, when Lars Roverud improved the instrument and made changes in the numerical notation. He also received official authorisation from the State Church in Norway in 1835 when the Royal Resolution was issued, according to which the psalmodikon was an acceptable musical instrument to be played in church to improve congregational singing because only slow melodies could be played but not fast dance tunes (Løchen 1958, 87–93). In addition, many Norwegian and Swed-

85 *Virsikannel* in Finnish, *psalmodikon* in Swedish, *moldpill* or *mollpill* in Estonian.

ish immigrants brought the psalmodikons along with them to North America and continued using them in their homes, churches and schools (Eeg-Olofsson 1978, 252–254; Melloh 1981, 274). No information about Finnish immigrants using this instrument there has been found, however.⁸⁶ In Estonia, the psalmodikon was used especially in the western and northern coastal areas, where the Swedish-speaking population lived. It was also known among the Lutherans in Livonia, Courland and, to a small extent Lithuania (Eeg-Olofsson 1978, 252; Tampere 1975, 41; Tönurist 1996, 127–129; Siitan 2003, 66–67).



Figure 2. Psalmodikon. Photo: Jaana Maijala 2014 HKM / Helsinki City Museum. CC BY 4.0.

A+2+3+6+7.

3	2	1	1	2	3	4	3	3	2			
py=	=	hå,	py=	=	=	=	hå,	py=	hå			
1	1	3	5	4	3	2	0	1	5	6	7	
Herra	Su=	ma=	la	Ze=	ba=	oth!	Lån-	det	omat			
1	2	2	3	4	3	2	0	2	6	7	1	1
tai=	maat	ja	maa=	=	=	=	=	fi=	nun	Herraut=		

Figure 3. The beginning of the *Sanctus* in *sifferskrift* numerical notation. Ehrström 1837, 9.

86 Melloh gave this information in 1981, but the situation has not changed. At least I have not found any references whatsoever about the psalmodikon among American Finns.

Table 3. Collections for the psalmodikon in *sifferskrift* numerical notation that include hymns or liturgical melodies, published in nineteenth-century Finland. Abbreviations; hymnal = incl. all of the chorales of the Finnish and/or Swedish Hymnals, hymns = incl. a limited number of chorales, Mass = liturgical melodies, one = in one part, many = in many parts. Wauhkonen 1884 and O. and J. Valve 1889 do not include *sifferskrift* with numbers but note letters. In addition to one-part melodies, *Förberedande öfningar* 1847 and both of A.W. Carlson's 1882 editions include two-part settings, and Bucht 1847 includes many four-part settings and one three-part setting.

year	author	title	hymnal	hymns	Mass	one	many
1837	F.A. Ehrström	<i>Suomalainen messu</i>			x	x	
1837	B.N. Hagelin	<i>Wirsi kantele, tabi Suomalaisiin wirsiin nuotit</i>	x			x	
1847		<i>Förberedande öfningar</i>		x		x	x
1856	J.V. Murman	<i>Suomalainen messu</i>			x	x	
1857	H. Bucht	<i>Wirsi-Kirjaan Nuotit</i>	x			x	x
1859	J.A.G. Hymander	<i>Suomalainen messu, Svenska mässan</i>			x	x	
1862	K. Saarelainen	<i>Nuotti-kirja, Suomenkieliseen Wirsi-Kirjaan</i>	x			x	
		<i>revised editions 1875 and 1883</i>	x		x	x	
1869	J.R. Enckell	<i>Wirsi-Kantele tabi Suomalaisiin wirsiin nuotit</i>	x			x	
1869	unknown	<i>Wirsi-Kantele tabi Suomalaisiin wirsiin nuotit, Kuopio</i>	x			x	
1872	J. Asp	<i>Suomalaisien Wirsiin Nuotti-Kirja</i>	x			x	
1882	A.W. Carlson	<i>60 Koraali-Nuottia</i>		x		x	x
1882	A.W. Carlson	<i>60 Choral-Melodier</i>		x		x	x
1884	D. Wauhkonen	<i>Suomalaisten Virtten Nuotti Kirja</i>	x			x	
1889	J. Ketonen	<i>Uusi wirsikannel, Ny sängharpa</i>	x		x	x	
		<i>revised edition 1890</i>	x		x	x	
1889	A. Nuutinen	<i>Numero-Nuottikirja</i>	x			x	
1889	O. and J. Valve	<i>Uuden wirsikirjan ja Messujen sävelistö</i>	x		x	x	
1891	J. Laitinen	<i>Yksinkertainen Numero-Nuottivihko</i>		x		x	
1892	J.A.G. Hymander	<i>Wirsi-Kantele, Psalmodikon</i>	x			x	

In 1836, Dillner's preface to the *Psalmodikon* was published in Helsinki with the title *Inledning till melodierna för Svenska kyrkans psalmer* ('Introduction to the Melodies for the Hymns of the Church of Sweden'), which means that the psalmodikon had either already spread in Finland or was just about to. The first Finnish publications with *sifferskrift* numerical notation were printed the next year, in 1837. The prefaces for both of them, Fredrik August Ehrström's *Suomalainen messu* ('The Finnish Mass') and Bror Nils Hagelin's (1796–1840) *Wirsi Kantele*⁸⁷ ('The Psalmodikon'), were the first widely targeted public commitments for improving congregational singing. After that, many other collections for hymns and liturgical melodies with *sifferskrift* were published, the last one in 1889 (see Table 3⁸⁸).

With the first publications, Finnish clergymen and churchwardens began to buy and build psalmodikons for improving congregational singing and standardising chorale melodies. The psalmodikon was used also in primary schools (Pajamo 1976, 177–178). It was a familiar and well-known instrument in Ingria as well. For example, Vicar Aloys Jeremias Piispanen (1832–1909) used it in Markkova and Järvisaari parish in the 1860s, and teacher Paavo Räikkönen (1857–1935) ordered thirty instruments from Finland for the Lempaala Singing Society in 1879 (Lauluseurojen synty 1924, 355/1925, 20; Murtorinne 2015, 174). Many other teachers also purchased psalmodikons from Finland, and perhaps for that reason, the instrument was sometimes called a 'Finnish violin' in Ingria (Tönurist 1996, 130). At the meeting of Ingrian primary school teachers in Lempaala in 1882, one of the goals for singing in primary schools was knowing the notes and playing the psalmodikon (Flink 2000, 187).

87 According to Heikki Laitinen (2003, 143), the Finnish name *wirsikantele* was skillfully propagandist because it combined nationalist and religious values; *wirsi* means 'hymn,' and the kantele is a traditional Finnish and Karelian plucked string instrument entirely unlike the psalmodikon. Interestingly, Laitinen also notices that on the front cover of Dillner's *Psalmodikon*, the instrument is surrounded by clouds and stars; in the logo of the Finnish Literature Society, drawn by Magnus von Wright (1805–1868) a few years later, the kantele is similarly surrounded by clouds and stars.

88 There are tables of Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Finnish and American-Swedish publications for the psalmodikon in Eeg-Olofsson and Ostfeldt 1978. At least the table of Finnish publications (*ibid.*, 30–31), by Eeg-Olofsson, is incomplete. He also lists Kukkasela 1857, *Koululasten wirsikirja* 1892 and *Koulun Koraali-wirsikirja* 1898, but I have left them out of the Table 3 because there is no *sifferskrift* numerical notation in them, only instructions on how to build a psalmodikon. Eeg-Olofsson has not noticed either that Dillner 1836 is only the preface of the *Psalmodikon*.

Unlike the violin, the psalmodikon was meant only for learning melodies, and it was not used as a solo or accompaniment instrument. However, there is some information about different kinds of use. According to Päivikki Suojanen (1984, 13–14), the psalmodikon was probably used sometimes to support the folk hymn-singing at the gatherings of some awakening movements. The teacher of Rytty primary school in Sortavala rural commune, Antti Pitkänen, made his pupils craft their own psalmodikons and summoned a psalmodikon band to perform at the end-of-semester festivities (Kuuliala 1960, 54). In addition, Pajamo (1976, 177–178) has found comments about pupils accompanying hymns on the psalmodikon at morning assemblies in primary schools.

The psalmodikon spread quickly in Finland in the second half of the nineteenth century and became very popular especially in Eastern Finland; in Viipuri Province, there were some parishes in which there was a psalmodikon in every village or even in every house (*Kansan Lehti* 22 February 1868). As Bishop of Savonlinna, O.I. Colliander (1907, 86–92) asked the parishes of his diocese for information on the state of congregational singing in the first decade of the twentieth century. According to the survey, the psalmodikon was used in almost all of the parishes, at least to some extent.

Many churchwardens in numerous Finnish parishes used the psalmodikon at confirmation schools and other hymn-singing rehearsals (Vapaavuori 1997, 178–179). Likewise, many primary school teachers found it an excellent tool for teaching hymn and other song melodies; some of them even claimed that the psalmodikon should have become a common item in every household (Kansakoulukokous 1875, 10–12).

Violin

At first, the violin was a more familiar instrument for Finns than the psalmodikon. According to Erkki Ala-Könni (1986, 13), the violin was used as early as the seventeenth century, but it was mostly considered a profane instrument. Ala-Könni had nevertheless also heard oral tradition about the use of the violin for supporting congregational singing in some churches as well as at ambulatory⁸⁹ and Sunday schools.

89 *Kiertokoulu* in Finnish, *ambulerande skola* in Swedish. In the seventeenth century, churchwardens and teachers started to ambulate from village to village, teaching children to read and write, calculate, sing hymns and learn the basics of Christianity. The ambulatory schools remained an important part

The violin's favourers emphasised that playing the instrument also trained the ear, whereas its opponents said it was too difficult for ordinary people to learn to play it, and that is why they preferred the psalmodikon (Vapaavuori 1997, 174–179). For instance, the Churchwarden of Haapavesi, Robert Lehrbäck preferred the violin because unlike the psalmodikon, by playing the violin a churchwarden learned the difference between major and minor scales as well as note values. He had also noticed that the more one played the violin, the better the ear became (*Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* 21 April 1860).

Pipe Organ

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were only thirty-three organs in all of Finland. The reason for such a low number of instruments was that after the Great Wrath⁹⁰ (1713–1721), in which Russia occupied Finland during the Great Northern War, inflicting huge casualties and employing scorched-earth tactics, Finland was a quite shattered country and could only recover very slowly. Consequently, very few pipe organs were remained in the whole country. During the first third of the nineteenth century, only three new organs were built by Swedish organ builders (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 197–199; Pelto 2014, 51–53, 83; Tuppurainen 1980, 12). Most of the organs were small, with only one manual with pull-down pedals. In addition, almost all of the surviving organs were located in the coastal areas, but not inland (K. Jalkanen 1976, 20). In the 1830s and 1840s, Estonian Johan Rāman (1779–1847), who lived in Hämeenlinna, built at least two and Gustav Andersson (1797–1872) from Sweden three organs in Finnish churches (Pelto 2014, 54–58).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, organs rapidly increased in number, alongside the building of many new churches (K. Jalkanen 1976, 18). Steady organ building in Finland began with the Swedish-born Anders Thulé (1813–1872) in 1843. He was active in Kangasala in Tavastia⁹¹, where his work was later contin-

of the popular education system in Finland by the early twentieth century. Even after the 1866 Imperial Announcement on Primary Education they made it possible to bring education to rural areas, where the economic situation, geography or attitudes would not have permitted the establishment of a primary school (see further Kotilainen 2013).

90 *Isoviba* in Finnish, *Den stora ofreden* in Swedish.

91 *Häme* in Finnish, *Tavastland* in Swedish.

ued by his son Bror Axel Thulé (1847–1911). A bit later, in 1870, the Danish-born Jens Alexander Zachariassen (1839–1902) started building organs in Uusikaupunki in Southwest Finland. These two workshops produced almost ninety per cent of all of the organs built in Finland during the nineteenth century (Pelto 1994, 18–24). Some individuals also built organs as well as three smaller organ workshops. Johan Fredrik Buchert (1796–1851) from Courland established a workshop in Sakkola in the Karelian Isthmus in 1850, and his sons continued to work after his death the following year. Juho Albanus Jurva (1861–1908) worked for six years at Walcker’s organ factory in Germany and established his workshop in Lahti in 1893. Karl Gustav Wikström (1861–1908) studied organ building at the Kempis Organ Builders and the Roosevelt Organ Works in New York and started then a workshop in Naantali near Turku (Pelto 2014, 74–80). Organ building was not only domestic production; many organs built in the latter part of the century were purchased from abroad, about ten from Sweden and at least eight from Gustav Normann (1821–1893) in Estonia, with one instrument from Denmark as well (Pelto 2014, 62, 80–81). At the end of the century organs could be found in most of the parishes in the Dioceses of Turku and Porvoo and in every other parish in the Dioceses of Savonlinna and Kuopio (K. Jalkanen 1978, 18–20). Organs at that time numbered over three hundred (Pelto 1994, 20).

Anders Thulé also built chamber organs for smaller spaces. According to Pentti Pelto (1993, 3, 7, 12, 17), he used technical solutions that differed from the church organ, even though these chamber organs were pipe organs with bellow works. The sound was different as well, soft and intimate. The chamber organ took up as much space on the floor as a nineteenth-century square piano; the keyboard was also similar to that of the square piano and thus differed from the church organ. Many chamber organs were in large houses where they were played at banquets and celebrations. They were also well suited to the accompaniment for singing together. For example, the founder of the Evangelical Movement, F.G. Hedberg had a home organ built by Anders Thulé, on which he played hymns and songs of the *Siionin kannel*. From the 1890s on, B.A. Thulé built school organs, which, as the name implies, was intended for schools; technically they resembled the harmonium (Pelto 2014, 69).

Alongside the new instruments, sheet music material for accompanying hymns and liturgical music was also published. The oldest surviving hand-written four-part chorale book for organ accompaniment was written by Erik Hagfors⁹² in Helsinki in 1846 (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 206). The first published four-part chorale book, which also included liturgical melodies, was edited by the Churchwarden of Vaasa, Anders Nordlund in 1850 (Vapaavuori 1997, 227–236). In his preface, Nordlund says that he has followed Vogler (1799), Rinck (1814) and Hæffner's (1819) chorale books. According to Vapaavuori's (1997, 235) calculations, Nordlund had taken two-thirds of the four-part settings from Hæffner. An alternative chorale book was published in 1871, chiefly edited by Rudolf Lagi and finished after his death by Richard Faltin. Erik August Hagfors (1827–1913) published a revised edition of Nordlund's chorale book in 1876 (*ibid.*, 266–275, 283–287). After authorising new Finnish and Swedish Hymnals in 1886, the General Synod appointed a chorale committee to compile an official one-part chorale book. Before publishing the proposal, the Chair of the Committee, O.I. Colliander sent the melodies to Richard Faltin and asked him to make four-part arrangements for an accompaniment book. Together they published a new chorale book in 1888, a year before the committee's proposal. The General Synod did not authorise the melodies, but in practice, these versions became semi-official because Colliander and Faltin's Chorale Book spread widely in Finland, especially after revised editions came out in 1891 and 1897 (Colliander 1898, 13, 32; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 240–245).

The Ingrian situation was similar to Finland's. In the first half of the nineteenth century, few churches had organs; apparently, the only Lutheran churches to have organs at that time were found in Saint Petersburg (Ehrström 1829, 38, 105; Kajanus 1980 [s.a.], 17, 35; see also Kravchun 2009). In the second half of the century, however, many churches were built and along with them, organs. At the end of the century, there were organs in at least every third Ingrian church (Kravchun 2009, 9, 12–47).

92 Erik Hagfors' Chorale Book is unfortunately lost, at least for now. According to Reijo Pajamo (1995, 32), it was in the library of the Sibelius Academy. He has also told me that in practice it was probably preserved in the Department of Church Music. Nevertheless, I have not found it in either of them or in the places where some materials have been moved from the department.

In nineteenth-century Finland, every now and then, there were organ concerts in churches, but in such cases, there was always another performer, either a singer, instrumentalist or choir, and at least one hymn (Urponen 2010, 25–27). The idea of miscellany had been a norm in Europe from the late eighteenth century on, also in sacred concerts (Weber 2008, 1, 40–42). In the first half of the century these additional performers were local amateurs who were replaced by professional artists in the late nineteenth century (Urponen 2010, 25–27). Among those who gave concerts were organists from Germany and Sweden as well as organ teachers at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, founded in 1862 (Urponen 2010, 27–36, 41; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 328; Tuppurainen 1980, 14–15).

Finnish organists began giving regular concerts in the 1850s, the first of which was given by Rudolf Lagi at Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki, followed by his German-born successor, Richard Faltin. Oscar Pahlman (1839–1935) and Lauri Hämäläinen gave concerts from the 1860s on, Oskar Merikanto and Karl Sjöblom (1861–1939) from the 1880s on. There were concerts outside Helsinki as well, especially in Turku and in Vaasa (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 326, 329; see also Urponen 2010, 39–69).

Even though many people preferred unaccompanied congregational singing, sometimes accompaniment was considered a vehicle for improving it. The more organs were built, the more this topic was discussed. In the churchwarden-organist schools, the most important subject in organ instruction was chorale playing, although modulation skills were also considered necessary. Naturally, the Mass belonged to the programme because at that time, there were already four-part collections of liturgical melodies, and the Mass was meant to be accompanied if an organ was available in the church (Mietintö 1909, 51–56). Nevertheless, the organ accompaniment did not break through right away because in actual situations the organ did not always support congregational singing but made it even more difficult. A pseudonymous E. B. thought in the newspaper *Suometar* (9 February 1855) that the reason for this was the difficulty in getting the words out when the organ was played. The Vicar of Koivulahti, Frans Oskar Durchman (1813–1880) claimed at the Clergy Conference in Turku in 1859 that where the organ was used, the congregation stopped singing. While he supported the organ accompaniment, he called for the proper use of the instrument (Minutes of the 1859 Clergy Conference in Turku, 109–110). Therefore, it seems that the problem was the players rather than the instruments.

According to Pentti Pelto (1994, 97–98, 104), most of the pipe organs at that time were small or medium-sized ‘chorale organs.’ Most churchwardens played only liturgical music and not actual organ repertoire at all. The characteristics of the organ action made it necessary to play slowly, solemnly and ceremoniously, to get the best of the sound. The pipes were voiced by using a technique that resulted in a broad and singing sound, which supported the congregational singing.

There were also smaller instruments with a sound that was too fragile in comparison with the powerfully singing congregation. In addition, local chorale variants made the situation difficult; in some parishes, there was both a churchwarden and an organist, and they competed by using different variants of the melody. As a result, the congregation was forced to choose which one to follow (Vapaavuori 1997, 199–202). Consequently, in the worst case, many people who wanted to improve the congregational singing considered it even more chaotic when accompanied on the organ (see e.g. G. Lindell 1861/1874, 13 and Vapaavuori 1997, 198–199). In turn, ordinary people who probably liked their earlier way of singing might then have found it ruined. I think one reason for all of this was the simple fact that the organ was a new instrument for Finns. They were not used to the lush sound of the instrument, which made it difficult to experience it as a support for singing.

Harmonium

The harmonium spread in Finland in the second half of the nineteenth century, and it became first and foremost a school instrument, as many people still today remember it from their own school days (Suojanen 1984, 17). Accompanied by harmonium, hymns and liturgical melodies were sung in primary school singing lessons and daily prayers (Pajamo 1976, 109–110). The harmonium also had another impact on congregational singing: accompaniment with this instrument accustomed children and young people to instrumental accompaniment in general, which also meant that the organ in the church no longer was found so strange. However, there were harmoniums in some churches as well, even though it was nowhere near as common as the organ. According to the newspaper *Sanomia Turusta* (8 October 1888), there was a harmonium in twenty-two churches in the late 1880s (see Table 4). It was almost as common as the organ in the Diocese of Kuopio, although there was usually no

instrument whatsoever in the churches. It seems that the most low-income parishes of the country, located mostly in the Diocese of Kuopio, i.e. in northern and eastern Finland, could not afford an organ, but for many of them, a harmonium was affordable enough.

Table 4. The number of musical instruments in the churches of Finnish dioceses in 1888. *Sanomia Turusta* 8 October 1888.

	Turku	Porvoo	Kuopio	tot.
churches	288	141	111	540
organs	130	47	11	188
harmoniums	7	7	8	22
no instrument	151	87	92	330

From the late 1850s on, harmoniums were imported to Finland from Sweden, Germany and the United States. One of the first importers was Beuermann's Music Store in Helsinki (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 26 October 1859). At the end of the century, the largest importer was Richard Faltin's Piano Magazine in Helsinki, which sold harmoniums built by the German, Swedish and American factories (*Uusi Suometar* 29 January 1891; *Aamulehti* 17 August and 10 December 1897; *Päivälehti* 18 November 1897; *Adressbok* 1 January 1898). Anna Melan's Music Store in Helsinki imported German and American harmoniums as well (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 6 December 1892). Many home harmoniums were self-built, especially in Ostrobothnia (Suojanen 1984, 17).

The first domestic harmonium workshop started to operate in the 1860s when A.A. Hedén, who had studied in Germany, began to build harmoniums in Tampere. Eero Mäkinen, who became acquainted with the harmonium industry in Stuttgart with the help of a state grant, founded his own harmonium factory in the countryside of Sortavala in 1881. About twenty harmonium workshops were founded in Finland in the late nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century (see Table 5; Müller *et al.* 1977, 523. *Kansakoulun lehti* 1902, 386–387). It is worth mentioning that in Lapua in Southern Ostrobothnia alone, there were as many as six harmonium workshops in the late nineteenth century (Piuhola 1985).

Table 5. Harmonium workshops established in Finland in the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. Some of them built pipe organs as well. *Hufvudstadsbladet* 5 February 1878, 29 July 1879 and 19 January 1894; *Uusi Suometar* 10 June 1881; *Suupohjan Työmies* 20 February 1885; *Åland* 23 January 1892; *Björneborgs Tidning* 2 February 1894 and 27 July 1901; *Svenska Österbotten* 27 August 1897; *Kansakoulun lehti* 1902, 386–387. Müller *et al.* 1977, 523; Piuhola 1985.

year	name	location
1860s	A. A. Hedén	Tampere
1875	Elias Sillanpään harmoonitehdas	Lapua
1878	Eero Mäkinen	Alavus
1879	Jussi Ahon ja Kustaa Niemen harmoonitehdas	Lapua
1879	Peter Lybeck	Kruunupyö
1881	Eero Mäkinen	Sortavala
1881	Hiskias Ronkainen	Alastaro
1885	Juho Hirvelä	Teuva
1887	A. Rosander	Föglö
1890	Jaakko Hissa	Lapua
1893	J. K. Perälän harmoonitehdas	Lapua
1894	Vihtori Sillanpään harmoonitehdas	Lapua
1894	Karl Gustaw Wikström	Rymättylä
1894	H. Nisonen	Pori
1897	Bröder Anderssens Orgelfabrik	Pännäinen
1897	A. Källmannin harmoonitehdas	Lapua
1901	Porin urkuharmoonitehdas	Pori
1903	Urkuharmoonitehdas A. J. Tiainen	Uukuniemi
1903	A. Halonen ja kumpp.	Jyväskylä

The harmonium was a familiar instrument in Ingria as well. There was one in the Kolppana Seminary (Iho 1950, 172), and there were at least six harmonium factories in Saint Petersburg (Gellerman 1998, 310), which means that there most likely were harmoniums in Ingrian schools as well.

Other Keyboard Instruments

In the eighteenth century, there were keyboard instruments in Finnish manors and vicarages. The word *claver* appeared in old newspapers and diaries, probably referring to the spinet, harpsichord, fortepiano or clavichord, the last one being the

most popular of these. Clavichords were built in Turku at the end of the eighteenth century, but the professional production of the clavichords, square pianos, grand pianos, cabinet pianos and pianinos started in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, many Finnish piano builders completed their journeyman apprenticeship in Saint Petersburg (Dahlström 1978, 25, 76–77; Järvi 2016, 54, 57–59. For more information about Finnish keyboard instrument builders in the nineteenth century, see Dahlström 1978, 25–104).

When supervising the Finnish churchwarden-organist schools, Richard Faltin considered it necessary to practise with the piano before starting to play the organ for the muscles in the hands to develop to the level needed for liturgical organ-playing. For that reason, playing the piano was taught in churchwarden-organist schools. (Mietintö 1909, 64.) In addition, in some eighteenth-century hand-written chorale books there are two-part chorales with a numbered bass, which may also have been used when playing the piano, fortepiano or other keyboard instruments. For example, the Öhrbom notebook from 1759, which contains mainly minuets, polonaises and marches for piano, also includes Finnish and Swedish chorale melodies, albeit in a different hand-writing than the piano pieces and using the G-clef, which may indicate that they were not added until the nineteenth century (Nallinmaa 1982, 327). It is also likely that many organists used other keyboard instruments for rehearsal in winter, when it was too cold to rehearse in churches. Finally, it is worth mentioning that Georg Joseph Vogler's *Hosanna* (see next chapter) was also a popular piano piece called *Marsch af Abbé Vogler* ('Abbé Vogler's March') in the nineteenth century (*ibid.*, 109).

Brass Instruments

Brass orchestras or septets were actively established in Finland in the second half of the nineteenth century (P. Jalkanen 2003, 139–143). They were sometimes thought of as a support for hymn-singing as well. Some parishes had their own brass bands, and many other local bands were conducted by the churchwarden. Many brass bands, regardless of their background community, also played in the churches, especially at the festive Divine Services if there was no organ (see, for instance, *Länmetär* 9 December 1863; Keskitalo 1931, 819; Seppä 1952, 548–549; Häkli 1953, 433–434). Many churchwardens and teachers founded brass bands in Ingrian parishes as well (Lauluseurojen synty 1924, 355–356/1925, 5–8, 20; Murtorinne 2015, 174).

Many of these bands, at least in Finland, were brass septets⁹³. This unique Finnish ensemble became common in the late nineteenth century. It was most likely formed by Adolf Leander (1833–1899), the military brass conductor of *Kaartin soittokunta* ('The Guard's Band') in Helsinki. Usually, there was a cornet in E flat, two cornets in B flat, an alto horn in E flat, a tenor horn in B flat, a baritone horn (called also euphonium) in B flat and a tuba in E flat as well as percussion *ad libitum* in a brass septet. There was variation as well; professional groups used trumpets and French horns as well, sometimes even trombone. In addition, because the cornet in E flat was so difficult to play, it was often replaced with the clarinet. The instruments were ordered through intermediaries from abroad, mostly from Germany (Karjalainen 1995, 9–10; P. Jalkanen 2003, 140, 147).

At the Churchwarden-Organist School of Oulu as well as at the Training School for Missionaries of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission⁹⁴, founded in 1862, the pupils studied brass instruments. Thus, when the first Finnish missionaries set out for distant Ovamboland in present-day Namibia on Midsummer Eve 1868, with their horns they performed Martin Luther's hymn *A Mighty Fortress is Our God* (*Ein feste Burg is unser Gott*) at Helsinki's South Harbour as the ship set sail towards the sea (Mietintö 1909, 64–68; K. Jalkanen 1978, 60; Peltola 1994, 28).

Brass bands also participated in local and national song and play festivals both in Finland and Ingria and among other repertoires, accompanied hymns. *A Mighty Fortress is Our God* was often heard in these festivals performed by brass bands (Smeds and Mäkinen 1984, *passim*; Rantanen 2013a, 239–256; 2013b and 2014, *passim*; Korkalainen 2019, 242–243).

3.3 Four-part Congregational Singing and First Choirs

In nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria, efforts to improve congregational singing also included the first attempts to sing in four parts at the Divine Services. The first references about four-part singing in Finnish parishes are from 1804 from Hämeenlinna Deanery in the region of Tavastia Proper⁹⁵. The Churchwardens of Tammela,

93 *Torviseitsikko* in Finnish.

94 *Suomen Lähetysseura* in Finnish, *Finska Missionssällskapet* in Swedish.

95 *Kanta-Häme* in Finnish, *Egentliga Tavastland* in Swedish.

Janakkala and Hausjärvi made a promise at a dean's visitation that they would teach youngsters to sing in four parts. Unfortunately, there is no information on whether they did it or not (K. Jalkanen 1976, 64). Therefore, it seems there might already have been some attempts to sing in parts in Finnish churches at the beginning of the century, but there are no reliable sources about them. Bishop Karl-Gustaf Ottelin advised his clergy in 1842 that when recruiting churchwardens in the Diocese of Porvoo, special attention should be paid to their singing skills so that they could teach four-part singing at the confirmation school (Circular letter of the Porvoo diocese 7 September 1842; Rosenqvist 1935, 411).

At all events, there are many references in the middle of the century to groups of singers or choirs of four parts singing at the Divine Services. For example, in 1836, the Churchwarden of Vihti, Anders Elias Lindgren (1814–1881) trained a many-part choir for a dean's visitation (K. Jalkanen 1976, 65). In 1856, in Lemi, there were about sixty male singers singing responses to the pastor's Versicles, the Collect together with the pastor and one hymn with the congregation (*Suometar* 7 November 1856⁹⁶). In addition, in the 1850s and 1860s there was four-part singing at the Divine Services at least in Jaakkima, Käkisalme, Kaukola, Kivennapa, Rantasalmi, Oulunsalo, Rautjärvi, Säkijärvi, Soanlahti and Vaasa, and likely in some other parishes as well (*Sanan-Lennätin* 28 November 1857; *Suometar* 13 May 1859; *Suomen Julkisia Sanomia* 19 September 1859, 21 and 28 June, 2 July and 18 October 1860; *Otava, Sanomia Wäipurista* 15 June 1861; *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti* 7 March 1866. Havu 1921, 28–29; Häkli 1953, 415; Kiuru 1952, 221–224; Rosendal 1905, 434–435; 1915, 114–115; Seppä 1952, 545; Åkerblom 1956, 395).

Influences from Russia

Influences for four-part singing in the church came to Finland both from Sweden and Russia, which is revealed both by geography and repertoire. Old Finland, which had already been a part of the Russian Empire, was joined to the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1812. Most of the parishes, in which there was four-part singing in the latter half of the century, were located in former Old Finland (Jaakkima, Kaukola,

96 The author of this text, a pseudonymous A.J.P. is most likely Aloys Jeremias Piispanen who later founded choirs in Kaukola (Häkli 1953, 415; Palovaara 1953, 110) and many places in Ingria (Lauluseurojen synty 1924/1925).

Kirvu, Kivennapa, Lemi, Rautjärvi, Soanlahti and Säkkijärvi) or close to it (Rantasalmi). Possibly, some of these parishes used the 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda, translated into Finnish in 1835. According to the Imperial Agenda (1835, V, 7–23) the four-part choir in every case responded to the pastor's Versicles and sang the liturgical hymns and all of the Amen. The idea of using a choir to exercise a liturgical ministry came from the 1822 Prussian Agenda that was influenced by the Orthodox church music of the Russian court chapel in Saint Petersburg. At the Orthodox liturgy, the choir had a liturgical role, and now the same goal was given to the Lutheran services, even though in all of other Lutheran countries it was the congregation who sang the liturgies (Petkūnas 2013, 170, 175).

The influence of the Imperial Agenda can clearly be seen in Finland. For example, in Lemi, there was a Divine Service in 1856 at which the four-part choir sang all of the liturgical melodies but only one hymn (*Suometar* 7 November 1856). Likewise, it was especially mentioned that in Rantasalmi responses to the pastor's Versicles were sung in four parts (*Suomen Julkisia Sanomia* 28 June 1860). In Soanlahti, the vicar founded a singing society and taught parishioners to sing not only hymns but also liturgical melodies in four parts (*Laatokka* 20 October 1888). It is also worth mentioning that every Sunday in the Saint John's Church, pupils of the Churchwarden-Organist School of Helsinki sang all of the liturgical melodies in four parts, whereas there is no mention of hymns (Mietintö 1909, 55). It was naturally easier to sing liturgical melodies in four parts because they remained the same in all of the Divine Services, whereas a selection of hymns changed every Sunday. Once learned, liturgical melodies could easily be repeated in parts week after week, without rehearsals.

Influences from Sweden

Influences for four-part singing came from Sweden as well. A lively debate about four-part congregational singing had arisen there, but I mention only two persons who joined the discussion in Sweden and had a remarkable impact on Finland as well: Johan Dillner and J.C.F. Hæffner. After publishing his book the *Psalmodikon* in 1830, ten years later Johan Dillner also published separate sheets for alto, tenor and bass parts, written in *sifferskrift* notation. His goal was to teach the congregation as a whole to sing in four parts (Dillner 1830, XIV–XV). All of the Finnish chorale

books and collections of liturgical melodies with *sifferskrift* notation were one-part, but in four of them, there were hymns in two-, three- or four-part harmony as well (see Table 3, p. 107).

Another important Swedish source for four-part singing was the Chorale Book by Johann Christian Friedrich Hæffner, published in two parts in 1820 and 1821. There was no Finnish four-part chorale book, and therefore Hæffner's one was in use in Finland as well (Colliander 1898, 4). Like many others at that time, Hæffner was convinced that during the Reformation period the congregation had sung hymns in four parts, and consequently, his four-part harmonies were meant first and foremost for four-part congregational singing *a cappella*, even though they were used for organ accompaniment as well (Dillmar 2001, 195; 2007, 174–176).

The first Finnish four-part chorale book, Anders Nordlund's book (1850), was mostly based on Hæffner's harmonies and similarly meant for four-part singing above all. Nordlund himself taught parishioners to sing hymns in four parts, at least on some special occasions (Åkerblom 1956, 395). Following his example, some churchwardens in Ostrobothnia instructed their parishioners to sing in four parts (*Oulun Wiikoko-Sanomia* 3 December 1859; *Tapio* 23 May 1863).

Conducting four-part singing did not automatically inspire everyone or their appreciation; Pietari Päivärinta, for example, while enjoying great recognition among churchwardens in his own area, was not able to get his parishioners excited about four-part singing. In addition, when he applied for the position of churchwarden in Haapavesi and Iisalmi, he was not even chosen to be a candidate in the election in the former (Havu 1921, 28–30; Teperi 1981, 694).

Case: Four-part Congregational Singing in Lemi Parish

Many Finnish researchers (see e.g. Vapaavuori 1997, 184–185, 194) have claimed that the picture of a Finnish congregation singing all of the hymns in four-part harmonies was romanticised; it did not happen in real life. According to them, there was four-part singing every now and then in some parishes, but it was always a choir or a smaller group of people performing it, never the congregation as a whole. I agree with them, but I nonetheless want to underline that it really was a goal for some churchwardens and pastors to teach their congregation to sing in four parts – and some of them even had good results!

Perhaps the most thoroughgoing way to pursue the goal was organised in Lemi. The pastor of Lemi in 1851–1856, Johannes Hertz (1823–1888) started the four-part congregational singing; and not only in Lemi but also later in Rautjärvi and Kivennapa. Reverend Hertz described to the clergy of south-eastern Finland in a circular letter in 1859 how he had organised teaching four-part singing in Rautjärvi. Rehearsals were held in the church on Sunday evenings and singers were seated in parts. Hymns were rehearsed one phrase at a time, first every part alone, then all of parts together. At first, reverend Hertz used much time to achieve a pure sound on the first chord. Then, he focused on harmony and counterpoint. All of the phrases were repeated many times before going on to the next one. Reverend Hertz did not use the psalmodikon while rehearsing four-part singing, but he taught people to play it so that they were also able to rehearse at home. However, he did not accept Dillner's numerical notation, *sifferskrift*, but taught his parishioners to read Western stave notation (KA, Archives of SKHS, *Cirkulär-Memorial*).

In Hertz's letter, there is no information about whether female singers participated in four-part singing in Rautjärvi in 1859. At least, in his former parish Lemi, he did not let women participate in the singing society. The situation nevertheless changed in the early 1860s when the Churchwarden of Lemi, Anders Laurén (1830–1899), also included female voices in four-part singing (Lintunen 2005, 23–24). It is a pity that most of the descriptions about four-part congregational singing do not mention if there were female voices or if sopranos and altos were children and young boys. In Sweden, Hæffner did not understand why the female voice was forbidden in the church; women were only allowed to participate in unison congregational singing. Therefore, it was only natural for Hæffner that soprano and alto parts of his Chorale Book were meant for female voices (Dillmar 2007, 176). In Finland, Anders Nordlund did not mention anything about this in the preface of his Chorale Book. He wrote that he had made his book for his 'fellow countrymen'⁹⁷, but it would be exaggerating to understand this expression as a reference to only-for-men singing; most likely, he simply meant Finns. Instead, very interesting is his reference that he had changed keys of some hymn arrangements by Hæffner to a higher key because they were too low for singing (Nordlund 1850, Preface); this solution could indicate that Nordlund's arrangements were also for female voices. At least this is how

97 *Maanmiehiäni* in Finnish.

Anton Kunelius (1833–1893) interpreted it in the preface of his four-part chorale book. According to Kunelius (1875, 1), Nordlund's arrangements were for mixed voices, whereas his own arrangements were only for male voices. In addition, most of the four-part arrangements used in Lemi were originally from Nordlund's Chorale Book (Lintunen 1991, 51).

Therefore, it is possible that in Lemi, as well as in some other parishes, many if not all of the parishioners were taught to sing in four parts; and if not on every Sunday, at least at the most important feasts of the church year (see e.g. KA, Archives of SKHS, *Cirkulär-Memorial*; Rosendal 1915, 114–115; Palovaara 1953, 102, 110). Some churchwardens toured regularly the villages of their parishes to lead singing rehearsals, and sometimes there also were village choirs conducted by voluntary 'village churchwardens' (Myllyniemi 1990, 297; Seppä 1952, 545–546, 548; Lintunen 2005, 36).

Hosanna Choirs

In many churches in nineteenth-century Finland, *Hosanna*, composed by Georg Joseph Vogler, was performed by a three-or-four-part choir on the First Advent Sunday, even though there was no permanent choir in the parish. The tradition started in the towns with schools, but exactly when is not clear. The first performance of *Hosanna* which is known for sure took place in a concert in Turku by musicians from Stockholm 14 July 1807 (*Åbo Tidning* 13 June 1807; *Åbo Underrättelser* 10 October 1854), but, according to Fabian Dahlström (2003), it had most likely been performed in a concert of *Turun soitannollinen seura*⁹⁸ ('Musical Society of Turku') as early as in 1797. The composer himself had probably premiered the work in the Saint Clare's Church in Stockholm 3 May 1795 (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 303), which means that *Hosanna* found its way to Finland quickly.

At first, *Hosanna* was performed in churches by students and school pupils. According to Dahlström (1995, 303), it was included in the songbook of the Ostrobothnian Nation at the Royal Academy of Turku. The tradition probably started in the 1820s and was subsequently performed in the cathedral every First Advent Sunday. The

98 *Musikaliska Sällskapet i Åbo* in Swedish.

first known performance was held in 1841 (*Åbo Tidningar* 1 December 1841; *Åbo Underrättelser* 1 December 1841), and in 1851, it was called ‘a beautiful and soul-lifting habit’⁹⁹ that had by then been taken place for many years. A similar tradition also began in Vaasa in the first half of the century. In 1822, Vogler’s *Hosanna* was performed at the Bible Society’s anniversary in the hotel Societetshus (*Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 16 February 1822; *Turun Wiikko-Sanomat* 16 February 1822). The first certainly known performance in the church was on the First Advent Sunday in 1851 (*Ilmarinen* 6 December 1851), but according to the newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* (8 December 1869), the tradition had begun in Vaasa in the 1830s. Around the middle of the century, the tradition also started in Helsinki (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 9 December 1854) and in Porvoo (Salenius 1912, 288). It seems that *Hosanna* was usually performed with an accompaniment on the organ or, if that was unavailable, with a brass band (see e.g. *Lännetär* 9 December 1863).

It is possible that singing *Hosanna* on the First Advent Sunday also took place in some smaller rural churches as early as the first half of the nineteenth century. This may be indicated by the fact that there are arrangements of Vogler’s *Hosanna* in a few hand-written chorale books. A three-part version was found at least in the churchwarden of Närpiö, Ferdinand Bergman’s (1824–1876) Chorale Book from 1811. It is also in the Chorale Book which belonged to Juho Suksi (1856–1918) of Teuva in 1875, but which Reijo Pajamo (1995, 43) has dated back to the early nineteenth century; it was likely in Närpiö as well. A unison version and, a few pages later, an alto part are included in the Chorale Book from 1833 that belonged to Frans Mikael Toppelius (1801–1836), who worked as a pastor and teacher in the Orisberg ironworks from 1830 to 1836 (Kotivuori 2005). The first performances that are known for certainty in rural parishes on the First Advent Sunday happened in 1862 in Nousiainen, 1863 in Munsala, 1864 in Kruunupyö¹⁰⁰, 1865 in Hämeenkyrö and Loviisa, 1868 in Ilmajoki and 1869 in Mäntsälä (*Åbo Underrättelser* 13 January 1863; *Folkvännen* 16 December 1863; *Vasabladet* 10 December 1864; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 2 January 1866; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 20 December 1865 and 4 December 1868; *Borgäbladet* 26 March 1870).

99 ‘[E]n wacker och själslyftande plägsed.’

100 According to the newspaper *Vasabladet*, the tradition in Kruunupyö had been ongoing for several years.

There were *Hosanna* choirs in Ingria as well. The song was sung in Saint Mary's Finnish Church in Saint Petersburg by the new Finnish Singing Society on the First Advent Sunday in 1873 to general acclaim from the parishioners (Engman 2004, 456). According to the newspaper *Pietarin Viikko-Sanomat* (13 December 1879), on the First Advent Sunday in 1879 it was sung in Slavanka church 'as in other years'; the churchwarden and primary school teacher conducted school pupils and the singing society. In 1894, *Hosanna* was sung for the first time in Valkeasaari by children in unison with organ accompaniment. It was mentioned in the newspaper *Inkeri* (2 December 1894) that elsewhere it had already been customary and in many parts. The next year, the same newspaper mentioned that there had been *Hosanna* choirs for many years (*Inkeri* 8 December 1895); the vague reference probably alluded to Ingria.

In addition to the First Advent Sunday, *Hosanna* was also sung in many different kinds of festivities, such as the abovementioned Bible Society anniversary in Vaasa in 1822, the inauguration of the new building of Porvoo Grammar School in 1850, the seven-hundredth anniversary of Christianity's arrival in Finland in Helsinki in 1857 and the inauguration of the organ in Pohja church in 1862 (*Borgå Tidning* 28 August 1850; *Helsingfors Tidningar* 20 June 1857; *Åbo Underrättelser* 26 August 1862). In Porvoo, *Hosanna* was sung in the cathedral at the end of each school semester (Salenius 1912, 288). In Ingria, it was performed by the Saint Petersburg Finnish Singing Society at the inauguration of the new church in Slavanka in November 1885 (*Inkeri* 29 November 1885).

Vogler's *Hosanna* was published in Finnish for the first time in 1871 in *Suomalainen Lauluseppele*, edited by E.A. Hagfors. Subsequently, the tradition spread to all of regions in Finland, as mentioned in many references in different newspapers. Students and school pupils were little by little replaced or accompanied by established choirs, as in the churches in Helsinki (*Helsingfors Tidningar* 28 November 1864), or by lay people, summoned only for singing this one song. Oscar Pahlman invited people in Vasa with an announcement in a newspaper (*Vasabladet* 23 November 1867). The 'Hosanna choirs,' even though summoned only once a year, had a remarkable impact on the later development of choral singing in Finnish churches.

Although *Hosanna* became very popular both in Finland and Ingria, not everyone liked it. In 1881 a certain *Metsän ukko* ('The Old Man from the Forest') published a critique complaining that the newspaper *Pietarin Wiikko-Sanomat* had announced in advance that *Hosanna* would be sung on the First Advent Sunday in Saint Mary's Finnish Church in Saint Petersburg. According to *Metsän ukko*, the whole tradition should have been abandoned because it was not in accordance with the Divine Service Agenda, and a poor performance by a choir was more disturbing than uplifting (*Pietarin Wiikko-Sanomat* 20 March 1881).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that if there was no possibility to get a choir to sing *Hosanna*, it was sometimes performed as a solo. For instance, the churchwarden of Valkjärvi, Bror Berndt Broms (1826–1889), sang it alone in the 1870s (Kansanaho 1985, 158). As already mentioned, *Hosanna* was also known as a piano piece, titled *Abbé Voglers Marsch* ('Abbé Vogler's March'); it is in at least four hand-written piano collections preserved in Finland (Nallinmaa 1982, 103, 109, 416).

Singing Societies

In the first half of the nineteenth century, choral singing was practised only by a small group, consisting mainly of students and a few members of the upper classes. From the 1860s on, due to primary schools, it spread more widely among the ordinary people (Rantanen 2013a, 140–142). The new churchwarden-organist schools had an impact as well; from the 1870s onward, some parishes began to establish choirs that were usually called singing societies¹⁰¹ and were often conducted by a churchwarden. In the churchwarden-organist schools (see Chapter 3.5), the main purpose was to teach students to conduct congregational singing. Choral singing and choir conducting were also taught, but it focused on the singing of hymns and liturgical melodies in four parts and not the choral repertoire (Mietintö 1909, 51–54). With the song festivals, more and more Finnish repertoire began to appear, which was also reflected in the church singing societies.

In many places, there was also a singing society established outside the church, usually conducted by a primary school teacher. These societies were nevertheless in close relationship with parishes; for example, the Kirvu Singing Society in Karelian

101 *Lauluseura* in Finnish, *sångförening* in Swedish.

Isthmus, established in 1881, often sang hymns in four parts at the Divine Services (Ylönen 1954, 108–109; Rantanen 2014, 73). Correspondingly, church singing societies used to perform at secular events as well; for instance, in Kuopio, the Church Singing Society sang together with the working-class choir at the soiree of the Workers' Association (*Savo-Karjala* 30 December 1889). It is actually useless to make a sharp distinction between church and 'non-church' singing societies because regardless of the background organisation, all of the choirs of that time had a very similar selection of repertoire. The body of the repertoire consisted of hymns, folk songs and patriotic songs (Rantanen 2013b, 79–80). In August 1887, at the meeting of churchwardens and organists of the Porvoo Diocese in Viipuri, it was stated that a singing society should be established in every parish, preferably, a mixed voice one whose repertoire should not only focus on spiritual songs but also secular ones (*Viipurin Sanomat* 3 September 1887). Finally, it is worth mentioning that primary school teachers conducted church singing societies and conversely, that churchwardens conducted singing societies outside the church.

There are at least two interesting contemporary descriptions of the activities of the parish singing societies, one from a singer and the other a conductor. Impi Siukonen (1955, 22–24) recalled how, as a child in late nineteenth-century Valkeala, she participated in the rehearsals of the singing society led by her father, Churchwarden Herman Siukonen (1847–1921). They were held on Sunday afternoons at the churchwarden's home, where a group of singers of all of ages gathered at the square piano in the hall. Impi Siukonen's text shows how the singing society strived for a high artistic level; mere knowledge of one's own part was not enough, but the nuances and dynamics also had to be put in place, with the help of 'Swedish and German advice.'

According to the conductor of the Kuopio Church Singing Society, Albert Aleksanteri Pekuri (1896, 8–11), the society started in 1886 by singing in unison but soon switched to four-part arrangements. The ideas of *Bildung* were a widely-shared sight in Kuopio as well; the singing society was initially funded by the local workers' association and the temperance society. These efforts were also reflected in the fact that the singers had the opportunity to read newspapers at the rehearsals. Since the aim of the society was to improve congregational singing, they sang in both Finnish and Swedish Divine Services, and the repertoire included hymns and spiritual songs.

