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The male voice choir of Kolppana graduates conducted by Mooses Putro, probably at the Ingrian national song festival in Kolppana in 1913, when the Kolppana Seminary celebrated its 50th anniversary.

NATIONAL IDENTITY, MUSIC EDUCATION, AND GENDER

The Kolppana Seminary in Ingria, 1863–1919

by **Samuli Korkalainen**

abstract

Towards the end of the 19th century, Ingrian Finns became aware of their own national identity and culture. These ideas were maintained by the Kolppana Teacher and Churchwarden Seminary, which was founded in 1863. At the turn of the twentieth century, national thinking also began to emerge from the deep ranks of Ingrian-Finnish people, partly because Ingrian-born teachers and churchwardens educated in Kolppana formed a new, schooled intelligentsia. Music played a central role in the national process, and the Kolppana graduates taught religious and patriotic repertoire. The new intelligentsia comprised only men because the Kolppana Seminary was not open to women. The Ingrian Finns strove to preserve their own language, Lutheran religion, and national customs. Even though they recognized Finland as their spiritual homeland, the Ingrian-Finnish national spirit was marked by a clear "Ingrianism".

KEYWORDS: Ingria, education, national identity, music, gender.

Who was the one, who would dare deny
the great, noble work of our institution?
Who would say that as a beacon it does not stand
in the midst of the people, pointing the way
through the dark night of suffering?[1]

This poem, written by the pseudonym *Aira* in 1913, refers to the Kolppana Teacher and Churchwarden[2] Seminary that operated in Ingria[3] from 1863 to 1919. The poem shows that the educational institution in question was perceived as a center and a symbol of the Ingrian national movement. Through its graduates, its influence spread throughout the countryside, creating and strengthening Ingrian national identity whose central features were considered to be the Finnish language, Lutheranism, and music. However, all these influencers were male because the seminary was not open to female pupils. In this article, I delve into the questions of na-

tional identity, musical education, and gender at the Kolppana Seminary.

Ingria is a Russian region on the eastern and southeastern shores of the Gulf of Finland, around Saint Petersburg. Its northern border on the Karelian Isthmus is the former border between Finland and Russia, and its neighbor in the west is Estonia. After the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617, Ingria became part of the Kingdom of Sweden and was settled by Lutheran Finns. The original inhabitants were Votes[4], Izhorians[5], and Russians, all of whom were Eastern Orthodox. By the 1660s, Ingrian Finns made up the majority of the population of Ingria. In 1709, during the Great Northern War, Ingria was ceded back to the Russian Empire. 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 major religion, and Finnish was the language most spoken in the Ingrian countryside.

Ingria was a multiethnic region; at the turn of the 19th century, German colonies were established next to the villages of Finns, Votes, Izhorians, and Russians. Estonians started to move to Western Ingria toward the end of the 19th century, and they made up a third of the inhabitants in some municipalities. It is remarkable, though, that there was little interaction between the ethnic groups of the area, and they used to live in their own villages. Mixed marriages were infrequent, partly because all children born in them were to be baptized as members of the Eastern Orthodox Church.[6]

IN THE 1850S, more than 80,000 Ingrian Finns were members of the Lutheran Church, while just over 15,000 Izhorians and 5,000 Votes were Eastern Orthodox. The number of Izhorians and Votes kept decreasing towards the end of the century, whereas the number of Lutherans in Ingria and Saint Petersburg increased to almost 150,000 due to migration from Finland. Nevertheless, the increasing spread of Russians to Ingria made the position of the Eastern Orthodox Church stronger, and as a result Ingrian Finns were a minority in some areas at the turn of the century.[7]

Ingrian Finns were serfs until 1861, when the Emancipation Reform by Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881) abolished serfdom throughout the Russian Empire. As an author with initials J.P.[8] expressed in 1913, "The serf's life vocation a*nd actual task was – physical labor. The cultivation of literature, intellectual pursuits, and higher spiritual pleasures – those belonged to free men, lords, and their children. There were no schools for the children of serfs, where they would have been taught even the basics of knowledge and have instilled in their minds the desire to read".[9] Even though everyday life and social structure changed only gradually, the abolition of serfdom meant more freedom for cultural purposes of Ingrian Finns and made the spread of national thoughts possible among them.[10]

MAP: MATTEUS PENTTI

Baltic provinces of the Swedish Kingdom in the 17th century.