Patriotic songs were also learned and performed at singing events¹⁰² and lotteries, both of which were organised to collect money for the society. The society also gave church concerts in Kuopio and other churches of the region and participated in the National Song and Play Festival in Kuopio in 1891. According to newspapers (see e.g. *Savo-Karjala* 7 March and 9 June 1890), the repertoire of the singing society was wider than Pekuri described; it also included, for instance, pieces by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) and G.F. Handel.

Towards the end of the century, a discussion also arose in the Church as to whether choirs at the Divine Services were meant to support congregational singing only or to perform numbers on their own as well. The main view was that if there was a choir, it could not perform numbers on their own; its only purpose was to support congregational singing. However, this practice was also restricted as it tended to exclude the greater part of the parishioners from congregational singing (Vapaavuori 1997, 186–189). In some parishes, attitudes towards performing were so strict that concerts were not allowed in the church and singing societies could sing only at the Divine Services. For example, in Valkeala in 1886, Herman Siukonen's church singing society was supposed to give a concert in the church to collect money for the establishment of an orphanage. The Parish Council, however, forbade using the church because it was meant only for the services (Pajamo 2015, 40). It is also interesting that in many parishes, choral singing in the church was acceptable, but rehearsing was not. As a result, singing societies sometimes had difficulties finding a venue for their rehearsals. For instance, in Hämeenlinna, the Church Singing Society could not rehearse at all in the late 1880s because they did not have a place for it (*Hämeen Sanomat* 29 March 1889). The Kuopio Church Singing Society rehearsed at first at a primary school and then at another school (Pekuri 1896, 9).

Singing societies and choirs had a remarkable impact on congregational singing. One proof of this is that many of those parishes, in which there were regular singing rehearsals and, in some cases, also four-part singing, purchased an organ in their churches much later than most other parishes in Finland. Rantasalmi church got its first organ in 1905, Kaukola in 1909, Säkkijärvi in 1912, Soanlahti in 1920 and Rautjärvi in 1925; an organ harmonium was not purchased for Lemi church until as late as in 1932, and its first pipe organ in 1948 (Seppä 1952, 211; Häkli 1953, 416; Valanki 1999 [1977], 161, 233, 238, 326, 332, 333; Lintunen 2005, 44–45).

102 *Laulajaiset* in Finnish.

There was also at least one salaried choir in nineteenth-century Finland, and it was founded to improve congregational singing. When Richard Faltin started as the Organist of Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki, he was tormented by the sluggish congregational singing. Churchwarden Johan August Gottlieb Hymander (1831–1896) did not want to abandon the old custom, which is why Faltin established a church choir and secured funding to pay his young singers. Due to the limited resources of the organ, he considered this to be the best means to bring a quicker pace to singing; i.e. to get the congregation to abandon the old 4/4 beat and eventually move to the *alla breve* beat. Faltin placed the choir on the organ loft. At first it was a contest between the choir and congregation, among which the older parishioners followed Churchwarden Hymander's slower tempo, but gradually the choir won, and congregational singing became livelier. Naturally, this also caused criticism. Due to its other problems as well, Faltin had to end the church choir after only two years, but he re-established it in 1889 (Flodin and Ehrström 1934, 318–320).

According to O.I. Colliander (1877, 190–191), a four-part choir was not able to conduct congregational singing; he thus preferred unison choirs. In order for the choir to be as close to the congregation as possible and to merge with it, it had to be placed in the middle of the congregation, not the organ loft. The best place, according to Colliander, was right in front because then the congregation's attention was always focused in the same direction.

As already stated in Chapter 2.3, the change of social structure affected the attempts to teach the congregation to sing in four parts because at first, it was mostly pastors and students who were active, but later, towards the end of the century, churchwardens and primary school teachers. The founding of singing societies was also a nationalistic project; improving the singing skills of the people was seen among the nationalist clergy and the bourgeois intelligentsia as a precondition for admittance to the circle of civilised European nations.

Table 6. The contents of Mooses Putro’s choral collections (Putronen 1879; Putro 1899 and 1905). Other countries refer to a Danish song by Niels W. Gade (1817–1890) in the 1879 booklet and an Estonian song by Johannes Kappel (1855–1907) in the 1899 one.

	1879	1899	1905
Finnish patriotic songs	3	5	4
Finnish folk songs	-	5	2
other Finnish songs	-	-	2
Putro’s songs	9	5	4
Ingrian folk songs	-	-	2
hymns	3	4	1
spiritual songs	-	3	1
German repertoire	5	3	1
Russian repertoire	-	2	-
Other countries	1	1	-
no information	-	2	-

Choirs and Singing Societies in Ingria

Rising enthusiasm for choral singing also spread quickly and widely in Ingria in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In Tyrö parish, there had been a kind of ‘singing school’ in the 1840s in which they sang both hymns and folk songs (Raski 1932, 79), but the first singing society was founded by Vicar A.J. Piispanen in the Markkova and Järvisaari parish in 1865. Piispanen had already taught his parishioners singing and music theory in his former office in Kaukola parish in Finland (Häkli 1953, 415). At first in Markkova and Järvisaari, he purchased psalmodikons from Finland and taught people to play them. When the standard of congregational singing began to rise, Piispanen started rehearsing four-part choral singing, first in two, then in three and finally in four parts. The repertoire included both sacred and secular songs. Soon, following Piispanen’s example, many churchwardens and teachers founded choirs and brass bands (Lauluseurojen synty 1924, 355–356/1925, 5–8, 20; Raski 1932, 79; Murtorinne 2015, 174). Most of the choirs sang in almost every notable religious and secular occasion in their own locales. Their task was also

to support congregational singing during the Divine Services on the most important feasts of the church year. For this reason, they also practised unison hymn-singing (Lauluseurojen synty 1924/1925; Engman 2004, 457).

According to Jaakko Raski (1932, 79), the repertoire of these choirs can be divided roughly into two categories – religious songs and Finnish patriotic songs. A more detailed picture of the repertoire can be found in the choral collections published by Mooses Putro (1848–1919?). The first one¹⁰³, published in 1879, contained twenty songs in Finnish for mixed choirs in general, whereas the two following ones¹⁰⁴ were compiled for a song festival on behalf of the temperance association *Inkeri*. The first of these (1899) included nineteen songs for mixed choir and twelve in unison; in addition, there was also a four-part arrangement for male voices on Putro's song *Nouse, Inkeri*. The latter (1905) contained nine songs for mixed choir, three for female and four for male voices. These collections indicate the development of choral music and repertoire in Ingria; at first, the goal was singing in four parts, but when it was found to be too difficult for many people, unison songs were taken alongside. After that, unison songs were forgotten again, but at the same time, the number of choir types had increased, and there was a need for repertoire for female and male voice choirs. The content of the repertoire (see Table 6) changed so that the share of Finnish patriotic and folk songs kept increasing steadily while the number of hymns decreased; most likely, the reason was that in 1879 the Finnish choir repertoire was not yet so widely available. German repertoire also declined, indicating the impact of the nationalist agenda. While the first booklet contained four and the second booklet three songs by nineteenth-century German composers¹⁰⁵, the third one had only one, an arrangement of a Scottish folk melody by Johannes Ruprecht Dürner (1810–1859), who lived in Edinburgh and was a pupil of Felix Mendelssohn. The only pieces of baroque music were in the first booklet, two parts from the oratorio *Messiah*, composed by G.F. Handel. Russification policy made Putro add the national anthem of the Russian Empire to the second booklet; there was also one song by Dmitriy Bortniansky.

103 *Wanbaa ja uutta Suomalaisen Laulun Harrastajille* ('Old and new Finnish song repertoire').

104 *Raittiusyhdistys Inkerin Laulukokoelma I–II* ('Song collection for the temperance association Inkeri').

105 German refers here mostly to the language; the composers were Heinrich Esser (1818–1872), August Eduard Grell (1800–1886), Bernhard Joseph Klein (1793–1832), Felix Mendelssohn and Franz Schubert (1797–1828).

National, Regional and Local Song Festivals

From the 1880s onward, national, regional and local song¹⁰⁶ and play festivals impacted congregational singing as well because there were always hymns in the repertoire. The festivals also sparked enthusiasm for singing together in general.

Influences for the song festivals came to Finland and Ingria from Central Europe and through the Baltic countries. There were song festivals in Germany from the 1810s onward (Pöldmäe 1969, 23; Smeds and Mäkinen 1984, 18). In Estonia, the newspaper *Pärnu Postimees* reported about song festivals in Switzerland and Hannover in 1858. At the same time, the Baltic Germans started to organise their own song festivals; the first one took place in Riga in 1861. There were smaller regional German festivals as well. All of these sparked a discussion among Estonians and Latvians about organising their own festivals. The Latvians started in 1864; from the Estonians' point of view, the most influential Latvian festivals were organised close to the Estonian border, in 1866 in Ruhja and 1868 in Valga. From 1865 onwards, there were small regional Estonian song festivals (Pöldmäe 1969, 23–27).

The first Estonian National Song Festival was held in Tartu in the summer of 1869. The nature of the event was different from that of the Baltic Germans, as the Estonian festival was strongly coloured by the nationalistic ideas (Särkkä 1973, 9). There were guests from Finland who reported about the event in Finnish newspapers (Pöldmäe 1969, 140–148; Smeds and Mäkinen 1984, 22–24). There were Finnish guests at the second Estonian National Song Festival in Tartu in 1879 as well (Pöldmäe 1976, 139–143).

In Finland, the first Song Festival was organised in 1884 along the lines of the Estonian and German examples. From then on, song festivals were supposed to be organised in every third year, but the Finns were so excited about these festivals and many towns wanted to organise them, which led to nearly annual national song festivals in the 1890s. There were also smaller regional and local festivals in many places in Finland (Rantanen 2014, 68, 89). The repertoire of all of these festivals consisted of hymns, patriotic songs and folk songs (Rantanen 2013b, 79–80).

106 In prior related studies in English, both the concepts of 'song festival' and 'singing festival' have been used. The reason for this confusion is the fact that the words 'song' and 'singing' are the same in Finnish (*laulu*), Swedish (*sång*) and Estonian (*laul*). That is why *lanhujublat*, *sångfestival* and *laulupidu* can be translated either 'song festival' or 'singing festival.'

In 1896, the Ingrian conductor Mooses Putro visited the Estonian National Song Festival in Tallinn, and in 1891, he conducted the choir of *Pietarin Suomalainen Lauluseura* ('Saint Petersburg Finnish Singing Society'), which participated in the Finnish National Song Festival in Kuopio, Finland. Moreover, in 1898, the *Kelton mieskööri* ('Keltto Male Voice Choir') from Northern Ingria participated in the Kirvu Song Festival in the Finnish part of the Karelian Isthmus (Lauluseurojen syntä 1924, 356; 1/1925, 5–6; Haltsonen 1969, 216; Rantanen 2014, 86, 92–93). The choir was joined by Mooses Putro who, after the festival, announced in the newspaper *Inkeri* (3 July 1898) that the following summer the same kind of song festival would be organised in Ingria. According to Putro, there was no need to organise a choir competition at the festival because there were only a few choirs able to sing in four parts in Ingria. It is interesting that in this article Putro professed a preference for unison singing and instructed every churchwarden and teacher to practise it. At the same time, the status of unison singing alongside many-part choral singing was discussed in Finland. Unison singing had become more common during the 1890s at events of local associations and clubs across Finland; it was considered important to raise enthusiasm for choral singing. However, the official programme of the national song and play festival had not included unison singing as it did not fit into the educational policy of the festival, according to which the artistic level of the music programme had to be constantly raised in the sense of *Bildung*. However, at the Song Festival in Sortavala in 1896, it was understood at last that four-part singing was difficult to learn and therefore did not work for everyone (Rantanen 2013b, 77).

The first Ingrian Song Festival was held in Skuoritsa in June 1899 with about five hundred singers. The repertoire consisted of hymns and other religious songs, Finnish folk songs and patriotic songs as well as songs composed by Mooses Putro. There were twenty-two songs for mixed choirs and eleven for male voice choirs as well as thirteen songs in unison for the audience to sing along. The Song Festival was organised by the temperance association *Inkeri* and local Lutheran parishes (*Inkeri* 16 October 1898, 12 and 18 June 1899; Flink 2000, 345). The next song festival took place in Tuutari in 1901 with over six hundred singers and players. At the third festival in Venjoki in 1903, about eight hundred singers and players participated¹⁰⁷ (Flink 2000, 346; Haltsonen 1969, 216–218).

107 After this, song festivals were organised in Tyrö in 1908, in Keltto in 1910, in Kolppana in 1913 and in Tuutari in 1918. More about these festivals, see Korkalainen 2019, 241–244.

In her short story, the Finnish writer and social activist, Minna Canth (1844–1897) describes the National Song and Play Festival in Kuopio in 1891. The narrator is a young woman called Liisi:

The school year had ended in schools, the summer vacation began. At that time, a great Song Festival was celebrated in our town; it brought together numerous numbers of singing and playing groups from near and far, as well as other people from every branch of the country.

Late on the first day of the festival, I got to the field where the song and play programme had already begun. The fluttering flags, the green vines and the variegated flowers on which the mansions were also decorated made all of the small, homey worries evaporate from my mind on my way there. And the closer I approached the singing field, the huger was the impact of the festival. Awesome melodies echoed far against me. The air was most sweet, the sun was shining brightly, the lake was glistening, the trees were full of leaf and the cloudless sky curved dark blue up to the height. People in festive clothes rushed past me; they were late as I was.

Accompanied by the brass-playing, *A Mighty Fortress is our God* was sung when I arrived. The spacious music stage on the opposite side of the field was crammed full of members of the singing and playing groups, all of whom had joined the common, great choir. A strong stream of sound rippled over an infinite number of people. I stopped to listen, and my heart rose to a flood of devout celebrations. The general national enthusiasm overwhelmed me as well as the others.

At the end of the hymn came a break. The singers and musicians stepped down from the stage, and there was little movement in the audience, although most remained seated.¹⁰⁸ (Canth 1892, 188–189. Transl. by the author.)

National song festivals impacted congregational singing in two ways both in Finland and Ingria. Firstly, they further strengthened the position of hymn in general. Secondly, many church singing societies also participated in the festivals, obtained a new repertoire they then probably sang in their own parishes as well, and were inspired by the atmosphere, which made them even more excited about singing.

In the early twentieth century, the Lutheran Church and local parishes started to organise church song festivals in Finland. They were not meant only for church singing societies, but other choirs were invited, which was only natural because hymns and spiritual songs belonged to their repertoire as well. The first festival took place in Koivisto in 1902, but they only became more common in the 1930s (Särkkä 1973, 36–37).

108 Lukuvuosi oli loppunut kouluissa, kesäloma alkoi. Silloin vietettiin kaupungissamme suurenmoista laulujuhlaa, johon kokoontui laulu- ja soittokuntia läheltä ja kaukaa sekä muita ihmisiä lukuisat määrät joka haaralta maata.

Myöhäisenlaiseen pääsin juhlan ensimmäisenä päivänä kentälle, jossa laulu- ja soitto-ohjelma oli jo alkanut. Liehuvat liput, viheriät köynnökset ja kirjavat kukat, joilla kartanotkin olivat koristetut, saivat jo tiellä kaikki pienet, kotoiset arkihuolet haihtumaan mielestäni. Ja mitä enemmän laulukenttää lähenin, sitä valtavampi oli juhlan vaikutus. Mahtavat sävelet kaikuivat kauas vastaan. Ilma oli mitä herttaisin, aurinko paistoi kirkkaasti, järvi kimalteli, puut olivat täydessä lehdessä ja pilvetön taivas kaareutui tumman sinisenä ylös korkeuteen. Juhlapukuisia ihmisiä riensi ohitseni; he olivat myöhästyneet samoin kuin minä.

Torvisoiton säestyksellä laulettiin parastaikaa Jumal on linnam, kun saavuin paikalle. Avara musiikkilava vastaisella puolella kenttää oli täpö täynnään laulu- ja soittokuntien jäseniä, jotka kaikki olivat yhtyneet yleiseen, suureen kööriin. Voimakas äänivirta aaltoili yli äärettömän ihmispaljouden. Minä pysähdyin kuuntelemaan, ja sydämeni nousi tulvilleen hartaita juhlatunteita. Yleinen kansallinen innostus valtasi minut niinkuin muutkin.

Virren loputtua tuli loma-aika. Laulajat ja soittajat astuivat lavalta alas ja yleisössä syntyi vähän liikettä, vaikka useimmat jäivät istumaan paikoilleen.⁷

3.4 Methods for Music Theory as well as Church-Singing and Playing

As mentioned in Chapter 2.1, many German and Swedish organ methods were in use in Finland and Ingria. Many of them also included music theory and instructions to congregational singing. In the second half of the nineteenth century, two extensive methods were published in Finnish for teaching music theory and congregational singing, as well as playing the psalmodikon and violin but also a bit the piano and harmonium. It is noteworthy that neither of them included instructions for organ-playing. There might have been three reasons for the solution: firstly, the organ was not yet a common instrument in Finnish churches; secondly, there was no need for Finnish organs methods in addition to German and Swedish ones; and finally, these methods were meant for churchwardens, primary school teachers and common parishioners, not organists.

The first method was published in 1857 by the Churchwarden of Ikaalinen, Daniel Henrik Kukkasela (1814–1858) with the title ‘Pieces of advice and instructions for congregational singing, plus a notebook for Finnish hymns and the Mass as well as metrical classes of hymns and an introduction to play the psalmodikon and violin’¹⁰⁹. Kukkasela’s starting point was to offer a ‘method for congregational singing to the singers of the parishes and all of the inhabitants of our country who love congregational singing, as well as to the teachers of the primary schools’ and naturally, to the churchwardens, of whom Kukkasela used the word ‘cantor.’ In his preface, Kukkasela also pointed out that since no Finnish method had been published before, this songbook had been expanded with a textbook (Kukkasela 1857, 4, 10).

In his book, Kukkasela first taught voice skills, breathing and a good posture for singing. Then, he advised the name of the notes, for although his collection was one-part, he did not use *sifferskrift* numerical notation but Western stave notation. Following that, there were rehearsals, first with three notes and then, little by little, with an increasing number of notes. The rehearsals were meant to be sung, but with the help of a violin or a psalmodikon. There was a wealth of systematic informa-

109 *Kirkko-veisun neuvoja ja opetuksia, ynnä suomalaisten virtten nuotti-kirjan ja messun sekä virtten luokka-laskun, että virsi-kanteleen ja vioolin soitannos-jobdatuksen kanssa.*

tion on registers and clefs, accidentals, major and minor scales, intervals, chords and scale degrees, rhythms and note values, as well as time signatures (Kukkasela 1857, 11–32). When all of this had been well practiced and understood, it was time to start singing some easier hymn melodies. Nevertheless, music-theoretical exercises continued with a deeper understanding of minor scales and seventh chords, as well as the medieval church modes (*ibid.*, 32–41). Thereafter, Kukkasela went through the special features of some hymns, listed the hymns by metrical classes and gave instructions for building a note board necessary for teaching (*ibid.*, 42–49).

Then, it was time to move on to the instruments. As for the violin, Kukkasela (1857, 49–50) gave only brief instructions on how to find each note in each string. The reason for the narrowness was probably that Kukkasela considered the psalmodikon more suitable for those who had not played the violin before or who intended to learn to play an instrument only for learning singing. Regarding the psalmodikon, Kukkasela, on the other hand, gave detailed construction instructions with the measurements of a fingerboard and corresponding notes (*ibid.*, 51–53). Finally, the rest of the book consisted of all of the melodies of the Finnish Hymnal as well as liturgical melodies (see Chapter 4.3), which means that Kukkasela’s work was also both a chorale book and collections of liturgical melodies.

After Kukkasela, the Vicar of Käsämäki, Berndt Leonard Frosterus (1808–1887), published a book the first edition of which was titled, ‘Easily comprehensible basic knowledge in every kind of playing, especially for congregational singing, intended mainly for churchwardens, primary school teachers and everybody who are learning congregational singing’¹¹⁰. The concise book, with only twenty-one pages, was meant to be a method for congregational singing at the beginning of a chorale book, which Frosterus edited in 1851 and 1852, but which was never published due to high printing costs. When it became clear that the book would not be published, Frosterus slightly expanded the method part for the needs of the new primary school (Frosterus 1871, 3).

110 *Helposti käsitettävä Perustus-Tieto Kaikenlaiseen Soitanton erinomattain Kirkkoveisuun, aivottu pääasiallisesti Lukkarein, Kansakouluin ja Kirkkoveisua opettelenaisten hyväksi.*

Frosterus did not recommend using numerical notation either but Western stave notation. The book began with the measurements of the psalmodikon and the pictorial instructions for marking the notes on a fingerboard (Frosterus 1871, 4–5). The most extensive content of the book was entitled ‘About church-singing and ecclesiastical playing.’ It started a little surprisingly with the history of the pipe organ. After that, Frosterus briefly went through the medieval church modes and invited those more interested in them to get acquainted with Kukkasela’s book. Then came the actual content: scales with whole and half steps, rhythms and note values, rests, time signatures, majors and minors, as well as intervals. Harmonies were not dealt with by Frosterus, as his main purpose was unison congregational singing. Finally, he gave instructions on how the different number of syllables in the different verses of the hymns in the Finnish Hymnal were applied to the chorale melody, and how this implementation could be marked in the score (*ibid.*, 6–20).

In this edition, Frosterus (1871, 8) recommended using only the psalmodikon and not the violin. In contrast, the second edition, published seven years later in 1878, was in many ways broader and more comprehensive, as the title of the book suggests: ‘Basic knowledge in music for the fortepiano, harmonium, violin and psalmodikon, following Steibelt, Dussek and Cramer’s methods as well as Music Dictionary. Extract from J. Leonard Höijer’s well-known Music Lexicon’¹¹¹. It is clear from this title that, through his networks, Frosterus had access to foreign literature. *Méthode de Piano ou l’art d’enseigner cet Instrument. Pianoforte-Schule*, published in French and German in 1805 by the German composer and pianist Daniel Steibelt (1765–1823), living in Saint Petersburg, *Kleine theoretisch-praktische Klavierschule von Pleyel, Dussek und Cramer*¹¹², published in Vienna without a year, as well as *Musik-lexikon* of the Swedish composer and author Johan Leonard Höijer (1815–1884) from 1864 were apparently on Frosterus’s bookshelf.

111 *Perustus-Tieto Soitanton Forte-Pianolle, Harmoniumille, Wiululle sekä Wirsikanteellelle, Steibeltin, Dussekän ja Cramerin Opetustawan mukaan, ynnä Musiikki-Sanakirja. Ulosweto ja Suomennos J. Leonard Höijerin hyväksi tunnetusta Musiikki-Sanakirjasta* in Finnish, *Grundlära i Musiken för Piano-Forte, Harmonium, Violin och Psalmodicon, efter Steibelts, Dusseks och Cramers metoder jemte Musik-Ordbok. Utdrag ur J. Leonard Höijers välkända Musik-Lexikon* in Swedish.

112 Austrian composer Ignaz Pleyel (1757–1831), Czech composer and pianist Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812), and the German-born composer and pianist Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858) who lived in England.

The first part of the Frosterus's book was an extensive theoretical section that included the corresponding sections of the previous edition in an expanded form and now, besides Finnish, also in Swedish. There were rehearsals for the violin, psalmodikon, piano and harmonium. This time Frosterus also dealt with chords and harmonies as well as trills and other ornaments. The first part was completed by a series of small pieces of music for the piano or harmonium as well as songs to be accompanied on the same instruments (Frosterus 1878, 1–73). It is noteworthy that these songs were not hymns or even spiritual music. The reason for this might be the fact, which appears in the preface, that Frosterus's primary goal was no longer to improve congregational singing but to promote playing skills (*ibid.*, III).

Notwithstanding, congregational singing was not left out either but received a more extensive presentation than in the first edition. The second part of Frosterus's book began similarly to the first edition, with the measurements of the psalmodikon and the pictorial instructions (Frosterus 1878, 74–75). This was again followed by a text about church-singing and ecclesiastical playing. The medieval church modes were now presented more extensively and with scores (*ibid.*, 76–82). This was followed by four-part arrangements of eighteen hymns and Vogler's *Hosanna*. Like Nordlund, Frosterus had taken most of the arrangements from Hæffner's Chorale Book, but there were also individual harmonisations by Abraham Mankell as well as Nordlund and Rudolf Lagi (*ibid.*, 83–93). The second part was concluded by the four-part versions of liturgical melodies, mostly as Frosterus's own arrangements (*ibid.*, 94–104; see Chapter 4.3). The third part of the book consisted of a dictionary taken from Höjjer's *Musik-lexikon*, which Frosterus himself had translated into Finnish (*ibid.*, 105–188).

In addition to these methods, Konstantin Saarelainen (1826–1914) had a chapter with the title 'Instructions' (*Oswiitta* in Finnish) on the second (1875) and third (1883) edition of his chorale book. He advised on the use of the voice, pitch, position, articulation, sound, tempo and characteristics of hymns (Saarelainen 1883, 6–10). Similarly, Fredrik August Ehrström (1837, VII) gave instructions on singing in his collection of liturgical melodies; for instance, liturgical hymns should be sung festive and lively, while Scripture readings, as well as prayers, should be sung in a quicker tempo. He also taught proper breathing and a good singing posture.

3.5 Offices of Churchwarden and Organist, and Their Training

In the first half of the nineteenth century, every Evangelical-Lutheran parish in Finland had an office of churchwarden, but the post of organist existed in only some parishes due to the shortage of pipe organs (K. Jalkanen 1976, 15–16, 18). The profession of organist was one of a purely musical nature, whereas the churchwarden's duties were manifold. The churchwardens' most important task was to lead congregational singing, but they also had many other duties which had nothing to do with music, such as teaching children to read and serving the clergy. Thus, the churchwarden's profession was not first and foremost to be a musician (*ibid.*, 11–13; Mietintö 1909, 1, 4). Moreover, for financial reasons, the post of organist was usually combined with that of churchwarden; it was only cathedrals and certain of the more important towns that employed a separate organist (K. Jalkanen 1976, 18). These organists in many cases were immigrants from Sweden or their descendants (*ibid.*, 12).

In Ingria, the situation was fairly similar; there was an office of churchwarden in every Lutheran parish, but they had many other duties besides the musical ones. When there was a lack of pastors, churchwardens even held Divine Services, performed emergency baptisms and officiated funeral services. For the most part, the office of churchwarden was hereditary, from father to son. Most of the churchwardens were self-trained, and there was no uniform policy to issue certificates (Murtorinne 2015, 147).

Private Training

In the first part of the nineteenth century, in Finland, those churchwardens who belonged to the Diocese of Porvoo received their training on the authority of the Diocesan Chapter from the *director cantus* of the Porvoo Grammar School or some other qualified teacher of music and singing (K. Jalkanen 1976, 46, 49). The Chapter did not provide any regulations for the training of organists because there were only a few offices of organists in the diocese. The Organist of Helsinki between 1817 and 1838, Gustaf Lucander (1795–1838), was known to give training and issue certificates to other organists. There were four different skills mentioned in Lucander's certificates: the study of harmony, steady and correct chorale-playing, organ-handling in general and organ-tuning (*ibid.*, 50–51).

In 1847, Finnish-born Carl Frans Blom (1820–1865), who had studied at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music¹¹³ in Stockholm, started his work as the *director cantus* of the Porvoo Grammar School. Two years later he founded a school for training churchwardens. Organ-playing did not belong to the curriculum, but it was possible to acquire such training for an extra charge. At first, about half of the pupils used the opportunity to study organ-playing, later it was as many as two-thirds. This shows increasing interest in playing the organ, even though there were no pupils who finished a degree in organ only (K. Jalkanen 1976, 76–77). There were other competent teachers in the Porvoo Diocese as well; Fredrik Pacius, Fredrik August Ehrström and Rudolf Lagi, for example, were giving private lessons in Helsinki and Erik August Hagfors in Jyväskylä (K. Jalkanen 1976, 78–79; Urponen 2010, 20).

In the Diocese of Turku, churchwardens could receive instruction from any of the other churchwardens – most of them learned from the Cantor of Turku Cathedral (K. Jalkanen 1976, 55). Because there were so many certificates being issued, there was no uniform policy for grading (*ibid.*, 90). However, in the Turku Diocese, an increasing interest in organ-playing was also evident; just to name a few popular teachers, Carl Theodor Möller (1813–1889) in Turku, Abraham Marell (1799–1853) in Pori and Anders Nordlund in Vaasa had many organ trainees. The Churchwarden-Organist of Pietarsaari and Kokkola in Central Ostrobothnia, Simon Sundqvist, was known as a talented organist who instructed in playing solo pieces used in the Divine Services, not only in chorale and liturgical playing (*ibid.*, 84–87).

In the Diocese of Kuopio, churchwardens and organists received their certificates from the few churchwardens appointed by the chapter (K. Jalkanen 1976, 80–82). One of them was the Vicar of Käsämäki, B.L. Frosterus who established a private churchwarden school in 1865. The reputation of the Frosterus's school spread far, and he received pupils from all over Finland. He taught only singing, not playing at all, even though he played the violin, fortepiano and harmonium and instructed playing them in his abovementioned method. At that time, there was as yet no instrument in Käsämäki Church; Frosterus donated a large American harmonium there in 1878 (K. Jalkanen 1978, 52; Vahtola 1990; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 247).

113 *Kungliga Musikaliska Akademien* in Swedish.

Even though there were competent private organ teachers, the level of organ-playing in general was low. The Organist of the Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki, Rudolf Lagi, pointed out in 1864 that congregational singing and organ-playing were of a poor standard in the country. Lagi claimed that training under other organists normally meant that afterwards an organist was hardly able to play even the commonest chorale melodies from some hand-written and inaccurate chorale book. He was also shocked at the playing of organ postludes in the Divine Services, as they normally consisted of old military marches – e.g. *Porilaisten marssi* ('The March of the Pori Regiment') or *La Marseillaise* – or other profane music, sometimes even waltzes or French quadrilles. Finally, Lagi also observed the organists' indifference to organ tuning and maintenance (Jalkanen 1976, 99–102).

O.I. Colliander (1877, 199–200) was also disturbed by the way organists often played secular and 'non-ecclesiastical' marches or other pieces at the end of the Divine Service, which were in stark contrast to the service that had just ended. In his opinion, they did not need to be abandoned entirely but had to have an ecclesiastical character and dependence on the nature of the worship. For example, during Lent, organ pieces of a completely different style were needed than at the joyous festivities of the church year. The same kind of tradition was also found in Sweden; according to Abraham Mankell (1862, 67), in the Swedish countryside, the older organists especially at the end of the Divine Service played 'marches and other small meagre pieces selected from the storage of the Lilliput repertoire'¹¹⁴. To solve this problem, in 1891 Oscar Pahlman edited a collection of postludes that included only pieces of contemporary German composers; the second edition was published by the following year. In the preface, Pahlman (1892, 1–2) describes the postludes as 'entirely ecclesiastical, melodic, easily comprehensible and easy to play even for a less experienced organist.' Like Mankell (1862, 68–73) in Sweden, Pahlman (1892, 1–2) also considered fugues 'dry and unenjoyable' and thus unsuitable for a Divine Service; unsuitable were also phantasies, sonatas and symphonies that were 'somehow extensive and somewhat difficult to play.' As Peter Peitsalo (2017, 255) states, Pahlman indicates the contemporary ideal of liturgical music, and his collection reveals that German Biedermeier organ composers still had normative status at the end of the nineteenth century.

114 '[M]arscher och andra ur lilipytternas fatabur tagna små torftiga stycken.'

Churchwarden-Organist Schools and the Kolppana Seminary

The modest standard of congregational singing and the shortage of proper training establishments for churchwardens and organists further forced the church and state administrators to look for a solution to a problem that became even more pressing as demands on church music continued to escalate. There were some attempts to found professional education institutions for churchwardens and organists in Finland between 1829 and 1864, but they were abandoned by the state administrators (Urponen 2010, 21). The new Church Law from 1869¹¹⁵ changed, for instance, both the governing of the church and the content of many offices, including churchwardens and organists; now the churchwarden had to be first and foremost a musician. According to the same law, the organist was responsible for the musical accompaniment in the Divine Services and other activities that took place in the church (Church Law 1869/1870, § 263–286). These duties presupposed the organisation of appropriate professional education. It is also worth mentioning that there were separate cantors in some parishes; their task was to conduct congregational singing. The Church Law (1869/1870, § 282–283) equated cantors with organists and required them to train churchwarden trainees in hymn-singing.

Many different specialist music schools (conservatories, music academies, music institutes etc.) were established all over Europe from the late eighteenth century (see e.g. Kuha 2017, 797–801). One of the earliest ones was the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in Stockholm. Although it was established in 1771, it did not start to operate properly until the 1810s. That is why *Kapellmeister* of the Royal Opera, Georg Joseph Vogler, also founded his own music school in Stockholm in the 1780s (*ibid.*, 69–72). In Finland, the first attempts to organise a similar musical education took action in Turku by the music association *Turun Soitannollinen Seura* ('Musical Society of Turku') in the 1790s (*ibid.*, 72–77). In the nineteenth century, many smaller music schools were established in Helsinki and Turku (*ibid.*, 87–105, 137–156).

115 In prior related studies, there are different dates for the new Church Law: 1868, 1869 or 1870. The proposal of the Church Law Committee, written mostly by Frans Ludvig Schauman (1810–1877), was given to the Senate in 1863. The Senate gave it right away to the Diet that made some changes and approved it in 1867. The Tsar confirmed it 9 December 1868, it was published 6 December 1869 and, finally, it came into force 1 July 1870 (Juva 1976, 15–17).

In Sweden, from the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Royal Academy of Music, conservatories, cathedral organists and other persons ordered by the Royal Academy of Music had the right to issue certificates to churchwardens and organists. Nevertheless, training mostly remained private in rural areas, and its standards varied significantly because some of those who issued certificates were not professional musicians. In Protestant Germany, there were no generally acknowledged standards in the training of churchwardens or cantors and organists. Church music was taught mainly in teacher seminaries but also in short-term organ-playing courses and private conservatories. In Prussia, it took place at the Royal Music Institute of Berlin. Most of the cantors and organists in rural Prussia, as well as elsewhere in Protestant Germany, were primary school teachers who held the office in addition to their other duties (Mietintö 1909, 7, 9-11).

Both the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminary in Finland and the Kolppana Churchwarden and Teacher Seminary in Ingria were founded in 1863. Finnish clergymen hoped that churchwardens could be educated in the same institution with teachers, but neither the administration of the Jyväskylä Seminary nor the Senate favoured the proposal (K. Jalkanen 1976, 240–255). The Kolppana Seminary, in contrast, prepared both teachers for primary schools as well as organists and churchwardens for Finnish Lutheran parishes. This seminary was a boarding school for men only, with a three-year term of study. They recruited a new class of students after previous classes' graduation (Kolppanan seminaari 1913, 166–169; Murtorinne 2015, 168–170).

After the unsuccessful effort to educate churchwardens at the Jyväskylä Seminary, four churchwarden-organist schools¹¹⁶ were founded in Finland on the initiative of certain individual musicians. Financial support was provided by the state, and the diocesan chapters supervised the schools. Churchwarden-organist schools were set up in Turku by Oscar Pahlman and Carl Gustaf Wasenius (1821–1899) in 1878, in Helsinki by Lorenz Nikolai Achté (1835–1900) in 1882, and in Viipuri by Emil Sivori (1854–1929) in 1893 (K. Jalkanen 1978, 54–56, 61–62, 93–94). The school in Oulu, founded by Anton Kunelius and Johan Emil Sandström (1853–1910) in 1882, operated only until 1889 (see further *ibid.*, 58–61, 69–70). All of these individuals had transnational networks. Both of the founders of the Turku Churchwarden-Organ-

116 *Lukkar-urkurikoulu* in Finnish, *klockar-organistskolan* in Swedish.

ist School had German-born teachers; Pahlman studied organ-playing under C.G. Ganszaug in Helsinki and Wasenius violin-playing under Conrad Greve (1820–1851) in Turku. Later, both of them studied in Germany and Sweden: Pahlman at the Dresden Conservatory, Wasenius at the Leipzig Conservatory and both of them also at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in Stockholm (*Sosialisti* 13 April 1935; *Uusi Suomi* 14 April 1935; K. Jalkanen 1978, 42; Lappalainen 2000d). L.N. Achté had studied in Germany and his wife Emmy Achté (1859–1924), who acted as a singing teacher in the Helsinki Churchwarden-Organist School, in the Paris Conservatory (Lappalainen 2000a and b). Emil Sivori and J.E. Sandström had graduated from the Leipzig Conservatory and Anton Kunelius from the Royal Swedish Academy of Music (K. Jalkanen 1978, 52, 59, 93; Pajamo 2018, 102).

In the churchwarden-organist schools, the main purpose of education in both singing and organ-playing was to teach the students to conduct congregational singing, i.e. hymns and liturgical melodies. In the teaching of singing, hymn-singing was the most important topic along with voice instruction and ear training. Choral singing and choir conducting were included in the curriculum, but the focus was on the singing of hymns and liturgical melodies in four parts (Mietintö 1909, 51–54).

There were many skilled organ teachers at the churchwarden-organist schools (Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 327–330). Nevertheless, the fact that the instruction at these schools was inadequate at first is partly based on the admission requirements. No previous musical training was required but only a primary school certificate, a singing voice and a good ear for music (Mietintö 1909, 50). Obviously, most of the students had not played any instrument whatsoever when they started at a churchwarden-organist school. Moreover, the limited number of instruments for teaching and practice was a major problem (see Korkalainen 2017, 98–100).

The most important subject in organ instruction was chorale-playing, although modulation skills were also considered necessary. Chorale-playing meant not only accompanying hymns but also performing short preludes and postludes to them. Playing chorales also involved trio-playing, i.e. using two manuals and the pedal so that the *cantus firmus* was played on its own manual. Naturally, the Mass belonged to the programme as well, but only the easiest solo pieces were played (Mietintö 1909, 51–56). Nevertheless, in 1882, it became possible to study solo organ-playing in the

new Helsinki Music Institute¹¹⁷ (the present-day Sibelius Academy; Urponen 2010, 20). Still in 1909, Ilmari Krohn claimed that in the churchwarden-organist schools it was urgent to learn reliable playing of chorales and the Mass along with modulation, whereas those who wanted to play concert pieces should go to the Helsinki Music Institute where Richard Faltin taught organ-playing (Mietintö 1909, 83). In fact, after completing a churchwarden-organist school, many ambitious organists continued their education in the Helsinki Music Institute (Tuppurainen 1980, 20–21). Nevertheless, even at the end of the nineteenth century the most talented organists studied abroad, mostly in Germany (*ibid.*, 22–23).

At the Kolppana Seminary music education was meagre; only church-singing and organ-playing were taught, with figured bass added later (KA, Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary, Ba:2, Ca:1; Iho 1950, 164). Soon after the Seminary opened, instruction in singing and playing began, but only in the second year of course work. Yet by 1866 these lessons were also offered from the beginning. According to the later Principal of the Seminary, Jaakko Raski (1873–1940), the standard of music education at the Kolppana Seminary was modest, owing to the lack of instruments and the quality of teachers (Raski 1913, 37–39).

As previously mentioned, German organ methods and other teaching material dominated at all of the churchwarden-organist schools and the Kolppana Seminary. The only exception was the teaching of singing; vocalises by Italian Salvatore Marchesi (1822–1908) and Giuseppe Concone were used for rehearsal (Mietintö 1909, 51–54), and in the Churchwarden-Organist School of Helsinki, the singing teacher Emmy Achté ordered sheet music from Paris (KA, Archives of the Senate, tiliarkisto gz 1), where she had studied at the Conservatory under Jean-Jacques Masset (1811–1903; Lappalainen 2000a). In his inspection report in 1887, Richard Faltin especially praised singing teaching at the churchwarden-organist school of Helsinki (Mietintö 1909, 70).

In a rather short time, churchwarden-organist schools took the place of private training in Finland and produced musicians who were more skilled than previous generations. The number of organist posts, however, increased less rapidly than the number of organs, but the combined offices of churchwarden and organist became

117 *Helsingin musiikkiopisto* in Finnish, *Helsingfors musikinstitut* in Swedish. More about this institute, see Kuha 2017, 319–365.

very common in Finnish parishes (K. Jalkanen 1976, 21). While many churchwardens initially could not play any instrument at all, by the end of the nineteenth century, most could at least accompany hymns and liturgical melodies on the organ. Many vicars confirmed that due to the skill of churchwardens, congregational singing was improving in their parishes (KA, Archives of the Senate, tal. os. AD 221/224 1887). In some parishes in which the churchwarden was not able or willing to learn to play the organ, he hired an assistant organist, and sometimes the parish supported in paying his salary. However, some churchwardens resigned because they did not learn to play the organ (Kansanaho 1986, 157). O.I. Colliander (1907, 93–96) did not approve of combining offices of churchwarden and organist since it would have entailed the churchwarden moving to the organ loft, i.e. behind the congregation. Colliander thought that the churchwarden should stay in his old place in front of the congregation because congregational singing had to be conducted with a hand or a baton.

In Ingria, the Kolppana Seminary educated churchwarden-teachers who found employment mostly in combined offices in parishes and primary schools. Even though their musical level was still modest, they established many choirs and brass bands that performed in local festivities and participated in Ingrian song festivals (Murtorinne 2015, 170, 174–175). At all events, they were usually the only professional musicians and pedagogues in their own locale (Kravchun 2009, 8).

The Question of Female Churchwardens and Organists

One more thing worth mentioning is that the offices of churchwarden and organist both in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria were meant only for men. In the nineteenth century, the Bible was still interpreted as not allowing women into any office in the church. Nevertheless, it is interesting that women were allowed to participate in congregational singing and choral singing in the churches, but it was not possible for them to conduct or accompany singing at the Divine Service. This reveals the hierarchy associated with the congregational singing; the conducting churchwarden and accompanying organist were higher than the ordinary parishioner participating in the singing. Based on the Table of Duties, the parishioner was not primarily an active doer but the object of teaching and civilising. This structure crumbled very slowly.

In 1861, a female novelist and journalist, Fredrika Runeberg indirectly started the discussion on opening the offices of churchwarden and organist for women. Runeberg had written the story *Facetter af qvinnans lif* already in the 1840s, but it was first published in 1861 in her book *Teckningar och drömmar*. It was a fictional story, in which women discussed their lives. One of the characters, Elise told how an old organist had taught her to play the organ and mostly church music. After suffering from smallpox, she withdrew from social life because a woman was supposed to be pretty. She started to teach organ-playing to her brother who then got an office as an organist. He was often very ill and not able to perform his duties. Therefore, Elise played the organ and finally, did it every Sunday for two years until her brother died. Due to difficulties to get a new organist, she was allowed, after long hesitation, to continue taking care of the playing. Even though her salary was high for a woman, no man would have agreed to work for that (Runeberg 1861, 208–209). In the same year, in 1861, in Sweden, the new Church Law offered a woman the office of organist (K. Jalkanen 1978, 255). Two years later, in F.L. Schauman's 1863 Proposal for the Church Law, there was only the word 'person' (*person* also in Swedish) which could have meant that a woman could have been chosen to the office of organist, but in the 1869 Church Law, the word was replaced with 'he' (*han* in Swedish) (Björkstrand 1999, 132).

In 1889, two female organists, Olga Tavaststjerna (1858–1939) and Ina¹¹⁸ Durchman (1854–1937) applied for the post of organist in the Old Church in Helsinki (K. Jalkanen 1978, 256). The Parish Council declared that a woman could not have been chosen to the office, and as a result, both of them made a complaint to the Diocesan Chapter of Porvoo and Tavaststjerna to the Senate as well with no official consequences. Nevertheless, something happened: the Senator and Baron, Werner von Troil (1833–1900) served as Vice Chairman of the Economic Division at the Senate when Tavaststjerna's complaint was pending. Four years later, he was a member at the 1893 General Synod and made a motion together with Dean Abel Nyholm (1845–1907) to allow a woman to hold the office of organist. They had two contradictory main arguments: first, they said that a woman should be able to get a salary for an office she has trained for, but at the same time, they argued that,

118 Björkstrand (1999, 132) gives accidentally the wrong name: Ines Durchman was later a piano teacher at the Sibelius Academy, but she was only five years old in 1889.

after opening the office for women, parishes with scarce resources could also have afforded to hire an organist because women should not be paid the same salary as men (Björkstrand 1999, 132–134).

The General Synod agreed with the motion and sent it to its own Law Commission, which again made a proposal to the 1898 General Synod. The content of the proposal was that, if the posts of churchwarden and organist were separate, a woman could be chosen to the office of organist. The General Synod approved the proposal and made another change to the Church Law; it became possible to choose a woman to be a churchwarden as well, but only temporarily when the office was vacant. However, female organists had to wait another ten years because for political reasons, the law was not confirmed by the Tsar until 1908 (Church Law 1869/1908, § 268 and 284; Björkstrand 1999, 135–136).

The decision to open only the office of organist, but not that of churchwarden, for women, may seem odd. As early as 1885, someone writing under the pseudonym *Kanttori* ('Cantor') had suggested in the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* (14 October 1885) that the offices of churchwarden and organist should be opened for women. *Kanttori* received a response (*Uusi Suometar* 23 October 1885) from a pseudonymous *Ei Kanttori* ('Not a Cantor'), who stressed that it was against the Bible that a woman could serve in an office in a parish. He (or she, but probably he) also mentioned that according to the Church Law, a churchwarden had duties as a pastor's assistant, which included officiating at the services if the pastor was sick. This might have been one reason why the General Synod was not willing to open the office of churchwarden for women. Be that as it may, the situation was a bit absurd. As Carita Björkstrand (1999, 136) states, from 1908 on, female organists in an office were not allowed to sing in the church, even if they had studied solo and choral, liturgical and hymn-singing, but if they were temporary substitutes, they had a right to do it. In addition, some women had already served as a churchwarden; for example, Aina Hulda Helander, a daughter of the churchwarden of Uusikaupunki, Henrik Helander (1827–1904), had been serving as her father's substitute for twenty years, also conducting a female voice choir which also sang in the services. In Lapland, there was a certain blind woman performing all of the churchwarden's duties (*ibid.*, 135).

The situation in the churchwarden-organist schools was also confusing; the schools did not accept female pupils, but women were allowed to work as teachers. For instance, Anna Forstén taught singing in the Churchwarden-Organist School of Viipuri. Emmy Achté not only taught singing in the Churchwarden-Organist School of Helsinki but was also nominated as a principal in 1900 (K. Jalkanen 1978, 93–94). The churchwarden-organist schools started to take female pupils in the early twentieth century, but the combined office of churchwarden (later cantor) and organist was not opened for women until 1963 (Björkstrand 1999, 149).

3.6 Musical Training of the Pastors

Even though the main topic of this thesis is congregational singing, it is necessary to have a glimpse of the musical training of the pastors because, as has already been shown, in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria, many of them took care of teaching singing to their parishioners, or it was at least their duty to supervise it. At the Divine Services, pastors had their own parts to sing, by turns with the churchwarden or the congregation, or by themselves (see Chapters 4.2 and 4.5). Therefore, it is interesting to know what kind of musical training they received. Most of the pastors in Ingria came from Finland, which means that they had got the same education at the university as their colleagues working in Finland: at first at the Royal Academy of Turku and from 1828 on, the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki¹¹⁹. During the nineteenth century, teaching liturgical singing to students of theology, i.e. future pastors, improved a lot, from almost nothing to singing and playing rehearsals led by qualified pedagogues. Even though singing had always been considered an important skill for pastors, there was no examination of singing included in the pastor's degree.

In eighteenth-century Sweden, Lutheran pastors had got their education in theology at the grammar schools and universities, but there were only superficial instructions on how it was organised in practice. Neither of these schools had a right to give a pastor's degree, and therefore, the diocesan chapters tested the knowledge and skills

119 After the Great Fire of Turku in 1827, the university was moved to Helsinki and started there as the Imperial Alexander University in Finland in 1828. In 1919, it was renamed as the University of Helsinki.

of those who intended to become pastors (Kansanaho 1963, 21–23, 26). When Jakob Tengström started as bishop of Turku in 1803, he started to re-organise the education of pastors according to the principles of Enlightenment theology, taking Germany and Denmark as models. He presented his proposal to establish a pastor seminary at the meeting of the Consistory of the Royal Academy of Turku in June 1803; music was probably not high in Tengström's interests because it was not mentioned at all, even though the proposal emphasised rehearsing practical tasks of the pastor's office (HYKA, Archives of the RAA, Minutes of the Consistory, 14 June 1803, §8). After this, the Chapter of the Porvoo Diocese made its own proposal and wanted to set up a seminary in connection with the Porvoo Grammar School. The biggest difference in comparison with Tengström's one was that the Chapter of Porvoo mentioned that *director cantus* should teach liturgical and hymn-singing at his singing lessons (Leinberg 1887, 447–456).

The proposal of the Chapter of Porvoo was rejected (Leinberg 1887, 478–479), whereas Tengström's instructions were approved in 1806 (Kansanaho 1963, 26–27). In the Seminary By-laws, it was instructed that there had to be music lessons because pastors had to be able to assess churchwardens' and organists' musical abilities as well as to be able to sing liturgical melodies. Instructions were nevertheless superficial; 'necessary care' must be taken of in musical education, but only 'as circumstances and different times allowed'¹²⁰ (Imperial Decree 10 April 1818).

In the archives of J.A. Florin in the National Archives of Finland, there is a hand-written sheet of music titled *HERrar Präst Candidaters Prof Mässa, Med Sång Clav* ('Misters Pastor Candidates Mass Demonstration, with the Song Clef?'; see Figure 4) which includes only the parts sung by the liturgist. There are no names or dates. According to Pajamo and Tuppurainen (2004, 173), it is a copy of Johan Lindell's collections of liturgical melodies from 1784, but despite the similarities, both the Finnish and Swedish Mass are different from Lindell's, which indicates constantly changing tradition. Nevertheless, it also indicates that at least some students of theology were able to sing some rather demanding parts of the liturgy.

120 'Om Undervisning i Tonkonsten. Då det åligger en Präst att ej allenast sjelf wid wissa tillfällen mässa och sjunga, utan ock att pröfwa Klockares och Organisters skicklighet i Tonkonsten, och att för öfrigt hålla noga inseende öfwer den offentliga Kyrkosången; bör äfwen för dessa slags undervisning i Seminario dragas nödig försorg, på sätt omständigheterna å olika tider det kunna medgifwa.' (The Seminary By-laws, 7§.)

Suomalainen Messu

Kunnon olhon Jumalan korkeudes A = ra vare Gud i högden!

Mäkra olhon heidan kanzan
Collecta

Rukoilkam: O Kaikkivaldian ijankaikinen Jumala, etc.

Sinun hakan loikas Jeesuksen meidän Herran kautta.
Epistola

Nämä seurausies sanat kirjoitti Apostoli Pavali Jumalan Seurakunnalle:

Seurausies Epistolan sanat löydetän kirjoitettuna apostolein tekois.

Ja kuin viideskymmenes päivä täytettiin, olit he kaikki yksimielisesti

Roofa. Mitäs luulet tämän olevan? Vaan muut nau-
roit heitä ja sanoit: He ovat täynnä makiä ja viina.

Figure 4. The beginning of the Finnish Mass (the *Gloria*, Salutation, Collect and Epistle) from a hand-written sheet of music for students of theology from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. KA, Archives of SKHS, J.A. Florin's collection, HERrar Präst Canditaters Prof Mässa, Med Sång Clav.

In 1837, a new proposal was made to re-organise pastors' education at the Imperial Alexander University and, according to it, a specific singing teacher should be hired for teaching hymn- and liturgical singing. Following this proposal, the Tsar gave a new decree in March 1846, according to which it was the Consistory's duty, on the proposal of the Faculty of Theology, to name a specific singing teacher for Finnish and Swedish hymn- and liturgical singing. The same decree established the position of Professor of Practical Theology, whose tasks included visiting the singing rehearsals when other duties gave way (Imperial Decree 4 March 1846).

In fact, musical education in the Pastor Seminary had already started before the Imperial Decree. Fredrik August Ehrström started as a singing teacher in 1836 and held the position until 1849. Perhaps teaching future pastors was one reason for Ehrström to publish his collection of liturgical melodies in 1837. Unlike many other collections of liturgical melodies, Ehrström included notations for the parts sung by the liturgist, not only the parts sung by the churchwarden or the congregation. Perhaps he used this booklet as educational material with his students. Unfortunately, neither Ehrström nor his successors Axel Granfelt (1815–1892, in the post 1850–1853) or Johan August Lindelöf (1824–1897; in the post spring 1854) gave any notice of the content of their teaching or weekly teaching hours. We only know that Ehrström, who also wanted to improve congregational singing in general, worked hard and performed his duties commendably (HYKA, Faculty of Theology, Minutes 15 March 1850, §2, and 27 April 1850, §1, Consistory of KAU, Minutes 1 February 1854, §8; Collan-Beaurain 1921, 125).

From 1855 on, Music Teacher of the University, Fredrik Pacius, took care of teaching hymn- and liturgical singing for students of theology. He was abroad from 1856 to 1857, during which time Rudolf Lagi served as his substitute (HYKA, Consistory of KAU, Minutes 17 October 1855, §6, and 7 June 1856, §4; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 5 January 1869). Apparently, Pacius was not too interested in his new duty, and students were dissatisfied with him; they made a request to replace him with a person who was interested in the topic and not just satisfied with superficial rehearsing of the Divine Services (KK, Faculty of Theology Weekly Meeting 5 April 1869). Pacius retired in 1869 but continued nominally as a teacher of church-singing until the end of 1875, even though he was not personally responsible for teaching for many years. (HYKA, Faculty of Theology, Minutes 6 December 1875, §3). There might have

been two reasons for the lack of appreciation for teaching of church-singing: from a theological point of view, the sermon was considered the centre and core of the Divine Service (Colliander 1877, 186), whereas, from a musical point of view, hymns and liturgical melodies were perhaps too simple music and students of theology not talented and determined enough for such highly educated musicians as Pacius.

Finally, at the end of the 1870s, the teaching of church-singing was properly organised; the Churchwarden of Saint Nicholas' Church, J.A.G. Hymander started as a teacher in 1878. He announced the organisation of a one-hour rehearsal for liturgical singing every Wednesday and Saturday. In the same year, he also published a new version of his collection of liturgical melodies both in Finnish and Swedish. The new version was especially meant for teaching liturgical singing to students of theology (HYKA, Faculty of Theology, Minutes February¹²¹ 1878, §1, and 14 September, 1878 §1, Consistory of KAU, minutes 27 February, §10, 14 September, §11, 28 October, §18, and 13 November 1878, §11). However, students were not eager to participate in classes due to focusing only on liturgical melodies and the lack of hymn rehearsals. The Dean of the Faculty, Herman Råbergh (1838–1920) agreed with students about the importance of hymn-singing but he thought that the university was not the right place to rehearse it and just encouraged students to participate in the teaching offered, at least for one semester (KK, Faculty of Theology Weekly Meeting 24 April 1879).

Otto Immanuel Colliander started as Professor of Practical Theology in 1883. As already mentioned, his licentiate dissertation from 1880 fell within the area of hymnology, and he had by 1877 written an article about liturgy and church music. In the article Colliander (1877, 189) underlined the importance of teaching liturgy and hymnology and suggested that a course of hymnology should be included in the pastor's degree requirements.

In February 1886, two different imperial decrees were given on the same day, one about pastors' education and another one about teachers in the faculty of theology, but they did not mean any remarkable changes from a musical point of view; only an assistant was nominated to take care of the liturgical, homiletical and catechetical rehearsals (Imperial Decrees 11 February 1886a and 1886b). Students requested giving

121 The exact date is missing from the minutes.

their sermon demonstrations in actual service. Accordingly, when rehearsals were moved to the eastern chapel of the Saint Nicholas' Church in 1887, they were put into practice in the form of a Divine Service (HYKA, Consistory of KAU, Minutes 30 May 1895, §30; KK, Faculty of Theology Weekly Meetings 19 November 1885 and 6 November 1895).

In order to maintain the standard of rehearsing liturgical singing, Hymander published a new version of his collection of liturgical melodies in 1888 because the previous edition had sold out (HYKA, Faculty of Theology, Minutes 19 December 1888, §1, Consistory of KAU 22 December 1888, §8). In the autumn of 1888, playing the harmonium was added to the teaching of church-singing. At first, there were two hours a week, but apparently, students were excited about using this new opportunity, and therefore, the number of weekly hours was raised to four the next spring and to six in 1890 (HYKA, Faculty of Theology, Minutes 5 November 1888, §5, Consistory of KAU 14 December 1888, §6, and 12 December 1890, §9). Hymander died in 1896 and was replaced by Abraham Ojanperä (1856–1916), who worked as a cantor in the New Church and a singing teacher both in the Helsinki Music Institute and Churchwarden-Organist School (HYKA, Faculty of Theology, Minutes 11 September 1896, §3; Consistory of KAU 12 September 1896, §37).

It seems that participation in singing classes varied greatly among students of theology. Some of them were excited about it, however, and thought it was important because the topic was discussed now and then on the initiative of students in the Faculty of Theology weekly meetings. It is also likely that some students sang some of the parts possible for the liturgist to sing in a Divine Service at their service demonstrations.

3.7 General Synod and Cultural Control in Congregational Singing

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the attitude towards congregational singing was free and, in comparison with the present-day situation, to a certain extent 'wild.' It was not totally uncontrolled; every now and then the diocesan chapters, bishops and deans gave instructions about singing. However, in practice, until the

1860s the situation remained similar; people sang hymns using their own chorale variants, churchwardens had their own hand-written chorale books, some pastors and churchwardens as well as some other musicians published their own chorale books and collections of liturgical melodies and some of them even their own hymnals. The training of churchwardens and organists had almost no standards whatsoever, and there was great variation in their musical skills.

The 1869 Church Law changed the governing of the church and for instance, the offices of churchwarden and organist. Consequently, the churchwarden-organist schools were founded. The new Church Law gave the Church restricted self-government. In other words, it was granted the right to decide, independent from the state, on its own matters concerning its own books. The General Synod became the ‘parliament’ of the Church and its highest decision-making body, whereas the bishops and the diocesan chapters remained as an administrative organisation (Juva 1976, 15–17). The General Synod was summoned for the first time in 1876, then in 1886, and then every fifth year from 1893 onwards (*ibid.*, 52–74). It also took a significant role in sustaining cultural control in congregational singing by authorising the Hymnal and the Agenda as well as common official melodies for them (Vapaavuori 1997, 43, 328–330, 339–343). All of this meant that the field of congregational singing was now under an official supervision, the situation being similar in present-day Finland with educated professional church musicians and authorised hymnals and collections of liturgical music for common use throughout the country.

The even-note versions of chorales, presented mostly by Häffner and Nordlund, did not receive wide public support in Finland because they were alien to ordinary people. This led to a situation where there were two different approaches. The Finnish national line, on one hand, aimed at a hymnal that would have served ‘the habits and traditions of people’ (whatever it meant in a reality with hundreds of different chorale variants). The European line, on the other hand, attempted to remain true to ‘the common heritage of the Lutheran Church,’ which included training Finns to sing hymns dating from the Reformation era, either in forms as close to the original ones as possible or by using the even-note versions presented by Häffner and Nordlund (Vapaavuori 1997, 292–311).

One of the first representatives of the national line was D.H. Kukkasela (1857, 4, 6), who saw the uniqueness of Finnish congregational singing and sought to find both chorale and liturgical melodies in the form in which the people sang them. Konstantin Saarelainen had some Finnish chorale variants in his chorale books (1862, 1875 and 1883). In the 1890s, Ilmari Krohn and Mikael Nyberg collected chorale variants, and the 1898 General Synod decided that there should be Finnish ‘folksy’ melodies in the chorale book (Vapaavuori 1998, 161–163). Rudolf Lagi can be seen as representing the European line because even though he attempted to create a chorale book out of local chorale variants, he preferred Nordlund’s Chorale Book rather than the hand-written ones. E.A. Hagfors supported the European line and Hæffner’s tradition; a clear indication of this was that he edited a new edition of Nordlund’s Chorale Book in 1876. O.I. Colliander (e.g. 1877, 193–196; 1898, *passim*) was the leading proponent of the original rhythmic chorale versions but did not receive widespread support for his ideas.

When authorising the new Finnish and Swedish Hymnals in 1886, the General Synod also appointed a committee to assign suitable melodies and publish a chorale book. Even though the General Synod in principle adopted the Finnish national line, the Committee was composed of representatives of both approaches and was influenced more by the European line supporters, to name only one, the Chairman of the Committee, Bishop O.I. Colliander (Vapaavuori 1997, 339–343). He wanted to return to the original, rhythmically living melodic forms of the Reformation and the seventeenth century. When the Committee published its proposal for a new chorale book in 1889, it was disappointing from Colliander’s point of view. Namely, the proposal was a compromise in terms of rhythm; although some melodies with more varied rhythmic bodies were included, syllabic chorales still dominated (Colliander 1898, 26–31; Pajamo and Tuppurainen 2004, 240–241).

As already mentioned, local chorale variants had been collected, but they found their way to the official Hymnal only gradually. In Nordlund’s Chorale Book (1850), there were none of them, and Lagi’s attempt to create a chorale book out of them dried up. Consequently, he prepared a proposal for an official chorale book in 1867 and 1868 by following the European line. He nonetheless included a few Finnish folk melodies in his compilation (Vapaavuori 1998, 161–162).

The Committee did not publish an official collection of liturgical melodies either, though it had not yet been given that task in the nineteenth century. Altogether twenty-two different collections of liturgical melodies were published during the century, each more or less different from the others. The situation changed slightly when the General Synod authorised the new Agenda for Divine Services in 1886. It contained only texts and no music. Nevertheless, in the last years of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the Mass arranged by Johann August Gottlieb Hylander became in general use in almost every parish, even though it was not officially authorised by the General Synod. The reason for that was that it was included in the second (1897) and the third (1909) editions of the Chorale Book edited by Richard Faltin and O.I. Colliander (more about the collections of liturgical melodies, see Chapter 4).

3.8 Primary Schools and Teacher Seminaries

In the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, there were many different kinds of schools in Finland, mostly available only for children and youth from the upper classes (see e.g. Halila 1949, 30–91). In both the Finnish and Ingrian countryside, parishioners received literacy instruction mainly at home or from a local churchwarden. Only confirmation school was mandatory for everyone; it was ephemeral and limited in content but still had an effective impact on the development of literacy (Raski 1932, 72; Halila 1949, 86). On the initiative of pastors with a Pietistic background, Johan Fredrik Bergh (1795–1866) and F.G. Hedberg, Sunday schools reached many parishes in Finland from the 1830s onwards; in Ingria, the first Sunday schools started in the 1870s. These schools took many different shapes and structures in different parishes; they could be rudimentary primary schools or just small lessons within the prayer moments. The teachers were pastors, churchwardens and schooled laypeople, and gradually women also began to teach. In the latter half of the century, there were also Sunday schools for workers in some factories in Finland. In Ingria, when the Russification policy restricted teaching Finnish and religion in primary schools, the importance of the Sunday school grew even more. In both Finland and Ingria, hymn-singing was an important part of Sunday schools (*ibid.*, 169–173).

In Ingria, from the 1840s, there were annual Pastors' Synods of the Saint Petersburg Consistorial District and in the same context meetings for the Finnish clergymen of Ingria. In those meetings, the pastors discussed questions of public education (Raski 1913, 19). The same kind of discussion was going on at the same time in Finland. One of the discussed topics was whether the office of schoolteacher should be combined with the one of churchwarden or not (K. Jalkanen 1976, 151–157). For instance, a famous Fennoman philosopher and Finnish statesman, Johan Vilhelm Snellman suggested combining them (*Saima* 9 May 1846). In its proposal for the Senate, the Chapter of the Turku Diocese wanted to keep bishops and chapters as supervisors of the primary schools. Moreover, it thought that churchwardens should be teachers at primary schools or that, in fact, teachers should take care of churchwarden's duties, which at the same time should diminish so that they should only take care of teaching children, conducting congregational singing and playing the organ (Ehdotuksia ja mietteitä 1856, 6–7, 13, 16, 27–30, 45). The Chapters of Porvoo and Kuopio Dioceses shared a similar view (*ibid.*, 62–65, 71–72).

In the 1850s, besides from the chapters of the dioceses, the Finnish Senate collected proposals for a national school system from some individuals (Pajamo 1976, 52–53). One of them was Pastor Uno Cygnaeus (1810–1888) whose proposal gained wide support in the Senate, and in 1858, he was invited to make a thorough proposal for the arrangement of the matter (*ibid.*, 53–54). To collect information and influences from different school systems and teachers' education, Cygnaeus travelled across Europe in 1858 and 1859 visiting Sweden, Denmark, many German States, Switzerland and Holland. In his opinion, the kindergartens in Hamburg and the Swiss school system were the best models for Finnish primary schools (Cygnaeus 1910, 35–65; Halila 1949, 270–278). Based on these experiences, Cygnaeus drew up a plan. Even though many people, especially clergymen, opposed it (Halila 1949, 289–300; Vuoristo 1959, 120–132), the Senate approved it in 1861. In Cygnaeus' plan, primary schools were separated from the supervision of the diocesan chapters and the office of the primary school teacher from the one of churchwarden (Cygnaeus 1910, 304–310; K. Jalkanen 1976, 157). According to this plan, the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminary was founded in 1863, and the primary school regulation was laid down by the Senate in 1866 (Imperial Announcement 11 May 1866; Pajamo 1976, 77). Even though the new national school system was independent of the Church, the new primary school was strongly a Christian school (Pajamo 1976, 110).

Finnish clergymen hoped that, although the offices of teacher and churchwarden were separate, churchwardens could be educated in the Jyväskylä Seminary, but the proposal was not supported. As a result, four separate churchwarden-organist schools were founded in Finland. Nevertheless, the curriculum of the Jyväskylä Seminary was influenced by combined churchwarden-teacher seminaries in Central Europe and Baltic countries. For instance, in the governorate of Livonia, a seminary was set up in 1839 with a mission to prepare teachers for primary schools and churchwardens for Lutheran parishes. At first, the seminary was located in Valmiera, but ten years later it was moved to Valga. During his travels, Uno Cygnaeus visited the Wettingen Seminary in Switzerland and copied the curriculum of singing teaching from there. It included three skills: singing, playing the violin and playing the organ, but the Inspection Committee, appointed by the Senate, later dismissed violin-playing (cf. Cygnaeus 1910, 58, 246–247; Pajamo 1976, 73–75). One of the aims of singing teaching was to improve congregational singing, and the idea of teaching organ-playing was to train teachers to be able to accompany the Divine Services in the churches (Cygnaeus 1910, 245–247; see also the proposal of the Chapter of the Turku Diocese, *Ehdotuksia ja mietteitä* 1856, 48–49).

In Ingria, in contrast, in the same year of 1863 the Kolppana Churchwarden and Teacher Seminary was established for preparing both teachers and churchwardens, the same way as in the Valga Seminary in Livonia (Kolppanan seminaari 1913, 166–169; Murtorinne 2015, 168–170). Nevertheless, the goal first and foremost was to educate teachers for primary schools; educating churchwardens was not considered as important. For that reason, music education was meagre, even though the curriculum included more music than the Jyväskylä Seminary in Finland (KA, Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary, Ba:2, Da:6; Iho 1950, 164). However, a typical feature of the Russian primary school system in the late nineteenth century was that there were several overlapping school networks. In addition to the schools run by Lutheran parishes, there were schools established by local government, patrons, the Ministry of Public Education, organisations, various state institutions and separate ethnic communities. As a result of the Russification policy, Finnish schools were transferred in 1891 from the control of Lutheran parishes to the Ministry of National Education. At the same time, the language of instruction changed to Russian, and Finnish teaching was allowed only as an additional subject after the actual

school day ended (Kalinitchev 2016, 245, 253). In addition, since the 1832 Church Law, authorised by the Tsar, was still in force and according to which the religion teacher of Lutheran children had to be Lutheran, religion was still taught in Finnish (Jääskeläinen 1980, 18).

Another question discussed from as early as the 1840s was whether singing should be a mandatory subject in primary schools or not. Both Cygnaeus (1910, 274, 280) and the Inspection Committee wanted it mandatory (Pajamo 1976, 60–61). In other Nordic countries, singing in the school meant only church-singing, but in Finland, based on Cygnaeus' proposal, hymns and liturgical melodies were included in the curricula, but patriotic and folk songs were also in use (*ibid.*, 57, 62). Soon after establishing the primary school system, secular songs were opposed by many teachers, but little by little the attitudes changed (*ibid.*, 136–138). Nevertheless, church-singing has a strong position in primary schools, not only in singing lessons, but every school day started and ended with a prayer and a hymn. Moreover, pupils were instructed to go to church every Sunday, and teachers were supposed to rehearse hymns sung in those Divine Services in advance (Cygnaeus 1910, 335, 343; Pajamo 1976, 109).

The discussion continued in the 1870s at the official primary school meetings. Some of the participants wanted to focus only on church-singing, whereas the others considered the nationalist agenda as the most important thing in teaching singing (Kansakoulukokous 1875, 9–16). There was also discussion on using school children as precentors at the Divine Services. Notably, none of the participants was against this proposal in general; they were only opposed to the idea that it should happen every Sunday because in that case, hymn-singing would have taken the whole time in singing lessons, and there would have not been time for secular songs and note teaching at all (Kansakoulukokous 1873, 23–26).

In the Kolppana Seminary, both the solo and four-part singing repertoire included only religious and patriotic songs; for instance, there were no vocalises at all, as it was in the Jyväskylä Seminary and Finnish churchwarden-organist schools (KA, Archives of the Kolppana Teacher Seminary, Da:6). Nevertheless, there is no need to underestimate the importance of the teachers and churchwardens educated in Kolppana for the Ingrian-Finnish singing movement. They were the leading figures who established and conducted choirs and brass bands in their various localities (*Inkeri* 25/1924, 355–356; Murtorinne 2015, 174).

3.9 New Mass Movements and Voluntary Organisations

The mass organisation of the common people began in the mid-nineteenth century in Finland and in the 1860s after the abolition of serfdom in Ingria. It had an impact on congregational singing as well because hymns were sung in different kinds of gatherings and festivals. Religious associations also published new collections of spiritual songs. While this inspired people to sing together, a confrontation arose between hymns and spiritual songs; many people who wanted to standardise congregational singing considered the latter ones a threat to it.

Active popular education, the temperance and labour movements, youth associations, volunteer fire brigades and different kinds of leisure activity clubs started to bring people together both in towns and the countryside. Various communal celebrations and events were organised, at which there were also lectures, theatrical performances and dancing (Inkerin kansanjuhlat ja iltamat 1925/1926, 458–459, 467–468; *Suomalainen Kansan-Kalenteri Wenäjällä* 1899, 91; Lehtonen 1994, *passim*; Flink 2000, 347). In Ingria, all of these were organised in the Lutheran parishes or in close relationship with them because the Russian rulers did not allow the Ingrian Finns to establish any kind of independent organisation for schools or culture except for the Church (Iho 1950, 50).

As a result of these new forms of popular organisation, new musical groups and their repertoire became increasingly common among the ordinary people. Choirs and brass bands were a central part of most of the aforementioned organisations from the very beginning. The music of these new mass movements differed from what had been the norm; when sung by heart, the melodies and singing style had changed freely, but the transition to sheet music required precision and unity. Congregational singing was thus not the only music that was standardised in the nineteenth century (cf. e.g. Laitinen 1982, 125–127). The choirs and brass bands modelled themselves after high culture and the repertoire consisted of music that the gentry used. Music had a central role in national events in the late nineteenth century because it was seen as an effective tool to infuse the minds of the ordinary people.

For that reason, music in these new movements, associations and societies was not meant to be entertainment alone. It acted to disseminate social and political ideologies, religious, often revivalist, notions and uplifting morals (Kurkela 1983, 209–210; Rantanen 2013a, 98, 178–181).

The composition of the choirs formed by free popular organisation reflected the changed social status of women. In the academic choirs, the singers were mainly men, for women did not receive the right to complete an academic degree until 1882. The choirs of new associations and societies, however, included both women and men representing different social strata. The choirs also sang mostly in Finnish, initially folk songs and translated foreign songs, but gradually moving towards more Finnish choral compositions as well (Ketomäki 2012, 49).

The first religious associations in Finland, Finnish Bible Society and the Finnish Evangelical Society were founded as early as the 1810s. Both of them were meant to publish and spread books, the former Bibles and the latter one spiritual and temperance booklets. They were primarily authority-led associations for the religious education of the people; their membership was mostly limited to the upper classes and meant to be an economic supporter by nature. Many more associations were established in the second half of the century. Enthusiasm for missionary work gave birth to two organisations operating both at home and abroad: the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission and Finnish Seamen's Mission. There was also an association for students interested in missionary activities, the Academic Volunteers' Missionary Association. Five associations were established for teaching children and youth: The Finnish Sunday School Association, the general Christian YMCA and YWCA as well as their confessional Lutheran counterpart, *Suomen evankelis-luterilainen nuorukaisyhdistys*, the Female Student Christian Association and the Student Christian Association for male students. The Evangelical Movement was officially organised when the Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland was founded. In addition, there were two local Christian associations in nineteenth-century Finland: the Helsinki City Mission and the Evangelical Society in Sortavala (see Table 7; Murtorinne 1992, 62–66, 254–268, 324–326, 360–366).

Table 7. Christian associations founded in nineteenth-century Finland. Murtorinne 1992, 62–66, 254–268, 324–326, 360–366. The English translations are either official and established or made by the author.

year	Finnish name	Swedish name	translation
1812	Suomen Piiliseura	Finska Bibelsällskapet	Finnish Bible Society
1817	Suomen Evankelinen Seura	Finska Evangeliska Sällskapet	Finnish Evangelical Society
1859	Suomen Lähetysseura	Finska Missionssällskapet	Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission
1873	Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys	Finska Lutherska Evangeliföreningen	Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland
1875	Suomen Merimieslähetykseura	Finska Sjömansmissionssällskapet	Finnish Seamen's Mission
1883	Helsingin Kaupunkilähetys	Helsingfors Stadsmission	Helsinki City Mission
1888	Suomen Evankelisluterilainen Pyhäkoulu yhdistys	Evangelisk Lutherska Söndagsskolförening	Finnish Sunday School Association
1889	Nuorten Miesten Kristillinen Yhdistys (NMKY)	Kristliga Föreningen av Unga Män (KFUM)	Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)
1889	Evankelis-luterilainen nuorukaisyhdistys		Evangelical Lutheran Youth Association
1890	Sortavalan Evankelinen Seura		Evangelical Society in Sortavala
1895	Nuorten Naisten Kristillinen Yhdistys (NNKY)	Kristliga Föreningen av Unga Kvinnor (KFUK)	Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)
1897	Naisylioppilaitten Kristillinen Yhdistys	Kvinnliga Studenters Kristliga Förening	Female Students' Christian Association
1899	Akateemisten Vapaaehtoisten Lähetysliitto	Akademiska Frivilligas Missionsförbund	Academic Volunteers' Missionary Association
1899	Ylioppilasten Kristillinen Yhdistys	Studenters Kristliga Förening	Students' Christian Association

New Anglo-Saxon spiritual songs found their way to Finland and Ingria through these associations. The Great Awakening that started in America in the eighteenth century spread to England in the mid-nineteenth century and soon after that to Scandinavia. In Finland, perhaps due to Pietism-based movements, this new awakening mostly considered the Free Church dimensions. However, many spiritual songs became popular in Lutheran associations as well (Vaalas 1973, 11–12).

In comparison with the old hymns, these new spiritual songs had novel themes. At the same time with the religious awakening both in America and Europe, social awakening started and strengthened. Quick industrialisation caused social problems and increased mental and material distress, as a result of which a need for inner mission and diaconal work arose. Both child and youth work and mission began at the same time in many places. All of these fields required new songs because themes of charity and neighbourliness were almost absent in hymnals (Vaalas 1973, 14–15).

The melodies of these spiritual songs differed from Lutheran chorales, especially from their even-note versions, which is why they were both admired and resisted. For instance, O.I. Colliander (1877, 194–195) considered them a threat to proper congregational singing. For him, their rhythmic melodies were a sign that the ordinary people had an unconscious need for original rhythmic versions of chorales and livelier congregational singing in general. However, according to Colliander, the melodies of spiritual songs differed from ‘the noble and elevated style of the church chorales through their playful and often even easy-going melodies, borrowed from profane music’¹²². Colliander feared that once these ‘non-ecclesiastical melodies’ replaced the chorale, the consequence would be that ‘the objectively ecclesiastical lyrics of the old hymns’ would be allowed to fall into the shadow of ‘the lighter, subjective, spiritual poems.’

The effect of spiritual songs on congregational singing was twofold. On the one hand, there was a new repertoire and with it a new enthusiasm for singing together. On the other hand, the new Anglo-Saxon melodies, alongside the local Finnish chorale variants, posed a new threat to standardisation and thus indirectly strengthened the position of the traditional Lutheran chorale in the minds of many specialists.

3.10 Music Publishing and Trade

In the nineteenth century, the development of printing technology made printing musical scores faster and more affordable, and songbooks also began to be published as sheet music editions. At the same time, better means of transport made it easier to import instruments and notebooks. These changes enabled the establishment of the first music stores in Finland.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, books and also songs were ordered from Central Europe and Sweden to Finnish bookstores. Most of the nineteenth-century sheet music was for the piano; the popularity of various clavier instruments promoted the publishing and sale of sheet music and vice versa. Ludvig Beuermann (1815–1868) from Germany is considered to be Finland’s first music retailer and

122 ‘[...] skilja sig från de kyrkliga koralernas ädla och upphöjda stil, genom sina från den profana musiken lånade lekande och ofta t.o.m. lättfärdiga melodier.’

music publisher. He founded a sheet music store in Helsinki in 1849. The three bookstores of the town, Frenckell, Wasenius and Öhman, also sold sheet music but the supply was sporadic and the collections limited. Beuermann obtained a large part of his notes from Saint Petersburg (Kurkela 2009, 25, 29, 33).

An association for public education, *Kansanvalistusseura*, was founded in 1874. It soon developed into a major publisher of Finnish-language literature. In the early 1880s, it began to publish choral and brass band repertoire, especially for the song and play festivals (Kurkela 2009, 69–70). In the second half of the century, the publication of songbooks became more common, which reflected the change in music culture from the entertainment of the middle and upper classes to the activities of the wider strata (*ibid.*, 74–75). However, music publishing was still dispersed and sporadic in the 1880s and 1890s. In Finland, there was not a single agent specialising in music publishing, but sheet music and notebooks were a side business for book publishers. Sales of foreign sheet music increased even further. Music store customers still came mainly from the upper strata, either Swedish-speaking or bilingual; almost all sheet music was titled both in Finnish and Swedish, and often the lyrics of the songs were also in both languages (*ibid.*, 91–95).

From the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century, most new hymns and spiritual songs were published as broadsides. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the publishing of hymns and spiritual songs was lively. Publications included mainly only lyrics; sometimes there were *sifferskrift* numerical notes. Publishers also published separate songbooks, especially if they related to a published text edition (Kurkela 2009, 78).

All of the Finnish spiritual movements also used collections of spiritual songs. *Sionin Wirret* ('The Hymns of Zion'), translated into Finnish in 1790, was in use in all of the moments, but its 1893 revised edition was meant only for the Awakened. The Prayer Movement stuck to the old Hymnal and songbooks, and therefore, they also continued using *Halullisten Sieluin Hengellisiä Lauluja* ('The Spiritual Songs for Devout Souls') from 1790 and the old version of *Sionin Wirret*. The Evangelical Movement published its *Sionin Kannel* ('The Zion Kantele') in 1874–1881 in booklet form.

Spiritual movements brought new repertoire, outside of official hymnals. For example, in the 1840s, the Evangelical Movement started to publish spiritual songs in its devotional books and periodicals as well as sheet music and song booklets. According to Seppo Suokunnas (1982, 221), from 1845 to 1892, as many as 980 song texts were published, although some of them were duplicates. Based on these, the first edition of *Siiönin Kannel*, published as five different booklets by J.A.G. Hymannder, included 170 songs. In the 1892 edition, there were 132 additional songs, which brings the total number after some omissions to 277 songs. The musical edition, arranged and published by Ilmari Krohn, included 193 melodies. Many of the melodies in this collection were of German, Swedish or Anglo-Saxon origin, some taken directly from foreign editions, whereas others were taken from various Finnish collections (*ibid.*, 222–224).

From the very beginning, publishing books and booklets belonged to the activities of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The first Swedish publication was edited by Adolf Moberg (1813–1895) in 1862 and the Finnish one in 1864. Both the Awakened and the Prayer Movement shunned the new 1886 Hymnal and continued using the 1701 version. Since *Siiönin Kannel* and *Siiönin Wirret* were collections of a single movement, there was a need for a collection not tied to any particular movement, including both hymns and spiritual songs. As a result, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission edited a Finnish collection *Hengellisiä lauluja ja virsiä* (“Spiritual Songs and Hymns”) and its Swedish counterpoint *Andliga sånger och psalmer*, both of which were published in 1900 (Vaalas 1973, 22, 26–29).

The Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission became the most important publishers of collections of spiritual songs, but there were many others as well. Many bigger publishing companies, such as Weilin & Göös and Werner Söderström (WSOY), included spiritual songs in their publication policy (Kurkela 2009, 81–82). The most important collections of spiritual songs published in the latter part of the century are listed in Table 8.

Both the change in religious music and improving congregational singing led, by the 1890s, to a considerable number of songbooks containing hymns and spiritual songs, including either piano accompaniment or only melodies, often with *sifferskrift* numerical notation. According to Vesa Kurkela (2009, 81) between 1840 and 1890

more than fifty hymn collections with musical scores were published in Finland. The number of collections of spiritual songs was even bigger, almost a hundred editions were printed, albeit most of which were author's editions. One reason for such a large number of printed collections of liturgical melodies was that there were so many publishers interested in them and music stores that sold them.

Table 8. The most important collections of spiritual songs published in Finland 1850–1900.

year	title	editor	publisher
1850	<i>Andeliga sånger</i>		J. C. Frenckell & Son
1853	<i>Hengellisiä Wirsiiä</i>	Antti Rätty (transl.)	
1857	<i>Pilgrims-sånger</i>		J. C. Frenckell & Son
1862–1863	<i>Missionsånger</i>	Adolf Moberg	FELM
1863–1864	<i>Hengellinen laulaja</i>		Lillja
1864	<i>Läbetys-Wirsiiä</i>	Matias Putkonen	FELM
1866	<i>Andaktsånger till kristlig väckelse och uppbyggelse</i>	Adolf Moberg	FELM
1869	<i>Matka-lauluja tiellä taivaalliseen Siionin</i>	Bernhard Kristfrid Sarlin	FELM
1871	<i>Matka-lauluja tiellä taivaalliseen Siionin</i> (expanded edition)		FELM
1874–1881	<i>Siionin Kannel</i>	J.A.G. Hylander	SLEY
1874	<i>Sionsharpan</i>		SLEY
1875	<i>Hengellisiä Wirsiiä</i>		Joh. Bergdahl
1876–1884	<i>Lauluja Karitsan käyttöäksi 1–8</i>	Ira D. Sankey; Olli Vuorinen (transl.)	Weilin & Göös
1886	<i>Harpunsäveliä</i>	Hjalmar Braxén	Olán
1887	<i>Barnens Sångbok</i>		SLEY
1888	<i>Harpotoner</i>	Hjalmar Braxén	-
1889	<i>Läbetys-wirsiiä, uusi kokoelma</i>	Olli Vuorinen	FELM
1890	<i>Sotalauluja</i>		Salvation Army
1891	<i>Krigssånger</i>		Salvation Army
1894	<i>Raubansäveliä</i>	Gustaf Alfred Hidén; Juho Laine (transl.)	Rauhan sanoma
1894	<i>Sionin Wirret</i>	Wilhelm Malmberg	Herättäjä
1895	<i>Lumastettuin lauluja matkalla Siionin</i>	Pietari Kurvinen	Pietari Kurvinen
1896	<i>Pyhäkoulu laulukirja</i>	Axel Keihänen	WSOY
1900	<i>Andliga sånger och psalmer</i>	Herman Råbergh	FELM
1900–1905	<i>Hengellisiä lauluja ja wirsiiä</i>		FELM

The increase in music publishing and trade enabled the standardisation of congregational singing but also made it more confusing. Through more affordable sheet music publishing and a good network of book and music stores, both chorale books and collections of liturgical melodies could be effectively distributed to churchwardens and the ordinary people. On the other hand, the same ease also led to a huge number of different collections: spiritual songs, hymnals, collections of liturgical melodies, in one and four parts, with *sifferskrift* and Western stave notation, *et cetera*.

3.11 Interaction with the Eastern Orthodox Church

In nineteenth-century Ingria and Finnish Karelia, the Lutherans lived alongside the Eastern Orthodox population. The Eastern Orthodox Church was also the state church of the Russian Empire, with a strong position in state and local life. It is therefore worth asking whether the proximity of the Eastern Orthodox Church also influenced the Lutheran liturgy and congregational singing.

In Eastern Orthodox worship, music plays a very important role, as almost all texts are performed by reciting, i.e. singing. The practice was inherited from the fourth century, when liturgical singing among groups of singers was arranged hierarchically to reflect both ecclesial status and musical gifts: while trained and ordained members of the lower clergy sang the major part of the liturgy, groups of less musically skilled singers, including sometimes the entire congregation, sang only short responses or refrains (Lingas 2008, 917). The Orthodox do not accept the use of musical instruments in services for two reasons. Firstly, according to Orthodox belief, the human voice is a perfect source of musical sound created by God, intimately connected to language and efficient in prayer, and its way to enhance audition and affective experience is unique. Secondly, musical instruments as human creations cannot bring forth ideas crystallised into words and are associated with pagan ritual and such worldly pursuits as dance and work (Engelhardt 2016, 658).

In Ingria, the question was not just about denominations but also ethnic groups. In the mid-nineteenth century, more than 80,000 Ingrian Finns belonged to the Lutheran Church, while just over 15,000 Izhorians and 5,000 Votes were Eastern Orthodox. The numbers of these latter groups decreased further towards the end

of the century, while the number of Lutherans in Ingria and Saint Petersburg increased to almost 150,000 as a result of the migration from Finland. In contrast, the spread of the Russian population to Ingria strengthened the position of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and by the end of the century, Ingrian Finns clearly became a minority in some areas (Murtorinne 2011, 226).

It was typical in rural Ingria for different national groups to live mostly in their own villages, which also kept Lutheranism and Eastern Orthodoxy apart from one another, and little was known about any kind of movement similar to the present-day ecumenism. There were at least two reasons for this: the poor Russian language skills of Ingrian Finns and legislation on religions. It was forbidden to move from the Eastern Orthodox Church to another denomination (Murtorinne 2011, 226). According to the 1832 Russian Lutheran Church Law, missionary and converting work was forbidden to the Lutheran Church, and all children born in mixed marriages were to be baptised to be members of the Orthodox Church (Russian Lutheran Church Law 1832, § 4, 5, 254 and 255). Despite the high hurdles, these denominations also influenced each other to some extent in Ingria (see Murtorinne 2011, 228–232). Nevertheless, the only reference to any impact on congregational singing was the favouring of four-part singing in the 1832 Imperial Agenda, which was influenced by the Orthodox Church Music of the Saint Petersburg Court Chapel. However, the effect was not direct, but as mentioned, toured via Prussia.

In Finland, the majority of the Orthodox population lived in Karelia; their share of the total population of the region was over ten per cent, while elsewhere in Finland it reached a maximum of two per cent. The population of some municipalities in Ladoga Karelia was almost exclusively Orthodox, but there were many Orthodox parishes in North Karelia and the Karelian Isthmus as well (Kansanaho 1986, 218–219). In the nineteenth century, also the Finnish Orthodox parishes were members of the imperial Russian Orthodox Church. In this church, the seventeenth-and-eighteenth-century development of composed choral music for liturgy led to the gradual exclusion of congregational singing. In the late nineteenth century, a counter movement was raised, and the rise of congregational singing started to be seen as quintessential to the spiritual growth of the ordinary people. A liturgical renewal movement in the Russian Orthodox Church focused on the concept of *соборность* [*sobornost'*] (communality or conciliarity), assembly of the faithful, whose goal was the democratisation of the church (Kostyuk 2015, 334–335; Takala-Roszczenko 2017, 166).

The highest church administration was in Saint Petersburg, and Russian religious magazines and newspapers were widely read in Finnish Orthodox parishes. These papers often reported on the Divine Services where congregational singing had been witnessed, as well as included writings by clergy and scholars about the aim to ‘return to the ancient practices of chanting’ (Kostyuk 2015). These thoughts were embraced among the Finnish Orthodox (Takala-Roszczenko 2018).

The need for Finnish-language church music began to emerge in the late nineteenth century. Divine Services had long been delivered in Church Slavonic, also in those parishes where the population predominantly spoke Finnish. This practice continued at least until the 1880s, despite the fact that as early as 1865, the Synod had ordered that Divine Services be delivered in Finnish in Finnish churches. One of the reasons for the situation was apparently the poor linguistic quality of the Finnish translations of the worship texts. As for the liturgy, an improvement was made in 1881, when a Finnish translation of the Handbook of the Liturgy by Priest Sergei Okulov (1853–1944) was published (Solntsev 1903, 41, 43–44; Harri 2013, 33). There was a need for musical settings in Finnish as well; the melodies of the four-part liturgies, first published in Finnish in 1894, were mainly based on the liturgical melodies of the Saint Petersburg Court Chapel (Harri 2013, 35). Some of these melodies and four-part arrangements had been adopted in Prussian Union Agendas in the 1820s (Herbst 1968, 180–186; Feder 1975 [1964], 377). The proximity to the Saint Petersburg Court Chapel certainly contributed to the fact that the four-part singing gained such a strong position in the 1832 Russian Lutheran Imperial Agenda, and through it, to some extent, in Old Finland. However, these four-part versions were hardly heard in the Finnish Orthodox Churches, as there were choirs only in the largest town parishes, whereas in the Karelian countryside, only the priest and churchwarden participated in the liturgical singing (Takala-Roszczenko 2019b, 54).

According to Maria Takala-Roszczenko (2018), there was one characteristic contextual feature that distinguished the Finnish Orthodox from the Russian Church; the daily co-existence of the Orthodox with the Lutherans. In Finland, congregational singing was first and foremost associated with the Lutheran Church, which put the Orthodox enthusiasts for congregational singing in a challenging situation; how to promote something that many people considered an imitation of the Lutheran practice? A poet, writer and a Karelian culture activist, Iivo Härkönen (1882–1941;

1899, 83) wrote in *Aamun Koitto* magazine that many people longed for, and how beautiful it would have been if in the Orthodox churches there could also be congregational singing. According to Härkönen, it was permissible but hardly known; people thought it was not permitted. Thus, Härkönen suggested: ‘Let all the honourable deans take as their most important task to announce and explain to their congregation – precisely at church – that it is not forbidden to sing in the churches of the Greek faith, either.’¹²³ Härkönen considered congregational singing an ultimate source of spiritual gratification because ‘singing is a human’s holier language and with it, he can best express such feelings to God.’ Singing together would also have had practical benefits; it would have increased the motivation of an individual believer to attend services. When singing, ‘people would start to forget about everything else; they would not look around or run around – they would go to church willingly,’ wrote Härkönen.

Loyalty to one’s own church was a key concern in the late nineteenth-century Finnish Orthodox Church. In many areas where the Orthodox population was a minority, the well-organised Lutheran services with hymns sung by the congregation sometimes drew participants from the Orthodox community as well. From an Orthodox perspective, this was considered a threat to church integrity. A report published in the Russian newspaper *Финляндская Газета* [*Finlyandskaya gazeta*] (16 September 1905) stated out the desirability of congregational singing in this respect by specifying that where the congregation sang at the Divine Services, there always were more people present. In addition, due to the lack of opportunities to sing, people went to a neighbouring Lutheran church, which was, according to this report, highly undesirable. Thus, the urge to organise congregational singing in the Orthodox Church in the Finnish context arose from the Lutheran influence, or rather, from an attempt to resist it by offering the churchgoers a chance to sing in their own church. Lutheran Hymnal had also found its way into the devotional life of many Eastern Orthodox homes in Finland, and a new Orthodox Prayer Book, published in 1893, was supposed to replace it (Takala-Roszczenko 2019a, 214).

123 ‘Siksi kaikki ne kunn. kirkkoherrat [...] ottakoot tärkeimmäksi työkseen ilmoittaa ja selittää seurakuntalaisilleen – oikein kirkossa – että **ei ole laulu kreikan-uskoisissa kirkoissakaan kiellettyä keltään.**’ (Bolding by Härkönen.)

Takala-Roszczenko (2018) claims that in most cases, the concept of congregational singing was approached either from a practical or a spiritual point of view. The need to organise congregational singing was often justified as having specific practical benefits; it was educational and increased the individuals' commitment to the church; it functioned as a missionary tool. The spiritual benefits, in turn, were mainly considered to stem from the uplifting influence of the common prayer on an individual soul, the fulfilment of the individual's need to pray through singing.

3.12 Conclusion

The standardisation process of congregational singing was put into action in multiple ways in the Lutheran parishes in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. It was also supported by many phenomena of music culture. Although the efforts took place mainly locally, a network of translocal and transnational influences was also emerging.

At the local level, people built psalmodikons and harmoniums, churchwardens wrote their hand-written chorale books, singing rehearsals started, *et cetera*. Towards the end of the century, the General Synod began to take care of the local maintenance of cultural control in congregational singing and the Eastern Orthodox admired hymn-singing in Lutheran churches.

From a translocal perspective, there was an interaction between different towns, and influences spread to the countryside as well; the *Hosanna* choirs, regional song festivals, new mass movements and voluntary organisations, music publishing and enthusiasm for missionary and diaconal work with new spiritual songs were examples of that. There were flows between Finland and Ingria as well: first, the Russian Imperial Agenda influenced south-eastern Finnish parishes, and there were attempts to sing in four parts; then, Finnish pastors brought psalmodikons to Ingria and started similar singing rehearsals there. Ingrian choirs visited Finnish song festivals, whereas Nordlund's Chorale Book was in use in Ingria. Finnish music stores sold sheet music and instruments that they had obtained from Saint Petersburg, and Saint Petersburgian organists gave concerts in Finnish towns.

Neither Finland nor Ingria was isolated from Europe; there were many transnational connections. German musicians moved to Finland, the most influential of which were Richard Faltin and Fredrik Pacius. Both the psalmodikon and Vogler's *Hosanna* came from Sweden, the first Finnish organ factories were founded by Danish-born J.A. Zachariassen and Swedish-born Anders Thulé, harmoniums were imported from Sweden, Germany and even America. Chorale books, collections of liturgical melodies and methods for church-singing were compiled and edited according to Swedish and German examples. The curricula of churchwarden-organist schools as well as the Kolppana and Jyväskylä Seminaries followed the Central European and Baltic models, and the idea of song festivals was adopted from Central Europe and Estonia.

All of the above shows that the standardisation of congregational singing was a multilevel phenomenon. Ordinary parishioners usually encountered it locally; pastors, churchwardens, organists and teachers formed a translocal network; musicians, merchants and many members of the upper classes had transnational connections to Central Europe.