Methodology and research materials

The aim of this article is to discuss the Ingrian national movement focusing on the Kolppana Seminary and its impact on spreading nationalistic thoughts and ideas among Ingrian Finns. The national movement is examined through the social structure as well as influence from elsewhere, especially Finland. The concept of "nation" has varying historically determined meanings. In this article, I use it to outline the general characteristic of a certain ethnic group's consciousness and self-identification with their community named as a "nation".

As for the Kolppana Seminary, the focus is on music education. It had an essential role at the seminary because hymns and liturgical melodies were perceived as a central part of Lutheran worship, also in Ingria, but according to many pastors and musicians, the modest standard of congregational singing required measures to improve it.[11] In addition, music was considered an efficient tool for infusing the minds of the common people with nationalistic goals. Consequently, the music curriculum at the Kolppana Seminary included both church singing and patriotic songs.

"MUSIC WAS CONSIDERED AN EFFICIENT TOOL FOR INFUSING THE MINDS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE WITH NATIONALISTIC GOALS."

I also discuss the question of gender and explain why women were left out of the Kolppana Seminary and maintained a secondary role in the national project of Ingrian Finns. I approach gender as a social and cultural construct, which has an impact on people's opportunities, social roles, hierarchies, and interactions. Gender diversity is my starting point as a scholar, but since all of my research material represents a gender binary concept, I only refer to men and women.

My methodology includes a close and critical reading of sources. My primary sources are from the archives of the Kolppana Seminary. During the Soviet era, a vast amount of the

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View over Kolppana from the church roof, around 1900.

PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

Kolppana church, 1911.

material about Ingria was destroyed and disappeared. However, the archives of the Kolppana Seminary, and the archives of many Ingrian parishes, were transported to Finland, and are available at the National Archives of Finland in Helsinki. The archives contain different kinds of documents related to the Seminary such as annual reports, account books, letters, applications and certificates, administration minutes, dossiers and lists of pupils, and miscellaneous material. Unfortunately, the seminary collection is neither comprehensive nor organized logically; individual documents are in the wrong folders, and plenty of material is missing. Nevertheless, I discovered relevant information for this article, especially from the annual reports and lists of pupils, as well as seminary by-laws and proposals for the by-laws.

As a secondary source material, I engaged with memoirs of the Kolppana Seminary written by different authors and other volumes concerning the history of Ingria. The most important one was a 1913 historical memoir titled *Kolppanan Seminaari*. Two more recent related studies, namely *Inkeri: Historia, kansa, kulttuuri* ("Ingria: History, people, culture"), edited by Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo in 1991, and *Inkerin kirkon neljä vuosisataa* ("The four centuries of the Ingrian Church"), edited by Jouko Sihvo and Jyrki Paaskoski in 2015, have also been central. In addition, I use Finnish-language newspapers published in Saint Petersburg, which were readily available on the Finnish National Library's digitized newspaper collection (digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi).

MY SOURCE ANALYSIS examines the time and place of the composition of the research material, its connection to comparable documents, and the situations that had impact on the content. My aim is to understand and characterize the phenomenon under study in its social, political, and cultural contexts, for which reason the research material is investigated and critically evaluated in the context of the history of the period. Due to a lack of comprehensive sources, I extract information from fragmentary material; sometimes this process resembles solving a jigsaw puzzle.

Ingrian parishes and municipalities had Finnish, Russian, Swedish, and German names, but because most of my materials are in Finnish, I use the Finnish names. The Kolppana Seminary did not have an established name, and there was variation in different sources and languages, including the seminary's own materials. For this reason, I only use the term "Kolppana Seminary".

Kolppana Seminary

In rural Ingria, people received literacy instruction predominantly from their home or a local churchwarden. Confirmation school was mandatory, but it was short in duration and limited in content, although it did affect the improvement of literacy. The first Sunday schools started in the 1870s, taking different structures in different parishes; in some cases, they resembled rudimentary primary schools, while in others they simply contained modest lessons within moments of prayer. Teachers were pastors, churchwardens, and learned laypeople. When the Russification policy started to restrict the teaching of Finnish and religion at primary schools at the turn of the century, Sunday schools became crucial for Finnish-speaking Lutherans.[12]