4 CHANGES IN LITURGICAL MELODIES

This chapter focuses on to the impact of the process of standardising congregational singing on liturgical melodies. Hand-written chorale books show that even though there were eight series of liturgical melodies of the Catholic tradition in regular use in medieval Finland and six of them still in the seventeenth century, by the late eighteenth century, there remained only one (Tuppurainen 2000, 120, 123–124). In many hand-written chorale books, this late series for Sundays in ordinary time is called according to its title for the *Kyrie* melody *Aliud Kyrie Dominicale*. It later became better known as *Orbis factor*, based on the opening words of a trope¹²⁴ that was added to it. The music in altogether twenty-one nineteenth-century printed collections of liturgical music is also based on this series. It was called *Suomalainen messu* ('The Finnish Mass') in Finnish and *Svenska Mässan* ('The Swedish Mass') in Swedish. In nineteenth-century Ingria, material from this late series for Sundays in ordinary time was mixed with Prussian liturgical melodies from the 1820s.

4.1 Church Handbooks and Agendas

As a result of the unsuccessful effort to renew the Handbook while there were already new ones in neighbouring countries (see Chapter 2), there was quite a bizarre situation in mid-nineteenth-century Finland. Officially, the 1693 Handbook was still valid, but alongside it, the 1811 Swedish Handbook, as well as the 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda, were in use here and there. Tengström's committee's nearly-complete proposal lay in the archive and in principle, there existed a handbook committee, but it did practically nothing.

The work to get a new handbook started over when Edvard Bergenheim (1798–1884) was ordained as archbishop in 1850. The new committee refused to use the proposal given by Tengström's committee due to its Enlightenment spirit, nor did they take the Swedish 1811 Handbook as a basis but instead used the 1693 Handbook. The goal was to make changes only when there was a linguistic need or when

124 Troping is a medieval compositional technique according to which local composers added their own melodies and settings to the body of liturgical melodies.

the changed political and societal situation called for it. However, there was, again, a new renewal process going on in Sweden and the Finns took advantage of it. The Vicar of Vöyri, Karl Josef Estlander (1800–1874) made a proposal that was finished in 1857, and the next year, it was taken up by the Committee. Even though Estlander's proposal was a modest one, the Committee had an even more conservative approach, and they changed it to be closer to the 1693 Handbook. This modified version was sent to be trialled in parishes in 1859 (Murtorinne 1992, 244–245).

Before the General Synod was established, the diocesan chapters had been authorities to give some instructions on congregational singing. The practice was nevertheless very incoherent, the large number of different collections of liturgical melodies being one proof of that. In the first General Synod in 1876, the 1859 proposal was taken up; it was however not authorised due to inadequate preparation and a lack of statements from parishes and the clergy, which the new 1869 Church Law required (Murtorinne 1992, 230). However, the General Synod set up a new committee to evaluate the proposal and make changes to it. Finally, the new version of the proposal, modified by the new committee, was authorised in the 1886 General Synod. It faced criticism immediately upon adoption because it was considered passé by many people (*ibid.*, 245–246). In addition, the 1886 Handbook included only texts; the General Synod did not authorise melodies. Under these circumstances, publishing and using different collections of liturgical melodies continued in Finland.

The 1693 Handbook was in use in Ingria as well; even after publishing the 1805 Imperial Liturgical Directives and the 1808 Hamina Agenda, most of the parishes continued using it. However, liturgical unity between Finland and Ingria started to crumble in 1835 when the 1832 Imperial Agenda was translated into Finnish. From then on, there was a different agenda in Finland and Ingria and, consequently, mostly different liturgical melodies. In the Lutheran Church of Russia, run by the Baltic Germans, the liturgical melodies were adopted from Prussia. The liturgical singing in Finnish-speaking parishes in Saint Petersburg and Ingria became a mixture of Swedish and Prussian traditions, whereas the same Baltic-German melodies were used in other languages, i.e. in German, Estonian and Latvian. The situation might have been similar in Swedish-speaking parishes as well, but unfortunately, no collections of liturgical melodies in Swedish have survived, or at least I have not found

any of them. There was a musical supplement both in the 1832 Imperial Agenda, which was published in German, and its 1835 Finnish translation but not in the 1834 Swedish translation¹²⁵.

As shown in Chapter 2.2, the liturgical unity in the Lutheran Church of Russia was aligned with the 1832 Imperial Agenda, but towards the end of the nineteenth century, it began to crumble again and many regional recommendations for liturgy and agendas were published. To regain unified liturgy, the new official agenda was published in 1897. This new Imperial Agenda was translated into Finnish and published in 1900; the Ingrian Finns were now expected to use this new translation. From a musical point of view, it meant that they continued using mostly different liturgical melodies from the ones used in Finland. If the Ingrian parishes had been allowed to use the 1886 Finnish Handbook, as they requested, the Finnish collections of liturgical music would probably have spread to Ingria, but in this case it did not happen.

However, the Ingrian Finns complained bitterly about the new agenda, including about the fact that its liturgical music did not fit the Finnish text. Mooses Putro, who was working as the Organist of Saint Mary's Finnish Church in Saint Petersburg, began to correct the situation by providing a more appropriate musical setting for use in Saint Mary's Church. According to Putro (1906, Preface), his settings were taken into use in some other Ingrian parishes as well. Unfortunately, no copies of this early version are extant.¹²⁶

In the 1902 Saint Petersburgian Synod, the President of the Assembly stated that many Ingrian pastors were changing the words, the pastoral acts and the prayers of the new liturgy. Whether the reason was problems with music, local divergence or

125 A musical supplement (*Musik-Bilaga*) is mentioned in the Table of Contents but without a page number (The Swedish Translation of the 1832 Imperial Agenda 1834, 138), which might indicate that it was published separately. At all events, I have not found it.

126 Petkūnas (2019, 174–175) refers to Rimpiläinen (2007, 34–38), according to whom Putro's setting appeared in the same year and was titled *Jumalanpalvelus Inkerin messun mukaan* ('The Divine Service according to the Mass of Ingria'). However, Rimpiläinen seems to have mistaken a handout printed in the 1990s for one 90 years older. One proof is that the numbers of the hymns which Rimpiläinen took from 'Putro's Mass' are from the 1986 Finnish Hymnal. In this handout, there is a text under the title: 'Mooses Putro 1900,' but it most likely refers to the 1900 Finnish Translation of the Imperial Agenda and Putro's collection of liturgical melodies from 1906.

convergence to the old version, is not indicated; however, he noted that this was against Church Law. For that reason, the Synod decided to establish a committee to prepare instructions for the proper use of the responsories and prayers of the Divine Service (Minutes of the 1902 Clergy Conference in St. Petersburg, 27).

The situation did not change; in the following year's Synod, the Assembly President stated again that he had seen at his parish visitations that irregularities were continuing. He also noted that there still was no proper musical supplement for the Divine Service in Finnish. The Synod founded another committee for this work; along with pastors, two musicians were nominated in it, Mooses Putro and Paavo Räikkönen. The Synod also discussed how the present Finnish Hymnal did not include a Finnish version of the 1897 liturgy and for that reason, a separate Ingrian edition would be needed. Consequently, the Synod established yet another committee (Minutes of the 1903 Clergy Conference in St. Petersburg, 21–22). Finally, at the 1905 Synod, Pastor Otto Rokkanen announced that the Finnish musical supplement had been completed, and a thousand copies would be printed (Minutes of the 1905 Clergy Conference in St. Petersburg, 30). Accordingly, Putro's collection of liturgical melodies was published in the next year, 1906. An Ingrian edition of the Finnish Hymnal never materialised.

4.2 Sung Parts of the Divine Service

In the eighteenth century, most of the parts of the Divine Service were sung – even though the 1693 Handbook suggested reading in many cases (see Table 9). During the nineteenth century, the amount of singing decreased. Most of the parts the liturgist used to sing before were changed to be read. The congregation, on the other hand, had more parts to sing, but the total amount of singing nonetheless decreased.

Table 9. The Divine Service according to the 1693 Handbook. There were no titles in the Handbook, for which reason I have used the well-established names of the parts in the table. Parts marked in red were sung or could have been sung.

- Confession of sins
- Absolution (Declaration of forgiveness)
- *The Kyrie* ('Lord, have mercy')
- *The Gloria* ('Glory be to God on high') and *Laudamus* (Hymn of thanksgiving, either a musical setting of the original text or a hymn based on it)
- *Salutation*
- *The Collect* (Prayer of the day)
- *The Epistle* (Reading from the New Testament)
- *Hymn*
- *The Gospel*
- *Creed (Credo)*
- *Stanza from a hymn*
- Sermon
- The Closing prayers of the sermon and Declarations of the public authorities
- *Salutation* (Opening dialogue of the Preface)
- *The Preface* (Prayer and the Words of institution)
- *The Sanctus* ('Holy, holy, holy')
- *Lord's prayer*
- Exhortation to those who come to the Lord's Supper
- *The Pax* (Greeting of peace)
- Distribution of the Lord's Supper, during which the *Agnus Dei* ('Lamb of God') and *Hymns* if needed
- *Salutation*
- *Prayer of Thanksgiving*
- *Salutation* and the *Benedicamus* (Praise)
- *Benediction*
- *Concluding hymn*

The *Kyrie*, all of the Salutations (including the *Pax* and *Benedicamus*), the *Agnus Dei* and all of the *Amens* were sung, as had been done before. Nevertheless, in many parishes, at least according to O.I. Colliander (1877, 189) liturgical singing was left for the churchwarden, and the congregation did not participate in it. In Ingria, as well as in other regions of the Lutheran Church of Russia, liturgical singing as a whole was meant first and foremost for the choir, and the congregation was supposed to sing only when it was impossible to establish a choir (Imperial Agenda 1832, 13). In the 1870s, Colliander (1877, 190–191) stated that the same had been tried in some parishes in Finland. He considered it a musically beautiful but liturgically wrong action because it suppressed congregational singing instead of improving it, transformed the liturgical melodies into a kind of concert pieces and the congregation into an audience and violated the Lutheran principals of the liturgy, which was tantamount to lapsing into Roman Catholicism.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the *Kyrie* was read by the liturgist or sung by the churchwarden or congregation. The 1693 Handbook gave no instructions on whether it should have been read or sung, nor whose task was it supposed to be. In the sixteenth century, the *Kyrie* was sung by the liturgist, but back then there were initiatives to let the congregation sing it (Rodhe 1923, 68). Consequently, it seems that the *Kyrie* changed to be sung by the congregation little by little. In *J. Lindell 1784* it was mentioned to be sung by the churchwarden, but in all of the printed collections of liturgical melodies from 1837 onwards, it was always sung by the congregation. Nevertheless, the Churchwarden of Lempäälä, Gustaf Lindell (1812–1880) stated that still in the 1860s, on a regular Sunday, the *Kyrie* was read by the pastor, whereas only on the most important feasts of the church year was it sung by the churchwarden (G. Lindell 1861/1874, 249, 263). O.I. Colliander (1877, 183) gave similar information in the late 1870s, although, according to him, it was the congregation who sang the *Kyrie* on the most important feasts. The 1809 Swedish Handbook gave two options: the *Kyrie* was either to be read by the pastor or sung by the congregation. In Russia, it was completely missing from the 1811 Hamina Agenda, but in the 1832 Imperial Agenda, it was sung by the choir. In Finland, both in the 1859 Proposal and the 1886 Handbook the *Kyrie* was unequivocally assigned to be sung by the congregation, which tells us that the *Kyrie* sung or read by the liturgist or churchwarden was replaced by the congregation's sung version for good.

The *Agnus Dei* was supposed to be sung by the congregation in all of the published collections of liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland. All of the Salutations were sung by the liturgist and either the churchwarden or congregation in turn; in the 1886 Handbook, it was indicated that the congregation responded by singing even in those cases when the liturgist had read his parts. Regardless of liturgist's practice, i.e. reading or singing, the congregation sang all of the Amens. In Ingria, according to the 1832 Imperial Agenda, the *Agnus Dei* and all of the Salutations were sung by the choir or the congregation when there was no choir.

The General Prayer (part of the Closing prayers of the sermon in the 1693 Handbook) was always read, but there might have been one exception; the Litany¹²⁷ might have been used sometimes and because it was originally a sung responsory, it might have been sung in the nineteenth century, even though there are no musical notations for it in any of the collections of liturgical melodies. In the 1886 Handbook, there was an opportunity to use the Litany on the Prayer-days declared by the state as well as on the Prayer Sunday (*Rogate*). In the 1832 Imperial Agenda, the Litany was one of the options for the General Prayer, so it might have been used more often in Ingria than in Finland. In Punschel's Chorale Books, there was a musical setting for the Litany in German for two choirs in turns (hymn 363), so it was most probably used in German Divine Services. However, it was neither in the 1835 Finnish musical supplement nor in the 1701 or 1886 Finnish Hymnals, which means that there are no indications that it would have been used in Finnish-speaking Ingria. In any case, the Litany came back in the early twentieth century as it was the first option for the General Prayer in *Putro 1906*.

The *Gloria* and *Laudamus* were always sung in Finland, but there were differences in whose task it was. In earlier centuries, the whole *Gloria* was sung by the liturgist, but little by little in the nineteenth century, the congregation started to sing the latter part ('and on earth peace...'), which meant that the *Gloria* changed to be a responsory. The *Laudamus* was recommended as the first option in the 1693 Handbook, but it was possible to replace it with a hymn. During most of the nineteenth century,

127 The Litany is a traditional formal prayer, especially used during Lent. It is usually sung by the liturgist and congregation by turns. In the Lutheran Churches, the Litany is a revised version of the Roman Catholic Litany of the Saints; Martin Luther removed e.g. the invocation of saints and prayers for the pope.

the *Laudamus* as such was not used at all; instead, there was always a hymn based on it. This practice also had an impact on the *Gloria*; in some of the collections of liturgical melodies, the latter part of the *Gloria* was left out if there was a hymn after it, i.e. the liturgist sang only ‘Glory be to God on high,’ and right after that, the congregation started a hymn.

The incoherence of practices is indicated by the fact that the 1886 Handbook gave three options after the *Gloria*: 1) the *Laudamus* sung by the congregation, 2) the *Gloria Patri* (the so-called Minor Doxology)¹²⁸ or 3) a hymn (many alternatives), all of them sung by the congregation. The Handbook also instructed that the *Laudamus* should be used at least on the most important feasts of the church year and when there was the Lord’s Supper. Nevertheless, only in *Hymnander 1898*, were there musical settings for the sung *Laudamus*. There were two alternatives: one for the choir, composed by Richard Faltin, and another one for the liturgist and a little choir¹²⁹ in turns. It seems that at the end of the nineteenth century, even after publishing the 1886 Handbook, the *Laudamus* was mostly replaced by a hymn.

According to the 1832 Imperial Agenda, the short version of the *Gloria* (only ‘Glory to God in the highest’) was sung by the liturgist. After that, the congregation sang either the first stanza or the whole hymn *Allein Gott in der Höb sei Ehr*¹³⁰ (*All glory be to God on High*). At Christmas, Easter and Pentecost the liturgist read the *Laudamus* between his intonation and the congregation’s hymn. In the 1897 Imperial Agenda, both of these were the same, though the choir sang the *Laudamus*. As a new feature, during Lent, the liturgist sang: ‘The Lamb who is slain is worthy to receive commendation, praise and glory forever,’¹³¹ and the congregation responded by singing the hymn *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig*¹³² (*O Lamb of God, innocent*).

128 ‘Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be; world without end. Amen.’ In Finnish: *Kunnia olkoon Isän ja Pojan ja Pyhän Hengen, niinkuin ollut on alusta, nyt ja aina, ijankaikkisesta ijankaikkiseen. Aamen*. In Swedish: *Ära vare Fadren och Sonen och den Helige Ande, såsom det war af begynnelsen, nu är och wara skall, från ewighet till ewighet. Amen*.

129 *Laulukunta* in Finnish.

130 *Ainoan Jumalan korkeudes* in Finnish (the 1701 Finnish Hymnal, hymn 187), *Allena Gud i himmelrik* in Swedish (the 1695 Swedish Hymnal, hymn 192, and the 1819 Swedish Hymnal, hymn 24). According to the Swedish translation of the Imperial Agenda (1834, 4), there could have also been some other hymn for the Holy Trinity.

131 *Karitsa, joka tapettu on, on ansiollinen saamaan kiitoksen, ylistyksen ja kunnian iankaikkisesti* in Finnish.

132 *O Jumalan karitsa* in Finnish (the 1886 Finnish Hymnal, hymn 51), *Guds rena Lamm, oskyldig* in Swedish (the 1886 Swedish Hymnal in Finland, hymn 30).

In earlier centuries, all of the prayers and Scripture readings were sung by the liturgist; this was still the practice in the first part of the nineteenth century, at least in Finland and probably in Ingria as well. In fact, all of the published collections of liturgical melodies until *Hymander 1859* instructed the liturgist to sing the Collect and the Thanksgiving as well as the Epistle and the Gospel. Likely, the practice of singing these prayers also continued after that. *Wächter 1865* and *Kunelius 1875* included only the congregation's parts, which means that based on these collections, it would be wrong to claim that the liturgist would have stopped singing them. *Frosterus 1878* instructed the liturgist to sing both the prayers and readings; on the other hand, in the same year, *Hymander 1878* had melodies only for prayers and instructions that the Collect, the Preface and the Lord's prayer should preferably be read. *Saarelainen 1875*, again, gave instructions that all of the prayers should be sung, but Scripture readings 'no longer.' The 1886 Handbook suggested singing for the Collect, but all of the other prayers as well as readings were supposed to be read. Despite this, *Hymander 1889* gave a melody for the Thanksgiving. *Valve and Valve 1889*, *Ketonen 1890* and *Achté 1892* had only the congregation's part, which means that based on them, it is impossible to say anything about the liturgist's practice. In *Hymander 1892*, there were melodies for the Collect, Preface and Lord's prayer. However, it was firmly underlined that they should be read if at all possible. Interestingly, the Thanksgiving was the only prayer that J.A.G. Hymander gave a melody for in his 1889 collection, whereas only three years later, in 1892, he stated that it was the only prayer that should always be read. The practices thus varied considerably, and the instructions in the Handbook were not strictly followed.

The Benediction was mostly sung by the liturgist, but it changed to become more preferable to read it during the nineteenth century. *Saarelainen 1875* was the first sign of this change because it was clearly indicated there that the Benediction should be read. The 1886 Handbook did not even allow for the possibility of singing it, but in *Hymander 1892*, there nevertheless was an option that the Benediction could be sung according to the composition by Richard Faltin (see Example 32, pp. 239–240), which later became very popular and is still used by some pastors every now and then.

In the 1835 Finnish musical supplement for the Imperial Agenda, there were melodies for all of the prayers (the Collect, Short collect, Preface, Lord's prayer, Words of institution and Benediction) but not for the Scripture readings. It seems that in

Ingria as well, reading started to replace singing little by little because there were melodies only for the Preface and the Benediction in *Putro 1906*, both of which were composed by Putro himself. The Benediction (see Example 32, p. 239–240) was placed in an appendix, which might indicate that it was sung only on special occasions.

The Creed was preferably sung in the earlier centuries, but this tradition had faded in the nineteenth century; there are no musical settings whatsoever for it in any of the collections of liturgical melodies. In the 1693 Handbook, it was preferable to sing Martin Luther's hymn *Wir glauben all an einen Gott*¹³³ (*We all believe in one God*), but it was also possible to read the Apostles' Creed or the Nicene Creed. The Swedish and Finnish liturgical tradition, unlike, for instance, the Danish and Norwegian tradition, never adopted the continental so-called Hymn Mass from the 1520s, in which the classical liturgical melodies of the ordinary were transformed into Lutheran hymns. The most essential and concrete basis for the Hymn Mass was Martin Luther's *Deutsche Messe* and his hymn-making specifically for the liturgy. The only exceptional signs of this tradition were this Creedal hymn and aforementioned *Laudamus* hymn (Paulsen et al. 2008, 604–608, 625–627). In nineteenth-century Finland, the Creeds were mostly read, but it is likely that they were often replaced by the Creedal hymn. According to the 1886 Handbook, it was also possible to read the hymn aloud. The tradition to replace the Creed with a hymn also continued in Ingria because the 1832 Imperial Agenda gave it as an option as well. However, it was no longer in the 1897 Imperial Agenda.

According to the 1693 Handbook, the Preface was a combination of the Preface salutation, the Preface proper, which included the Words of Institution, and the *Sanctus*. The 1832 Imperial Agenda placed the Words of institution after the Lord's prayer. In Finland, the *Sanctus* was sung or read by the congregation, and at least in the Diocese of Viipuri, it was expressly sung by the congregation (Rimpiläinen 1980, 44). Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century, the *Sanctus* was mostly sung by the liturgist. Before publishing the 1886 Handbook, *Hymander 1878* was the only collection of liturgical melodies that gave the opportunity for the *Sanctus* to be sung by the congregation. The 1886 Handbook used passive form¹³⁴ in the instructions for

133 *Me uskom' yhden Jumalan pääl'* in Finnish (the 1701 Finnish Hymnal, hymn 4), *Vi tro på en allmäktig Gud* in Swedish (the 1695 Swedish Hymnal, hymn 4, and the 1819 Swedish Hymnal, hymn 17).

134 *Luetaan eli weisataan* in Finnish, *läses eller sjunges* in Swedish.

the *Sanctus*, which was probably why there still was variation after publishing it; *Valve and Valve 1889* and *Achté 1892* indicated that the *Sanctus* was sung by the liturgist, whereas *Hymander 1889* and *Ketonen 1890* instructed that it was either the liturgist's or the congregation's task to sing it. According to *Hymander 1892*, the *Sanctus* should have been sung either by the liturgist or the choir, but, likely, the congregation sang it with the choir, or alone when there was no choir. In Ingria, at least after the 1832 Imperial Agenda, the *Sanctus* was always sung by the choir or congregation.

In the 1693 Handbook, there was the sung Bridal Mass, which in practice meant a combination of the Preface salutation and a prayer sung by the pastor, and it also remained in place in the 1809 Swedish Handbook, both the 1859 and 1884 Finnish Proposals as well as the 1886 Handbook. F.A. Ehrström (1837, IV) stated that singing the Bridal Mass had mostly been forgotten in the early nineteenth century, but he hoped it would be brought into use again. It seems, however, that his wish did not come true; singing the Bridal Mass faded little by little. There were musical settings for it only in *Ehrström 1837*, *Nordlund 1850* and *Kukkasela 1857*. In addition, *Frosterus 1878* had a mention that the Bridal Mass could have been sung by applying the same melodies with the Eucharist Liturgy. The Bridal Mass is missing from the 1811 Hamina Agenda, the 1832 and 1897 Imperial Agendas and *Putro 1906*.

In Sweden and to a certain extent in Finland, the Funeral Mass, similar to the Bridal Mass, has been used, but there is a musical setting for it only in *Nordlund 1850* and only in Swedish. Any kind of opportunity to sing the Funeral Mass is not mentioned either in the 1859 and 1884 Proposals or the 1886 Handbook. The Funeral Mass is not found in Russian agendas either, but there are melodies for it in the 1835 Finnish musical supplement, which indicates that the tradition to sing it continued in Ingria in the nineteenth century, using most probably texts from the old Handbook. The Funeral Mass is also in *Putro 1906*.

4.3 Hand-written Chorale Books and Printed Collections of Liturgical Melodies

There are dozens of hand-written chorale books remaining in Finland from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and many of them include liturgical melodies. In this thesis, many of these books have been used as research material. They were all meant for churchwardens, which means that the pastor's sung parts (e.g. the *Sanctus*) are missing. I have also used Johan Lindell's collections of liturgical melodies from the late eighteenth century (J. Lindell s.a., 1784a and 1784b). As has been mentioned several times, there was only one series of liturgical melodies left from the eight series of the medieval Catholic tradition.

Similarly, all of the Swedish predecessors of the printed Finnish collections, *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799*, *Hæffner 1817* and *Åhlström 1818* included only one series of liturgical melodies, based mostly on the late series for Sundays in ordinary time as well. Only the *Sanctus* had alternative melodies. Hæffner harmonised the melodies for four-part choral singing or organ accompaniment; they were no longer similar to earlier published Gregorian-based melodies but had clearly changed. There was accompaniment even in the liturgist's sung parts in *Hæffner 1817*. These solutions were based on Central European models, according to which four-part choral singing and devout solemnity were the best tools for uplifting the congregation's spiritual life (Vapaavuori 1994, 24–25).

Hand-written chorale books also show that, before published collections, many liturgical melodies, such as the *Kyrie*, were sung in different rhythmic ways, and they were livelier than later syllabic versions based on Swedish predecessors. There are, for instance, minims, crotchets and quavers indicating livelier rhythm, whereas Swedish versions by Hæffner and Åhlström have only semibreves and minims (see Example 1).

Example 1. The end of the first verse of the *Kyrie* from a hand-written Finnish chorale book (1a; Enqvist 1811) and a Swedish published collection of liturgical melodies (1b; Åhlström 1818) as examples of rhythmic differences.

1a

Ar - mah-da mei = = = dän pääl - lem.

1b

För - bar - ma Dig ö - fver oss!

Unfortunately, no hand-written chorale books have survived in Ingria or at least it has been impossible to find any of them for this research. Nevertheless, I assume that the liturgical singing was very similar to that in Finland because the same 1693 Handbook and the 1701 Hymnal were in use, and because most of the pastors came from Finland. In the Lutheran Church of Russia, the liturgical traditions of various national groups had been very different but during the first decades of the nineteenth century, they started to get into closer contact with each other. After publishing the 1832 Imperial Agenda, they were unified under a single liturgy. From a musical point of view, this meant that the Swedish and Prussian melodies started to mix. There was a musical supplement with four-part settings for the choir in the 1835 Finnish translation of the Imperial Agenda, in which about half of the melodies were similar to the ones used in Finland or from Häffner and Åhlström's collections, and the other half was similar with the Prussian melodies, published in German in the musical supplement for the 1832 Imperial Agenda and later in Punschel's Chorale Books.

Table 10. Nineteenth-century printed collections of liturgical melodies, published in Finland, either in Finnish or Swedish. **Kunelius 1875* is a four-part setting for male voices. ***Valve and Valve 1889* uses letter notation that is similar to the *sifferskrift*, but there are note letters instead of numbers.

	language		setting		notation	
	Finnish	Swedish	one-part	four-part	sifferskrift	staves
Ehrström 1837	x		x		x	
Nordlund 1850	x	x		x		x
Murman 1856	x		x		x	
Kukkasela 1857	x		x			x
Hymander 1859	x	x	x		x	
Wächter 1865	x	x		x		x
Hagfors 1871	x			x		x
Saarelainen 1875	x		x		x	
Kunelius 1875	x	x		x*		x
Hymander 1878	x	x		x		x
Frosterus 1878	x			x		x
Hymander 1889	x	x		x		x
Valve & Valve 1889	x		x		x**	
Ketonen 1889	x	x	x		x	
Ketonen 1890	x		x		x	
Achté 1892	x	x		x		x
Hymander 1892	x	x		x		x
Pahlman 1895	x	x		x		x

The previous collection of liturgical melodies published in Finland was from 1702, which means it took over 130 years before the next one was published in 1837. After that, during the nineteenth century, many other collections were published. In all of them, except *Pahlman 1895*, the bodies of the melodies are mostly similar, but the rhythms and melodic details vary so much that there are no two identical versions. Table 10 shows in which language the collections are published. It also indicates one-part and four-part settings, as well the *sifferskrift* numerical notation for the psalmodikon and Western stave notation.

In the Appendix 1, there are detailed tables on the contents of all of the collections. However, it is necessary to open them up in the text as well, which gives general descriptions of each collection and its editor. This shows how the translocal and transnational networks behind them are shaped.

Ehrström 1837

Fredrik August Ehrström's (1801–1850) 'The Finnish Mass' was the first published collection of liturgical melodies after the *Yxi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja* 1702. Ehrström's original plan was to publish a collection with Western stave notation with organ accompaniment. He then became convinced of the expedience and simplicity of the psalmodikon; therefore, the collection is notated with the *sifferskrift* numerical notation, so that anybody could easily learn the melodies without further musical training (*Helsingfors Morgonblad* 10 March 1837). The preface also includes measurements for making a psalmodikon and instructions on how to use it (Ehrström 1837, IV–VIII).

Fredrik August Ehrström was a Finnish composer, singing teacher and organist who lived in Helsinki from 1833 onwards. In 1840, Ehrström was appointed as Organist of Helsinki. He also worked as a singing teacher, first at the Trivial School¹³⁵ and then in the Upper Grammar School¹³⁶ (Lappalainen 2000c).

In the Preface of *Suomalainen messu*, Ehrström (1837, III) states that the Mass should be sung so that it awakes people's devotional emotions, but the current situation in

135 *Trivialskoulu* in Finnish, *trivialskola* in Swedish.

136 *Yläalkeiskoulu* in Finnish, *högre elementarskola* in Swedish.

Finnish parishes is not like that. Ehrström uses a Finnish word *messumiehet* that can be translated as ‘Massmen,’ which might refer to pastors and churchwardens – or even the entire congregation. Nevertheless, the reason for many ‘wrong and excessive ornaments’ that, in Ehrström’s opinion, should be eliminated, was that the ‘Massmen’ got no proper training to sing liturgical music. He therefore published his collection for this purpose (*ibid.*, VII–VIII). As already mentioned in Chapter 3.6, from 1836 until his death Ehrström led the liturgical singing rehearsals for students of theology.

Ehrström (1837, III–IV) also points out that Finnish and Swedish are such different languages that it is not possible to just match up Finnish lyrics with the Swedish ones in the same melody. According to him, the standard of singing the Swedish Mass was higher than singing the Finnish one. Consequently, his collection is only in Finnish.

In 1838 and 1839, Ehrström spent a year in Uppsala to study organ-playing under the instruction of the Cathedral Organist, Johan Erik Nordblom (1788–1848) who was J.C.F. Hæffner’s pupil (Lappalainen 2000c). Ehrström (1837, IV, footnote) states that his collection is based on *Hæffner 1817*, but according to my analysis, the opening dialogue of the Preface, the second alternative for the *Sanctus* and the *Benediction* are based on *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* (Ehrström 1837, 7, 10, 15). Most of the melodies are very similar to these Swedish predecessors; there are only small changes due to language differences. The Salutation in a major key (*ibid.*, 2, 13, 14) is based on Finnish tradition (cf. hand-written chorale books or J. Lindell s.a., 1784a and 1784b).

In addition, there is one new melody in Ehrström’s collection; there are two alternatives for *Sanctus*, and the first one is Ehrström’s own setting. In 1828 and 1829, he lived in Saint Petersburg and worked there as a singing teacher at the Parish School of Saint Catharine’s Swedish parish, where his brother Erik Gustaf worked as a vicar (Kajanus 1980 [s.a.], 16; Lappalainen 2000c). As I show in the next chapter, in his own *Sanctus*, Ehrström also used a *Sanctus* melody which he learned in Saint Catharine’s parish in Saint Petersburg.

Like Hæffner, Ehrström (1837, VI) says that the rhythms should not be exact, but that the singing should be accommodated according to language. Ehrström (*ibid.*,

VII) also gives other instructions: for instance, singing liturgical hymns should be festive and lively, and Scripture readings and prayers should be sung in a quicker tempo. He also teaches proper breathing and a good singing posture.

Nordlund 1850

Anders Nordlund's (1808¹³⁷–1880) collection of liturgical melodies was published as a supplementary booklet between the endpaper and the back cover of his four-part chorale book that was the first printed chorale book after the *Yksi Tarpelinen Nuot-ti-Kirja* 1702.¹³⁸ According to the Chorale Book as well as the collection of liturgical melodies, both of them were printed in 1850, but it seems they did not come out in print until in 1852. In the same year, most of the editions burned in the Great Fire of Vaasa (J. Krohn 1889, 823). This is why Nordlund's Chorale Book did not spread as widely as was hoped; the Diocesan Chapters of Turku, Porvoo and Kuopio had recommended that every parish purchase it (K. Jalkanen 1976, 88). I have seen some volumes of Nordlund's Chorale Book in which the collection of liturgical melodies is lacking. It is naturally possible that it has just fallen out and disappeared, but it may also indicate that the Chorale Book was used more than the collection of liturgical melodies. This is also probable because the next four-part chorale book was not printed in Finland until 1871 (Lagi and Faltin), whereas there were many other collections for liturgical melodies. According to a pseudonymous R.E. in the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* (4 January 1895), Nordlund's Mass was the only one that had been used 'in our churches,' but I highly doubt it.¹³⁹ In addition, E.A. Hagfors published a revised edition of Nordlund's Chorale Book in 1876 but without liturgical melodies.

137 There are two different versions of Nordlund's year of birth: according to e.g. J. Krohn (1889, 823), and K. Jalkanen (1976, 87), he was born in 1807, whereas Heman (1903a, 182) and Hela (1932, 213–214) give the year 1808. The correct date of birth is 15 April 1808 (KA, Archives of Merikarvia parish, Register of births and baptisms, p. 187).

138 When Vapaavuori (1997, 107–108) handles Nordlund's Chorale Book, he claims that its publication was the first concrete action that aimed at unifying congregational singing. However, in my opinion, Ehrström's *Suomalainen messu* and Bror Nils Hagelin's *Wirsi Kantele*, both of which had been published by 1837, were the first concrete actions. Both Ehrström (1837, III–IV) and Hagelin (1837, III–IV) told in their prefaces that the aim of their publications was to improve and unify congregational singing.

139 The news references *Pablman 1895*, which was entirely composed by himself, which might mean that 'Nordlund's Mass' refers here to the series of melodies used in all of the collections or liturgical melodies and not particularly to Nordlund's version.

Nordlund's Chorale Book also spread to Ingria (see e.g. *Inkeri* 29 September 1889), but there was no use for his settings for liturgical melodies because they were different from the ones used in Ingria.

Anders Adrian Nordlund (who sometimes used a Finnish version of his first name, Antti) worked as a churchwarden first for short periods in different parishes, and then, from 1830 on, in Vaasa and Mustasaari parish. He was also the organist of the same parish from 1864 on. Before 1830, he received training from several Ostrobothnian churchwardens and organists and in the 1840s, from a certain Swedish F.M.T. Altin. In addition to his work, Nordlund also trained churchwarden and organ trainees and issued certificates to them (K. Jalkanen 1976, 87–88; Vapaavuori 1997, 227–228, footnote 15). He taught his parishioners to sing hymns in four parts, at least on some special occasions (Åkerblom 1956, 395) and worked as a singing teacher in many schools in Vaasa (J. Krohn 1889, 823).

In his preface to the Chorale Book, Nordlund remarks that he has followed three chorale books, namely Vogler (1799) and Rinck's (1814) but especially Hæffner's (1819). About liturgical melodies, he mentions that he has used versions that he has heard sung by the 'best Mass pastors.' Notwithstanding, his settings and arrangements strongly follow *Hæffner and Åblström 1799* and to some extent, *Åblström 1818*, especially in the Swedish Mass.

Murman 1856

Johan Vilhelm Murman (1830–1892) was an author, translator and editor of a newspaper as well as teacher, pastor and collector of folklore. He was ordained in 1857, worked then as a pastor and teacher in Finland until he moved to Ingria in 1868. From 1873 until his death he worked as the Vicar of Keltto and Rääpyvä (Luther 2000, 417–419; Kokko 2016, 188).

From a social point of view, Murman was an exceptional person. He came from the lowest social position of all; he was born of a servant girl outside of marriage. In fact, Murman was a second-generation illegitimate child, as his mother had also been a 'love child.' Despite his difficult social background, Murman managed to experience a rather exceptional social uplift thanks to his talent. At the age of twelve he entered the Oulu Upper Grammar School, and his study path took him all the way to the university, after which he was ordained as pastor (Kokko 2016, 184–185).

Murman published his collection of liturgical melodies when he was still a student. Murman's name is lacking from the title page, but it is commonly known that he made the book (see e.g. *Biografinen nimikirja* 1883, 494). It is a one-part collection for the psalmodikon, notated with *sifferskrift*. The preface includes only instructions for playing the psalmodikon and measures for building it. Murman's collection is a modified combination of *Ehrström 1837* and *Nordlund 1850*, i.e. it joins the tradition of *Hæffner and Åblström 1799* and *Hæffner 1817*; it also has some similarities with *Åblström 1818*.

Kukkasela 1857

D.H. Kukkasela's 'Pieces of advice and instructions for congregational singing' was introduced in Chapter 3.4. At the end of the book, there is also the Finnish Mass. In the Preface, Kukkasela (1857, 7) mentions Nordlund only in passing and considers his Chorale Book a failure. Moreover, Kukkasela (*ibid.*, 6) did not consider the syllabic chorale represented by Hæffner to be a suitable model for Finns due to the special features of the Finnish language. Accordingly, he states that triple meter should be favoured instead of double and quadruple meters. However, as Vapaavuori (1997, 238–239) has shown, Kukkasela did not implement it in his versions of chorales, but his book was rhythmically as straightforward as Nordlund's Chorale Book. The only exception is the sung prayers and Scripture readings in Kukkasela's Finnish Mass. The melodies resemble the earlier versions, but they are in triple meter (see Example 2). Due to its rhythms, Kukkasela's collection is the most unique of the nineteenth-century Finnish collections of liturgical melodies that follow the Swedish predecessors.

Example 2. The beginning of the Gospel as a triple-meter setting. *Kukkasela 1857*, 155.

The musical notation is presented in three staves, each with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, syllabic style. The lyrics are in Finnish and are aligned with the notes below. The first staff contains the first line of the text, the second staff the second line, and the third staff the third line, ending with an ellipsis. The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and phrasing slurs.

Juh - la - päi-vän E-van-ge - liu-min kir-joit-taa meil-le E-wan-ge - lis - ta
 Py - hä -
 Mat-the - us: Sii-hen ai-kaan, kuin Jee-sus o - li as-tu-nut hah - te -
 hen, seu-ra-sit Hän - tä O-pe-tus - lap-sen - sa. ...

Kukkasela's official name was Daniel Henrik Fagerros. According to him, he was born 25 July 1814 in Karjala chapel, which belonged to Mynämäki parish, but the actual place was Katinhätä village in Laitila parish, about 10 kilometres from Karjala (KA, Archives of Laitila parish, Register of births and baptisms, 258). Both his father and later his stepfather were churchwardens, but Kukkasela was trained by the Organist of Pori, Abraham Marell. After more than ten years as a churchwarden in Merikarvia¹⁴⁰, Kukkasela moved to Ikaalinen where he worked as a churchwarden until his death in 1858, only a year after the publication of his book. Kukkasela had also made a manuscript for a four-part chorale book, but it was never published (Heman 1903a, 184–185; 1903b, 327–329).

Hymander 1859, 1878, 1889 and 1892

The Churchwarden of Saint Nicholas' Church in Helsinki, Johan August Gottlieb Hymander (1831–1896), has already been mentioned many times because he was active in so many areas. He belonged to the Evangelical Movement and edited their song collection *Siionin kannel*. He compiled chorale melodies for the proposal of the new Swedish Hymnal in 1868 and published a four-part chorale book for the 1883 Temporary Hymnal as well as a notebook of new Finnish and Swedish hymnals for the psalmodikon in *sifferskrift* numerical notation in 1892. Hymander also taught church-singing and ecclesiastical playing to students of theology (Suokunnas 1982, 57). Finally, it is worth mentioning that J.A.G. Hymander's father was Pastor Johannes Hymander whose hand-written chorale book belongs to the research material of this thesis.

J.A.G. Hymander published four different editions of liturgical melodies. The first, a one-part collection in *sifferskrift* numerical notation for the psalmodikon, was published in 1859. It was based mostly in *Murman 1856*, which has led Seppo Suokunnas a reason to assume that both of these collections were made by Hymander. According to Suokunnas (1982, 57, footnote 68), Fredrik Pacius's certification of Hymander when he applied for the office of churchwarden in the Saint Nicholas' Church indicates that both collections were edited by Hymander. The argument is peculiar

140 There is different information about the year he started to work as the churchwarden of Merikarvia. According to Heman (1903a, 185) it happened in 1834, but Kukkasela himself gives the year as 1833 (Heman 1903b, 328). Later Heman (1907, 14) says it happened in 1835.

because Pacius does not mention anything like this. His statement as a whole proves not only Hymander's varied skills but also demonstrates the style of testimonies of the time and therefore deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

The student Johan August Gottlieb Hymander who for several years has enjoyed teaching and supervision by the undersigned in instrumental and vocal music, and for his outstanding insights hereafter enjoys a musical scholarship, also due to his good knowledge of church music and harmony, has been used on special occasions by the undersigned to supervise students of theology in church-singing and has always proved to have both the will and ability to fulfil such things to my complete pleasure, and also at my request and to my complete satisfaction published the Swedish and Finnish Mass in *sifferskrift* numerical notation at the service of both the country's pastors and students of theology, has always been shown to possess a thorough and excellently praiseworthy expertise in conjunction with a true and warm interest, which is why I consider him, without the slightest hesitation, fully grown not only to lead the church-singing in some of the country's parishes but also to practice and conduct singing in many parts as a singing teacher, and as a result of all of this, I can best recommend him, Hymander, to the persons concerned.¹⁴¹ (KA, Archives of Helsinki Swedish and Finnish parish, II Hb:1; Transl. by the author.)

The second edition from 1878 was in Western stave notation and included one-part setting for the liturgist and four-part harmonies for the congregation and was meant especially for teaching liturgical singing to students of theology. Harmonisations

141 'Studeranden Johan August Gottlieb Hymander, som under tid af flere år åtnjutit under-tecknads undervisning och handledning i Instrumental och Vocal musik, samt för sina framstående insigter härutinnan tillgodonjuter musikaliskt stipendium, äfvensom på grund af sin goda kännedom af Kyrko musik och Harmoni lära, vid särskildta tillfällen af undertecknad blifvit använd att i kyrkosång handleda Theologie studerande och alltid visat sig ega såväl vilja som förmåga att sådant till mitt fullkomliga nöje fullgöra, och dessutom på min uppmaning och till min fullkomliga belåtenhet i siffernotskrift utgifvit den Svenska och Finska Messan till tjenst för landets såväl prester som Theol. studerande, har städse visat sig ega en grundlig och utmärkt berömlig sak kännedom i förening med ett sant och varmt intresse, hvarföre jag utan ringaste tvekan anser honom fullt vuxen ej blott att leda kyrkosången i någon af landets församlingar utan äfven att såsom Sånglärare inöfva och dirigera flerstämmig sång, och får jag tillfölje af allt detta honom, Hymander, hos vederbörande på det bästa rekommendera. Helsingfors den 6te Maj 1861.' (Underlinings by Pacius.)

are Hymander's own, but there are similarities with *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* and *Nordlund 1850*. A new edition needed to be published in 1889 because the new 1886 Handbook changed the agenda, and it was not possible to use the old versions anymore as such. All of the other printed collections according to the 1886 Handbook (*Valve and Valve 1889*, *Ketonen 1889*, *Ketonen 1890* and *Achté 1892*) were only slightly modified versions of *Hymander 1889*, the only exception being *Pahlman 1895*, which was entirely self-composed.

However, only three years later, in 1892 Hymander published another revised version. The reason might have been feedback that he probably got from the 1889 edition, in which he had left out the melodies for prayers sung by the liturgist. In the 1892 edition, these melodies were returned, albeit with Hymander's wish that they rather should not be used. Notwithstanding, this version was included in Colliander and Faltin's 1897 edition of their Chorale Book, which spread widely in Finland. It was also included in one-part Finnish and Swedish Hymnals, published by the Chorale Committee in 1902. Consequently, Hymander's Mass became a semi-official version of liturgical melodies.

Hymander's melodies were further imported by the Finnish missionaries to be used in South-West Africa (present-day Namibia) as well. There was a little booklet at the Museum of Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission, in which there were hand-written liturgical melodies as well. It was presumably written by Frieda Rautanen, the wife of the first Finnish missionary Martti Rautanen, because her initials (FR) are written on one page. The melodies are modified to fit the lyrics in Oshindonga. It is interesting that the four-part settings are clearly Hymander's arrangements, but they differ slightly from his four-part collections. It is possible that the missionaries had copied a previous, unpublished version of Hymander's collection because they went to Africa before the first four-part version was published in 1878. According to Sakari Löytty (2012, 68), the present-day agenda of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia reveals that there are only minimal changes in liturgical melodies, which means that Hymander's settings are still in use there. Löytty also told me in an email (10 March 2021) that right now there is a renewal project of the Agenda going on in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, but Hymander's Mass will remain the same.

Wächter 1864 and 1865

Heinrich Hermann Wächter (1818–1881) was born in Hannover. At first, he worked as an intern in a bookstore but focused then on music. Wächter moved first to Saint Petersburg in 1841 and then to Viipuri in 1844. From 1848 until his death, he worked as the Organist of Viipuri Swedish and German Parish. He also worked as a singing teacher in many schools, performed actively as a musician, wrote concert reviews in the newspapers and tuned pianos. He established a music store in 1849 and expanded it into a bookstore in 1869. However, Wächter is best known as the publisher of many notebooks for primary schools. Most of them were in Swedish, but there were some songs in Finnish as well (*Biografinen nimikirja* 1883, 760; Klemetti 1918, 8–12; Pajamo 2018, 28–30).

In 1865, Wächter published a collection of liturgical melodies in Finnish and Swedish with four-part harmonies either for organ accompaniment or a mixed choir. It was the first collection in which it was clearly expressed that harmonies were also meant for organ accompaniment, not only four-part singing. Wächter's collection contained only the congregation's parts, which were slightly modified versions of *Nordlund 1850*. It is probable that Wächter's collection did not spread widely; for instance, Heikki Klemetti did not seem to know it because he did not mention it when he listed Wächter's publications in his hundredth-anniversary memoir in the journal *Säveletär* (Klemetti 1918).

In 1864, Wächter also published a collection of liturgical melodies in German that was meant for the German parish in Viipuri. It is an interesting combination of Prussian melodies, also used in Ingria and the Baltics, *Åblström 1818* and *Nordlund 1850* as well as melodies that were either composed by Wächter or from other German sources. The agenda behind the collections seems to be a mixture of the 1693 Swedish Handbook and the 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda because it is not strictly following either of them. It might also follow a certain German agenda.

Hagfors 1871

Erik August Hagfors (1827–1913) made his career as the singing and playing lecturer in the Jyväskylä Seminary. He went to school at the Helsinki Trivial School where Fredrik August Ehrström worked as a music teacher. At the university, he

studied both in the Faculties of Philosophy and Medicine; in addition to studies, he played the cello and sang in choirs. In 1862, a year before he started in the Seminary, Hagfors travelled to Germany to study music there and to visit German seminaries to research the methods of music teaching. During his 30-year career in Jyväskylä, Hagfors developed music teaching in Finnish primary schools and created musical vocabulary in Finnish but especially focused on choral singing (Pajamo 2004; Vapaavuori 1997, 283, footnote 125).

Hagfors is considered to be the ‘father of Finnish-language choral singing,’ as he founded in the Jyväskylä Seminary male, female and mixed choirs and acquired Finnish-language repertoire for these choirs by collecting songs, arranging and composing them as well as ordering Finnish translations of European repertoire. From 1871 on, he started to publish this repertoire as well. *Suomalainen lauluseppele* (‘Finnish Song Wreath’) was the first printed collection of choral songs in Finnish (Pajamo 2004). It contained ‘worthy composers’ songs arranged for mixed female and male voices.’ The first volume contained a total of fifty spiritual choral songs, as well as fifty-five chorales and the Finnish Mass. Because the collection was meant ‘for the seminary, schools and singing societies,’ the liturgical melodies were also four-part arrangements for mixed choir. According to Hagfors (1871, 130), it was based on Häffner’s Mass, but both melodies and harmonies are different from *Häffner and Åhlström 1799* and *Häffner 1817*, most probably set and arranged by Hagfors himself. In addition to choral collections, Hagfors edited and published a revised edition of Nordlund’s Choral Book in 1876 and was a member of the chorale committee appointed by the 1886 General Synod (Vapaavuori 1997, 283–287 and footnote 125).