Lutheran parishes in Ingria did not belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. The administration of these parishes was somewhat unclear until 1832, when they became part of the Saint Petersburg Consistorial District. This district belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia, as did the Lutheran parishes in Baltic countries and some other Lutheran minority groups in Russia. When the administration of the church was concentrated in Saint Petersburg, different liturgical and ecclesiastical cultures were brought into closer contact with each other, which meant that Baltic-German influence spread in Ingria; the reason was that most of the leaders of the Church were Baltic Germans.[13]

Nevertheless, at that time, all the pastors of Finnish-speaking parishes in Ingria were born in Finland. They received their education in the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki, while all the other pastors were educated in Dorpat (present-day Tartu)

PHOTO: FINNISH HERITAGE AGENCY, SUK94:18

Pupils of the Kolppana Seminary at the beginning of the 20th century.

PHOTO: INKERI.RU

Memory plaquet on the building of the former Kolppana Seminary. The text reads: "In memory of the 150th anniversary of the Kolppana Seminary. Founded in 1863, Kolppana Seminary was the first educational institution to train teachers for Finnish-language schools in Russia."

University in Livonia, within the sphere of influence of the Baltic-German tradition. From 1866 to 1917, a total of 109 new pastors began to work in Ingria. Only nineteen of them were Ingrian-born, six of whom studied in Dorpat, twelve in Helsinki, and one in both universities.[14] All of this means that Ingrian Lutheran parishes were administratively close to Baltic Germans, but they were led by Finnish-born pastors, who thus had a remarkable influence on local parishioners. Most of these pastors spoke Swedish or German as their native language but communicated with their parishioners in Finnish. From the 1840s onwards, the pastors of the Saint Petersburg Consistorial district gathered in annual synods. In connection with the synods, the pastors of the Finnish-speaking parishes of Ingria organized their own meetings as well. One of the most important topics of those meetings was public education. At the same time, a similar discussion was going on in Finland and in the Baltic countries.[15]

IN THE GOVERNORATE of Livonia, a seminary was set up as early as in 1839 in Valmiera, but it was moved to Valga in 1849. This seminary educated both primary school teachers and churchwardens for Lutheran parishes. In Finland, the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminary was founded in 1863. Many Finnish pastors wanted to include the training of churchwardens in the seminary's curriculum, but the proposal was not accepted, and four private churchwarden-organist schools were founded in Finland (Turku 1878, Helsinki and Oulu 1882, and Vyborg 1893).[16]

In Ingria, in the same year 1863, the Kolppana Seminary was established to prepare teachers for primary schools as well as churchwardens and organists, similar to the Valga Seminary. 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 graduated. Most graduates found employment in the combined offices of teacher and churchwarden.[17] However, in late-19th-century Russia, it was typical that several school networks overlapped. Consequently, in Ingria, schools were established by the local government, patrons, the Ministry of Public Education, organizations, various state institutions, and separate ethnic communities like Lutheran parishes. Due to the Russification policy, whose aim was to restrict the cultural and administrative rights and activities of non-Russian minorities, Finnish-language schools were transferred in 1891 from the control of Lutheran parishes to the Ministry of National Education. Around the same time, the language of instruction changed to Russian and teaching Finnish was only allowed as an additional subject after the actual school day.[18]

After the February Revolution in 1917, Ingrian Finns hoped to get their own administration for educational and cultural life because the new government canceled all national and religious restrictions. However, this hope did not even last a year because the Bolsheviks took power during the October Revolution and started to restrict ecclesiastical life and the cultural activities of ethnic minority groups. The church separated from the state, and schools from the church. In January 1919, the Kolppana Seminary was also moved from the control of the Lutheran Church to the control of the Soviet government, with the result that teaching religion and training churchwardens and organists was forbidden. Many pupils left the seminary to battle against Bolsheviks, who in turn arrested many of the remaining pupils. The last remaining pupils fled to Estonia in the spring of 1919, and the history of the Kolppana Seminary in Ingria ended once and for all. However, seminary principal Kaapre Tynni (1877–1953) moved to Finland and organized one half-year semester for about twenty pupils in Helsinki in the spring of 1920.[19]

National movement and its impact on social structure in rural Ingria

According to Irish historian Benedict Anderson, national communities are always imagined. He does not consider them fake,

per se, but rather believes that a community is imagined to a certain extent if it is so large that it is impossible for its members to know each other on a face-to-face basis.[20] For that reason, when starting to delve into the national movement of Ingrian Finns, questions must be asked about what tied people together and what kind of features were needed to create and maintain national identity.

At the end of the 18th century, German Romantic philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) gave his famous definition of a people: "Since every people is a People, it has its own national culture as it has its own language".[21] Consequently, 19th-century national movements typically aimed to protect and praise the mother tongue; as Finnish philosopher and statesman Johan Vilhem Snellman (1806–1881) contextualized it: "Without Finnish we are not Finns".[22] In the latter part of the 19th century, the urge to improve the position of the Finnish language began to be underlined both in Finland, where the upper classes spoke Swedish, and in Ingria, where they spoke Russian or German.

IN THE FIRST HALF of the 19th century, Ingrian Finns were a typical Eastern European minority. First, by the 1860s practically all of the Finnish-speaking population in Ingrian countryside were serfs. Second, their language and religion differed from the dominant ones of the realm. Third, the language and culture of the upper class differed from those of the majority of people; the nobility and the gentry consisted of Russians and Baltic Germans, and the clergy came from Finland. Finally, the ultimate decision-making power came from outside the area.[23]

"IN INGRIA, CLERGY TAUGHT MARTIN LUTHER'S (1483–1546) SMALL CATECHISM TO PARISHIONERS FOR TWO HUNDRED YEARS."

According to British-Czech philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, mankind has transited three stages: foraging, agriculture, and scientific or industrial society. The second change from an agrarian society to an industrial one took place in Ingria towards the end of the 19th century. Agrarian societies were based on food production and storage. A person's social standing, station, and entitlements determined their fortune. Agrarian society was organized hierarchically, with each stratum and its members guarding its standing and its privileges. The lowest of the large strata in this society were rustic agricultural producers, who were segregated into local village communities. Agricultural producers were generally tied to the land, a situation which helped to impose discipline.[24]

Society in Ingria was thus not egalitarian, and the dominant estates were hereditary. As Gellner points out, 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, the majority of people was left outside them, and there was only little adjustment. As was typical in other European countries at that time, people in Ingria lived their lives in the social compartment in which they were born, regardless of stratum.[25]

IN AGRARIAN CULTURE, the position of clergy was strong. The ritual and doctrinal maintenance of the unequal principles of legitimacy of membership and leadership also allowed clergy and the religious upper stratum to share authoritative power with nobility and rulers in the agrarian world.[26] In Ingria, clergy taught Martin Luther's (1483–1546) Small Catechism to parishioners for two hundred years.[27] The book included a supplement called the Table of Duties, the content of which defined authorities appointed by God. According to Luther, fathers were authorities to wives and children, employers to employees, pastors to parishioners, leading finally to the governing authorities like the king or emperor.[28] Because of these teachings in the Table of Duties, Ingrian Finns were used to conforming the authority of clergy.

According to Czech political theorist Miroslav Hroch, in Protestant countries secular scholars such as university professors and state officials played leading roles in national movements. Clergy led national movements as well, and Hroch claims that Protestant pastors' participation in national movements largely depended on their ethnic roots.[29] Snellman's nationalistic ideas of Finnish as a fully-fledged national language obtained significant support among clergy in Ingria, and the pastors who came from Finland started to promote Finnish nationalistic goals and Finnish-speaking education among their parishioners. Gradually, one concrete change based on their views took place also among themselves. Even though pastors communicated with their parishioners in Finnish, they spoke Swedish or German together and in their vicarages. However, towards the turn of the century, many Lutheran pastors of Ingria started to speak Finnish at home as well.[30]

THE PASTORS' ACTIVE ROLE meant that the Ingrian national movement started in the Lutheran Church and, consequently, Lutheranism came to be considered one of the most important factors in Ingrian-Finnish national identification. According to Jaakko Raski and Juuso Mustonen, it was always the Lutheran Church's duty to take care of the religious, spiritual, and national education of the Ingrian Finns. The Church was thus the most active agent in maintaining the Finnish language and culture in Ingria for two hundred years.[31] As a result of this active role of the Church, Lutheranism also became one of the national symbols[32] in Ingria. According to Raski, one reason for this was that the Baltic-German church administration indirectly protected Finnish culture and language in Ingria against the Russification policy. For example, Baltic Germans used the name Ingria, whereas the official Russian name of the area was the Saint Petersburg Governorate. In addition, while both ecclesiastical and secular administrations used foreign languages, i.e., German

and Russian, the position of the Finnish language remained strong among the people.[33]