Saarelainen 1875

Konstantin Ferdinand Saarelainen (officially Sarlin, also known as Saraste; 1826–1914) had got his singing training from F.A. Ehrström and Fredrik Pacius. After his brother died in 1843, Saarelainen was invited to follow him as a churchwarden of their home parish, Viitasaari. Saarelainen started his 40-year career in this office in 1845. He was active in many fields: he was a farmer, made business in the timber sector, was the chairman and secretary of the local government board as well as the chairman of the boards of three primary schools. Saarelainen was removed from his office in 1885 because he had been convicted of the forgery of a signature. After

that, he focused on writing; he sent numerous of his religious and social writings to many newspapers, and several small fictional booklets were also written. The Tsar annulled Saarelainen's judgement in 1887 (Saarelainen s.a., 1–3, 40–41, 55; Pasanen 2015).

In 1862, Saarelainen published the first edition of his notebook for Finnish Hymnal in *sifferskrift* numerical notation. The second edition, published in 1875, was extended with liturgical melodies. It is noteworthy that Saarelainen not only followed Hæffner or other prior chorale books but also included in his book local chorale variants that stubbornly persevered in the mouths of the people. For that reason, it is also possible that some differences in his liturgical melodies were based on local tradition. His Mass followed mostly *Nordlund 1850*, but there are similarities to *Hymander 1859* as well. The third edition was published in 1883, but the liturgical melodies were exactly the same as in the second edition.

Kunelius 1875

Director musices et cantus, Anton Bernhard Kunelius (1833–1893) studied at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in Stockholm and completed degrees in conducting, organ-playing, church-singing and singing teaching.¹⁴² He worked as a music conductor, music teacher and military music conductor in Oulu. As the Organist of Oulu, he worked from 1875 onwards (K. Jalkanen 1978, 52). In 1883, he founded a churchwarden-organist school in Oulu, but it operated only until 1889 (see Chapter 3.5).

In 1875, Kunelius published a collection of eighty-seven chorales that included liturgical melodies. It was the only chorale book and collection of liturgical melodies that was meant for male voices in four parts. As expressed in the title of the book, all of the melodies were taken from *Nordlund 1850*, but they were transposed into higher keys. Harmonies followed Nordlund but were modified by Kunelius.

Although Kunelius's collection was the only one intended for male voices in Finland, it was not exceptional from a transnational point of view; for example, the 1822 musical supplement for the Prussian Agenda had been arranged for male voices.

142 This information is based on a table I received from Professor Vesa Kurkela, in which he listed the Finnish students at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in the nineteenth century. The list is compiled from student registers that are archived at Musikverket (Swedish Performing Arts Agency) in Stockholm. I express my gratitude to Professor Kurkela.

es. Kunelius may have gotten the idea for his collection from Johan Peter Cronhamn (1803–1875), who was his singing teacher at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music because Cronhamn had published a similar collection in Sweden in 1848, two years before Kunelius started to study there.

Frosterus 1878

The Vicar of Kårsämäki, Berndt Leonard Frosterus (1808–1887), actively participated in the discussion of the state of congregational singing and training of churchwardens in newspapers (Vapaavuori 1997, *passim*). He was interested in educational matters in his parish as well; there were, for instance, ambulatory and Sunday schools operating actively, and Frosterus was a major initiator in the founding of the primary school in Kårsämäki in the 1870s. In 1878, Frosterus donated a large American harmonium to Kårsämäki church because there was no organ. He played many instruments, for instance, the piano, harmonium and violin, and composed small pieces of music. In 1864, the Diocesan Chapter of Kuopio appointed Frosterus to issue certificates to churchwardens, and next year he founded a churchwarden school of a kind in Kårsämäki (see Chapter 3.5). Frosterus belonged to a broad educated family of pastors, public officials and university professors, many of whom had different kinds of transnational networks (Vahtola 1990; 2004).

As introduced in Chapter 3.4, Frosterus edited a chorale book that was never printed, but two editions of his method for teaching music theory and congregational singing were published in 1871 and 1878. The second edition also contained a collection of liturgical melodies in Finnish. There was one-part notation or two-part harmonies for the liturgist and four-part harmonies for the congregation. It was mostly based on *Nordlund 1850*, but Frosterus was clearly familiar with the Swedish predecessors as well. Many harmonisations are Frosterus's own.

Valve and Valve 1889

O. and J. Valve published a collection of melodies of the Finnish Hymnal with liturgical melodies in 1889. The collection, however, was unique because even though it was meant for the psalmodikon, the melodies were written with letters, not numbers. The liturgical melodies are identical with Hymander's edition from the same year; only the *Kyrie* was taken from *Nordlund 1850*.

Johannes Valve (1856–1926) was a primary school teacher who was, according to various newspapers, active in the Evangelical Movement and the temperance movement. He lived in Tampere and established two patriotic newspapers that appeared only for a short time from 1889 to 1891. He also wrote several spiritual booklets especially for children and wrote shorter texts in many newspapers and journals. Alongside his office as a teacher, Valve worked for a short time as an organist. He also founded and conducted a spiritual choir in Tampere (*Tampereen Sanomat* 4 February 1889; *Aamulehti* 8 October 1889. Tommila *et al.* 1988, 128–129; Werkko 1893, 193–194). Unfortunately, I have not found any information about who O. Valve was.

Ketonen 1889 and 1890

Iisakki Jaakonpoika Ketonen (1857–1942) studied first in the Churchwarden-Organist School of Turku and then in the Helsinki Music Institute. After a few short offices in different parishes, he worked as a churchwarden-organist in Laihia from 1882 to 1890 and became the Churchwarden-Organist of Lappeenranta and Lappee in 1890. He conducted choirs and brass bands as well (Soikkeli 1909, 13). Ketonen published a numbered notebook for the psalmodikon for the 1886 New Finnish and Swedish Hymnals in 1889. The second edition was published by the following year, in 1890, but only in Finnish. The reason for publishing a new edition was probably moving from Laihia to Lappeenranta; Laihia was located in the bilingual coastal area next to Vaasa, whereas in mostly Finnish-speaking Karelia there was no need for a Swedish version. Both editions also include liturgical melodies; the collection is mostly similar to *Hymander 1878* and *Hymander 1889*, but there are minor differences.

Achté 1892

Lorenz Nikolai Achté (1835–1900) first studied theology and philosophy in Helsinki but dropped out to focus on music, also studying it on various occasions in Germany. Later he influenced the musical life of Helsinki in multiple ways; he worked as a choir director, opera singer and conductor, composer and music teacher in many schools (Lappalainen 2000b). According to his daughter Aino Achté (1876–1944), Lorenz Achté visited churches while travelling in the Finnish countryside. There he found the level of congregational singing and ecclesiastical playing to be poor and wanted to start improving it. In 1872, he travelled abroad to study composition and

church music in order to be able to train churchwardens and organists. From 1881, Achte was the Churchwarden of the Old Church in Helsinki, and the following year he founded the Churchwarden-Organist School (see Chapter 3.5; Maasalo 1932, 4).

Achte wrote a music textbook in 1882 and published chorale books in 1882, 1890 and 1892, the last one of which also included liturgical melodies in Finnish and Swedish. Both melodies and harmonies were mostly the same as *Hymander 1878* and *Hymander 1889* but transposed into lower key.

Pahlman 1895

Oscar Pahlman (1839–1935) was born in Turku and became interested in organ-playing when he was just a child. He studied music first in Helsinki with the German-born organist of the Old Church, Carl Gottlieb Ganszaug and then, from 1862 to 1864, in Dresden under Gustav Merkel. After that he studied in the Royal Swedish Academy of Music under Gustaf Mankell. Pahlman worked as Churchwarden-Organist of Vaasa from 1866 to 1876, after which he was the Organist of Turku Cathedral until his death. With C.G. Wasenius, he founded the churchwarden-organist school in Turku in 1878 and served as the Head of the School for over five decades (see Chapter 3.5). As a composer, he was known for his liturgical music, mostly organ pieces and choral songs (*Sosialisti* 13 April 1935; *Uusi Suomi* 14 April 1935; K. Jalkanen 1978, 42). In 1891, Pahlman published a collection of postludes consisting of works only by German composers.

Oscar Pahlman's 'Finnish and Swedish Church Mass' for a mixed choir and the liturgist with accompaniment was the only Mass in nineteenth-century Finland composed entirely by the editor himself, i.e. the melodies and harmonies were based on no earlier collection whatsoever. Pahlman composed his Mass little by little; he started in 1881 by composing a Benediction in Swedish (see Example 32, pp. 239–240) that was dedicated to Pastor Herman Kajanus. A year later, Pahlman composed a *Sanctus* that Kajanus sometimes used in Divine Services at the most important feasts of the church year. In 1884, Pahlman composed the *Gloria* as well and made Finnish translations for all of the three of them. These were published under the title 'The Mass: Glory be to God! Holy and Benediction for the organ or the harmonium

composed and dedicated to Pastor Herman Kajanus by Oscar Pahlman¹⁴³ (*Turun Lehti* 24 May 1884; *Åbo Underrättelser* 3 December 1884). However, I have not found this volume in any library or archive. It seems it did not sell well. In *Åbo Underrättelser* from 10 June 1886, there is a list of publications whose unsold copies booksellers intended to remove from their stocks; Pahlman's Mass (*Pahlman: Messu*) is found on that list. In *Sanomia Turusta* 23 August 1890, there is an advertisement of the publisher Gustaf Wilhelm Wilén (1835–1919) for books published by him and sold 'in every bookstore in Finland'; Pahlman's Mass is still in that list. Perhaps the reason was that those melodies were difficult for pastors without proper musical training, as was speculated in *Åbo Underrättelser* (3 December 1884).

Pahlman continued complementing his Mass with the choir's parts and in different languages, probably gradually because there were at least two 'first public performances' in different newspapers. The newspaper *Sanomia Turusta* (16 July 1890) stated that the first public performance of Pahlman's Mass in Finnish happened in 1890 in Turku Cathedral. According to *Åbo Tidning* (2 April 1893), 'a new Mass' was performed for the first time on Good Friday 1893.

'The New Finnish and Swedish Church Mass'¹⁴⁴ was published as a 'renewed and added edition' in late 1894 or early 1895. It was evaluated in the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* (4 January 1895) by a pseudonymous R. E. who found the work melodic and beautiful and the harmonies simple but in good taste. A pseudonymous Dess. agreed in *Åbo Tidning* (11 January 1895) and stated that Pahlman's Mass was more striking than 'the old monotonous and dry one.' Nevertheless, it seems that Pahlman's Mass did not spread wider because from then on, there is no information about singing it anywhere. The Benediction was sung independently by Pastor Edvin Fabritius (1857–1904) in Viipuri on the First Advent Sunday in 1889 (*Viipurin Sanomat* 3 December 1889), which indicates that the Mass, or at least parts of it, were also known outside Turku.

143 *Messu: Kunnia olkoon Jumalan! Pyhä ja Siinaus. Uruilla taikka urkuharmoniolla Oscar Pahlman'ilta* in Finnish; *Messan: Åra vare Gud! Helig och Wälsignelsen. Med Orgel eller Orgelharmonium komponerad och Herr Pastor Herman Kajanus tillegnad af Oscar Pahlman* in Swedish.

144 *Uusi Suomalainen ja Ruotsalainen Kirkko-messu Evankelis-Luterilaisille seurakunnille* in Finnish, *Ny Finsk och Svensk Kyrko-Messa för de Evangelisk-Lutherska församlingarna* in Swedish.

Even though Pahlman's Mass was not based on earlier collections it had one similarity: all of the melodies are in major or minor keys that are similar to those in most of the nineteenth-century Finnish collections of liturgical music. There is a separate organ accompaniment in liturgist's parts, whereas the four-part responses are meant either for congregation or choir (see Example 3).

Example 3. The *Glory* composed by Oscar Pahlman (1895). There is an organ accompaniment in liturgist's part. *Pappi* = pastor, *uruilla* = on the organ, *Pappi, Seurak. eli Kööri* = pastor, congregation or choir.

Maestoso

Pappi

Kun - ni - a ol-koon Ju-ma-lal - le kor-ke - u - des - sa.

Uruilla

Man.

Maestoso

Pappi,
Seurak.
eli
Kööri

Ja maas - sa rau - ha ih-mi-sil-le hy - vä tah - to!

Putro 1906

Ingrian-born Mooses Putro (1848–1919?) was accepted to the Kolppana Seminary at the age of fifteen because of his good singing voice. He obtained his degree in 1866 and then taught at the Seminary for four years from 1867 to 1871. He also studied briefly at the Valga Seminary in Livonia in 1867 and Jyväskylä Seminary in Finland in 1871; on the same trip, he became acquainted with the schools of Helsinki as well. In 1872, Putro moved to Saint Petersburg, where he worked as an organist in Saint Mary's Finnish Church, as the conductor of the Finnish Singing Society and as a teacher at the Church School. Putro continued to study organ-playing

at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory as a student of Louis Homilius (1845–1908) who was of German descent and composition under Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908); he graduated from the Conservatory in 1878. In addition to the organ, Putro had the qualification of a piano teacher and he played the violin, zither and psalmodikon. Putro was a journalist as well; he published a newspaper and wrote nationalistic articles. Putro disappeared in Saint Petersburg in November 1919; he left home to officiate a funeral service at the Lutheran cemetery and never returned from this journey (Suominen 1969, 8–13, 17–18, 43; Miettinen 2014, 20–21, 26–30).

Putro conducted the Saint Petersburg Finnish Singing Society for forty-seven years, from its founding in 1872 until his disappearance in 1919. At its height, there were over eighty singers in the society. Putro took the initiative and was active in organising the Ingrian National Song Festivals. He especially composed spiritual choral songs and motets and published four choral collections for Ingrian-Finnish choirs (see Chapter 3.3). Putro was also the author and composer of the song *Nouse, Inkeri* ('Arise, Ingria'), which was considered the national hymn of Ingria (Suominen 1969, 21–35; Miettinen 2014, 35–43. For more information about *Nouse, Inkeri*, see Korhonen 2019, 246–247).

Sävelmistö Venäjän keisarikunnan evankelisluterilaisten seurakuntain suomalaiseseen kirkkokäsitkirjaan ('Melodies for the Finnish Handbook of the Evangelical-Lutheran Parishes in the Russian Empire'), edited by Mooses Putro, was published in 1906. It followed the 1900 Finnish translation of the 1897 Imperial Agenda; the only acceptable changes were the necessary ones due to the musical settings. Putro's collection was a combination of Prussian melodies, used in the Lutheran Church of Russia, melodies that followed Finnish and Swedish traditions as well as his own works. A famous Finnish musician, Heikki Klemetti (1938, 49) thought that even though Putro's liturgical music was reminiscent of Finnish musical sources, he evidently knew too little of the church music traditions of Finland and for that reason, the final result was not 'more significant.' Klemetti's argument reveals his nationalistic thoughts; why should Putro have abandoned the liturgical tradition in Ingria and replaced it with the Finnish one? It should also be mentioned that the style criticised by Klemetti is not far from the collections of liturgical melodies published in Finland in the 1910s.

From a musical point of view, the major difference in *Putro 1906* in comparison with the 1886 Finnish Handbook, as well as collections of liturgical melodies published according to it in Finland, was the reintroduction of the Introit. It was supposed to be sung in every Divine Service, which meant that there should have been a separate choral setting for every Sunday of the church year. Nevertheless, Putro did not make settings for every Sunday but only for the festival Sundays and other festivals as well as Lent and mourning ceremonies (see Figure 5).

Putro (1906, Preface, the second last par.) stated that he had not intended his work to be used forever; he hoped that in the future other composers would take up the challenge, and that the church government would not impede but encourage them to do better than he had done.¹⁴⁵ His wish was never granted, however, as *Putro 1906* was the last collection of liturgical melodies before the Soviet Union began to restrict the activities of the Lutheran Church in the 1920s and eventually banned it in the 1930s. However, Putro's collection was revived in the early 1990s. As conditions eased in the Soviet Union, Divine Services were held by the Lutheran Church of Estonia from the 1960s onwards, two Finnish-and-Russian-speaking parishes were registered in the 1970s and many more in the 1980s. Many people wanted to start using Putro's Mass, but it was seen that it needed to be updated. The Dean of the reconstituted Ingrian Church, Finnish Pastor Leino Hassinen (1924–2015), Ingrian Pastor Arvo Survo (b. 1954) and Finnish Cantor Martti Kilpeläinen (1943–2020) took care of the updating. They simplified the structure and Putro's musical settings and made many changes that were based on the 1968 Finnish Handbook. By 1991, the revised Mass was copied by the Finnish Church Council in Helsinki and distributed to the parishes of the Ingrian deanery. The Finnish Cantor Antti Vuoristo (b. 1926) edited a version with four-part arrangements for cantors (Rimpiläinen 2007, 39–42). Vuoristo made few changes to Putro's music; only the rhythms have been simplified, and many melodies are in a lower key. In addition, the new version is only for accompaniment and not choir (Ingrian Mass 1991).

145 This kind of modesty was common in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wilhelm Malmberg, for example, wrote in the preface to *Sionin Wirret* in 1893 that he hoped the version he had edited would be in use for no more than twenty years, after which someone should make a better edition.

II. Sananviljelys-

1. Suurina juhlapäivinä ja

6 a. *Pappi;*

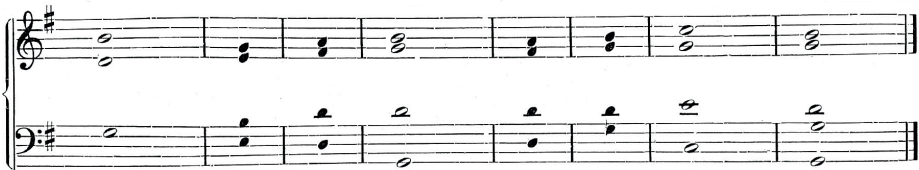


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|---|---|---|------------|--|--------------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Adv. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Tehkää portit avarak - si ja ovet maail - - - mas - sa</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">korkeiksi!</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Kiitetty ol - koon Herra mei - dän</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">Jumalamme!</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Raivat - - - - - kaa tie</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">Herralle!</td> </tr> </table> | Tehkää portit avarak - si ja ovet maail - - - mas - sa | korkeiksi! | Kiitetty ol - koon Herra mei - dän | Jumalamme! | Raivat - - - - - kaa tie | Herralle! |
| Tehkää portit avarak - si ja ovet maail - - - mas - sa | korkeiksi! | | | | | | |
| Kiitetty ol - koon Herra mei - dän | Jumalamme! | | | | | | |
| Raivat - - - - - kaa tie | Herralle! | | | | | | |
| 2. Joulu. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Katso, minä ilmoitan teille suu-ren ilon: teille on tänäpäivänä synty-nyt</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">Vapahtaja!</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Kieltämättä suu - - - ri on jumali - - - - suu - den</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">salaisuus!</td> </tr> </table> | Katso, minä ilmoitan teille suu-ren ilon: teille on tänäpäivänä synty-nyt | Vapahtaja! | Kieltämättä suu - - - ri on jumali - - - - suu - den | salaisuus! | | |
| Katso, minä ilmoitan teille suu-ren ilon: teille on tänäpäivänä synty-nyt | Vapahtaja! | | | | | | |
| Kieltämättä suu - - - ri on jumali - - - - suu - den | salaisuus! | | | | | | |
| 3. U. v. p. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Kiitä Herra mi - nun</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">sieluni!</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Je - - - - - sus Kris - tus — ei - - - len ja</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">tänäpäivänä!</td> </tr> </table> | Kiitä Herra mi - nun | sieluni! | Je - - - - - sus Kris - tus — ei - - - len ja | tänäpäivänä! | | |
| Kiitä Herra mi - nun | sieluni! | | | | | | |
| Je - - - - - sus Kris - tus — ei - - - len ja | tänäpäivänä! | | | | | | |

ja rukous-osa.

juhla-aikoina veisattavat vuorovärssyt.

6 b. *Seurakunta:*



- | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|
| 1. Adv. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Kun - - - ni - an kuninkaan men - nä sisäl - - le!</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">— Sillä . . Hän on etsinyt ja lunasta - nut kansan - sa!</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Tasoittakaa . polku erä - maassa . . mei - dän Jumalallem-me!</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> | Kun - - - ni - an kuninkaan men - nä sisäl - - le! | | — Sillä . . Hän on etsinyt ja lunasta - nut kansan - sa! | | Tasoittakaa . polku erä - maassa . . mei - dän Jumalallem-me! | |
| Kun - - - ni - an kuninkaan men - nä sisäl - - le! | | | | | | | |
| — Sillä . . Hän on etsinyt ja lunasta - nut kansan - sa! | | | | | | | |
| Tasoittakaa . polku erä - maassa . . mei - dän Jumalallem-me! | | | | | | | |
| 2. Joulu. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Jo - - - ka on Kristus, . Her - ra Davidin kaupungissa!</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Juma - - - la on ilmes - - ty - nyt lihas - - sa!</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> | Jo - - - ka on Kristus, . Her - ra Davidin kaupungissa! | | Juma - - - la on ilmes - - ty - nyt lihas - - sa! | | | |
| Jo - - - ka on Kristus, . Her - ra Davidin kaupungissa! | | | | | | | |
| Juma - - - la on ilmes - - ty - nyt lihas - - sa! | | | | | | | |
| 3. U. v. p. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">Äläkä unhota, mi - tä hyvää Hän sinul - le tehnyt on!</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">— Ja . . . myös i - - an - kaikki - sesti!</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> | Äläkä unhota, mi - tä hyvää Hän sinul - le tehnyt on! | | — Ja . . . myös i - - an - kaikki - sesti! | | | |
| Äläkä unhota, mi - tä hyvää Hän sinul - le tehnyt on! | | | | | | | |
| — Ja . . . myös i - - an - kaikki - sesti! | | | | | | | |

Figure 5. Mooses Putro's choral settings for the Introits in Advent, Christmas and New Year's Day. The same formula was used for all of the texts, omitting those notes under which there were no words. The Introits were supposed to sing by turns; on the left page, there was liturgist's part (6 a. *Pappi*) and on the right page, the congregation's response to it (6 b. *Seurakunta*). *Putro 1906*, 10–11.

4.4 Changes in Liturgical Parts Sung by the Congregation

Many individual liturgical melodies changed greatly in the nineteenth century and gave rise to several different versions, whereas others remained relatively similar from one collection to another. Most of the changes were adopted from Häeffner and Åhlström's collections in Sweden, but in some places, it is possible to recognise a Finnish tradition or even more local, i.e. regional or parochial twist. In addition, the translocal connections between Finland and Ingria bring their own interesting features.

The Kyrie

Because the lyrics of the *Kyrie* have approximately the same number of syllables in Finnish, Swedish and Latin,¹⁴⁶ singing the Gregorian melody based on Latin text in the vernacular did not cause any major inconvenience; the melody remained the same regardless of the language. However, both in the 1694 and 1817 Finnish translations of the Swedish Handbooks the last syllable of the last word (*päällemme*) was cut off (*päällem*), most likely due to having the same number of syllables as in Swedish. The result was clumsy because the melody stress and the word stress were on different syllables. Therefore, after the middle of the century, the hyphenation was changed so that the last word was complete, and the stresses were in the right places. The present-day form *Herra, armahda meitä* first appeared in the 1835 Finnish translation of the Imperial Agenda and this form was taken to the 1859 Proposal and the 1886 Handbook as well as to all of the collections of liturgical melodies from then on.

In the sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century Finnish manuscripts the *Kyrie* (see Example 4) included either three or four verses; the latter meant that the last verse had two different versions: simpler and ornamented one. The first and the second verses were repeated three times, whereas the third verse was sung twice in the simpler way, but then, the third repetition was more ornamented (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2010, 34). In the early nineteenth century, singing the *Kyrie* with repetitions might still have been usual because at least in hand-written *Enqvist 1811* and *Perander 1843* there are repeat marks at the end of every verse, which tells us that it was repeated two or three times.

146 'Lord, have mercy upon us. Christ, have mercy upon us. Lord, have mercy upon us.' In Latin (originally in Greek): *Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.* In Finnish: *Herra, armahda meidän päällemme. Kriste, armahda meidän päällemme. Herra, armahda meidän päällemme.* In Swedish: *Herre förbarma dig öfver oss. Christe, förbarma dig öfver oss. Herre, förbarma dig öfver oss.*

Example 4. *Kyrie Dominicale* (GR XI, *Orbis factor*), constructed and notated by Erkki Tuppurainen according to Finnish sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century manuscripts. Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2010, 17.

Her-ra ar-mah-ða mei-ðän pää-len. Kris-te ar-mah-ða mei-ðän pää-len.

Her-ra ar-mah-ða mei-ðän pää-len.

Almost all of the nineteenth-century hand-written and all of the published versions of the *Kyrie* are in *tactus* and arranged to major-minor tonality, i.e. in a minor key with a high leading-tone. The only exception is the hand-written *Öbman 1814* with a low leading-tone. However, this chorale book was probably written as early as in the eighteenth century and also includes two other *Kyries*, as well as the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* from other series of liturgical melodies¹⁴⁷ that were no longer used in the nineteenth century. In four-part collections, this ‘tonalisation’ meant that there was a major dominant chord before the last tonic (see e.g. Example 6).

Gradually, during the nineteenth century, the melody of the *Kyrie* became shorter. There were changes in the second and third verses. The beginning of the second verse has the same tones, i.e. the longer version, in every hand-written chorale book, but both versions are found in the printed collections (see Example 5). The reason might have been that both in *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* and *Hæffner 1817*, there was the longer version, but in *Åhlström 1818*, the shorter one. The shorter version by Åhlström was also in *Nordlund 1850* (see Example 5) and after that, in all of the published collections, except for *Kukkasela 1857*. In addition, in the musical supplement of the 1835 Finnish translation of the Russian Imperial Agenda, the *Kyrie* was taken from *Åhlström 1818* as such.

In the original *Aliud Kyrie Dominicale* (see Example 4) there was a melisma at the beginning of ‘have mercy’ (*armahda* in Finnish) in the second verse, which means that it was different from the first and third verses. This melisma started to disappear probably as early as the eighteenth century because it is left in only a few hand-writ-

147 *Kyrie Pentecostale, Sanctus Pentecostale, Agnus Dei Pentecostale and Kyrie Dominicale.*

ten nineteenth-century chorale books (see Example 6) and is missing even in some of the early nineteenth-century chorale books (e.g. *Cajander 1830* and *Pietikäinen s.a.*). The rhythm of this melisma is sometimes faster than the continuation of the phrase, which indicates that it was probably sung like a light auxiliary tone by a step below, whereupon the rhythmic construction was similar to the shorter version. Interestingly, in the hand-written *G. Lindell 1861/1874*, there are both of these versions, with melisma in the Swedish *Kyries* and without it in the Finnish one. This melisma does not exist in any of the published collections (see Example 6).

The third verse was the most condensed, following the Swedish example. In *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799*, the last verse is longer than in *Hæffner 1817*. In Finland, the longer version exists in most of the hand-written chorale books from the first part of the nineteenth century, but there are few examples with the shorter version (e.g. *Salviander 1832* and *Lackman 1837*; see Example 7). *G. Lindell 1861/1874* has, again, two versions, the longer one in Swedish and the shorter one in Finnish.

Example 5. The longer (5a; *Hysén 1817*) and the shorter version (5b; *Nordlund 1850*) at the beginning of the second verse of the *Kyrie*.

5a

Chri = = = = = = = = ste,

5b

Chris = = = = = = = = te,

Example 6. The end of the second verse of the *Kyrie* with (6a; *Sjöholm 1831*) and without a melisma (6b; *Hymander 1878*).

6a

ar = ma da mei dän päällem

6b

ar - mah - da mei - - - dän pääl - lem - me!
för - bar - ma dig öf - ver oss!

Example 7. The longer (7a; *Lackman 1837*) and the shorter version (7b; *Kilpelin 1844*) at the beginning of the third verse of the *Kyrie*.

7a

He = = = = he He = = = = he Her = ra

7b

He = e = = e he er - ra,

Example 8. The beginning of the third verse of the *Kyrie* in Swedish in *Nordlund 1850*. *Kan uteslutas* means ‘may be omitted.’

kan uteslutas.

Her = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = = re,

Example 9. The *Kyrie* that was established in Finland in the late nineteenth century. *Hymander 1889*.

Her - - - ra, ar - mah - da ar - mah-da
 Her - - - re, för - bar - ma Dig

mei - tä! Kri - - - ste, ar -
 öf - ver oss! Kri - - - ste, för -

mah - da, ar - mah-da mei - tä! Her - - -
 bar - ma Dig öf - ver oss! Her - - -

- - ra, ar - mah - da ar - mah-da mei - tä!
 - - re, för - bar - ma Dig öf - ver oss!

In *Åhlström 1818*, there are both of these options; the last verse can be sung in either way. In Finland, *Nordlund 1850* follows Åhlström's example and gives both of the options (see Example 8). Nevertheless, *Nordlund 1850* is the only published collection that includes it, even as an option. Even *Kukekasela 1857*, which otherwise favours longer versions, has the shorter version of the third verse of the *Kyrie*; it indicates that the shorter version was becoming a standard in the first half of the century.

As a result of all of these changes, a version finally formulated by J.A.G. Hymander (see Example 9) became established in Finland. Each verse of it ends identically, both melody and harmony, whereas in Ingria, a more musically diverse version by Putro (see Example 10) came into use, with a different harmonisation at the end of each verse.

In *Putro 1906*, as another alternative, there is a very different *Kyrie*, both melodically and rhythmically simpler. It is composed by Putro, but it bears similarities to the musical supplement for the 1822 Prussian Agenda as well as the musical supplements for the 1832 and 1897 Russian Imperial Agendas (see Example 11). It is interesting that the melodic form resembles the *Kyrie* from the 1908 Finnish Chorale Committee's proposal (see Example 12). This *Kyrie* was composed by Ilmari Krohn, who reviewed Putro's collection (Putro 1906, Preface); therefore, it is possible that Putro had Krohn's melody before it was published.

Example 10. The *Kyrie* from *Putro 1906*.

The musical score is written in G major and common time (C). It consists of four systems, each with a piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The lyrics are: Her - - - ra, Her - - ra, ar - mah - da, ar - mah-da ar-mah-da mei - tä! Kris - tus, Kri - - - tus ar - mah - da, ar - mah-da mei - tä! Her - - ra, Her - - ra ar - mah - da ar - mah-da mei - tä! ar - mah - da mei - - - - tä!

System 1: *mf* Her - - - ra, Her - - ra, ar - mah - da, ar - mah-da

System 2: *f* mei - tä! Kris - tus, Kri - - - tus ar -

System 3: *p* mah - da, ar - mah-da mei - tä! Her - - ra,

System 4: Her - - ra ar - mah - da ar - mah-da mei - tä!
ar - mah - da mei - - - - tä!

Example 11. Two *Kyries* from the 1822 musical supplement for the Prussian Agenda (11a and 11b) and the one from the 1897 musical supplement for the Russian Imperial Agenda (11c). The last one is the same as the one in the 1832 musical supplement for the Imperial Agenda, only one doubling is different.

11a

Ky-ri-e E-le-i-son Chris-te E-le-i-son Ky-ri-e E-le-i-son.

11b

Ky-ri-e E-le-i-son Chris-te E-le-i-son Ky-ri-e E-le-i-son.

11c

Herr, er-bar-me Dich! Christe, er-bar-me Dich! Herr, er-bar-me Dich!

Example 12. The first option for the *Kyrie* from *Putro 1906* (12a) and the proposal of the Finnish Chorale Committee (12a; *Liturgiset sävelmät* 1908); the melodic similarities are prominent.

12a

Her - ra ar - mah - da mei - tä! Kris - tus ar - mah - da

mei - tä! Her - ra ar - mah - da mei - tä!

12b

Her - ra ar - mah - da mei - tä! Kris - tus ar - mah - da

mei - tä! Her - ra ar - mah - da mei - tä!

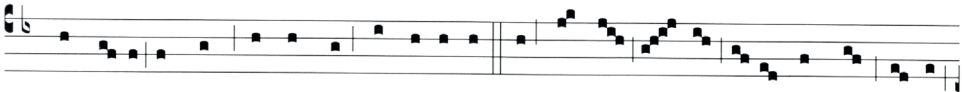
The Gloria

As already mentioned, in sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century Finnish manuscripts, the *Gloria* formed a whole with the following *Laudamus*. The beginning of the melody was simple and the latter part rich in ornament (see Example 13). When the congregation started to sing the latter part, the melody simplified.

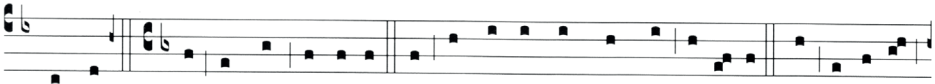
The *Gloria* is missing in most of the hand-written chorale books because in the early nineteenth century, it was meant to be sung by the liturgist. Instead, it is in all of the published collections of liturgical melodies, and the melody is always clearly based on *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799*. The body of the melody is similar, and there are only minor rhythmical differences between different collections. In all of the other collections, the liturgist's part, regardless of whether it was the whole *Gloria* or only the beginning, is in one part, but there is a two-part setting in *Nordlund 1850* and a four-part version in *Frosterus 1878* (see Example 14).

Example 13. The *Gloria* and the beginning of the *Laudamus* from the later series for Sundays in ordinary time (13a), constructed and notated by Erkki Tuppurainen according to Finnish sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century manuscripts (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2010, 17), and the nineteenth-century version sung by the liturgist and the congregation by turns (13b; *Hylander 1878*).

13a



Kun-ni-a ol-koon Ju-ma-lan kor-ke-u-des ja maas-sa rau-ha, in-hi-mis-ten hy-vä



tah-to. Me kii-täm si-nu-a. Me hy-väs-ti-siug-naa-ma si-nu-a. Me si-nu-a

13b

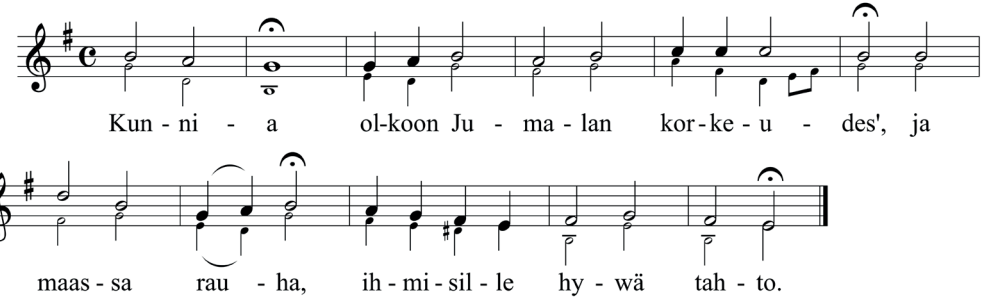


Kun - ni - a ol - koon Ju - ma - lan kor - ke - u - des - sa!

ja maas - sa rau - ha, ih - mi - sil - le hy - vä tah - to.

Example 14. A two-part *Gloria* from *Nordlund 1850* sung by the liturgist (14a) and a four-part *Gloria* from *Frosterus 1878* (14b), in which the liturgist started, and the latter part was sung either by the liturgist or congregation. *Pappi* = pastor, *tahi näin* = or like this, *Tahi näin wiimtawaus* = or like this in the last syllable, *Pappi tahi Seurakunta pitkittää* = ‘pastor or congregation continues.’


14a



Kun - ni - a ol-koon Ju - ma - lan kor-ke - u - des', ja
maas - sa rau - ha, ih - mi - sil - le hy - vä tah - to.

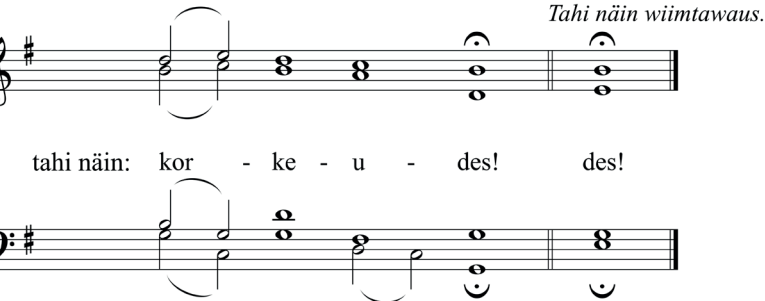
14b

Pappi.



Kun - ni - a, ol - koon Ju - ma - lan kor - ke - u - des!

Tahi näin wiimtawaus.



tahi näin: kor - ke - u - des! des!

Pappi tahi Seurakunta pitkittää:



Ja maas - sa rau - ha, ih - mi - sil - le hy - vä tah - to.

Example 15. The *Gloria* from *Putro 1906* (15a). The body of the melody is similar to those used in Finland; however, it seems that Putro did not want to end it in E minor and, therefore, the last three bars are similar to the 1897 musical supplement for the Imperial Agenda (15b). The congregation sang this response only at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and on Trinity Sunday; on normal Sundays, it was replaced by the first stanza of *All glory be to God on High*.

15a

p
Kun-ni - a ol-koon Ju-ma-lal - le kor - keu - des - sa!

Ja maas - sa rau - ha, ih - mi-sil-le hy - vä tah - to!

15b

Und Frie - de auf Er - den und den Men - schen ein Wohl - ge -

fal - len.

Example 16. According to the 1897 Imperial Agenda, during Lent, the *Gloria* was replaced by this song ‘The Lamb who is slain is worthy to receive commendation, praise and glory forever.’ The German version from the 1897 musical supplement (16a) is much simpler than Mooses Putro’s (1906; (16b). Immediately after this, the congregation sang *O Lamb of God, innocent*.

16a

Das Lamm, das er-wür-get ist, ist wür-dig zu neh-men Lob, Preis und

Eh - re in E - wig-keit.

16b

Ka-rit - sa, jo-ka ta-pet-tu on, on an-si-ol-li-nen saa-maan

kii-tok-sen, y-lis-tyk-sen ja kun-ni-an i - an - kaik - ki - ses - ti!

Even though there was a different *Gloria* in the musical supplement for the 1835 Finnish translation of the Imperial Agenda, Putro took the melody used in Finland in his collection but turned the melody into triple meter; however, the last tones of the response are similar to the 1897 German musical supplement (see Example 15). As already mentioned, according to the 1897 Imperial Agenda, there was an alternative that was meant for Lent. The German melody was very simple and clearly did not please Putro, as he composed his own musically more variable version (see Example 16).

The Sanctus

It is possible that even four different versions of the *Sanctus* have been used in nineteenth-century Finland (see Table 11). There are two alternatives in *Ehrström 1837*, the *Sanctus* from *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* and the one Ehrström constructed himself from three different versions. Both of these exist in many later collections, the first mostly only in Swedish. *Nordlund 1850* does not include Ehrström's version at all. The Swedish *Sanctus* is from *Åhlström 1818*, and his version continues in many collections as well. Alongside these three melodies, there might have been a fourth one; the *Sanctus* from *Hæffner 1817* is in the 1835 Finnish translation of the Russian Imperial Agenda, and both of these collections have been used to some extent in Finland as well.

The *Sanctus* melody constructed by Ehrström is very interesting, especially because it later became very popular and it was, although slightly modified, still in use until 2000. There is a footnote in Ehrström's (1837, V) preface in which he tells how he has constructed the melody. The text¹⁴⁸ is old-fashioned Finnish and rather difficult to understand, so it was misunderstood in several earlier studies. It has been interpreted to mean that Ehrström would have brought the melody as such from Saint Catherine's Swedish parish in Saint Petersburg. In some later publications from the twentieth century (e.g. I. Krohn 1947), it is even claimed that the composer was his brother Eric Gustaf Ehrström who worked as a vicar in Saint Catherine's parish.

148 'Samalla saanen nyt myöskin ilmoittaa, että Herran Ehtoollisen Messussa edellinen nuotti sanaan P y h ä, joka Hæffnerin Messusta erkanee, on sointuva piimmasti siihen nuottiin, jolla sitä Pietarissa S:t Katharinan Ruotsalaisessa Seurakunnassa messutaan, ja myös, että H o s i a n n a, messuttava sen perästä, on, paitsi loppuansa, suunniteltu Voglerin ikimainion Hosiananuotin mukaan.' (Ehrström 1837, V.; letter-spacings by Ehrström.)

Table 11. Different versions of the *Sanctus* in different collections of liturgical melodies. The *Sanctus* is missing from *Hagfors 1871*, *Kunelius 1875*, *Valve and Valve 1889* and *Achté 1892* because there are only the congregation's parts in these collections.

	Hæffner & Åhlström 1799	Hæffner 1817	Åhlström 1818	Ehrström 1837
Ehrström 1837	in Finnish			in Finnish
Russian Imp. Agenda 1835		both in Finnish and Swedish		
Nordlund 1850	both in Finnish and Swedish		in Swedish	
Murman 1856				in Finnish
Kukkasela 1857	in Finnish			
Hymander 1859	in Swedish			in Finnish
Wächter 1865			in Swedish	
Hymander 1878	in Swedish			both in Finnish and Swedish
Frosterus 1878	in Finnish			
Hymander 1889	in Swedish		both in Finnish and Swedish	both in Finnish and Swedish
Ketonen 1890				in Finnish
Hymander 1892	in Swedish		both in Finnish and Swedish	both in Finnish and Swedish

in Finnish
in Swedish
both in Finnish and Swedish

A careful reading of the footnote, however, reveals that Ehrström does not say that the whole melody as such was from Saint Petersburg, but he does explain that the beginning of the melody, the threefold *Sanctus* ('Holy, holy, holy'), resembles the melody used in Saint Catherine's parish. There is one word that reveals it, *piammasti*. This word does not exist in present-day Finnish and many prior scholars likely interpreted it to mean 'directly' or 'exactly.' However, it is a comparative form of the word *pian*, 'soon.' In present-day Finnish, there is a comparative form *pikemmin*, inflected from the word *pian*. It has two meanings, 'sooner' and 'rather.' Based on this latter translation, *piammasti* can be interpreted to mean 'rather'; this translation opens the content of Ehrström's footnote in a new light. In the same footnote, Ehrström explained that he has used *Hæffner 1817* as a model for his collection of liturgical melodies, but he states here that the beginning of this melody of the *Sanctus*, i.e.

the word ‘holy,’ is different from Hæffner’s version¹⁴⁹ and *rather resembles* the melody used in Saint Catherine’s parish¹⁵⁰. He does not say anything about the continuation; therefore, it can be assumed to follow Hæffner’s version, which is actually not from *Hæffner 1817*, as Ehrström claims, but from *Hæffner and Åblström 1799*. The *Hosanna* at the end of the *Sanctus* is, according to Ehrström, based on Georg Joseph Vogler’s *Hosanna*, which was already at that time a well-known song in Finland and Ingria (see Chapter 3.3).

In this footnote, as in the whole Preface, Ehrström is mostly writing in a passive voice that leaves the subject open. In many other places in the Preface, it is clear that Ehrström means himself even though he is using the passive, which was very typical of Finnish texts of that time. Consequently, even though Ehrström uses the passive form in this footnote, he actually means himself; he is the one who constructed the melody.

This interpretation is supported by the comparison of notations. The melody at the beginning of Ehrström’s *Sanctus* is similar to the third option for the *Sanctus* in the 1835 musical supplement, the melody that was most likely used in Saint Catherine’s Swedish parish in Saint Petersburg as well. The rhythm is a bit different because the wordings of the lyrics are different from one another. The largest difference is that Ehrström changed the order of the verses; the third verse of the Saint Petersburgian version is moved to be the second one (see Example 17).

After this, the melody continues tolerably according to *Hæffner and Åblström 1799* (see Example 18). Ehrström’s rhythm is a bit different. He also adds the top tone d² and ends the first phrase with the supertonic b¹, instead of the tonic a¹. The *Hosanna* (*Hosianna korkeudessa...*) starts according to *Hæffner and Åblström 1799* but differs from it from then on.

149 ‘[...] nuotti sanaan P y h ä, joka Hæffnerin Messusta erkanee [...]’

150 ‘[...] on sointuva piimmasti siihen nuottiin, jolla sitä Pietarissa S:t Katharinan Ruotsalaisessa Seurakunnassa messutaan [...]’

Example 17. The beginning of the *Sanctus* constructed by Fredrik August Ehrström (17a; *Ehrström 1837*) and according to the musical supplement for the 1835 Finnish translation of the Russian Imperial Agenda (17b). The author has transcribed Ehrström's melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation.

17a

Py - - hä, py - - - hä, py - hä Her - ra

Ju - ma - la Ze - ba - oth!

17b

Py - hä, on mei-dän Ju-ma-lam-me Py - - hä,

Example 18. The middle part of the *Sanctus* constructed by Fredrik August Ehrström (18a; *Ehrström 1837*) and according to *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* (18b). For easier comparison, the author has transcribed Ehrström's melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation and transposed the melodies to the same key.

18a

Täy-det o-wat tai - waat ja maa si - - nun

Her - raut - tas' Ho - si - an - na kor - ke - u - des - sa,

18b

Ful - le ä - ro Him-lar-na och Jor - den af Ti - na Här - lig - het;

Ho - si - an - na i Hög - de - ne!

Example 19. The beginning of the closing part of the *Sanctus* constructed by Fredrik August Ehrström (19a; *Ehrström 1837*) and the beginning of the *Hosanna* (19b) by Georg Joseph Vogler (circa 1795). For easier comparison, the author has transcribed Ehrström’s melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation and transposed the melodies to the same key.

19a

kii - tet - ty ol - koon se kuin tu - lee Her -
 ran ni - me - en.

19b

Ho-si - an-na Da-wids son, wäl - sig - nad wa - re han! Wäl -
 sig-nad Da-wids son, som kom - mer i Her-rens namn!

Elements for the rest of the melody, except for the very last phrase, are collected from Vogler’s *Hosanna*, as Ehrström states in the footnote mentioned (see Example 19). As already mentioned, this *Hosanna* was probably first performed in Finland in 1797, but for certain it was known in the first half of the nineteenth century because it was included in several early-nineteenth-century hand-written chorale books. Ehrström thus used a ‘hit tune’ of the time.

The very last phrase of the *Sanctus* (‘Hosanna in the highest’) does not resemble any of the three versions on which the melody is based; it was probably composed by Ehrström himself. It is very simple and musically differs from other phrases. Consequently, when the melody was next published in *Murman 1856*, the last phrase was modified; apparently, J.V. Murman recognised Ehrström’s use of the *Sanctus* of *Hæffner and Åblström 1799* because he took the form of the melody for the last phrase directly from it, although from a different place (see Example 20). In addition, Murman added in the middle of the melody (the first ‘Hosanna in the highest’) the top tone d^2 (see Example 21), which made the curve of the melody wider, emphasizing the character of the word ‘highest’ (*korkeudessa*). The modified version of Murman was taken as such into all of the collections of liturgical melodies by J.A.G. Hylander (1859, 1878, 1889 and 1892) and was used almost in that form until 2000.

Example 20. The very last phrase of the *Sanctus* constructed by Fredrik August Ehrström (20a; *Ehrström 1837*) and modified by Johan Vilhelm Murman (20b; *Murman 1856*) as well as the middle part of the same melody from *Haffner and Åblström 1799* (20c). For easier comparison, the author has transcribed Ehrström and Murman's melodies from *sifferskrift* numerical notation and transposed all of the melodies to the same key.

20a
Ho - si - an - na kor - ke - u - des - sa.

20b
Ho - si - an - na kor - ke - u - des - sa!

20c
Ho - si - an - na i Hög - de - ne!

Example 21. 'Hosanna in the highest' in the middle of the *Sanctus* in *Ehrström 1837* (21a) and *Murman 1856* (21b). For easier comparison, the author has transcribed melodies from *sifferskrift* numerical notation.

21a
Ho - si - an - na kor - ke - u - des - sa,

21b
Ho - si - an - na kor - ke - u - des - sa,

The Agnus Dei

In all of the printed collections of liturgical melodies as well as in most of the hand-written chorale books, there is the same melody for the *Agnus Dei*, although two exactly identical versions are not found (see Example 22). All of these versions

are based on the melody in *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799*. The only exception is *Hy-mander 1889*, in which there are two alternatives for the *Agnus Dei*, but both of them are based on this same melody. Therefore, in the nineteenth century, only minor rhythmical and melodic changes happened in the *Agnus Dei* melody, while the body remained the same.

Example 22. The *Agnus Dei* from *Nordlund 1850* is very close to *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799*. One tone in bass (*) is a misprint; it should be A.

O! Ju - ma - lan Ka - rit - sa, jo - ka pois o - tat ma - il - man

syn - nit, ar - mah - da mei - dän pääl - lem - me. O! Ju - ma -

lan Ka - rit - sa, jo - ka pois o - tat ma - il - man syn - nit, an - na meil - le

ar - mos ja siu - na - uk - ses.

The musical score consists of four systems, each with a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are in Swedish. A misprint in the bass line of the second system is marked with an asterisk (*).

During the nineteenth century, this melody was also carried around the Baltic Sea. It was included in the musical supplement for the 1822 Prussian Agenda (see Example 23), albeit modified, and thus also passed on to the musical supplements for the 1832 and 1897 Russian Imperial Agendas. Finally, Mooses Putro made his own arrangement, which is clearly different from both the Swedish model and the Prussian version (see Example 24).

Example 23. The *Agnus Dei* from the 1822 musical supplement for the Prussian Agenda. Herbst 1968, 185.

1. O Lamm Got - tes wel - ches der Welt Sün - de
 2. O Lamm Got - tes wel - ches der Welt Sün - de
 3. O Lamm Got - tes wel - ches der Welt Sün - de

trägt Er lö - se uns Lie - ber Her - re Gott.
 trägt Er lö - se uns Lie - ber Her - re Gott.
 trägt Ver lei - he uns dei - nen Frie - den und Segen.

Example 24. The *Agnus Dei* from *Putro* 1906.

The image displays a musical score for a vocal piece, likely a choir or solo voice, with piano accompaniment. The score is written in G minor (three flats) and common time (C). It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are in Finnish and describe the Agnus Dei. The first system contains the lyrics: "Kris - tus, Ju - ma - lan ka - rit - sa, jo - ka o - tat pois maa - il - man". The second system contains: "syn - nit, Ar - mah - da, ar - mah - da mei - tä! mei - tä!". The third system contains: "Kris - tus, Ju - ma - lan ka - rit - sa, jo - ka o - tat pois maa - il - man". The fourth system contains: "syn - nit, an - na, an - na mei - le rau - ha - si!". The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line with chords and some melodic movement in the right hand.

Kris - tus, Ju - ma - lan ka - rit - sa, jo - ka o - tat pois maa - il - man

syn - nit, Ar - mah - da, ar - mah - da mei - tä!
mei - tä!

Kris - tus, Ju - ma - lan ka - rit - sa, jo - ka o - tat pois maa - il - man

syn - nit, an - na, an - na mei - le rau - ha - si!

Salutations

In three different places during the Divine Service, the liturgist sang: ‘The Lord be with you,’¹⁵¹ and the congregation responded: ‘So also with your Spirit.’¹⁵² In Finland, this responsory was repeated the same way in all of the three places during the same service; none of the collections of liturgical melodies has two or three different versions for it. In different collections, there are different versions, but all of them are in a major key. In *Putro 1906*, there is only one salutation, but it is similar to the Finnish ones and in a major key (see Example 25).

It seems that there used to be a huge variety of practices when singing salutations in different parishes. The reason might be that, in earlier centuries, the salutations were not notated in the collections of liturgical music (Hannikainen and Tuppurainen 2010, 57). In all of the hand-written chorale books and published collections of liturgical music, the body of the melody is the same, but both rhythms and melodies differ so much from one another that there are no two exactly identical versions. In hand-written versions, the rhythm is often livelier than in printed ones that follow the syllabic singing practice according to the Swedish models (see Example 26).

Example 25. The Salutation from *Ketonen 1890* (25a) and *Putro 1906* (25b). For easier comparison, the author has transcribed Ketonen’s melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation. *Pappi* = pastor, *Seurakunta* = congregation, *Sama korkeampaa ääntä varten* = the same for a higher voice.

25a



Her - ra ol-koon tei-dän kans - san - ne!

Seurakunta:



Ol - koon Her - ra si - nun-kin kans - sas.

151 *Herra olkoon teidän kanssanne* in Finnish, *Herren vare med eder* in Swedish.

152 *Niin myös sinun henkesi kanssa* in Finnish, *Så ock med dinom anda* in Swedish.

Pappi (Salutatio):

25b 


Her - - ra ol-koon tei-dän kans - san - ne!

(Sama korkeampaa ääntä varten:)




Her - ra ol-koon tei-dän kans - san - ne!

Seurakunta:




Ja si - nun - kin hen - ke - si kans - sa!


Example 26. Salutation from a hand-written (26a; *Salviander 1832*) and a published collection (26b; *Murman 1856*). The author has transcribed Murman's melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation.

26a 

He - - rra ol - kon tei - dän kan - san.



Niin myös Si - nun hen - ges kan - sa.

26b 

Her - - ra ol - koon tei - dän kans - - sann'.

Niin myös si - nun hen - kes kans - - sa.

The Preface salutation is in several collections very similar to the other salutations but in a minor key (see Example 27.). There are small differences between different collections, but the melodies are very much in line with the Swedish predecessors. The third part of the opening dialogue of the Preface ('Let us give thanks to the

Lord, our God. – It is right to give thanks and praise.?) is missing from the 1809 Swedish Handbook and, consequently, from *Hæffner 1817* and *Åhlström 1818*. The ambitus of the melody is in this point higher in *Ebrström 1837* than in *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* (see Example 28). This form is also in Johan Lindell's (1784a and 1784b) collections, in many hand-written chorale books as well as in all of the published collections of liturgical music, which tells us that in this small point, the local Finnish tradition was favoured instead of Swedish models, even though they were otherwise followed so strictly.

In the musical supplement for the 1832 Finnish translation of the Imperial Agenda, the Preface salutation was taken from Sweden and Finland, not from Prussia. Putro preferred it as well but made many changes and recomposed the second versicle and response entirely, resulting in a musical arch whose highest tone is towards the end of the second response (see Example 29).

Example 27. The preface salutation from *Murman 1856*. The author has transcribed the melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation.

Her - - - ra ol - koon tei - dän kans - sann'
Niin myös si - nun hen - kes kans - sa.

Y - - - löt - kää't tei - dän sy - däm - men - ne
Me y - - - lön - näm'm' mei - dän sy - däm - mem - me


Ju - ma - lan ty - kö.
Ju - ma - lan ty - kö.


Kiit - tä - kää'm Ju - ma - la - ta mei - dän Her -
 ram - me.


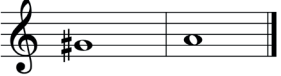
Se on oi - ke - us ja koh - tuus.

There are two alternatives for the *Benedicamus* (Praise) at the end of the Divine Service in all of the hand-written chorale books and in most of the printed collections of liturgical music. The first one is in a major key and includes three *Alleluias* in both the liturgist and congregation's part. The second one is more concise (without any *Alleluia*), in a minor key and with the same melodic form with the *Kyrie* (see Example 30). The practice of using this latter alternative probably faded out by the end of the nineteenth century because there is only the first alternative in *Wächter 1865*, *Saarelainen 1875*, *Ketonen 1890* and *Achté 1892*.

Example 28. The versicle of the Preface salutation in *J. Lindell 1784b* (28a), *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* (28c) and *Ehrström 1837* (28c). For easier comparison, the author has transcribed Ehrström's melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation.

28a 
 Lå - ter oss tack - a Gud - i vå - rom Her - ra!

28b 
 Lå - ter oss tack - ka Gu - di vå - rom Her - ra!

28c 
 Kiit - tä - kääm Ju - ma - la - ta mei - dän Her -

 ram - me.

Example 29. The Preface salutation from *Putro 1906*.

Her - - ra ol-koon tei-dän kans - san - ne!

Ja si - nun - kin hen - ke - si kans -

Y - len - tä - kää sy - däm - men - ne!

Me y - len - näm - me ne Her - ran ty - kö!

Kiit - tä - kääm - me Her-raa mei-dän Ju - ma - laam - me!

Se on koh-tuul - lis - ta ja oi - kein!

Example 30. Two alternative *Benedicamus* in Finnish (30a and 30b) from *Hymander 1892*. The melodic form of the latter one is the same with the *Kyrie*.

30a

Kiit - tä - kääm - me ja kun - ni - oit - ta - kaam-me Her -
 raa. Hal - le - lu - ja! Hal - le - lu - ja! Hal - le - lu - ja!

Ju - ma - lan ol - koon kii - tos ja kun - ni - a! Hal -
 le - lu - ja! Hal - le - lu - ja! Hal - le - lu - ja!

30b

Kiit - - - -tä-kääm - me ja kun-ni - oit-takaamme Her - raa!

Ju - - - - ma - lan ol - koon kii - tos ja kun-ni - a!

4.5 Changes in Liturgical Parts Sung by the Liturgist

In the first part of the nineteenth century, the liturgist sang most of the prayers and Scripture readings by using given cadences (see Figure 6). *Ehrström 1837* follows the simple cadences of *Hæffner 1817*, whereas in *Nordlund 1850*, there is a unique way to circulate the keynote instead of repeating it before cadences that are taken from *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* (see Example 31). In *Murman 1856* and *Hymander 1859*, there are cadences that are mostly similar to *Ehrström 1837*, but Murman and Hymander do not follow them in their given examples because they are more based on *Åhlström 1818* and *Nordlund 1850*. In *Kukkasela 1857*, these prayer and readings are interestingly in triple meter (see Example 2, p. 193). Saarelainen (1875) has omitted the Scripture readings, but he has melodies for prayers; they resemble the prior collections but are nevertheless unique. There are two-part settings for the Collect and Thanksgiving in *Frosterus 1878*. He has also kept the Scripture readings but does not give cadences; in addition, even though the melodies are based on *Nordlund 1850*, they are rhythmically and melodically very complicated. Hymander has dropped the Scripture readings from his 1878, 1889 and 1892 editions. In the 1889 edition, he has also omitted all of the prayers except the Thanksgiving, but in the 1892 edition he does just the opposite; there are melodies for all of the other prayers except the Thanksgiving. The Benediction in *Hymander 1892* is composed by Richard Faltin; it does not follow any cadences but is a composed solo song with organ accompaniment. The similar kinds of solo songs are the Preface and the Benediction in *Putro 1906* as well as the Benediction in *Pahlman 1895* (see Example 32).

In the musical supplement for the 1835 Finnish translation of the Imperial Agenda, the melody for the Collect is based on the 1832 German musical supplement, whereas the Short collect, Preface, Words of institution, Thanksgiving and Benediction follow *Haffner and Åblström 1799* and *Åblström 1818*. In *Putro 1906*, there are only the Preface and Benediction, both composed by Putro himself; this means that the tradition of chanting prayers using a keynote and cadences ended in Ingria by the end of the nineteenth century.

Rukousten ja Epistolain Loppusoinnot.

C + 3 + 6 + 7.

Wäli-merkki	—	1		$\bar{7}$	1	
(,)		ru=			koilee,	
Eroitus- ja seurausmerkki . .		1	2		$\bar{7}$	1
(; :)		firjoi=			tettu:	
Ryhymys- ja huutomerkki . .		1	$\bar{6}$		$\bar{7}$	1
(? !)		wai nur=			hetko?	
Päätösmerkki		1	2	1		$\bar{7}$
(.)		Siun ar=			mojas.	
Loppu	—	1		2	1	1
		kuf=		kainen la=		kastuu.

Figure 6. The cadences for the prayers and Epistle in the Finnish Mass in *Hymander 1859*. *Loppu* = ending.

Example 31. The Collect from *Ehrström 1837* (31a) and *Nordlund 1850* (31b). Ehrström's version is simple and follows *Haffner 1817*, whereas Nordlund follows *Haffner and Åblström 1799* in the cadences, but otherwise circulates in a unique way. The author has transcribed Ehrström's melody from *sifferskrift* numerical notation.

31a

Ru - koil - kaam-me. O Her-ra Ju-ma - la! An-na si-nun py-hän
 hen-kes hal - li - ta mei-dän sy - däm - mem - me; sil - lä pait-si si -
 nu-a em-me tai-da si-nul - le kel-wa - ta. Si-nä jo-ka e -
 lät ja hal - lit - set, si - nun poi - kas ja sen py - hän hen-gen kans -
 sa, i - jan - kaik - ki - ses - ta i - jan - kaik - ki - seen.

31b

Ru-ko-il - kaam-me! O Her-ra Ju - ma - la! an-na si-nun ar - mos
 kaik - ki - sa mei - tä e - nät - tä; ja sit - te si-nun työs mei - sä
 täyt - tä, et - tä me ai - na hy - win töi-hin wal - mit o - li -
 sim - ma: Si - nun Poi - kas Je - suk - sen Kris - tuk - sen kaut - ta.

Example 32. The beginnings of the Benedictions composed by Richard Faltin (32a; *Hymander 1892*), Oscar Pahlman (32b; *Pahlman 1895*) and Mooses Putro (32c; *Putro 1906*).

Grave et maestoso

32a

Ku-mar-ta-kaa sy-dä-men-ne Ju-ma-lan ty-kö, ja ot-ta-kaat

p *Colla voce.*

siu-na-us: Her-ra siu-natkoon tei-tä ja

...

Andante con moto

32b

Nöy-ryyt-tä - kää't sy-dä-men-ne Ju-ma-lan e-des-sä ja ot-ta-kaat

p *Man.*

siu-na-us: Her-ra siu-natkoon tei-tä ja

mf

...

Man.

32c

Her - ra siu-nat-koon si-nu-a ja var-jel-koon si-nu-a! Her-ra

va-lis-ta - koon kas-von-sa si - nun pääl - le - si ja ...

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system includes a vocal line in bass clef with lyrics and a piano accompaniment in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The piano part consists of a treble and bass clef. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano part features a prominent bass line with chords and moving lines in both hands.

4.6 Harmonies, Way of Singing and Local Variants

Hæffner's harmonies were also a model for Finnish four-part collections. As mentioned, these harmonisations were meant first and foremost for four-part singing, but they were also used as organ accompaniment when the pipe organ became more common. The *Kyrie* in *Nordlund 1850* has exactly the same harmonies with *Åblström 1818* (originally from *Hæffner and Åblström 1799*, arranged by Hæffner; see Figure 7); the only exception is doubling in one chord, which may, however, have resulted from an error in copying. *Wächter 1865* uses Nordlund's version as such, dividing only some semibreves to two minims. Hymander's four-part versions (1878, 1889 and 1892) also follow *Nordlund 1850* with differences in only some minor details. *Achté 1892* has its own harmonies, but they are nevertheless very similar to Hymander. *Kunelius 1875* is arranged for male voices and has its own harmonies that greatly resemble *Nordlund 1850* (see Example 33).

Figure 7. The *Kyrie* arranged by Johann Christian Friedrich Häffner from *Åhlström* 1818.

2

SWEVSKA MÄSSAN

FÖRE PREDIKAN

Församlingen
Canto

Her — — — re Förbarma Dig — — öfver oss!

Tenor

Basso

Chri — — — ste Förbarma Dig — — öfver oss!

torde kunna uteslutas

Her — — — re,

Förbarma Dig — — öfver oss!

Example 33. Congregation's response of the *Benedicamus* in Swedish in *Nordlund 1850* (33a) and *Kunelius 1875* (33b). Kunelius's harmonies for male voices are based on Nordlund's harmonies for mixed voices.

33a

Så = = ock med di = nom an - da.

33b

Så - - ock med di - nom an - da.

In Ingria, there were organs only in Saint Petersburg largely until the latter part of the nineteenth century, and according to the 1832 Imperial Agenda, the idea was to use a choir whenever possible. Accordingly, all of the harmonisations in the 1835 Finnish musical supplement were meant for a mixed choir. There is, however, one exception: the third option for the *Sanctus*, on which the beginning of F.A. Ehrström's melody was based, was impossible to sing in parts and thus meant for accompaniment (see Example 34).

Example 34. The third option for the *Sanctus* in the 1835 musical supplement for the Finnish translation of the Imperial Agenda. Even though the idea was always to use a four-part choir instead of the congregation, this *Sanctus* was impossible to sing in four parts, and thus the harmonisation was meant for accompaniment. The marked tones (*) in bass are misprints; they should be A.

Py - hä, on mei - dän Ju - ma - lam - me Py - - - hä,
on mei - dän Ju - ma - lam - me Py - hä, on mei - dän
Ju - ma - lam - me Her - ra, Her - ra Ze - ba - oth!

Example 35. The beginning of the first (35a) and the last (35b) verses of the *Kyrie* in the hand-written *Hysén 1817*. The phrases are divided into sections by adding fermatas, and the first syllable of the word *Herra* ('Lord'; misspelled with only one letter r) is repeated, both of which reveal the slow tempo.

35a He = = = he, He = = = ra ...
35b He = = = = he, he = = = = he. He = ra ...

Example 36. The beginning of the first and third verses of the *Kyrie* in *Kukkasela 1857* (36a and 36c) and *Frosterus 1878* (36b and 36d). Frosterus have semibreves in the same places where Kukkasela have fermatas and breaths.

36a *Kukkasela 1857*: Melody in G minor, 4/4 time. The first phrase "He - - - -" is followed by a fermata on the final note. The second phrase "He - - r - ra" is followed by a breath mark on the final note. Ellipses follow.

36b *Frosterus 1878*: Piano accompaniment for the first phrase "Her - - - - - - - - - - ra, ..." in G major, 4/4 time. The melody is in the right hand, and the bass line is in the left hand. Ellipses follow.

36c *Kukkasela 1857*: Melody in G minor, 4/4 time. The first phrase "He - - - - -" is followed by a fermata on the final note. The second phrase "He - r - ra" is followed by a breath mark on the final note. Ellipses follow.

36d *Frosterus 1878*: Piano accompaniment for the first phrase "Her - - - - - - - - - - ra, ..." in G major, 4/4 time. The melody is in the right hand, and the bass line is in the left hand. Ellipses follow.

The hand-written chorale books show that the tempos of hymns and liturgical melodies were very slow by the turn of the nineteenth century. In particular, this is revealed in the case of the long phrases in the *Kyrie* melody; in several hand-written collections, fermatas are written in the middle of the melody, and after that, the syllable is repeated again (see Example 35). This creates a clumsy impression and is not typical, neither in Finnish nor in Swedish. Possibly, the first part was an intonation sung by the churchwarden and the congregation came along to the second part, but it does not seem probable because there was also the same kind of dividing in the last verse, which was divided into even three parts.

This kind of division can be found in only one published collection, *Kukkasela 1857*. Kukkasela has divisions both in the first and the third verses (see Example 36). He underlines in his preface that he has written down all of the melodies according to how people sang them in his home parish, Ikaalinen. It is also interesting that in *Frosterus 1878*, there are peculiar rhythms that I have not found in any other sources, i.e. individual notes with longer quantities in the middle of the phrases (see Example 36). These semibreves are exactly in the same places where the breaths existed before. This might indicate that while *tempos* might have been faster in the late nineteenth century, prior breaths had an impact on the *Kyrie's* rhythm.

The size of churches and the number of people singing in the congregation also influenced the singing tempo (cf. Rudolf Lagi's comment, Minutes of the 1864 Clergy Conference in Kuopio, 177). Many churches were large spaces with a long reverberation, and there was often a multi-hundred-headed crowd singing together. Without accompaniment, it was possible to keep such a group together only with a slow tempo and calm breathing at the end of the phrases. I am convinced that the use of the psalmodikon has also supported a slow and rhythmically simple singing style. In *sifferskrift* numerical notation it is difficult to express complex rhythms. In addition, it can be assumed that because the musical skills of many of the psalmodikon players were not high, their rehearsal tempo was slow, and the rhythm may have been simplified even further, the final result being only notes with more or less the same duration.

People were singing hymns in the nineteenth century by using local chorale variants. There was a similar variety of singing the Mass, both rhythmically and melodically. All of the printed collections follow Hæffner's syllabic rhythmical approach using almost entirely minims and semibreves, whereas the rhythms in hand-written chorale books were often livelier and more varied (see e.g. Example 1, p. 187).

Probably the best examples of local variants of liturgical melodies are two *Kyries* in hand-written chorale books from the 1840s. In *Job. Hymander 1840* (see Example 37), the melodic construction is clearly recognisable, but there are many differences from the original or later versions. The beginning of the first verse (the word *Herra*, 'Lord') is wider but uses only four different tones (fis¹ missing), whereas the beginning of the second verse has one more tone (g¹), which makes the ending, i.e. four

last notes, the same with the first verse. The beginning of the third verse is even wider than any other version but ends again with the same three tones as the two earlier verses. The latter part of the verse (*armahda meidän päällem*) is exactly the same in every verse, but its wider than the original or later versions.

Example 37. A local variant of the *Kyrie* from Finland. *Job. Hylander* 1840. The author has transcribed the melody from note letter notation.

Her = = = = = ra, ar - mah - da mei = = = = =
 = = dän pääl - lem Chri = = = = = ste ar - mah -
 da mei = = = = = dän pääl - lem! Her = = = = =
 = = = = = ra, ar - mah - da mei = = = = =
 dän pääl - lem!

Example 38. An embellished Finnish version of the *Kyrie*. *Perander* 1843.

Her - - - ra ar-mah-da mei - dän päällem
 Chri - - - ste ar - mah-da mei - dän päällem
 Her - - - - - ra
 ar - mah - da mei - - - dän päällem

The *Kyrie* in *Perander 1843* (see Example 38) is close to the original one, but the melody is a little bit different, the rhythm is much livelier, and there are many melismata as well as auxiliary and passing tones. However, it is not certain if it was meant to be sung like this; *Perander 1843* was written by a violinist and owing to this, all of the embellishments might exist for accompaniment on the violin. In any case, this melody as such was impossible to sing by the congregation.

The tradition of local variants and vernacular singing style however faded during the nineteenth century, when congregational singing and liturgical melodies were standardised. The change can be described similar to how Heikki Laitinen (1982, 125–127) constructs the change of peasants' music in late-nineteenth-century Finland. Laitinen lists nine changes, eight of which, in my opinion, also apply to congregational singing in general and liturgical melodies in particular. Making this comparison shows that congregational singing was not the only musical genre that was standardised in the nineteenth century; rather, the phenomenon was widespread in music culture.

First, singing and playing by heart were replaced by the use of sheet music. In many cases in the church, that meant *sifferskrift* numerical notation. According to Laitinen, the whole musical culture was transformed because when singing and playing by heart, the music constantly changed, but eventually the focus shifted to implementing the sheet music correctly. Second, the major-minor tonality became established for good. In liturgical melodies, this meant using the high leading-tone in particular. Third, perception of the melody changed from complex to simple. This is evident in the comparison of hand-written and printed collections of liturgical melodies. Fourth, there was a transition to the new kind of many-part music, which in church refers both to four-part singing and organ accompaniment. Fifth, the way to use dynamics and agogics changed; in church, mainly to simpler and plainer congregational singing. Sixth, the vocal sound formation techniques changed; the impact of singing teaching in primary schools was remarkable, but four-part singing has an impact as well. Seventh, community singing and playing were unified; free improvisation and embellishment was replaced by an ideal of unity, i.e. singing exactly the same melody, rhythm and lyrics as well as starting and ending every phrase at the same time. Eighth, musical expression changed from expressive to formal. According to Laitinen, it is difficult to provide precise arguments for this, but I get a similar impression

when studying the standardisation of congregational music. Laitinen's ninth change is in handling musical instruments, but this does not apply to congregational singing because ordinary people did not use instruments, except the psalmodikon, the use of which did not change (Laitinen 1982, 125–127).

4.7 Conclusion

Transnational influences flowed from Sweden and Prussia to Finland and Ingria. Many hand-written chorale books indicate that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in Finland, there was only one series of liturgical music left, with different regional or parochial variants; the tradition of liturgical singing in Ingria was probably similar. This unity, however, ended in 1832, when the new Imperial Agenda was published. Its 1835 Finnish translation included a musical supplement, in which there were liturgical melodies both from Swedish and Prussian traditions and at least one local *Sanctus* melody, most likely from Saint Petersburg. In Finland, from 1837 onwards, many collections of liturgical melodies were published, and all of them followed Swedish predecessors, i.e. Hæffner and Åhlström's collections. In addition, one German version of the *Laudamus* found its way to *Hymander 1889*. The Swedish *Agnus Dei* made a very interesting transnational journey around the Baltic Sea; it was adopted in Prussia in the 1820s, from where it spread to the Baltics. In Ingria, the originally same melody was thus embraced from two directions.

In the previous history of Finnish music, those who edited the collections of liturgical music or made musical arrangements and settings for them have been largely overshadowed, even though many of them had been educated abroad and were part of transnational networks. F.A. Ehrström had studied in Uppsala, Anton Kunelius in Stockholm and Oscar Pahlman both in Stockholm and Dresden. Heinrich Wächter and Richard Faltin were born in Germany. Anders Nordlund had a Swedish organ teacher, whereas J.A.G. Hymander and Konstantin Saarelainen studied music under German-born Fredrik Pacius; Hymander also worked closely with Richard Faltin.

At the translocal level, there were many connections between Finland and Ingria, but due to different agendas from 1837 onwards, it was not possible to use Finn-

ish collections of liturgical melodies in Ingria. Nevertheless, for historical reasons, there were many similar melodies in the musical supplement for the 1835 Finnish translation of the Imperial Agenda. Influences spread in the other direction as well; F.A. Ehrström lived for a short time in Saint Petersburg and brought materials from there to his *Sanctus* melody. Mooses Putro, on the other hand, had close relations to Finland; in addition, he had briefly studied in Livonia and Finland. Putro was also familiar with at least some of the Finnish collections of liturgical melodies; his collection from 1906 was thus a combination of Swedish-origin melodies used in Finland, Prussian-origin melodies used in the Lutheran Church of Russia as well as his own settings and compositions. Consequently, Ingrian Finns differed from other language groups of their Church throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because the others used only the Prussian-origin melodies.

In Finland, the path of the liturgical melodies went from the plethora of slightly different one-part versions to standardised four-part arrangements. Local variants were replaced at first by different printed collections of liturgical melodies, many of which were in use in different parishes. From the three Swedish predecessors, *Hæffner 1817* was the most influential; *Ehrström 1837* followed it the most strongly, but also *Murman 1856*, as well as all of the collections of Hymander (1859, 1878 and 1892) and the ones related to Hymander's (*Saarelainen 1875*, *Valve and Valve 1889*, *Ketonen 1889*, *Ketonen 1890* and *Achté 1892*) were more influenced by it than the other two. *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* made the most direct impact on *Nordlund 1850*, but through that collection, it also influenced *Wächter 1865* and *Kunelius 1875*. Of all of the Finnish collections, the most unique one was *Kukkasela 1857*; nevertheless, it was clearly influenced by *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799* and *Nordlund 1850*. *Åhlström 1818* had the least impact on Finland; its greatest impact was only on *Hagfors 1871* and *Frosterus 1878*, but it seems that neither of them was used much.

Towards the end of the century, J.A.G. Hymander's collection achieved semi-official status, even though it was not authorised by the General Synod. Many other collections were only slightly modified versions of *Hymander 1889*, and it was added both in Colliander and Faltin's four-part Chorale Book as well as the 1902 Finnish and Swedish one-part Chorale Books published by the chorale committee. Even though *Hymander 1889* mostly followed Swedish tradition, Ehrström's *Sanctus*, as well as

Faltin's *Laudamus* and Benediction were included. Hymander's collection, although modified, was in common use in Finland until 2000 and is still in use in Namibia. In Ingria, Putro's collection fell into oblivion with the birth of the Soviet Union, but it was brought back to life in a slightly modified version in the 1990s.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I have outlined the attempts to standardise Lutheran congregational singing and liturgical melodies in nineteenth-century Finland and Ingria. The research question has been, *how and why was congregational singing standardised both in general and in liturgical melodies in particular*. The aim of this study has been to gain a deeper understanding of the theological, political and philosophical background of the standardisation process and of the interaction between congregational singing and other (music) culture within Finnish and Ingrian society. To approach all of this, I have used local, translocal and transnational research perspectives. With these concepts and perspectives, I have outlined different dynamic contexts and levels of the examined process. The local view has helped to reveal what was done in individual parishes. The translocal perspective has given answers to questions regarding what kinds of interaction existed between towns and dioceses, on the one hand, and Finland and Ingria on the other hand. From a transnational perspective, it has been possible to dig into the flows of pan-European thoughts and ideas as well as the movements of liturgical melodies over state-borders.

Based on this analysis, the use of the concept of standardisation has proved useful. My intention has not been to take a position on whether congregational singing became better or not, even though contemporary actors used the word ‘improvement.’ Instead, I have shown that a remarkable change occurred, which led to unification both in singing and melodies. Although no official decisions on melodies were made in the nineteenth-century Finland, O.I. Colliander and Richard Faltin’s Chorale Book became established in Finland and Ingria. At the end of the century, J.A.G. Hylander’s collection of liturgical melodies appeared and became the most common in Finland. In addition, practically all of the other collections published since 1889 have contained Hylander’s versions with only minor modifications. In Ingria, Mooses Putro’s collection of liturgical melodies from 1906 came to be used in all parishes. These collections and their melodies thus became a standard, albeit without official authorisation in Finland. Moreover, despite ongoing local variation, congregational singing in most parishes started to grow more and more similar, justifying the view that this process was indeed one of standardisation.

When Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire, the Lutheran Church found itself in a position where it could align its own liturgy and music, independent from the Lutheran Churches of Sweden or Russia. The Tsar had many political reasons to retain the Lutheran faith in Finland, one of the most important being that through confidential relations with the local clergy peace and order were maintained among ordinary people, and the common folk stayed loyal to the new rulers. Furthermore, the Tsar also did not want the Church to have a too close a relationship to Sweden and for that reason strengthened its independent position. In this manner, an interesting tension arose from the perspective of the main research perspectives of this study: the Lutheran Church was granted permission to decide on its own books locally, but the Russian authorities followed the processes closely and made final decisions about publications. At the same time, both at the beginning and end of the century, similar processes were under way in Sweden, which the Finns followed closely. The bond with Sweden proved to be strong, as the Swedish handbooks and renewal processes had a much stronger impact on the Finnish discussion and the 1886 Handbook than the Russian 1832 Imperial Agenda. However, the work of the committees progressed too slowly in the first half of the century, and new theological trends arrived in Finland, as a result of which the plans dried up, and new books were not authorised until the latter half of the century, including the Church Law in 1869, and the Handbook and Hymnals in 1886. Lutheran parishes in Ingria belonged to the Lutheran Church of Russia and followed the 1832 Imperial Agenda, which means that even though most pastors came from Finland, the liturgical tradition and the agenda were different. Nevertheless, a similar discussion about standardising congregational singing was going on all the time both in Finland and Ingria, and influences travelled in both directions.

From a transnational perspective, this thesis has shown that Finland and Ingria were not outlying regions isolated from Lutheranism in Central Europe or from the contemporary ideas and movements on the continent. The impact of the Enlightenment was evident in all of the philosophical, theological and political thoughts behind standardising congregational singing; they were either in line with it or reactions against it. The direct influence of the Enlightenment on the style of church music was based on the Romantic aesthetic thinking that emerged from it. In Central Europe as well as in Sweden, to kindle devout, humble or uplifting feelings, church music needed to count on those members of the congregation who had a limited

understanding of music, which meant favouring hymn-singing by the congregation, instead of, for example, polyphonic music. The most important features of the 'edifying' church music were its noble simplicity and silent grandeur. The best music to serve these ideals was homophonic, chorale-like settings with rhythmic unison in all of the parts. Both in Finland and Ingria, elevated and homophonic settings of the chorales and liturgical melodies were also seen as the best vehicle to unify congregational singing, which was considered to suffer from the usage of local chorale variants. In the last decades of the century, the dominance of the German-romantic philosophy and the 'ecclesiastical style' was still evident in the teaching material of the Finnish churchwarden-organist schools and the Kolppana Seminary in Ingria, especially in the organ methods.

Musical instruments were important tools to unify melodies and standardise congregational singing. In this process, there were local, translocal and transnational levels. At first, there was little discussion about accompaniment; the main question was rather which instrument was the best for learning melodies. The psalmodikon was such a simple instrument that it soon displaced the violin and spread widely both in Finland and Ingria. There was variation among parishes in how much the psalmodikon was used; however, the ordinary people who built this instrument got the idea and instructions from a local pastor, churchwarden or primary school teacher. The phenomenon was nevertheless transnational; psalmodikons were developed in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, from which the idea came to Finland. Following the example of the Swedish Pastor Johan Dillner, many chorale books and collections of liturgical melodies with *sifferskrift* numerical notation were printed in Finland. From a translocal view, there were at least two different flows: firstly, the psalmodikon was carried to Ingria from Finland and secondly, publications with *sifferskrift* were printed in towns and edited mostly by churchwardens living in towns, but they spread to the countryside and reached the lower classes as well.

Even though unaccompanied congregational singing was often preferred, the accompaniment was also considered a vehicle to standardise it. Many organs were built in Finnish and Ingrian churches, and churchwardens were taught to play them. Yet again, there was a transnational movement; the first organ workshops were founded by a Danish-born and Swedish-born organ builder, and several organ builders from Sweden, Germany and Estonia built instruments in Finland. In Ingria, most of the organs were built by German organ workshops.

In primary schools, the harmonium became a commonly used instrument, and there were harmoniums in many churches as well. Harmoniums were imported from Sweden, Germany and the United States by the music magazines of the largest towns, but several smaller harmonium workshops started their operation in Finland as well. Local harmonium builders learned from other builders, which means that expertise transferred locally.

Brass bands were also established here and there, and they accompanied hymns in festive Divine Services as well as local and national song and play festivals, both in Finland and Ingria. These instruments were largely purchased from abroad, mostly from Germany. Even though brass bands were a transnational feature in nineteenth-century Europe, a unique local ensemble, the brass septet, was formed in Finland.

Theological thoughts have always flowed transnationally, and the nineteenth century was no exception. The 1693 Handbook and the 1701 Hymnal represented Lutheran Orthodoxy. It was challenged in eighteenth-century Central Europe by movements, the impact of which was visible in Finland and Ingria in the nineteenth century. These movements were Neology and Rationalism, which in the spirit of the Enlightenment emphasised morality, and Pietism, which put personal religious renewal at the centre. According to rationalistic thought, the goal of the liturgy was to help parishioners reach the highest level of morality and satisfaction consistent with contemporary religious and moral circumstances and the needs of the community. In Sweden, the 1811 Handbook and the 1819 Hymnal and in Russia, the 1805 Imperial Liturgical Directives and the 1808 Hamina Agenda were rationalistic-minded. All of them were also in use at least in some parishes in Finland. In Ingria, of the above-mentioned, only the 1819 Swedish Hymnal was in use in Swedish-speaking parishes. According to rationalistic insights, four-part hymn-singing and devout solemnity were the best tools to uplift the congregation's spiritual life.

Many Pietism-based awakening movements came into being in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Finland and Ingria, and their spread was a sign of a translocal interaction. Hymn-singing was an important part of their prayer meetings, but besides the Hymnal, there were also other collections of spiritual songs.

This meant that they brought in new repertoire from outside the official hymnals. This repertoire was mostly from Sweden and Germany, but there were hymn writers in Finland as well.

In the middle of the century, many pastors started to support the Biblicist theology of German Professor J.T. Beck. In their liturgical thoughts, Beckian theologians focused on the biblical reference, which did not cause any visible or audible change in congregational singing; the purpose was rather to give a solid theological and spiritual foundation to standardise it. The inter-denominational liturgical interest in Prussia after the Napoleonic Wars had a huge impact on liturgy in Ingria, also from a musical point of view, through the 1832 Imperial Agenda. Being inter-denominational on the one hand and coming from Prussia to Russia on the other hand means that the flow was both translocal and transnational. To some extent, these thoughts even spread to Finland. According to the Imperial Agenda, all of the liturgical melodies, except the pastor's parts, were meant to be sung by a four-part choir.

Efforts to standardise congregational singing thus also included the first attempts to sing in four parts at the Divine Services. The influences came to Finland both from Sweden and Russia but originally from Central Europe. In Ingria, the Russian 1832 Imperial Agenda required four-part singing, but the first attempts to teach it to parishioners were made by pastors who moved from Finland. At first, four-part singing did not mean choirs, but there were aims to teach the congregation to sing in four parts. Especially in the area of Old Finland, it meant singing liturgical melodies in four parts, according to the instructions of the 1832 Imperial Agenda. In some parishes, a large part of the parishioners was taught to sing in four parts. In many churches, there was also a tradition to summon a choir to sing *Hosanna* by G.J. Vogler on the First Advent Sunday. These *Hosanna* choirs were local, translocal and transnational phenomena: the song came from Sweden, the choirs spread from Finland to Ingria, and unique local traditions were established.

From the 1870s onwards, singing societies were formed in many parishes by churchwardens who were trained to conduct choirs at the new churchwarden-organist schools. In addition, there were local singing societies outside the parishes that also sang in churches, usually conducted by a primary school teacher. In Ingria as well, many choirs and singing societies were established and conducted by the church-

wardens and primary school teachers educated in the Kolppana Seminary. As in Finland, their repertoire included both sacred and secular songs. Hymns also belonged to the repertoire of the national and local song and play festivals that were organised both in Finland and Ingria in the late nineteenth century. The idea of these festivals was adopted from the Baltic Germans and Estonians, but the origin was in Central Europe. Four-part singing was thus a network of ideas, music and publications that spread widely over national, regional and municipal borders as well as reaching different classes, languages, denominations and societal movements.

Around the middle of the century, Neo-Lutheranism reacted against Neology and Rationalism on the one hand and the Prussian Union on the other hand and started to emphasise confessional Lutheran doctrine again. In Finland, an ‘ecclesiastical direction,’ which competed mostly with Beckian Biblicism, was based on Neo-Lutheranism. The only real church music for them was music that stood in the service of the liturgy and mediated it, whereas no music that was not connected with the liturgy was considered church music. The 1886 new Finnish Handbook represented mostly Neo-Lutheranism, but there were some impacts of Rationalism and Pietism as well. The Ingrian Finns would have wanted to use it, but they did not get permission from their consistorial authorities. Along with other Lutheran minority groups in the Russian Empire, they had to take into use the 1897 new Imperial Agenda, which was clearly Neo-Lutheran. From a translocal view, it meant that Ingrian parishes continued living under a different liturgical tradition in comparison with Finland, although relations over the frontier of the Grand Duchy remained close.

As an agency-oriented approach, translocality also refers to social mobility among different social classes and strata. Most of the first attempts to standardise congregational singing were led by pastors, which reveals how Finnish and Ingrian societies, especially in rural areas, were functioning in the nineteenth century. The hierarchy was based on Martin Luther’s Small Catechism and its supplement, the Table of Duties, in which Luther taught that the authorities were appointed by God. The population in rural areas were mostly independent farmers and the non-landowning poor, but there were always pastors and some public officials as well, sometimes also noblemen and military or court officers. In Ingria, almost all of the Finnish-speaking population were serfs until the 1860s. According to the Table of Duties, the people obeyed and honoured the clergy, which is why they had the authority to

make people learn singing. Little by little, the educated middle class, the bourgeois intelligentsia, grew in Finland and also spread to rural areas, which meant that the Table of Duties lost its position. In Ingria, the primary school teachers educated in the Kolppana Seminary and especially those who studied further elsewhere became a new intelligentsia. The standardisation of congregational singing thus changed to be a lay project both in Finland and Ingria.

The new Church Law in 1869 was a remarkable local act that changed the governing of the Lutheran Church and the content of many of its offices in Finland. The General Synod took an important role as an establisher of cultural control in congregational singing by authorising the Hymnal and the Divine Service Agenda. When doing that in 1886, the General Synod appointed a committee to assign suitable melodies and publish an official chorale book, but the project was not yet completed in the nineteenth century. The offices of churchwarden and organist also changed to be first and foremost that of a musician, and after that, four churchwarden-organist schools were founded in Finland: in Turku (1878), Helsinki (1882), Oulu (1882) and Viipuri (1893). Earlier, the churchwardens had got their training usually from another churchwarden. The founders of these schools had studied abroad and got influences from there, but the curricula of these schools resembled more one another than any European institutions. In most of the Lutheran countries, training churchwardens was combined with educating primary school teachers. The Kolppana Churchwarden and Teacher Seminary in Ingria, founded in 1863, associated thus more strongly with the pan-European stream. Even though the musical standard at the Seminary was modest, the churchwarden-teachers educated there were usually the only professional musicians and pedagogues in their own locale. At the end of the 1870s, the teaching of church-singing to the students of theology was also properly organised at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki, which meant that both Finnish and Ingrian parishes had access to more musically skilled pastors.

Technical development made it faster and cheaper to print sheet music and build instruments. At the same time, better means of transport made it easier to import instruments and notebooks. These translocal and transnational changes made it possible to establish the first music stores in Finland; in Saint Petersburg, the first ones were founded in the eighteenth century. Along with official Finnish and Swedish Hymnals, many collections of spiritual songs were published in the late nine-

teenth century by the spiritual movements and the new Christian associations. They included new Anglo-Saxon, German and Scandinavian revivalist songs that spread quickly and became popular but were not seen as equal with the hymns. Nevertheless, they collectively increased the amount of singing. As the community singing became more common in Finnish society, and as the level of congregational singing improved in Lutheran parishes, a discussion on having their own congregational singing arose in the Eastern Orthodox Church as well, which meant that another tight inter-denominational border began to crumble.

Standardising congregational singing was also a nationalistic project. Even though nationalism was a transnational phenomenon and broad movement going on across the whole of Europe, it always appeared in a local context. Nationalism's first phase in Finland stressed the position of the Finnish language; J.V. Snellman's ideas of Finnish as a fully-fledged national language gained wide support. As in many other European countries, in Finland, the educated classes also became interested in folk culture and tried to find 'the Finnish spirit' and 'the soul of the nation' by collecting folk songs and oral poetry. Chorale variants were also collected, but they were considered a sign of corruption. It was far more important to teach the people to sing hymns the same way in every parish and with proper German and Swedish chorale melodies because high-quality and unified congregational singing was seen as a precondition for admittance to the circle of civilised European nations. In Ingria, the special feature of Ingrian-Finnish nationalism was how closely it was bound to the Lutheran Church. The national awakening of the Ingrian Finns did not involve either a desire to become part of Finland or to gain an autonomous position; Ingrian Finns emphasised their historical roots and their close connections with their ethnic and linguistic homeland, Finland. Standardising congregational singing was also tied to nationalism in Ingria since the Lutheran Church and the Finnish language were the most important factors in Ingrian national identification. The Kolppana Seminary became both the central place and the symbol of Ingrian nationalist thought.

Standardising congregational singing was also a project of primary schools. In Ingria, many primary schools operated under Lutheran parishes. The teachers usually worked as churchwardens along with their own actions or at least they were educated in Kolppana to be churchwardens as well. Therefore, hymn-singing was a natural part of the primary school curriculum. In Finland as well, after establishing

the national school system in the 1860s, hymns and liturgical melodies had a strong position both in primary schools and teacher seminaries, and not only in singing lessons but also at prayers that started and ended every school day. School children also served as precentors at the Divine Services every now and then. Hymns and sacred choir songs were also sung in different kinds of events and celebrations of the new mass movements and organisations, such as the temperance and labour movements, youth associations and volunteer fire brigades. Hymn-singing thus crossed many societal boundaries.

The combination of Neo-Lutheranism and nationalistic thoughts of the Fennoman Movement, the idea of ‘the people’s church,’ is interesting from both local and translocal perspectives. It opened ways for standardising congregational singing to become more of a lay project, and no longer a task of the clergy. Towards the end of the century, it thus changed to be voluntary-based and independent of the clerical supervision. It was also a result of a change in the social structure; churchwardens trained in churchwarden-organist schools and primary school teachers became the conductors of singing societies and brass bands as well as teachers of hymn-singing. A similar change was seen in Ingria as well.

Attempts to standardise congregational singing, all of the abovementioned changes and especially the complexity of many different handbooks and agendas also had an impact on liturgical melodies. In comparison to the eighteenth century, the amount of singing decreased since most of the parts the liturgist used to sing earlier were changed to be read. The congregation, on the other hand, got more parts to sing, but in many parishes, liturgical singing was left for the churchwarden. In Ingria, after the 1832 Imperial Agenda, liturgical singing as a whole was meant first and foremost for the choir, but most likely it was usually the congregation who took care of it.

The *Kyrie*, earlier sung or read by the liturgist or the churchwarden, changed to be sung by the congregation. Previously, the whole of the *Gloria* was sung by the liturgist, but little by little, the congregation started to sing the latter part. The *Laudamus* was replaced by a hymn but came back in the late nineteenth century with Richard Faltin’s composition. Until the 1850s at least, all of the prayers and Scripture readings were supposed to be sung; however, reading probably became more common. At the end of the century, there were no settings for Scripture readings anymore

in the printed collections of liturgical melodies; for the prayers, there were settings only in varying degrees. The *Sanctus* sung by the liturgist was mostly replaced by the choir's or congregation's version towards the end of the century. Singing the Bridal Mass was minimal and gradually faded away entirely. However, the most remarkable change was that unison singing without accompaniment was mostly replaced by organ accompaniment, and consequently, more four-part collections were published instead of one-part versions.

The melodic and rhythmical body of many liturgical melodies changed during the nineteenth century. The hand-written chorale books show that there were many different variants, some of them much livelier and complex in comparison with the printed collections that followed J.C.F. Hæffner's syllabic versions. Many melodies were thus simplified and shortened. These changes reveal local, translocal and transnational movements. There were local variants of the melodies, especially in hand-written collections but in some printed ones as well. Printed collections and individual melodies transferred from town to town and there was an interaction between Finland and Saint Petersburg. However, most of the collections largely followed predecessors from other countries – in Finland, the Swedish ones and in Ingria, the Prussian ones.

This study is partly related to the reshaping of Finnish music history, as it has shown strong transnational relations and their effects on Finland. Despite its name, the Finnish Mass was ultimately not very Finnish, as can be seen from my careful background analysis of the liturgical melodies in the various collections. Examining Ingria alongside Finland has also brought a new perspective and revealed translocal connections between these two regions, regarding liturgical music as well. At the same time, it has become clear that notwithstanding some common melodies, Ingria had its own tradition of liturgical music that combined Swedish and Prussian traditions and was different from Finland on the one hand and other Russian Lutheran national groups on the other.

The challenge of this study has been twofold; the research material has often been fragmentary, and the ordinary people and their views are largely missing from it. In particular, this leaves open the question of how much opposition there was to standardisation, and how it was manifested in practice. Therefore, one possible topic

for further research would be to explore nineteenth-century Finnish fiction to find out if there are any descriptions of congregational singing. Another interesting topic regarding congregational singing would be Finnish migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to America, Sweden and the Finnmark area in Northern Norway. The church life of Finnish immigrant groups in Sweden and Norway has been studied little, and there is no comprehensive research on the American Finns either. For these groups, church music and singing has not been studied at all.