IN THE LAST DECADES of the 19th century, the old social structure in the Ingrian countryside gradually began to crumble, and the focus in the national movement shifted from the Finnish language to *Ingrian*-Finnish identity, when primary school teachers educated in the Kolppana Seminary became the new "intelligentsia" of Ingria. Using that expression for them may sound like an exaggeration, but according to Hroch, the definition of intelligentsia is related to the status of this class in the overall social context, which means that it varied according to different educational and social structures.[34] Primary school teachers thus formed an intelligentsia within their ethnic group, even though they did not belong to the intelligentsia of Russian society as a whole. Because of their education received in the Kolppana Seminary, teachers and churchwardens moved to the countryside and started gradually to achieve higher status, influence, and prestige. When social status was maintained through education and not through inheritance, the Table of Duties lost its position as a model for social structure.

Hroch makes a distinction between "state-nations" – the situations in which a modern nation developed as a direct consequence of a civic society forming within an established state – and the national movements of non-dominant ethnic groups in multi-ethnic empires in 19th-century Europe.[35] Ingrian Finns belonged to those ethnic groups that were so small it was improbable for them to achieve remarkable success. These restricted folk communities' national ambitions were mostly limited to linguistic and cultural aims, but according to Hroch, they never achieved any remarkable results.[36] Hroch mentions Ingrian Finns only in a list of many ethnic groups, which indicates that he does not take into consideration the unique historical bond between Finland and Ingria. The national awakening of Ingrian Finns included no desire to establish an autonomous position within the Russian Empire. Even though Ingrian Finns underlined their historical roots and close connections with Finland, which they considered their ethnic and linguistic homeland, they did not want to become part of Finland. Finland was not their "fatherland" but was rather seen as a mother whose child Ingria was.[37]

Gellner uses a metaphor of the "navels" of nations. According to him, there are nations that either have authentic ancient navels or navels created for them by their own nationalistic propaganda, and some nations simply do not have a navel.[38] The umbilical cord of Ingrian Finns extended to Finland, whereas in other nations' cases, it extended to their own history or was invented based on their own territory. Therefore, even though the Ingrian Finns emphasized the Finnish language, Finnish culture, and Lutheranism, from a national point of view, it was mostly about "Ingrianism", not "Finnishness". One feature of this was the romanticizing of the experience of serfdom, which never took place in Finland but became central to how Ingrian Finns identified themselves.

Following Herder's idea about every nation's own national history and culture, many Finns traveled to Karelia to find "the spirit and the soul" of their nation by collecting folk songs and oral poetry. In the latter part of the century, many Finnish collectors also went to Ingria and wrote down large quantities of oral poetry. A significant amount of oral poetry about Kullervo, who is one of the main characters in the national epic of Finland called *Kalevala*, were collected in Ingria; as a result, Ingrian Finns often used to call themselves "the tribe of Kullervo".[39] It was natural for Ingrian Finns to identify with Kullervo's story because he was an unlucky character who had to work under others, which reminded them their experiences as serfs. Serfdom as such was also a common theme in Ingrian poems, songs, and plays written at the turn of the twentieth century.

The new Ingrian-Finnish intelligentsia actively read Finnish nationalistic publications. One of the most popular authors was J.V. Snellman, who had no interest in leaving the Russian Empire. Hroch describes how national movements are typically started by several educated citizens of one ethnic group trying to spread national awareness with a focus on cultural, linguistic, and social goals. In this early phase, political demands are added as well but only in some cases.[40] In Ingria, too, the national movement focused on cultural, linguistic, and social aims. Hroch adds that usually, national political programs are not formed until a mass national movement occurs.[41] This never happened in Ingria because of the Russification policy from the turn of the twentieth century onwards, and due to restrictions and persecution by the Soviet government from 1918 onwards.[42]

"BECAUSE OF THEIR EDUCATION RECEIVED IN THE KOLPPANA SEMINARY, TEACHERS AND CHURCHWARDENS MOVED TO THE COUNTRYSIDE AND STARTED GRADUALLY TO ACHIEVE HIGHER STATUS."