Worthy of its own comprehensive research would also be the process with liturgical melodies that began in Finland after the time frame of this research. In 1903, the General Synod set up a chorale committee that was also tasked with creating uniform liturgical melodies. The proposal published by the Committee in 1908 was accompanied by a competing alternative, neither of which, however, gained popularity. Consequently, when the new Handbook appeared in 1913, there were still no liturgical melodies in it. This led to a situation where at least ten new collections of liturgical melodies were published and brought into use. In 1918, a new committee was established again, the proposal of which was approved in 1923 and printed in 1925. In this official collection of liturgical melodies, there were five series of liturgical melodies, the first of which was a modified version of Hylander's 1889 collection. Shortly thereafter, the Swedish-language tradition took its own path, but the 1923 Finnish collection was lightly updated two times during the twentieth century; three of the five series were omitted, but the first one survived. Thus, the standardisation of liturgical melodies, which reached its culmination at the end of the nineteenth century, had an impact on the liturgical life of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland until 2000.

List of Abbreviations

FELM	Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Suomen Lähetysseura, Finska Missionssällskapet)
HY	University of Helsinki (Helsingin yliopisto, Helsingfors universitet)
HYKA	Helsinki University Central Archives (Helsingin yliopiston keskusarkisto)
KA	The National Archives of Finland (Kansallisarkisto, Riksarkivet)
KAU	Kejsarliga Alexanders Universitetet i Finland [Imperial Alexander University in Finland]
KK	National Library of Finland (Kansalliskirjasto, Nationalbiblioteket)
MTS	Suomen musiikkitieteellinen seura [Finnish Musicological Society]
RAA	Regia Academia Aboensis [Royal Academy of Turku]
S-A	Sibelius Academy (Sibelius-Akatemia, Sibelius-Akademin)
SES	Suomen etnomusikologinen seura (Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology)
SHS	Suomen Historiallinen Seura [Finnish Historical Society]
SKHS	Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura [Finnish Society for Church History]
SKS	Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura)
SLS	Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland [Swedish Literature Society in Finland]
STKS	Suomalainen Teologinen Kirjallisuusseura [Finnish Theological Literature Society]
Uniarts	University of the Arts Helsinki (Taideyliopisto, Konstuniversitetet)
WSOY	Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö [Werner Söderström Ltd.]

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Hand-written Chorale Books

The National Archives of Finland (KA), Helsinki

Cajander 1830. *Finska Choral Bokens Samt Finska Messans Discant Stemma. Efter Telenius*. A chorale book from 1830, owned by Hj. Cajander, most likely a copy of a chorale book, written by Simon Telenius. C9, Signum A39.

The Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS), Helsinki

– Archive Materials on Literature and Cultural History

Kilpelin 1844. A chorale book from 1844, owned by Abraham Kilpelin, probably from Pulkkila. A 1495.

G. Lindell 1861/1874. *Kirkko Weisun Koraali ynnä Messun kanssa. Kirjoittanut Gustaf Lindell, lukkari Lempäälän seurakunnassa*. A chorale book, written by the Churchwarden of Lempäälä, Gustaf Lindell most likely 1861–1874. A 1729.

Pietikäinen s.a. A chorale book probably from the 1840s, probably from Kiuruvesi or Pielavesi, most likely a copy of a chorale book, written by Henrik Pietikäinen, Kiuruvesi. A 3075.

Salviander 1832. A chorale book from 1832, written and owned by Fredrik Salviander, Turku. B 666.

The National Library of Finland (KK), Helsinki

Grackulus 1845 A chorale book from 1845, written by Olof Grackulus, Turku, owned by Johan Wallenius, a copy of a chorale book, written by Fredrik Salviander, Turku. Ms. Mus. 35.

Grahnqvist 1848. *Den Svenska Korall Boken. Suomalainen Nuotti Kirja.*
A chorale book from 1847–1848, written and owned by Joh.
Grahnqvist, probably Iitti, a copy of a chorale book, written by Olof
Grackulus, Turku. Ms. Mus. 85.

Salmelin 1835 A chorale book from 1835, written and owned by
Adolf Salmelin, Turku. Ms. Mus. 97.

Suksi 1831 A chorale book from 1831, owned first by Lucander (?),
then Herman Saxberg and from 1875 on, Juho Suksi, Teuva.
Ms. Mus. 100.

Nurmeksen museo [The Museum of Nurmes, Northern Karelia]

Lackman 1837 A chorale book from the early nineteenth century,
owned by Erik Samuel Lackman, probably from Eno. 4326.

Sibelius Museum, Turku

Bergman 1811. *Choral-Bok. Eller Melodierne uppå alla de Psalmer som
finnas å den Svenska Psalm-Boken: Afskrefne med tillhörig Bas och General-
Bas. År 1811. i Nerpes. Tillhörig Ferdinand Bergman.* A chorale book
from 1811, owned by Ferdinand Bergman, Närpes, possibly written
by his father Johan Erik Bergman, Närpes.

Joh. Hylander 1840. *Koralbok till Gla Finska Psalmboken skrifven af
Johannes Hylander +pastor.* A chorale book from the 1840s, written
and owned by Johannes Hylander, Nastola, later owned by his son
J.A.G. Hylander, Helsinki, who also wrote the title.

Sjöholm 1831 A chorale book from 1831, owned by Israel Sjöholm,
Köyliö.

Toppelius 1833. A chorale book from 1833, owned by Frans Mikael
Toppelius, Orisberg.

Wahtonen 1850. A chorale book from 1850, owned by Kristian
Wahtonen, Angelniemi.

Ensio Mertanen's private archive, Kuopio

Mertanen 1876. A chorale book from 1876, owned by Heikki Mertanen, based on Nordlund 1850.

Reijo Pajamo's private archive, Helsinki

Ahlfors 1855. A chorale book from the nineteenth century, owned by David Ahlfors, Paattinen, written probably by Karl Mauritz Jernberg, Turku.

Enqvist 1811. A chorale book from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, owned by Johan Axelsson Enqvist, Alajärvi.

Hysén 1817. A chorale book from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, owned by Carl Niclas Hysén, Turku, written probably by Johan Grandell in 1802.

Jouni Vannas's private archive, Polvijärvi

Perander 1843. A chorale book from 1843, owned by Anders Perander, Alajärvi.

Printed Collections of Liturgical Melodies from Finland and Ingria

Achté, L[orenz] N[ikolai] (ed.) 1892. *Koraalikirja uudelle suomalaiselle ja ruotsalaiselle wirsikirjalle ynnä Messu ja Vogler'in "Hosianna", jotka, asettamalla säveleet ihmisiäänen keskikorkeuden mukaan ynnä soittamalla ne sekä uruilla että myöskin harmoniolla tabi pianolla soitettaviksi, toimitti L. N. Achté. Korallbok till nya finska och svenska psalmböckerna jemte Messan och Voglers "Hosianna", med melodierna lämpade efter medelhöjden för människorösten och harmoniserade för att kunna spelas, utom på orgel, äfven på harmonium och piano, utgifven af L. N. Achté, Helsinki: Weilin & Göös.*

Ehrström, Fr[edrik] Aug[ust] 1837. *Suomalainen Messu, jonka nuotille asettanut ja Wirsi Kanteleen tawoin numeroihin pannut Fr. Aug. Ehrström, Helsinki: G. O. Wasenius.*

Frosterus, B[erndt] Leonard 1878. *Perustus-Tieto Soitanton Forte-Pianolle, Harmoniumille, Wiululle sekä Wirsikanteleelle, Steibeltin, Dussekin ja Cramerin Opetustawan mukaan, ynnä Musiikki-Sanakirja. Ulosweto ja Suomennos J. Leonard Höijerin hyväksi tunnetusta Musiikki-Sanakirjasta. Grundlära i Musiken för Piano-Forte, Harmonium, Violin och Psalmodicon, efter Steibelts, Dusseks och Cramers metoder jemte Musik-Ordbok. Utdrag ur J. Leonard Höijers välkända Musik-Lexikon, second, rev. ed.,* Turku: G. W. Wilén.

Hagfors, Er[ik] Aug[ust] (ed.) 1871. *Suomalainen lauluseppele. Yhdistetyille nais- ja mies-äänille sovitettuja arvokkaampain sävelniekkain lauluja. Seminarille, kouluille ja lauluseuroille,* Helsinki: SKS.

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Appendix 1: Printed Collections of Liturgical Melodies from Nineteenth-Century Finland and Ingria

Markings and Abbreviations in the Tables

= XX equal to XX

~ XX mostly similar to XX

(~ XX) resembles XX

HÅ 1799 *Hæffner and Åhlström 1799*

H 1817 *Hæffner 1817*

Å 1818 *Åhlström 1818*

PR 1822 Prussian Agenda 1822, musical supplement

IAG 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda 1832, musical supplement (in German)

IAF 1835 The Finnish translation of the 1832 Russian Imperial Agenda 1835, musical supplement

IAG 1897 Russian Imperial Agenda 1897, musical supplement (in German)

Fin Finnish version (of the same collection)

Swe Swedish version (of the same collection)

vers. versicle (liturgist)

resp. response (congregation or choir)

mel. melody

harm. harmonies

*Finnish Translation of the 1832 Imperial Agenda 1835,
Musical Supplement*

Title: *Kirkko-menoin Käsi-Kirja Evangelisille Lutheruksen Seurakunnille Wenäjällä.*
[‘Handbook of Church Services for the Evangelical Lutheran Parishes in Russia.’]

The musical supplement is a separate publication bound to the same book.

Author: unknown

Publisher: P. Widerholm, Saint Petersburg, Russia

Notation: one-part notation for the liturgist, four-part harmonies for a mixed choir

Language: Finnish

Contents:

Musical supplement [*Wuoro Weisuu Nuotit*], without page numbers

1. <i>Kyrie</i> [no title], two options	1. = HÅ 1799; 2. ~ IAG 1832
2. Amen [no title], two options	1. = PR 1822 and IAG 1832; 2. = H 1817
3. <i>Gloria</i> [no title]	~ IAG 1832 ¹
4.–5. Salutation [no title]	vers. ~ IAG 1832; resp. mel. = PR 1822 and IAG 1832, harm. ~ PR 1822, = IAG 1832
6.–7. Collect [no title]	~ IAG 1832; Amen = IAG 1832

1 Here is only the first part of the *Gloria*, sung by the liturgist, which indicates that the hymn replacing the Laudamus started immediately.

8. <i>Alleluia</i> [no title]	mel. = PR 1822 ² and IAG 1832
9. Amen for the Creed [no title]	mel. = PR 1822 and IAG 1832; harm. ~ PR 1822, = IAG 1832
10.–11. Salutation [no title]	= IAG 1832
12.–13. Short collect [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818; Amen IAF 1832
14.–15. Benediction [no title]	= HÅ 1799 and Å 1818; Amen = IAG 1832
Preface salutation [no title]	~ HÅ 1799
Preface [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818
<i>Sanctus</i> [no title], three options	1. = IAG 1832; 2. = H 1817; 3. unknown
Lord's prayer [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818; Amen = IAG 1832
Words of institution [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799), ~ PR 1822, = IAG 1832
<i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	= H 1817
Thanksgiving [no title]	= HÅ 1799 ³ ; Amen ~ H 1817 ⁴
Benediction [no title], only the instructions to the liturgist: 'similar with 14'	Amen = IAG 1832
Funeral Mass [<i>Ruumis Saarnan jälkeen</i>]	
Salutation [no title]	= Å 1818 ⁵

2 Only one rhythm is slightly different. Composed by the organist of Berlin Cathedral, Ludwig Hellwig (1773–1838).

3 A shortened version.

4 Only the first chord is different.

5 It is stated in *Åhlström 1818*: 'In ancient times, in several regions, the next one was sung before the Benediction' (*I forntiden brukades i älskilliga Landsorter att sjungas näst före Wälsignelsen*).

Prayer [<i>Rukous</i>], only the instructions: 'as number 12.'	
Benediction [<i>Siunnaus</i>], only the instructions: 'as number 14.'	

Ehrström 1837

Title: *Suomalainen messu, jonka nuotille asettanut ja W'irsi Kanteleen tavoin numeroihin pannut Fr. Aug. Ehrström* [Finnish Mass, notated and numbered for the psalmodikon by Fr. Aug. Ehrström]

Author: Ehrström, Fredrik August (1801–1850), composer, singing teacher, Organist of Helsinki

Publisher: G. O. Wasenius, Helsinki

Notation: one-part *sifferskrift* numbered notation

Language: only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [*Esipuhe.*], pp. III–VIII

Finnish Mass [no title], pp. 1–17

Before the Sermon [<i>Ennen Saarnaa.</i>]	
<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	= H 1817 ⁶
<i>Gloria</i> [no title]	~ H 1817

6 Only one minor rhythmic difference.

Salutation [no title]	(~ HÅ1799 and Å 1818)
Cadences for the Prayer and the Epistle [<i>Rukouksen ja Epistolan Loppusoinnit.</i>]	~ H 1817
Collect [<i>Kollekta.</i>]	(~ H 1817)
Epistle [<i>Epistola.</i>]	~ H 1817
Cadences for the Gospel [<i>Evangeliumin Loppusoinnit.</i>]	~ H 1817
Gospel [<i>Evangeliumi.</i>]	~ H 1817
After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Saarnan jälkeen. Ennen Herran Ehtoollista.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	1. and 2. vers. and resp. ~ HÅ 1799 and H1817; 3. vers. ~ IAF 1835, resp. ~ H1817, 1. resp.
Preface [no title]	~ H 1817
<i>Sanctus</i> 1 [no title]	(~ IAF 1835, HÅ 1799 and Vogler's <i>Hosanna</i>)
<i>Sanctus</i> 2 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799
Lord's prayer [no title]	~ H 1817, (~ HÅ1799); Amen = HÅ 1799
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	(~ H 1817)
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	(~ H 1817)
After the Holy Communion [<i>Herran Ehtoollisen jälkeen</i>]	
Salutation [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818)
Thanksgiving [no title]	~ H 1817
Salutation [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799 and H 1817)

<i>Benedicamus</i> 1 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, H 1817 and Å 1818
<i>Benedicamus</i> 2 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799
Benediction [no title], two options for Amen	~ H 1817; Amen 1 ~ H 1817 Amen 2 ~ IAF 1835, Amen 12.

Bridal Mass [*Aniokäskyn Messu*], pp. 18–23

Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. and resp. ~ Å1818, (~ H 1817); 2. vers. and resp. (~ H 1817) ⁷ ; 3. vers. and resp. Ehrström ⁸
Prayer [no title]	(~ H 1817)

⁷ The second versicle and response are missing from *Åhlström 1818* as well as the third versicle and response both from *Haffner 1817* and *Åhlström 1818*. That is probably why Ehrström put them close to the first versicle and response.

⁸ The third versicle and response are similar to the third versicle and response of the Preface salutation in *Ehrström 1837*.

Nordlund 1850

Title: *Suomalainen ja Ruotsalainen Messu* [‘Finnish and Swedish Mass’]

Published as a supplementary booklet between the endpaper and the back cover of the four-part chorale book *Suomalaisten Wirtten Koraa-li-Kirja ynnä Suomalaisen ja Ruotsalaisen Messun sekä Registerin kanssa, jonka jälkeen myös Ruotsalaisten Wirtten nuotit löydetään* (ed. by Antti Nordlund)

Author: Antti Nordlund, officially Nordlund, Anders Adrian (1808–1880), Churchwarden and Organist of Vaasa, singing teacher, *director cantus*

Publisher: P. M. J. Lundberg, Vaasa

Notation: one-part notation or two-part harmonies for the liturgist, and four-part harmonies for the congregation

Language: separate sections in Finnish and Swedish

Contents:

Finnish Mass⁹ [*Suomalainen Messu.*], pp. 1–17

Before the Sermon [<i>Edellä Saarnan.</i>]	
<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	= Å 1818 ¹⁰ and Swe
<i>Gloria</i> [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Swe

9 Nordlund follows *Hæffner and Åblström 1799*, *Åblström 1818* and *Ebrström 1837*, but he uses crochets instead of minims, minims instead of semibreves, *etc.* He also added bar lines and marked ends of phrases differently. Since these changes have no impact on the musical implementation, they have not been taken into account.

10 Only one doubling in a harmony differs from *Åblström 1819*, but it does not affect the sound. There is also one typographical error in the bass part, but it has been corrected in the Swedish version.

Salutation 1 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799
Salutation 2 [no title]	~ Ehrström 1837
Cadences for the Prayer and the Epistle [<i>Rukouksen ja Epistolan Loppusoinnit.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799)
Collect [<i>Kollekta.</i>]	Nordlund; Amen = HÅ 1799 and Swe
Epistle [<i>Epistola.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799), ~ Swe
Cadences for the Gospel [<i>Ewangeliumin Loppusoinnit.</i>]	~ HÅ 1799 ¹¹ and Swe
Gospel [<i>Ewangeliumi.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799), ~ Swe
After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Saarnan jälkeän. Ennen Herran Ehtollista.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title], two options for the first versicle ¹²	mel. 1. vers. and resp. ~ HÅ 1799 and Swe; 2. and 3. vers. and resp. ~ Ehrström 1837; harm. (~ HÅ 1799)
Preface [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818 and Swe
<i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Swe
Lord's prayer [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799 and Ehrström 1837); Amen ~ HÅ 1799, = Swe
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Swe
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title], two alternatives for the first verse	~ HÅ 1799

11 These cadences are missing from *Haffner and Åhlström 1799*, but Nordlund's resemble the cadences used in the transcription of the Gospel in *Haffner and Åhlström 1799*.

12 The same melody but different rhythms.

After the Holy Communion [<i>Herran Ehtollisen jälkeen</i>]	
Salutation 1 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799
Salutation 2 [no title]	~ Ehrström 1837
Thanksgiving [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799); Amen = HÅ 1799 and Swe
Salutation 1 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799
Salutation 2 [no title]	~ Ehrström 1837
<i>Benedicamus</i> 1 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, 1.
<i>Benedicamus</i> 2 [no title]	= Swe; mel. = Ehrström 1837; harm. ~ HÅ 1799
Benediction [no title], the instructions: 'preferably read'	~ HÅ 1799; Amen = HÅ 1799 and Swe

Bridal Mass in Finnish [*Aviokäskyn Messu*], pp. 17–21

Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. and resp. (~ Å 1818), ~ Swe; 2. vers. and resp. Nordlund, ~ Swe; 3. vers. and resp. ~ Ehrström 1837 and Swe
Prayer [no title]	(~ Å 1818)

Swedish Mass [*Svenska Mässan.*], pp. 22–36

Before the Sermon [<i>Före Predikan.</i>]	
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<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	= Å 1818 ¹³ and Fin
<i>Gloria</i> [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Fin
Salutation 1 [no title]	~ Å 1818
Salutation 2 [no title]	= HÅ 1799
Cadences for the Prayer and the Epistle [<i>Bönens och Epistelns Slutfall.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799)
Collect [<i>Bönen.</i>]	Nordlund's own; Amen = HÅ 1799 and Fin
Epistle [<i>Episteln.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799), ~ Fin
Cadences for the Gospel [<i>Ewangelii Slutfall.</i>]	~ HÅ 1799 ¹⁴ and Fin
Gospel [<i>Ewangelium.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799), ~ Fin
After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Efter Predikan. Till Communion.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. and resp. = HÅ 1799 ¹⁵ , ~ Fin; 2. vers. ~ Å 1818, resp. = Å 1818; 3. vers. and resp. ~ HÅ 1799
Preface [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818 and Fin
<i>Sanctus</i> 1 [no title], for the liturgist	~ HÅ 1799 and Fin
<i>Sanctus</i> 2 [no title], for the congregation	= Å 1818, 2.

13 Only one doubling in a harmony differs from *Åhlström 1819*, but it does not affect the sound.

14 These cadences are missing from *Haffner and Åhlström 1799*, but Nordlund's resemble the cadences used in the transcription of the Gospel in *Haffner and Åhlström 1799*.

15 Only one crochet added to the alto part.

Lord's prayer [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799 and Ehrström 1837); Amen ~ HÅ 1799, = Fin
<i>Pax</i> ¹⁶ [no title]	= HÅ 1799 ¹⁷ and Fin
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [<i>Under Communion</i>]	~ Å 1818
After the Holy Communion [no title]	
Salutation 1 [no title]	~ Å 1818
Salutation 2 [no title]	= HÅ 1799
Thanksgiving [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799); Amen = HÅ 1799 and Fin
Salutation	~ Å 1818
<i>Benedicamus</i> 1 [no title]	~ Å 1818
<i>Benedicamus</i> 2 [no title]	= Fin; mel. = Ehrström 1837; harm. ~ HÅ 1799
Benediction [no title]	~ HÅ 1799; Amen = HÅ 1799 and Fin

Bridal Mass in Swedish [*Messa vid Brudvigsel.*], pp. 37–40

Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. and resp. (~ Å 1818), ~ Fin; 2. vers. and resp. Nordlund, ~ Fin; 3. vers. and resp. ~ Ehrström 1837 and Fin
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16 Nordlund made a mistake here by including the Salutation rather than the *Pax*, as it should be. There is only a one-word difference in Swedish between them (Salutation is *Herren vare med eder*, whereas the *Pax* is *Herrens frid vare med eder*), which may explain the mistake.

17 Only one crochet added to the tenor part.

Prayer [no title]	(~ Å 1818 and Fin)
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Funeral Mass in Swedish¹⁸ [*Begravnings-Mässa.*], pp. 41–43

Salutation [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Fin; = Swedish Mass, Preface salutation, 1. vers. and resp.
Prayer [<i>Bön.</i>]	(~ Å1818); Amen ~ Å1818
Benediction [no title]	~ Swedish Mass, Benediction ¹⁹ ; Amen ~ Å1818

18 The Funeral Mass is only in Swedish, but there are instructions (albeit in Swedish) that the Funeral Mass in Finnish should have the same melodies and cadences with as the Swedish one.

19 There is a small difference in the lyrics; in the Swedish Mass the text is written in the second-person plural, *Herren välsigne eder och beware eder...* ('The Lord bless you and keep you...'), whereas in the Funeral Mass it is in the first-person plural, *Herren välsigne oss och beware oss...* ('The Lord bless us and keep us...').

Murman 1856

- Title: *Suomalainen messu, nuotti-numeroille pantu.*
[‘Finnish Mass, put in numbered notation.’]
- Author: Murman, Johan Vilhelm (1830–1892), Vicar of Keltto and Rääpyvä,
collector of folklore, author
- Publisher: K. F. Kinnunen, Helsinki
- Notation: one-part *sifferskrift* numbered notation
- Language: only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [*Jobdatus.*], pp. 3–6

Finnish Mass [no title], pp. 7–21

Before the Sermon [<i>Saarnan edellä.</i>]	
1. <i>Kyrie</i> ; <i>Gloria</i> [no title]	~ E 1837, (~ Å1818); first part Murman’s own; latter part = Nordlund 1850, ~ H1799
2. Salutation [no title]	~ Ehrström 1837
3. Cadences for the Prayer and the Epistle [<i>Rukousten ja Epistolain Loppusoinnot.</i>]	~ H 1817 and Ehrström 1837
4. Collect [<i>Kollehta.</i>]	~ Å1818 and Nordlund 1850; Amen = HÅ 1799 and Å1818
5. Epistle [<i>Epistola.</i>]	(~ HÅ1799, Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850)
6. Cadences for the Gospel [<i>Evankeliumein Loppusoinnot.</i>]	~ H1817 and Ehrström 1837

7. Gospel [<i>Evankeliumi.</i>]	~ Nordlund 1850 ²⁰
After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Saarnan jälkeän. Ennen Herran Ehtoollista.</i>]	
8.–10. Preface salutation [no title]	1. and 2. vers. and resp. (~ Nordlund 1850); 3. vers. (~ Ehrström 1837), resp. = Ehrström 1837 and Nordlund 1850
11. Preface [no title]	~ HÅ1799, Å1818 and Nordlund 1850
12. <i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	~ Ehrström 1837, 1.
13. Lord's prayer [no title]	(~ Nordlund 1850); Amen = HÅ1799
14. <i>Pax</i> ; <i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	(~ HÅ1799, Ehrström 1837 and Nordlund 1850); (~ Nordlund 1850)
After the Holy Communion [<i>Herran Ehtollisen jälkeän</i>]	
15. Salutation ²¹ [no title]	= Ehrström 1837
16. Thanksgiving [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799); Amen = HÅ 1799
17.–18. Salutation; <i>Benedicamus</i> 1; <i>Benedicamus</i> 2 [no title]	= Ehrström 1837; ~ HÅ 1799, 1., Ehrström 1837 and Nordlund 1850, 1.; ~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850
19. Benediction [<i>Siunnaus.</i>]	= Nordlund 1850; Amen = HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850

20 Murman does not follow his own cadences, neither here nor in the Gospel.

21 Cf. 17.–18. Salutation. Ehrström has a different rhythm in the liturgist's part in the Salutation before the sermon, which might be a typographical error. Nevertheless, Murman has copied both of the rhythmic versions.

Kukkasela 1857

- Title: *Kirkko-veisun neuvoja ja opetuksia, ynnä suomalaisten virtten nuotti-kirjan ja messun sekä virtten luokka-laskun, että virsi-kanteleen ja violin soitannos-johdatuksen kanssa* [‘Pieces of advice and instructions for congregational singing, plus a notebook for Finnish hymns and the Mass as well as metrical classes of hymns and an introduction to play the psalmodikon and violin’]
- Author: D.H. Kukkasela, officially Fagerros, Daniel Henrik (1814–1858), Churchwarden of Ikaalinen
- Publisher: J. W. Lillja & co, Turku
- Notation: one-part notation
- Language: only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [*Joku Sana Kunnioitettavalle Suomen kansalle.*], pp. 3–10

Instructions for hymn-singing [*Veisun opetuksia.*], includes music theory, pp. 11–41

Introduction to some specific hymns [*Johdatuksia muutamain virtten erityisyyksihin, sekä joku sana asiahan kuuluvihin aineisiin*], pp. 42–46

Metrical classes of hymns [*Virtten keskinäinen yhteys luokittain*], p. 47

Note board [*Nuotti-Taulu.*], pp. 48–49

Note steps for violin [*Violin Nuotti-askleet.*], pp. 49–50

Psalmodikon [*Virsi-Kantele.*], pp. 51–53

Notes for hymns in the Finnish Hymnal [*Suomalaisen Virsi-kirjamme Virtten-Nuotit.*], pp. 54–151

Finnish Mass [*Suomalaisia Messuja.*], pp. 152–166

Before the Sermon [<i>Ennen Saarnaa</i>]	
<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	(~ H1817 and Ehrström 1837) ²²
<i>Gloria</i> [no title]	first part ~ Nordlund 1850; latter part ~ HÅ1799
Salutation [no title]	~ HÅ1799 and Nordlund 1850, 1.
Collect [<i>Rukous</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850)
Epistle [<i>Epistola</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856)
Epistle for the Christmas Day ²³ [<i>Joulupäivän Epistola</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856)
Gospel [<i>Evangeliumi.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856)
After the Sermon. [<i>Saarnan jälkeen</i>] ²⁴	
<i>Benedicamus</i> 1 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, 1., Ehrström 1837 and Nordlund 1850, 1.
<i>Benedicamus</i> 2 [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799, 2. and Nordlund 1850, 2.)
Benediction [no title]	(~ H 1817 and Ehrström 1837)
The Mass of Holy Communion. [<i>Herran Ehtoollisen Messu</i>]	

22 Only one difference in the melody, albeit with a very unique rhythm.

23 Cadences are similar to the Epistle, which is in a major key, whereas this one is in a minor key, as is the Gospel.

24 Kukkasela does not provide melodies for the Salutations and Thanksgiving after the Sermon (i.e. after the Holy Communion) but indicates that they should be sung the same way as those before the Sermon.

Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. and resp. (~ HÅ 1799, 2. vers. and resp.); 2. vers. and resp. ~ Ehrström 1837; 3. vers. and resp. ~ IAF 1835
Preface [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818, Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856); cadence (~ H1817 and Ehrström 1837)
<i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850
Lord's prayer [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850); Amen Kukkasela's own
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	(~ Ehrström1837)
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	(~ Nordlund 1850, alternative version for the beginning)
Bridal Mass [<i>Pariskuntia vihitessä messutaan</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	~ Nordlund
Prayer [no title]	(~ Nordlund 1850)

Hymander 1859

Title: *Suomalainen messu. Nuotti Numeroille pantu.*

[‘Finnish Mass, in numbered notation.’]

Svenska Messan. I Sifferskrift. [‘Swedish Mass, in *sifferskrift*.’]

Author: Hymander, Johan August Gottlieb (1831–1896), Churchwarden and Organist of the Saint Nicholas’ Church in Helsinki, singing and gymnastics teacher, editor of many collections of hymns, spiritual songs and liturgical melodies

Publisher: J. C. Frenckell & Poika, Helsinki

Notation: one-part *sifferskrift* numbered notation

Language: separate sections in Finnish and Swedish

Contents:

Preface in Finnish [*Johdatus.*], pp. 3–4

Finnish Mass [no title], pp. 5–21

Before the Sermon [<i>Saarnan edellä.</i>]	
1. <i>Kyrie</i> ; <i>Gloria</i> [no title]	= Murman 1856, ~ Swe; first part ~ Murman 1856; latter part = Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856 and Swe
2. Salutation [no title]	= Ehrström 1837 and Murman 1856
Cadences for the Prayer and the Epistle [<i>Rukousten ja Epistolain Loppusoinnot.</i>]	= Murman 1856

3. Collect [<i>Kollehta.</i>]	~ Murman 1856; Amen = HÅ 1799, Å 1818 and Murman 1856
4. Epistle [<i>Epistola.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850), ~ Swe
Cadences for the Gospel [<i>Ewankeliuain Loppusoinnot.</i>]	= Murman 1856, ~ Swe ²⁵
5. Gospel [<i>Ewankeliumi.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856), ~ Swe
After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Saarnan jälkeen. Ennen Herran Ebtoollista.</i>]	
6.–8. Preface salutation [no title]	1. and 2. vers. and resp. as well as 3. vers. ~ Murman 1856; 3. resp. = Ehrström 1837, Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856
9. Preface [no title]	~ Murman 1856
10. <i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	~ Ehrström 1837, 1. and Murman 1856
11. Lord's prayer [no title]	~ Murman 1856 and Swe; Amen = HÅ1799, Nordlund 1850 and Swe
12. <i>Pax</i> ; <i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	lit. = Nordlund 1850 Fin; congr. (~ Nordlund 1850 Fin and Murman 1856); ~ Murman 1856 ²⁶
After the Holy Communion [<i>Herran Ebtoollisen jälkeen</i>]	
13. Salutation [no title]	= Ehrström 1837 and Murman 1856

25 Hylander does not follow his own cadences.

26 Only one difference in rhythm; possibly a printing error.

14. Thanksgiving [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856)
15. Salutation [no title]	= Ehrström 1837 and Murman 1856
16. <i>Benedicamus</i> 1; <i>Benedicamus</i> 2 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, 1., Ehrström 1837, Nordlund 1850, 1., Kukkasela 1857, 1. and Swe; ~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850
17. Benediction [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856); Amen = HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856

Preface in Swedish [*Förord.*], pp. 3–4

Swedish Mass [no title], pp. 5–21

Before the Sermon [<i>Före Predikan.</i>]	
1. <i>Kyrie</i> ; <i>Gloria</i> [no title]	~ Å 1818, Murman 1856 and Fin; first part = HÅ 1799; latter part = Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856
2. Salutation [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818
Cadences for the Prayer and the Epistle [<i>Bön- och Epistel-slutfall.</i>]	~ H 1817
3. Collect [<i>Collecta.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850)
4. Epistle [<i>Epistelen.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850), ~ Fin
Cadences for the Gospel [<i>Evangelii slutfall.</i>]	~ Murman 1856 and Fin

5. Gospel [<i>Evangelium.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850) ²⁷
After the Sermon. The Mass of Holy Communion. [<i>Efter Predikan. Nattwards-Messa.</i>]	
6.–8. Preface salutation [no title]	1. and 2. vers. and resp. ~ Nordlund 1850 Swe; 3. vers. ~ Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856 and Fin; resp. (~ Kukkasela 1857)
9. Preface [no title]	(~ Nordlund 1850)
10. <i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	~ HÅ 1799
11. Lord's prayer [no title]	~ Murman 1856 and Fin; Amen = HÅ1799, Nordlund 1850 and Fin
12. <i>Pax</i> ; <i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	= Nordlund 1850 Swe ²⁸ ; ~ Nordlund 1850
After the Holy Communion [<i>Efter Nattwarden.</i>]	
13. Salutation [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818
14. Thanksgiving [no title]	(~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856 and Fin)
15. Salutation [no title]	~ HÅ 1799 and Å 1818
16. <i>Benedicamus</i> 1; <i>Benedicamus</i> 2 [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850 and Fin; = Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856, 2., ~ Fin
17. Benediction [no title]	~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850 Swe, Murman 1856 and Fin

27 Hymander does not follow his own cadences.

28 Only one rhythmic difference.

Wächter 1865

Title: *Liturgie für die deutsche Gemeinde in Wiburg.* [‘Liturgy for the German parish in Viipuri.’]

Author: Wächter, Heinrich Hermann (1818–1881), German-born, Organist of the Swedish and German Parish in Viipuri, music teacher, conductor, editor of many song collections, owner of a bookstore

Publisher: G.E. Eurén, Hämeenlinna

Notation: four-part harmonies either for organ accompaniment or mixed choir, only the choir’s parts

Language: German

Contents:

Liturgy for the German parish in Viipuri [*Liturgie für die deutsche Gemeinde in Wiburg.*], pp. 3–12

<i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Chor 1.</i>]	= IAG 1832 ²⁹
<i>Gloria;</i> <i>Laudamus</i> [<i>Chor 2.</i>]	Wächter’s own or unknown; Wächter’s own or unknown
Hymn for the Trinity <i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Her! Gemeinde Gesang No 1.</i>]	
Salutation [<i>Chor 3.</i>]	Wächter’s own or unknown
Amen for the Prayer [<i>Chor 4.</i>]	Wächter’s own or unknown
<i>Alleluia</i> [<i>Chor 5.</i>]	= Punschel 1839 ³⁰ , ~ PR 1822, IAG 1832 and IAF 1835
Amen for the Creed [<i>Chor 6.</i>]	= IAG 1832

29 In a lower key.

30 The only difference is that the bass notes in the last chords of the two first verses are an octave higher.

Salutation [<i>Chor 7.</i>]	~ IAG 1832
Amen for the Collect [<i>Chor 8.</i>]	Wächter's own or unknown
Amen for the Benediction [<i>Chor 9.</i>]	(~ IAG 1832), Amen for the Creed
After the sermon. The liturgy of the Holy Communion. [<i>Nach der Predigt. Abendmahls-Liturgie.</i>]	
Preface salutation [<i>Chor 1., Chor 2., Chor 3.</i>]	1. resp. ~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.; 2. resp., mel. = Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850 Swe, harm. ~ Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850 Swe; 3. resp. ~ Nordlund 1850 Fin
<i>Sanctus</i> [<i>Chor 4.</i>]	= IAG 1832
Amen for the Lord's prayer [<i>Chor 5.</i>]	= Å 1818
Hymn (<i>Agnus Dei</i>) [<i>Lied No 220. O Lamm Gottes</i>]	
After the Holy Communion [<i>Nach dem Abendmahl.</i>]	
<i>Benedicamus</i> [<i>Chor 6.</i>]	Wächter's own or unknown
Amen for the Thanksgiving [<i>Chor 7.</i>]	Wächter's own or unknown
Amen for the Benediction [<i>Chor 8.</i>]	Wächter's own or unknown

Wächter 1865

- Title: *Svenska Messan och Suomalainen messu. För en stämman med orgel eller för blandad kör, till bruk för svenska och finska Gudstjänsterna.* [‘Swedish Mass and Finnish Mass. In unison with the organ or for mixed choir, for use at Swedish and Finnish Divine Services.’]
- Author: Wächter, Heinrich Hermann (1818–1881), German-born, Organist of the Swedish and German Parish in Viipuri, music teacher, conductor, editor of many song collections, owner of a bookstore
- Publisher: G.E. Eurén, Hämeenlinna
- Notation: four-part harmonies either for organ accompaniment or mixed choir, only the congregation’s parts (The *Gloria* is the only one that also includes the liturgist’s part.)
- Language: Finnish and Swedish in the same score (aside from separate settings for the *Agnus Dei* and the beginning of the *Benedicamus*)

Contents:

Swedish Mass and Finnish Mass [*Svenska Messan. Suomalainen Messu.*], pp. 3–8

Before the Sermon [<i>Före Predikan. Edellä Saarnan.</i>]	
1. Kyrie [no title]	= Å1818 and Nordlund 1850
2. Gloria [no title]	vers. = H1817 ³¹ ; resp. ~ Å1818; harm. Wächter’s own
3. Salutation [no title]	mel. = Nordlund 1850; harm. ~ Nordlund 1850
4. Amen for the Collect [no title]	= Nordlund 1850

31 Only one minor change in the tenor part.

After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Efter Predikan. (Till Communion). Saarnan jälkeen. (Ennen Herran Ebtoollista).</i>]	
5.–7. Preface salutation [no title]	1. resp. = Nordlund 1850 Fin; 2. ja 3. resp. = Nordlund 1850 Swe
8. <i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	~ Å1818, 2., (~ H 1817) ³²
9. Amen for the Lord's prayer [no title]	= Å1818
10. <i>Pax</i> [no title]	= HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850 Swe; Finnish lyrics = Ehrström 1837 and Murman 1856
11a. <i>Agnus Dei</i> in Swedish [no title]	mel. ~ Hylander 1859; harm. ~ Nordlund 1850 Swe
11b. <i>Agnus Dei</i> in Finnish [no title]	= Nordlund 1850 Fin
After the Holy Communion [<i>Efter Communion. Herran Ebtoollisen jälkeen.</i>]	
12. Salutation [no title]	= Nordlund 1850 Swe
13. Amen for the Thanksgiving [no title]	= Nordlund 1850
14. Salutation [no title], only a text: 'similar with number 12.' [<i>No. 14. såsom No. 12.</i>]	
15. <i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]; separate version's in Swedish and Finnish (Allelujas the same)	= Nordlund 1850, 1. ³³
16. Amen [no title]	= HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850

32 The lyrics of Sanctus are different in *Åhlström 1818*. Where the lyrics are the same, Wächter's music is identical to that in *Åhlström 1818*, but where the lyrics differ, Wächter's music resembles *Hæffner 1817*.

33 There is only one minor difference in the voice leading.

Hagfors 1871

- Title: *Suomalainen lauluseppele. Yhdistetyille nais- ja mies-äänille sovitettuja arvokkaampain sävelniekkain lauluja. Seminarille, kouluille ja laulu-seuroille* [‘Finnish song wreath. Worthy composers’ songs arranged for mixed female and male voices. For the seminary, schools and singing societies.’]
- Author: Hagfors, Erik August (1827–1913), Music Lecturer of the Jyväskylä Seminary, doctor, editor of many choral collections
- Publisher: Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki
- Notation: four-part harmonies for mixed choir, only the congregation’s parts
- Language: only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [no title], without page numbers

I. Spiritual songs [*Hengellisiä lauluja.*], pp. 1–96

II. Chorales [*Koralia.*], pp. 97–129

III. Finnish Mass [*Suomalainen Messu.*], pp. 130–133

A. <i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Kyrie (Herra).</i>]	~ H 1817 ³⁴
B. <i>Gloria</i> [<i>Gloria (Kunnia).</i>]	first part ~ Wächter 1865 ³⁵ ; latter part, mel. = Nordlund 1850, harm. (~ Wächter 1865)

34 The key is higher, some doublings in the harmony have been changed and the last tone in the bass part has been moved an octave lower at the end of every verse.

35 Only one small change because the lyrics are a bit different.

C. Salutations [<i>Responsoria (Vastaus-Veisuja).</i>]	
a) Before and after the sermon 1 [<i>Saarnan edellä ja jälkeen.</i>]; Before and after the sermon 2	mel. (~ Å 1818), harm. Hagfors's own; mel. (~ HÅ 1799), harm. Hagfors's own
b) Amen 1 [no title]; Amen 2	~ H 1817; mel. = HÅ 1799, harm. Hagfors's own
c)–e) Before the Holy Communion (Preface salutation) [<i>Ennen Herran Ebtoollista.</i>]; 2 options for the 1. versicle	1. resp., 1. ~ Nordlund 1850, 2. Hagfors's own ³⁶ ; 2. resp. ~ Nordlund 1850; 3. resp., mel. ~ Hymander 1859 Swe, harm. Hagfors's own
f) Amen 1 [no title]; Amen 2	~ H 1817; ~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850
D. <i>Agnus Dei</i> [<i>Agnus Dei (Jumalan karitsa.)</i>]; 2 options in the same score	mel. (~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850), harm. Hagfors's own
D. <i>Benedicamus</i> [<i>Halleluja.</i>]	mel. (~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850), harm. Hagfors's own

36 Resembles the first option but the harmonies are much livelier.

Saarelainen 1875 (and 1883)

Title: *Nuotti-Kirja, Suomenkieliseen Wirsi-Kirjaan. Toinen painos, lisätty messuilla.*
[‘Notebook for Finnish Hymnal. Second edition, expanded with liturgical melodies.’]

The first edition from the year 1862 did not include liturgical melodies. The third edition was published in 1883, but it was identical to the second edition, with only minor typographical changes.

Author: Saarelainen (officially Sarlin, known also as Saraste), Konstantin Ferdinand (1826–1914), the Churchwarden of Viitasaari

Publisher: Weilin & Göös, Jyväskylä³⁷

Notation: one-part *sifferskrift* numbered notation

Language: only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [*Alkulause.*], pp. 3–5

Instructions for singing [*Oswiitta*], pp. 6–10

Instructions for building and playing the psalmodikon [*Muuan Sana Nuottimerkeistä ja Wirsi-Kanteleesta.*], pp. 11–14

Hymnal [no title], pp. 15–88, only melodies, no lyrics

37 The third edition was published in Helsinki to which Weilin & Göös moved from Jyväskylä in 1883.

Finnish Mass [*Suomalainen Messu.*], pp. 89–94

Before the Sermon [<i>Ennen saarnaa.</i>]	
<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	= Murman 1856 and Hylander 1859 Fin
<i>Gloria</i> [no title]	(~ Nordlund 1850)
Salutation [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.
Collect [no title]	(~ Nordlund 1850)
After the Sermon. Masses for the Holy Communion. [<i>Saarnan jälkeän. Ehtoollis-Messut.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. and resp. ~ Hylander 1859; 2. vers. (~ Nordlund 1850); resp. ~ Hylander 1859; 3. vers. ~ Hylander 1859; resp. = Ehrström 1837, Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856
Preface [no title], only the beginning	(~ HÅ 1799, Å 1818, Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856 and Hylander 1859)
Lord's prayer [no title], only the beginning	(~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850 and Murman 1856); Amen = HÅ 1799, Å1818 and Nordlund 1850
<i>Pax</i> [no title]; <i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	vers. = Nordlund 1850 Fin; resp. ~ Nordlund 1850 Fin; (~ Murman 1856)
After the Holy Communion. [<i>Herran Ehtoollisen jälkeän.</i>]	
Salutation [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.

Salutation [no title]; for the liturgist, only the instructions to do it in the same way as before; for the congregation, notation	~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.
<i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856, Kukkasela 1857 and Hymander 1878

Kunelius 1875

Title: *87 Koraaleja ynnä Osoitteen kanssa 273 suomalaiseen ja 283 ruotsalaiseen virteen niiden sävelten mukaan, jotka ovat A. Nordlundin Koraali kirjassa, sekä osa suomalaista ja ruotsalaista Messua ynnä Hosianna, sovitettuina miehenpuolten nelisweisulle.*

87 Choraler med Anvisning till 273 finska och 283 svenska psalmer efter de melodier, som finnas uti A. Nordlunds Choralbok, samt en del af finska och svenska Messan jemte Hosianna, satta fyrstämmigt för mansröster

[‘87 Chorales with instructions to 273 Finnish and 283 Swedish hymns according to the melodies found in A. Nordlund’s Chorale Book, as well as part of the Finnish and Swedish Mass and *Hosanna*, arranged in four parts for male voices’]

Author: Kunelius, Anton Bernhard (1833–1893), the Organist of Oulu, music conductor, music teacher, military conductor, founder of the Churchwarden-Organist School of Oulu, *director musices et cantus*

Publisher: Petter Jurva; printed in Wilhelm Baensch, Dresden, Saxony

Notation: four-part harmonies for male voices, all the congregation’s parts, only the versicles for the liturgist

Language: Separate sections in Finnish and in Swedish

Contents:

Preface [*Ålkulause. Förord.*], page without number

Hymns [no title], pp. 1–103

Agnus Dei* and *Benedicamus [no title], pp. 104–107

<i>Agnus Dei</i> in Finnish [No. 3.]	mel. = Nordlund 1850 Fin, harm. ~ Nordlund 1850
<i>Agnus Dei</i> in Swedish [No. 3.]	(~ H 1817, 2., and Nordlund 1850 Swe)
<i>Benedicamus</i> in Finnish [no title], congregation's part	~ Swe; mel. = Nordlund 1850 Fin, harm. ~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.
<i>Benedicamus</i> in Swedish [no title], congregation's part	~ Fin; mel. = Nordlund 1850 Swe, harm. ~ Nordlund 1850 Swe, 1.

Finnish Mass [*Messut. Messorna.*], pp. 108–112

<i>Kyrie</i> [No. 1]; Finnish and Swedish lyrics in the same score	mel. ~ Nordlund 1850, harm. ~ H 1817
Salutation [No. 2.]	mel. = Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1., harm. Kunelius's own
Amen. [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850
After the Sermon Before the Holy Com- munion [<i>Saarnan jälkeän Ennen Herran Ehtol- lista.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	mel. = Nordlund 1850, harm. ~ Nordlund 1850
Amen [no title]	~ Å1818 and Nordlund 1850
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	mel. = Nordlund 1850 Fin, harm. ~ Nordlund 1850 Fin
<i>Benedicamus</i> [no title], liturgist's part	= Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.

Swedish Mass [*Svenska Messan.*], pp. 112–114

Before the sermon [<i>Före Predikan.</i>]	
Salutation [<i>No. 2.</i>]	mel. = Nordlund 1850 Swe, 2., harm. Kunelius's own
Amen. [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850
After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Efter Predikan. Till Kommunion.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	mel. = Nordlund 1850; harm. ~ Nordlund 1850
Amen [no title]	~ Å1818 and Nordlund 1850
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	mel. = Nordlund 1850 Swe ³⁸ ; harm. ~ Nordlund 1850 Swe

Vogler's Hosanna [*Hosianna*], pp. 115–116

38 Kunelius has even copied the mistake Nordlund had made; i.e. these are the lyrics of the Salutation rather than the *Pax* (cf. *Nordlund 1850*, Swedish Mass, *Pax*).

Hymander 1878

Title: *Suomalainen ja ruotsalainen messu.*

Finska och svenska messan.

[‘Finnish and Swedish Mass.’]

Author: Hymander, Johan August Gottlieb (1831–1896), Churchwarden and Organist of the Saint Nicholas’ Church in Helsinki, singing and gymnastics teacher, editor of many collections of hymns, spiritual songs and liturgical melodies

Publisher: Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki

Notation: one-part notation for the liturgist and four-part harmonies for the congregation

Language: Finnish and Swedish in the same score or separately in succession

Contents:

Finnish and Swedish Mass [no title], pp. 3–23

Before the Sermon [<i>Saarnan edellä. Före predikan.</i>]	
1. <i>Kyrie</i> [no title]; <i>Gloria</i> [no title]	mel. = Nordlund 1850, harm. ~ Nordlund 1850; vers. Fin ~ Hymander 1859, vers. Swe ~ HÅ 1799, resp. mel. = HÅ 1799, harm. Hymander’s own
2. Salutation [no title]	vers. Fin ~ Ehrström 1837, vers. Swe ~ Hymander 1859, resp. = Hymander 1859 Swe, harm. Hymander’s own

3. Collect [<i>Collecta.</i>], ‘It would be best if the Collect were always read.’	Fin ~ Hylander 1859 Fin; Swe ~ Hylander 1859 Swe; Amen = Hylander 1859 Swe
After the Sermon. Before the Holy Communion. [<i>Saarnan jälkeen. Ehtoollisen edellä. Efter predikan. Före Nattvarden.</i>]	
4. Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. ~ Hylander 1859, resp. ~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850; 2. vers. Fin ~ Hylander 1859 Fin, vers. Swe = Hylander 1859 Swe, resp. = Nordlund 1850 Swe ³⁹ ; 3. vers. Fin = Hylander 1859 Fin, vers. Swe ~ Hylander 1859 Swe, resp., mel. = Hylander 1859 Swe; harm. ~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850
5. Preface [<i>Asetus-sanat. Instiktelse-orden.</i>], ‘Should actually be read.’	~ Hylander 1859
6. <i>Sanctus</i> 1 [<i>Pyhä. Helig.</i>], both in Finnish and Swedish; <i>Sanctus</i> 2, only in Swedish	~ Ehrström 1837, Murman 1856 and Hylander 1859 Fin; mel. = Hylander 1859 Swe, harm. Richard Faltin ⁴⁰
7. Lord’s prayer [<i>Isä meidän. Fader vår.</i>], ‘Should actually be read.’	~ Hylander 1859; Amen (~ HÅ 1799)

39 Only one tone in the bass line an octave lower.

40 It is stated in Colliander and Faltin’s *Chorale Book 1897* that this *Sanctus* is harmonised by Faltin.

8. <i>Pax</i> [no title]	vers. Fin = Nordlund 1850 Fin, vers. Swe ~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850 Swe, resp. ~ HÅ 1799 and Nordlund 1850
9. <i>Agnus Dei</i> [O Jumalan Karitsa! O Guds Lamm!]	Fin. mel. = Nordlund 1850 Fin, harm. (~ Nordlund 1850), Swe mel. ~ H 1817 and Nordlund 1850 Swe, harm. (~ H 1817 and Nordlund 1850 Swe)
After the Holy Communion. [<i>Ehtoollisen jälkeen. Efter Nattvarden.</i>]	
10. Salutation [no title]	vers. Fin (~ Ehrström 1837), vers. Swe ~ Hylander 1859, resp. ~ Hylander 1859 Swe
11. Thanksgiving [<i>Rukous. Bön.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856 and Hylander 1859); Amen 1 = Hylander 1859 Swe; Amen 2 Hylander's own
12. Salutation [no title]	~ Hylander 1859
13. <i>Benedicamus</i> 1 [<i>Halleluja.</i>]; <i>Benedicamus</i> 2	mel. ~ Hylander 1859, harm. (~ HÅ 1799, 1., Å 1818 and Nordlund 1850 Swe, 1.); mel. = Nordlund 1850 ⁴¹ , harm. ~ Nordlund 1850 ⁴²

41 Only a small rhythmic difference.

42 Only one tone in the bass line is different.

14. Benediction [<i>Siunaus. Välsignelsen.</i>]	~ Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856 and Hymander 1859; Amen = Hymander 1859 Swe
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Frosterus 1878

Title: *Perustus-Tieto Soitanton Forte-Pianolle, Harmoniumille, Wiululle sekä Wirsikanteleelle, Steibeltin, Dussekin ja Cramerin Opetustawan mukaan, ynnä Musiikki-Sanakirja. Ulosweto ja Suomenos J. Leonard Höijerin hyväksi tunnustusta Musiikki-Sanakirjasta.*

Grundlära i Musiken för Piano-Forte, Harmonium, Violin och Psalmodikon, efter Steibelts, Dusseks och Cramers metoder jemte Musik-Ordbok. Utdrag ur J. Leonard Höijers välkända Musik-Lexikon.

[‘Basic knowledge in music for fortepiano, harmonium, violin and psalmodikon, following Steibelt, Dussek and Cramer’s methods as well as Music Dictionary. Extract from J. Leonard Höijer’s well-known Music Lexicon.’]

second, broadly revised edition

Author: Frosterus, Berndt Leonard (1808–1887), Vicar of Kårsämäki

Publisher: G.W. Wilén, Turku

Notation: one-part notation or two-part harmonies for the liturgist, and four-part harmonies for the congregation

Language: liturgical melodies only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [*Esimaine. Förord.*], pp. III

First part [*Ensi Osasto. Första Afdelningen.*], pp. 1–64, incl. music theory as well as rehearsals for playing the fortepiano, organ and violin, and easy repertoire for them

Second part [*Toinen Osasto. Wirsikanteleen Mitta-Taulu ja Kuva. Wähä historiallista kirkkokeisuusta, wähä Kirkeko-nuoteista sekä Muutamia Wirtten-Säweleitä Neli-äänissä. Andra Afdelningen. Mått-Tabell för psalmodikon och Planch. Kort Historik om Kyrko-sången, litet om Kyrko-tonarterna samt Några Koraler Fyrstämninga.*], pp. 65–104, incl. instructions for building and playing the psalmodikon as well as congregational singing, some four-part chorales, Vogler’s *Hosanna* and the Finnish Mass

§157 Finnish Mass Before the Sermon [<i>Suomalainen Messu Edellä Saarnan.</i>]	
Kyrie [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850 ⁴³
Gloria [no title]	mel. ~ Saarelainen 1875, (~ Nordlund 1850), harm. Frosterus’s own
Salutation [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.
Collect. Ninth Sunday after Trinity Sunday [<i>Kollehta. 9:säs Sun. Loppiaisesta. Math. 8, 23.</i>]; two options for the Amen	(~ Nordlund 1850); Amen 1 Frosterus’s own; Amen 2 = Kukkasela 1857
Epistle. Fourth Advent Sunday [<i>Epistola. 4. Adv V. 4.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850)
Gospel. Fourth Sunday after Epiphany [<i>Ewangeliumi. Katso 4. Sun. kolm. p.</i>]; Christmas Day [<i>Joulu Päivänä. Aamusaarnan Ewangeliumin Messu.</i>]	(~ Nordlund 1850 and Hymander 1859); (~ Nordlund 1850 and Hymander 1859)
Mass before the Holy Communion. [<i>Messu ennen Herran Ehtoollista.</i>]	

43 The melody and the harmonies are the same as in *Nordlund 1850*, but the rhythm is unique.

Preface salutation [no title]	1. vers. and resp., mel. ~ Ehrström 1837, harm. Frosterus; 2. vers. and resp. ~ Nordlund 1850; 3. vers. ~ Nordlund 1850, resp. mel. (~ HÅ 1799 and Hymander 1878), harm. Frosterus's own
Preface	(~ Nordlund 1850 and Hymander 1859)
<i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850
Lord's prayer [<i>Herran Rukous.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799, Ehrström 1837 and Nordlund 1850)
<i>Pax</i> 1 [no title]; <i>Pax</i> 2	vers. Frosterus, resp. ~ Hymander 1878; Frosterus's own ⁴⁴
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850
After the Holy Communion [<i>Herran Ehtoollisen jälkeen.</i>]	
Salutation [no title]; only the instructions: 'First, pastor sings Lord be <i>etc.</i> '	
Thanksgiving [no title]; only the beginning, then the instructions: 'Prayer is sung like the Collect, see it.'	
Salutation [no title]	~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, 1.
<i>Benedicamus</i> 1 [no title]; <i>Benedicamus</i> 2	(~ Nordlund 1850 and Hymander 1878); mel. (~ Nordlund 1850 and Hymander 1878), harm. = Nordlund 1850

44 Resembles the salutations.

<i>Benediction</i> [<i>Herran Siinaus.</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799, Nordlund 1850, Murman 1856, Hymander 1859 and Hymander 1878); Amen ~ Hymander 1878
Bridal Mass [no title]; only the instructions: 'Bridal Mass is sung like the Mass before the Holy Communion but shorter or faster.'	

Third Part, Music Dictionary [*Kolmas Osasto. Soitanto-Sanakirja. Ote J. Leonard Höijerin Ruotsalaisesta Musiiki-Sanakirjasta. Tredje Afdelningen. Musik-Ordbok. Utdrag ur J. Leonard Höijers svenska Musik-Lexikon.*], pp. 1–72 (page numbering starts over)

Hymander 1889

Title: *Uusi suomalainen ja ruotsalainen messu.*

Den nya finska och svenska messan.

[‘New Finnish and Swedish Mass.’]

Author: Hymander, Johan August Gottlieb (1831–1896), Churchwarden and Organist of the Saint Nicholas’ Church in Helsinki, singing and gymnastics teacher, editor of many collections of hymns, spiritual songs and liturgical melodies

Publisher: G. W. Edlund, Helsinki

Notation: one-part notation for the liturgist and four-part harmonies for the congregation

Language: Finnish and Swedish in the same score or separately in succession

Contents:

Finnish and Swedish Mass [no title], pp. 3–22

1. <i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Kyrie.</i>]	= Hymander 1878 ⁴⁵
2. <i>Amens</i> [<i>Amen.</i>], A., B. and C.	composed by Richard Faltin ⁴⁶
3. <i>Gloria</i> [<i>Gloria.</i>]	vers. Fin ~ Hymander 1878, vers. Swe = Hymander 1878, resp. = Hymander 1878

45 Finnish lyrics have been changed. In addition, a minim and minim rest are replaced by a semi-breve with a fermata at the end of every verse.

46 These *Amens* are the same in all following collections of Hymander; it is stated in Colliander and Faltin’s *Chorale Book 1897* that they were composed by Faltin.

4. A. <i>Laudamus</i> [<i>Laudamus.</i>]; B. <i>Gloria Patri</i> [<i>Gloria Patri</i>], two options for the Amen; C. Hymn to the Holy Trinity [<i>Kolminaisuuden virsi. Trefaldighetspsalm.</i>]	German (cf. IAG 1897); Hymander's own
5. Salutation, liturgist [<i>Salutatio.</i>] and congregation [<i>Responsio</i>] A. and B.	vers. = Hymander 1878, resp. A. = Hymander 1878, B. ~ Hymander 1878
6. Collect [<i>Collecta.</i>], only the instructions: 'Must always be read'; Amen, two harmonisations for the same melody	Amen, mel. = Hymander 1878, harm. 1. = Hymander 1878, harm. 2. Hymander's own
The Mass of the Holy Communion. [<i>Ehtoollis-messu. Nattvards-messan.</i>]	
7. Preface salutation [<i>Præfatio.</i>]; Words of institution [<i>Asetus-sanat. Instiktelse-</i> <i>orden.</i>], only the instructions: 'Must always be read!'	1. vers. = Hymander 1878, resp. Fin, mel. ~ Saarelainen 1875, harm. ~ Hymander 1878 Fin, resp. Swe = Hymander 1878 Swe; 2. vers. ~ Hymander 1878, resp. = Nordlund 1850 Swe and Hymander 1878; 3. vers. ~ Hymander 1878, resp. = Hymander 1878
8. <i>Sanctus</i> [<i>Pyhä. Helig.</i>], A. both in Finnish and Swedish, liturgist or congregation; B. both in Finnish and Swedish, congregation; C. only in Swedish, liturgist or choir	= Hymander 1878, A.; ~ Å1818 ⁴⁷ ; ~ Hymander 1878, B.
9. Lord's prayer [<i>Oratio Dominica. Isä meidän.</i> <i>Fader vår.</i>], only the instructions: 'Must always be read'; Amen	Amen = Hymander 1878

47 Only small differences in the rhythm and minor changes in voice leading.

10. <i>Pax</i> [<i>Pax Domini</i>]	Fin, mel. = Nordlund 1850 Fin, harm. ~ Nordlund 1850 Fin, Swe, vers. ~ Hymander 1878 Swe, resp. = Hymander 1878 Swe
11. <i>Agnus Dei</i> [<i>Agnus Dei</i>], in Finnish [<i>O Jumalan karitsa!</i>]; in Swedish [<i>O Guds Lamm!</i>] A. and B.	Fin = Hymander 1878, Swe, A. = Hymander 1878, B. ‘Old Swedish setting’ ~ Hagfors 1871, 2.
12. <i>Postcommunio</i> . [<i>Postcommunio. Päättömessu. Slutmessan.</i>], Salutation, liturgist [<i>Salutatio.</i>] and congregation [<i>Responsio</i>] A. and B.; Thanksgiving [<i>Precatio. Rukous. Bön.</i>], only the instructions: ‘Read.’, two options for the Amen; <i>Benedicamus</i> [<i>Benedicamus</i>] A. and B.	vers. = Hymander 1878, resp. A. = Hymander 1878, B. ~ Hymander 1878; Amen A. = Hymander 1878 ⁴⁸ ; B. mel. = Hymander 1878, harm. Hymander’s own; A. = Hymander 1878 ⁴⁹ ; B. = Nordlund 1850
14. Benediction [<i>Benedictio. Siinaus. Välsignelsen.</i>], only the instructions: ‘Must always be read!’	

48 There is one change in the harmony, but it is most likely a typographical error.

49 Only the rhythm at the beginning of the liturgist’s part in Swedish has been changed a little bit.

Valve and Valve 1889

Title: *Uuden Virsikirjan ja Messujen Sävelistö. Ynnä lyhyt ohjaus kanteleen, viulun, harmonin ja pianon soittamiseen; helppotajuisesti kirjaimilla esitetty, niin että jokainen voipi heti tottua soittamaan.* [‘Collection of melodies of the new Hymnal and the Mass. Plus, short guidance for playing the psalmodikon, violin, harmonium and piano; presented in easy-to-understand letters so that everyone can learn it quickly.’]

Author: Valve, Johannes (1856–1926), primary school teacher, author;
Valve, O., unknown

Publisher: J.F. Olan, Tampere

Notation: one-part lettered notation, only congregation’s parts

Language: only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [*Alkulause.*], pp. 3–4

Instructions for using the book [*Ohjeita tämän kirjan käyttämiseen.*], pp. 5–8

Hymnal [no title], pp. 9–127, only melodies, no lyrics

Finnish Mass [*Suomalainen Messu.*], pp. 128–131

<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1878 and 1889 ⁵⁰
Amen [no title], three options	= Hymander 1889
Salutation [no title]	= Hymander 1889, B.

50 Only one rhythmic difference; perhaps a typographical error. In addition, the bar lines are placed illogically.

Amen for the Collect [no title]	= Hymander 1878 and 1889
Preface salutation [no title]	= Hymander 1889
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1889 ⁵¹
Salutation [no title]	= Hymander 1889, B.
Amen for the Thanksgiving [no title], two options	= Hymander 1878 and 1889
<i>Benedicamus</i> 1 [no title]; <i>Benedicamus</i> 2	= Hymander 1878 and 1889, A.; = Hymander 1878 and 1889, B.

51 Only a one-tone difference in the melody with a low leading-tone is low (G instead of G#) in one cadence; possibly a typographical error.

Ketonen 1889

Title: *Uusi Wirsikannel. Numero-nuottikirja uudelle suomalaiselle ja ruotsalaiselle wirsikirjalle, yksiäänistä wirsikannelta warten uuden koraalikirjan mukaan so-witti I. Ketonen.*

Ny Sångbarpa. (Psalmodikon). Notbok i sifferskrift till finska och svenska nya psalmboken, för enstämig psalmodikon, efter den nya koralboken, anordnad af I. Ketonen.

[‘New Psalmodikon. A numbered notebook for the new Finnish and Swedish Hymnal, for the one-part psalmodikon, according to the new chorale book, set by I. Ketonen.’]

Author: Ketonen, Isak Jaakonpoika (1857–1942), Churchwarden-Organist of Laihia (1882–1890), Churchwarden-Organist of Lappee (1890–1919)

Publisher: I. Ketonen, Laihia

Notation: one-part *sifferskrift* numbered notation

Language: Finnish and Swedish in the same score or separately in succession

Contents:

Preface [no title], pp. III–VI

Register for the new Finnish Hymnal [*Rekisteri osoittawa Uuden Suomalaisen Wir-sikirjan nuotit.*], pp. VII–XI

Register for the new Swedish Hymnal [*Register utwisande noterna till Nya Svenska Psalmboken.*], pp. XI–XV

Hymnal [no title], pp. 1–65, only melodies, no lyrics

Finnish and Swedish Mass [*Uusi Suomalainen ja Ruotsalainen Messu. Den nya Finska och Svenska Messan.*], pp. 66–71

<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1878 and 1889
Amen [no title], A. and B.	= Hymander 1889, A. and B.
<i>Gloria</i> [no title],	= Hymander 1889 ⁵²
<i>Laudamus</i> [<i>Hilarion Kiitoswirszi</i>], only in Finnish	composed by Richard Faltin
Salutation [no title]	= Hymander 1889, B.
Amen for the Collect [no title], A. and B.	A. = Hymander 1878 and 1889; B. Ketonen's own
The Mass of the Holy Communion [<i>Ehtoollis-messu.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	1. and 2. vers. and resp. = Hymander 1889; 3. vers. Fin ~ Hymander 1889 Fin, vers. Swe = Hymander 1889 Swe, resp. = Hymander 1889
<i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1878, A.
Amen for the Lord's prayer [no title], A. and B.	A. = Hymander 1878 and 1889; B. Ketonen's own
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1889, B.
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title] in Finnish	= Hymander 1889 Fin
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title] in Swedish	= Hymander 1889 Swe, A.

52 Only one rhythmic difference.

Salutation [no title]	= Hymander 1889, B.
Amen for the Thanksgiving [no title], A. and B.	= Hymander 1889, A. and B.
<i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1878 and 1889, A. ⁵³

53 Only a small rhythmic difference in the liturgist's part in Swedish. The reason for this was that Hymander made the end of the first row the same as the Finnish one so that the *Alleluias* could be written only once.

Ketonen 1890

Title: *Uusi Wirsikannel. Numero Nuottikirja Uudelle Suomalaiselle Wirsikirjalle ja Messuille. Koraalikomitean walinnan mukaan Sowitti I. Ketonen* [‘New Psalmodikon, a numbered notebook for the new Finnish Hymnal and the Masses; set by I. Ketonen, according to the choice of the chorale committee’]

second edition

Author: Ketonen, Isak Jaakonpoika (1857–1942), Churchwarden-Organist of Laihia (1882–1890), Churchwarden-Organist of Lappee (1890–1919)

Publisher: Jyväskylän kirjapaino, Jyväskylä

Notation: one-part *sifferskrift* numbered notation

Language: only in Finnish

Contents:

Preface [no title], pp. 3–4

Hymnal [no title], pp. 5–129, only melodies, no lyrics

Finnish Mass [*Suomalainen Messu.*], pp. 129–132

<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1878, 1889 and Ketonen 1889
Amen [no title], A. and B.	= Hymander 1889, A. and B., and Ketonen 1889, A. and B.
<i>Gloria</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1889 ⁵⁴ and Ketonen 1889
Salutation [no title]	= Hymander 1889, B. and Ketonen 1889

54 Only one rhythmic difference.

Amen for the Collect [no title], A. and B.	A. = Hymander 1878, 1889 and Ketonen 1889; B. = Ketonen 1889
The Mass of the Holy Communion [<i>Ehtoollis-messu.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	1. and 2. vers. and resp. = Hymander 1889 and Ketonen 1889; 3. vers. ~ Hymander 1889 Fin and Ketonen 1889 ⁵⁵ , resp. = Hymander 1889 and Ketonen 1889
<i>Sanctus</i> [no title]	= Hymander 1878, A.
Amen [no title], A. and B.	A. = Hymander 1878, 1889 and Ketonen 1889; B. = Ketonen 1889
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [no title]	~ Hymander 1889 and Ketonen 1889 ⁵⁶
<i>Postcommunio</i> [<i>Päätös-messu.</i>]	
Salutation [no title]	= Hymander 1889, B. and Ketonen 1889
Amen for the Thanksgiving [no title], A. and B.	A. = Hymander 1889, A. and Ketonen 1889, A.; B. Ketonen
<i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	~ Hymander 1878 and 1889, A. and Ketonen 1889 ⁵⁷

55 In the beginning, a dotted minim and a crotchet are replaced with two minims.

56 Only one tone is different in the third-to-last bar.

57 In the beginning, a dotted minim and a crotchet are replaced with two minims. In addition, one note is different.

Achté 1892

Title: *Koraalikirja uudelle suomalaiselle ja ruotsalaiselle wirsikirjalle ynnä Messu ja Vogler'in "Hosianna", jotka, asettamalla säweleet ihmisäänen keskikorkenden mukaan ynnä sowittamalla ne sekä uruilla että myöskin harmoniolla tabi pianolla soitettawiksi, toimitti L. N. Achté.*

Koralbok till nya finska och svenska psalmböckerna jemte Messan och Voglers "Hosianna", med melodierna lämpade efter medelhöjden för människorösten och harmoniserade för att kunna spelas, utom på orgel, äfven på harmonium och piano, utgifven af L. N. Achté

[‘Chorale Book for the new Finnish and Swedish Hymnals, with the Mass and Vogler’s Hosanna, with melodies suited to the middle register of the human voice and harmonised to be played not only on the organ but also on the harmonium and the piano, published by L. N. Achté’]

Author: Achté, Lorenz Nikolai (1835–1900), opera singer, composer, conductor, teacher, founder of the Churchwarden-Organist School of Helsinki, Churchwarden of the Old Church in Helsinki

Publisher: Weilin & Göös, Helsinki

Notation: two- and four-part harmonies (the Benedicamus, three-and-four-part harmonies; four-part harmonies either for four-part singing or organ accompaniment for two-part singing), only congregation’s parts

Language: Finnish and Swedish in the same score or separately in succession

Contents:

Preface [*Esipuhe. Företal.*], p. 1

Chorales [no title], pp. 2–206, four-part settings

The Mass [*Messu. Messan.*], pp. 207–215

<i>Kyrie</i> [no title]	mel. = Hylander 1878 and 1889; harm. ~ Hylander 1878 and 1889
Amen [no title]	= Hylander 1889, B.
<i>Gloria</i> [no title]	= Hylander 1878
Salutation [no title]	mel. = Hylander 1889, B. ⁵⁸ ; harm. ~ Hylander 1889, B.
Amen for the Collect [no title]	= Hylander 1889
The Mass of the Holy Communion [<i>Ehtoollis-messu. Nattvards-messan.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	= Hylander 1889 ⁵⁹
Amen for the Lord's prayer [no title]	= Hylander 1878
<i>Pax</i> in Finnish [no title]; <i>Pax</i> in Swedish [no title]	= Hylander 1878 Fin; = Hylander 1878 Swe
<i>Agnus Dei</i> in Finnish [<i>O Jumalan Karitsa!</i>]; <i>Agnus Dei</i> in Swedish [<i>O Guds Lam!</i>]	= Hylander 1878 ⁶⁰ ; (~ Hylander 1878)
<i>Postcommunio</i> [<i>Päätösmessu. Slutmessan.</i>]	
Salutation [no title]	mel. = Hylander 1889, B.; harm. ~ Hylander 1889, B.
Amen for the Thanksgiving [no title]	= Hylander 1878
<i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	= Hylander 1878 Swe

58 Both of the Salutations, Amens for the Collect and Thanksgiving, as well as *Benedicamus*, are in a lower key.

59 The only difference is that the bass note in the last chords is an octave higher; the same change is also appears in the Amen for the Lord's prayer and both of the Pax.

60 Only one slur is different.

Hymander 1892 (and 1904)

Title: *Suomalainen ja ruotsalainen messu. Finska och svenska mässon.*
[‘Finnish and Swedish Mass.’]

New, expanded edition. The third edition was published in 1904, but it was the same as this edition.

This version was added to the 1897, 1903 and 1909 editions of O.I. Colliander and Richard Faltin’s four-part Chorale Book as well as the 1903 Finnish and Swedish one-part Chorale Books. It was also published as an independent edition in 1931, but incorrectly under Faltin’s name.

Author: Hymander, Johan August Gottlieb (1831–1896), Churchwarden and Organist of the Saint Nicholas’ Church in Helsinki, singing and gymnastics teacher, editor of many collections of hymns, spiritual songs and liturgical melodies

Publisher: G.W. Edlund, Helsinki

Notation: one-part notation for the liturgist and four-part harmonies for the congregation

Language: Finnish and Swedish in the same score or separately in succession

Contents:

Finnish and Swedish Mass [no title], pp. 3–30

1. <i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Kyrie.</i>]	= Hymander 1889
2. Amens [<i>Amen.</i>], three options	= Hymander 1889
3. <i>Gloria</i> [<i>Gloria.</i>]	= Hymander 1889
4. <i>Laudamus</i> [<i>Laudamus. (Hilariuksen kiitosvirsi. Hilarianska Lofsången.)</i>] A. choir, separate versions in Finnish and Swedish; B. liturgist and choir in turns; C. <i>Gloria Patri</i> [<i>Gloria Patri</i>], liturgist and congregation; D. Hymn to the Holy Trinity [<i>Kolminaisuuden virsi. Trefaldighetspsalm.</i>]	A. mel. = Ketonen 1889, composed by Richard Faltin; B. ~ Hymander 1889; C. = Hymander 1889
5. Salutation, liturgist [<i>Salutatio.</i>] and congregation [<i>Responsio</i>] A. and B ⁶¹	A. vers. Fin ~ Ehrström 1837, vers. Swe ~ Å1818; B. vers. Fin and Swe ~ Hymander 1878 Fin and Swe; resp. A. and B. = Hymander 1889 A. and B.
6. Collect ⁶² [<i>Collecta.</i>], ‘Preferably read’	Fin ~ Hymander 1878, Swe (~ Nordlund 1850, Hymander 1859 and 1878); Amen = Hymander 1878

61 The first versions of the versicles and the second version of the response were left out of Colliander and Faltin’s Chorale Book 1897.

62 The Collect was left out of Colliander and Faltin’s Chorale Book 1897.

<p>7. The Mass of the Holy Communion. <i>[Ehtoollis-messu. Nattvards-mässan.]</i> Preface salutation [<i>Præfatio.</i>], two options for the liturgist in the first versicle;</p> <p>Words of institution⁶³ [<i>Verba consecrationis. Asetus-sanat. Instiktelse-orden.</i>], ‘Preferably read.’</p>	<p>1. vers. Fin 1. and 2. ~ Hymander 1859, vers. Swe 1. = H1817, 2. ~ Hymander 1859, resp. = Hymander 1889; 2. vers. ~ Hymander 1889, resp. = Hymander 1889; 3. vers. Fin = Hymander 1889 Fin, vers. Swe ~ Hymander 1889 Swe, resp. = Hymander 1878 and 1889; ~ Hymander 1878</p>
<p>8. <i>Sanctus</i> [<i>Pyhä. Helig.</i>], A. both in Finnish and Swedish, liturgist or choir; B. both in Finnish and Swedish, choir; C. only in Swedish, liturgist or choir</p>	<p>A. = Hymander 1878 and 1889 A.; B. = Hymander 1889 B., ~ Å1818; C. = Hymander 1878 B., ~ Hymander 1889 C.</p>
<p>9. Lord’s prayer⁶⁴ [<i>Oratio Dominica. Isä meidän. Fader vår.</i>], ‘Should always be read’</p>	<p>~ Hymander 1878; Amen = Hymander 1878</p>
<p>10. <i>Pax</i> [<i>Pax Domini</i>]</p>	<p>= Hymander 1889</p>
<p>11. <i>Agnus Dei</i> [<i>Agnus Dei</i>], in Finnish [<i>O Jumalan karitsa!</i>]; in Swedish [<i>O Guds Lamm!</i>]</p>	<p>Fin = Hymander 1878 Fin; Swe = Hymander 1878 Swe</p>

63 Words of institution was left out of Colliander and Faltin’s Chorale Book 1897.

64 Lord’s prayer was left out of Colliander and Faltin’s Chorale Book 1897

<p>12. <i>Postcommunio</i>. [<i>Postcommunio. Päättösmessu. Slutmässan.</i>], Salutation, liturgist [<i>Salutatio</i>.] and congregation [<i>Responsio</i>] A. and B.⁶⁵;</p> <p>Thanksgiving [<i>Precatio. Rukous. Bön.</i>], only the instructions: ‘Read.’, two options for the Amen; <i>Benedicamus</i> [<i>Benedicamus</i>] A. and B.</p>	<p>A. vers. Fin ~ Ehrström 1837, vers. Swe ~ Å1818; B. vers. Fin and Swe ~ Hymander 1878 Fin and Swe; resp. A. and B. = Hymander 1889 A. and B.;</p> <p>Amens = Hymander 1889 A. and B.;</p> <p>= Hymander 1889 A. and B.</p>
<p>14. Benediction [<i>Benedictio. Siunaus. Välsignelsen.</i>], liturgist with organ accompaniment, choir sings the Amen</p>	<p>composed by Richard Faltin</p>
<p><i>Te Deum</i>, shortened [<i>Te Deum. Abrosiuksen Kiitosvirsi. Lyhennetty Amrosianska Lofsången. Förkortad.</i>]</p>	<p>based on 16th- and 17th-century manuscripts</p>

65 The second version of the response was left out of Colliander and Faltin’s Chorale Book 1897.

Pahlman 1895

Title: *Uusi Suomalainen ja Ruotsalainen Kirkeo-messu Evankelis-Luterilaisille seurakunnille. Säveltänyt Oscar Pahlman.*

Ny Finsk och Svensk Kyrko-messa för de Evangelisk-Lutherska församlingarna. Af Oscar Pahlman.

[The New Finnish and Swedish Church-Mass for the Evangelical Lutheran parishes. Composed by Oscar Pahlman.]

renewed and expanded edition

Author: Pahlman, Oscar (1839–1935), Organist of Turku Cathedral, founder of the Churchwarden-Organist School of Turku

Publisher: Oscar Pahlman, Turku

Notation: one-part notation for the liturgist with an organ accompaniment, four-part harmonies for congregation or choir

Language: separate sections in Finnish and Swedish

Contents:

Both Finnish and Swedish Masses were composed by Pahlman and were based on no prior collection.

Finnish Mass [*Suomalainen Messu.*], pp. 1–21

<i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Herra armahda meitä!</i>]	~ Swe
Amens [no title], three options, a., b. and c.	= Swe
<i>Gloria</i> [<i>Kunnia olkoon Jumalan!</i>]	= Swe ⁶⁶

66 Only the liturgist's rhythm is different because of the different languages. The organ accompaniment and choir's part are identical.

A. <i>Laudamus</i> [<i>Kiitosveisu. (Hilariuksen.)</i>], there is also a footnote that this one can replace the Festal hymn as well;	(~ Swe);
B. <i>Gloria Patri</i> [<i>Kunnia olkoon Isän!</i>]	~ Swe
Salutation [no title]	(~ Swe)
Collect [<i>Kollekta.</i>], three options for the Amen [<i>Kollektan jälkeen.</i>], a., b. and c.	(~ Swe); Amens = Swe
The Mass of the Holy Communion. [<i>Ehtoollis-Messu.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	~ Swe
<i>Sanctus</i> [<i>Asetus-sanain jälkeen. Pyhä!</i>]	~ Swe
Amen for the Lord's prayer [<i>Isä meidän jälkeen.</i>], three options, a., b. and c.	= Swe
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	(~ Swe)
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [<i>O Jumalan Karitsa!</i>]	
After the Lord's Supper [<i>Herran Ehtoollisen jälkeen.</i>]	
Salutation	(~ Swe)
Amen for the Thanksgiving [<i>Rukouksen jälkeen.</i>], three options, a., b. and c.	= Swe
<i>Benedicamus</i> [<i>Halleluja!</i>]; an organ postlude after the congregation's response	lit. (~ Swe), congr., first part ~ Swe, second part and organ postlude = Swe
Benediction [<i>Siunaus.</i>]; Amen [<i>Siunauksen jälkeen.</i>]	

Swedish Mass [*Svenska Messan.*], pp. 22–42

<i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Herre förbarma Dig öfver oss!</i>]	~ Fin
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Amens [no title], three options, a., b. and c.	= Fin
<i>Gloria</i> [<i>Ära vare Gud!</i>]	= Fin
A. <i>Laudamus</i> [<i>Lofsång. (Hilarianska.)</i>], there is also a footnote that this one can replace the Festal hymn as well;	(~ Fin) ⁶⁷ ;
B. <i>Gloria Patri</i> [<i>Ära vare Fadren!</i>]	~ Fin
Salutation [no title]	(~ Fin)
Collect [<i>Collecta.</i>], three options for the Amen [<i>Efter Collecta.</i>], a., b. and c.	(~ Fin); Amens = Fin
The Mass of the Holy Communion. [<i>Nattwards-Messan.</i>]	
Preface salutation [no title]	~ Fin
<i>Sanctus</i> [<i>Efter instiftelseorden. Helig!</i>]	~ Fin
Amen for the Lord's Prayer [<i>Efter Fader vår.</i>], three options, a., b. and c.	= Fin
<i>Pax</i> [no title]	(~ Fin)
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [<i>O Guds Lamm!</i>]	
After the Lord's Supper [<i>Efter Nattvarden.</i>]	
Salutation	(~ Fin)
Amen for the Thanksgiving [<i>Efter bönen.</i>], three options, a., b. and c.	= Fin
<i>Benedicamus</i> [<i>Halleluja!</i>]; an organ postlude after the congregation's response	lit. (~ Fin), congr., first part ~ Fin, second part and organ postlude = Fin
Benediction [<i>Välsignelsen.</i>]; Amen [<i>Efter välsignelsen.</i>], two options, a. and b.	

67 In a higher key.

Putro 1906

- Title: *Sävelmistö Venäjän keisarikunnan evankelisluterilaisten seurakuntain suomalaiseseen kirkkokäsikirjaan.* [‘Melodies for the Finnish Handbook of the Evangelical-Lutheran Parishes in the Russian Empire.’]
- Author: Putro, Mooses (1848–1919), Organist of Saint Mary’s Finnish Church and teacher of the Finnish Church School in Saint Petersburg, composer, choir conductor, journalist, newspaper editor
- Publisher: WSOY, Porvoo
- Notation: one-part notation for the liturgist (with organ accompaniment in some parts), four-part harmonies for congregation or choir
- Language: Finnish

Contents:

Preface [*Alkulause.*], without page numbers

First part. Main Services in ordinary and festive Sundays

[*I osa. Pää-jumalanpalvelukset sunnuntai- ja juhlapäivinä*], pp. 1–29

I Confession of sins [<i>Synnintunnustus-osa</i>]	
2 b. <i>Gloria Patri</i> [no title]	(~ IAG 1897)
3 b. <i>Kyrie</i> [<i>Kyrie</i>], a. on ordinary Sundays [<i>Tavallisina pyhinä</i>]; b. when there is the Lord’s Supper and on festive Sundays [<i>Ehtoollispyhinä ja juhlapäivinä</i>]	Putro’s own (~ PR 1822) ⁶⁸ ; (~ HÅ 1799, IAF 1835, <i>etc.</i>)
4 b. Amen [no title]	

68 Slightly resembles PR 1822, in which there are two *Kyries*; the rhythm is the same in both of them and Putro’s rhythm is similar. There is also a distant similarity in the melodies.

5 a.–b. <i>Gloria</i> [<i>Gloria in excelsis</i>]	vers. and resp. start (~ HÅ 1799, H 1817, Å1818, <i>etc.</i>); resp. end (~ PR 1822)
5 c. <i>Laudamus</i> [<i>Me kiitämme (Laudamus)</i>]	Putro's own
5 d. Hymn <i>All glory be to God on High</i> , first stanza [no title]	(~ IAG 1897); harm. Putro's own
5 e. Instead of the <i>Gloria</i> during Lent [no title]	Putro's own
5 f. Hymn <i>O Lamb of God, innocent</i> [no title]	(~ IAG 1897); harm. Putro's own
II God's word and the prayer [<i>Sananviljelys- ja rukous-osa</i>]	
6 a.–b. Introits for different festal Sundays and other festivities [<i>Suurina juhlapäivinä ja juhla- aikoina veisattavat vuorovärsyt</i>]	Putro's own
6 c.–d. Introits for Lent and mourning ceremo- nies [<i>Paastonaikana ja surujuhlina</i>]	Putro's own
7 a.–b. Salutation [<i>Kaikkina pyhinä käytettävät vuoroveisut</i>]; two options for the vers.	first vers. (~ Å1818, Ehrström 1837 as well as Hymander 1878, 1889 and 1892); second vers. and resp. Putro's own
8 b. Amen for the Collect [no title]; two options	~ Hymander 1878; = IAF 1835; ~ IAG 1832 and IAG 1897 ⁶⁹
9 b. <i>Alleluia</i> [no title]	= PR 1822, IAG 1832, IAF 1835 and IAG 1897
9 c. Thanks be to your, o Christ [no title]	Putro's own
9 d. Amen [no title]	Putro's own

69 Only a small rhythmic difference.

10 b. Amen for the Creed [no title]	= IAG 1832, IAF 1835 and IAG 1897
17. a–m. Litany [<i>Litania</i>]; n.–r. Prayer of intercession [<i>Kirkkorukous</i>]	Putro's own, Amen (~ IAG 1897); last resp. and Amen (~ IAG 1897)
17 s. The last stanza of the hymn <i>Our Father in the heaven Who art</i> [no title]	harm. Putro's own
III Holy Communion [<i>Ehtoollis-osa</i>]	
20 a.–f. Preface salutation [<i>Praefatio</i>]	1. vers. and resp. (~ HÅ 1799, IAF 1835, <i>etc.</i>); 2. vers. and resp. Putro; 3. vers and resp. (~ HÅ 1799, IAF 1835, <i>etc.</i>)
20 g. Preface [no title]	Putro's own
20 h. <i>Sanctus</i> [<i>Pyhä (Sanctus)</i>]	~ PR 1822, IAG 1832, IAF 1835, first option and IAG 1897
21 b. Amen [no title]	Putro's own
21 d. Doxology of the Lord's prayer ('For the kingdom, the power...') [no title]	Putro's own
22 b. Amen for the Greeting of peace [no title]	Putro's own
24 a. <i>Agnus Dei</i> [<i>Agnus Dei</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799, PR 1822, IAG 1832, IAF 1835, IAG 1897, <i>etc.</i>)
IV Thanksgiving and Benediction [<i>Kiitos- ja siunaus-osa</i>]	

1. 25 a.–b. <i>Benedicamus</i> when there is the Lord's Supper [<i>Ehtoollispyhinä</i>]; the same during Lent and at mourning ceremonies [<i>Paastonaikana ja surujublina</i>];	(~ HÅ 1799, IAF 1835, <i>etc.</i>); Putro's own;
2. 18 a.–b. <i>Benedicamus</i> when there is no Lord's Supper [<i>Jumalanpalveluksissa ilman ehtoollista</i>]; the same during Lent and at mourning ceremonies [<i>Paastonaikana ja surujublina</i>]	(~ HÅ 1799, IAF 1835 et al.); Putro's own
19 (26). b. Amen for the Thanksgiving [no title]	~ IAF 1835 ⁷⁰
20 (27). b. Amen for the Benediction [no title]	= IAG 1832, IAF 1835 and IAG 1897 ⁷¹

Second part. Additional services. [*II osa. Siiv-jumalanpalvelukset.*]

A. Morning and evening services. [*Aamu- ja ehto-jumalanpalvelukset.*], p. 30

2 a.–f. Salutation and <i>Gloria Patri</i> [<i>Deus in adjutorium ja Gloria Patri</i>]	Putro's own
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B. Liturgical festival services [*Liturgiset jumalanpalvelukset*]

1. On Christmas Eve [*Joulumaattona*], pp. 31–32

Hymn <i>Oh, how joyfully</i> , first stanza [no title]	~ IAG 1897
18 a.–b. <i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	Putro's own

2. On Good Friday [*Pitkäperjantaina*], pp. 32–35

A. According to the first order [<i>Ensimmäisen kaavan mukaan</i>]	
3 a.–b. Salutation [no title]	Putro's own

70 This Amen appears after the Short collect in IAF 1832. There are only two minor changes in the tenor part.

71 In a lower key.

25 a.–b. Salutation [no title]	Putro's own
B. According to the second order [<i>Toisen kaavan mukaan</i>]	
3 a.–b. Salutation [no title]	Putro's own
Last parts of three stanzas of the hymn <i>In the midst of life, behold</i> [no title]	mel. ~ IAG 1897; harm. (~ IAG 1897)

3. At Easter [*Pääsiäisenä*], pp. 35–37

2. Short responsory [no title]	Putro's own
3 b. Hymn <i>Sing Hallelujah, honour, praise</i> [no title]	harm. Putro's own
17 a.–b. <i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	Putro's own

4. On Pentecost [*Helluntaina*], p. 38

3 a.–b. Salutation [no title]	Putro's own
17 a.–b. <i>Benedicamus</i> [no title]	Putro's own

5. On All Souls' Day [*Kuolleiden muistojuhlana*], p. 39

3 a.–b. Salutation [no title]	Putro's own
19 a.–b. Short responsory [no title]	Putro's own

C. Funeral Mass [*Hautajaismenoihin kuuluva Surujumalanpalvelus*], pp. 40–41

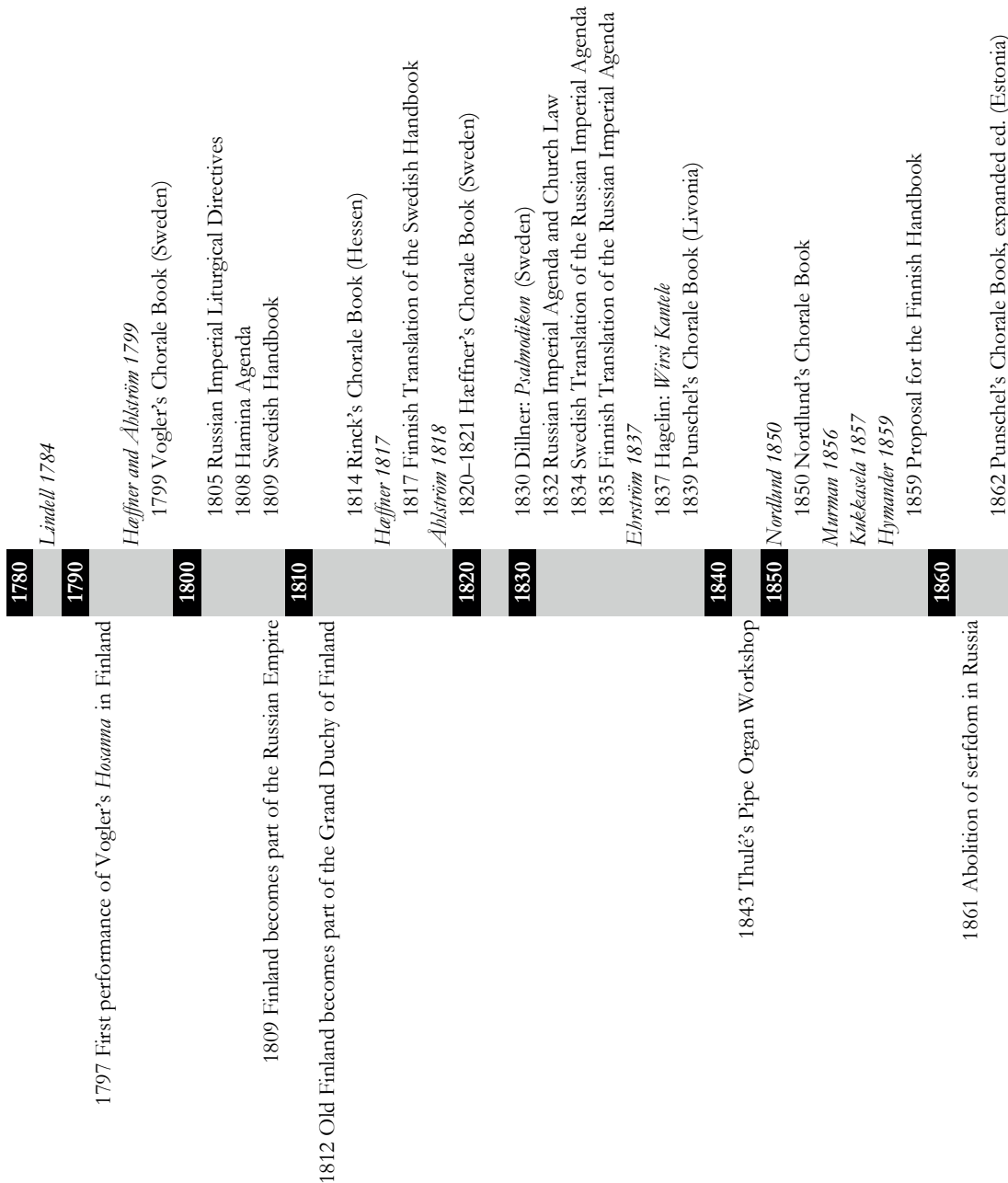
3 b.–c. Salutation [no title]	Putro's own
6 b. Amen for the Collect [no title]	Putro's own
7 b. Amen for the Lord's Prayer [no title]	Putro's own

6 b. Amen for the Benediction [no title]	Putro's own
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Appendix. Benediction. [*Lite. Simons.*], pp. 42–43

(26 b. – 19 b.) Amen for the Thanksgiving [no title]	Putro's own
(27 a. – 20 a.) Benediction [no title]; (27 b. – 20 b.) Amen	Putro's own

Appendix 2: Timeline



1863 Jyväskylä Seminary	<i>Wächter (in German) 1864</i>
1863 Kolppana Seminary	<i>Wächter 1865</i>
1866 Primary School Decree in Finland	1869 Finnish Church Law
1869 First Estonian National Song Festival	1870
1870 Zachariassen's Pipe Organ Workshop	<i>Hagfors 1871</i>
	1871 Lagi and Faltin's Chorale Book
	<i>Kimelius 1875</i>
	<i>Saarelainen 1875</i>
1876 First General Synod in Finland	1876 Nordlund and Hagfors's Chorale Book
1878 Turku Churchwarden-Organist School	<i>Frosterus 1878</i>
	<i>Hymander 1878</i>
	1880
1882 Helsinki Music Institute	<i>Saarelainen 1883</i>
1882 Helsinki Churchwarden-Organist School	1884 Proposal for the Finnish Handbook
1882 Oulu Churchwarden-Organist School	1886 Finnish Handbook and Hymnals
	1888 Colliander and Faltin's Chorale Book
1884 First Finnish National Song Festival	<i>Hymander 1889</i>
	<i>Ketonen 1889</i>
1889 Oulu Churchwarden-Organist School is shut down	<i>Vahe and Vahe 1889</i>
	1890
	<i>Ketonen 1890</i>
	<i>Hymander 1892</i>
	<i>Achté 1892</i>
1893 Viipuri Churchwarden-Organist School	<i>Pahnan 1895</i>
	1897 Colliander and Faltin's Chorale Book, 2. ed.
	1897 Russian Imperial Agenda and Church Law
1899 First Ingrian National Song Festival	1900 Finnish Translation of the Russian Imperial Agenda
1902 First Finnish Church Song Festival	1903 Colliander and Faltin's Chorale Book, 3. ed.
	<i>Hymander 1904</i>
	<i>Putro 1906</i>



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