IN PURSUIT OF CULTURAL, linguistic, and social goals, a concept of *sivistys* in Finnish was essential in nationalistic writings in Finland and Ingria. The word's meaning is practically the same as the German concept of *Bildung*. In Finnish, the word *sivistys* covers education, knowledge, culture, sophistication, ethics, morals, and mental development as well as civilization. As is typical for Finno-Ugric languages, many nouns and adjectives are derived from the word, and they can refer to a single person, a small group, or a society such as a nation.[43] Along with Finnish-language newspapers and libraries, one of the most important forms of *sivistys* and its dissemination was the seminary, the influence of which spread through the graduates across the countryside.

It is important to emphasize that primary school teachers

PHOTO: FINNISH LITERARY SOCIETY

Finnish class in Kolppana Seminary 1916. The text on the board reads *Sammuta sinä, minä sytytän*, You turn it off, I'll turn it on.

PHOTO: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

The main building of the Kolppana Seminary, 1910.

educated in the Kolppana Seminary were Ingrian-born. For that reason, the Kolppana Seminary became both the central place and the symbol of Ingrian nationalistic thought. Teachers educated in Kolppana strove to teach their pupils the Finnish language, a national view of life, and solid Lutheran faith.[44] The national character of the Kolppana Seminary is also revealed by the fact that from 1863 to 1912 only one of the pupils was Estonian, while all the others were Ingrian Finns. In addition, about 90 per cent of the pupils came from the Ingrian countryside, and every one of them was Lutheran.[45]

Music education at the Kolppana seminary

The Kolppana Seminary cannot be considered a music school in the true sense of the word because the most important aim there was to educate primary school teachers, and the training of churchwardens was of secondary importance. Consequently, music education at the Kolppana Seminary was scarce: only church-singing, organ-playing and figured bass were taught. During the very first years of the seminary's operation, instruction in singing and playing began only in the second year of the three-year course work. Yet by 1866 these lessons were also offered from the beginning. Before 1870, figured bass was taught only during the third year, but since then, on second and third year. From 1881 onwards, figured bass was included in the curriculum every year.[46]

According to Jaakko Raski, the standard of music education in the Kolppana Seminary was modest, owing to the lack of instruments and the quality of teachers. Most of the music teachers were churchwardens or primary school teachers who worked in the seminary only for a short period of time; most of them were also Kolppana graduates.[47] According to the annual report of the seminary from academic year 1906–1907, music education left a great deal to be desired. Due to the scarcity and poor quality of the musical instruments, the seminary pupils could not achieve anywhere close to the playing skills that they would elsewhere have been able to attain. To eliminate the shortage, the pupils had tried to raise funds by organizing singing events, but these events were few and far between, so it was not possible to get new instruments at that point.[48]

It seems that there was no pipe organ in the school building when the seminary began operating. In 1867 an organ was brought there, but there is no information available on its size or features. It was probably purchased from an organ workshop called Orgelbau Fröhling in Saint Petersburg.[49] The quality of this organ seems to have been meager because it needed continuous repairs. In 1894, the Kolppana Seminary obtained a new pipe organ and the old one was possibly removed to Spankkova church. The new organ was built by the organ factory Gebrüder Rieger in Silesia, and it had eleven stops on two manuals and a pedal. Unfortunately, this instrument also suffered from multiple defects and needed frequent repairs.[50] There was also a grand piano and a harmonium in the seminary building, but no further information is available about either of them.[51]

MUSIC EDUCATION at the Kolppana Seminary combined the features that constituted the identity of the Ingrian national movement, i.e., Finnish language and Lutheranism, but Baltic-German influence was also present. Teaching material from Germany and Russia included August Gottfried Ritter's organ method *Kunst des Orgelspiels*, and Anton Rubinštein's etudes for piano. In figured bass, harmonization, and modulation, two Finnish volumes were used as teaching material: *Sointu-oppi* ("Harmonization"; 1890) by H. Ronkainen and *Yleinen musiikkioppi ja analyysi* ("General music theory and analysis"; 1897) by Martin Wegelius. Both the solo and four-part singing repertoire included mostly religious songs and Finnish nationalistic songs; there is not much information available, but singing material consisted at least of Finnish hymnals, collections of Finnish folk songs such as *Suomalaisia kansan-lauluja ja soitelmia* ("Finnish folk songs and melodies") edited by F. V. Illman in 1867 and *Huwi lauluja Hämehestä* ("Entertainment songs from Tavastia") from the year 1842 as well as Finnish patriotic songs. Hymns and chorale books were from Finland, whereas the liturgical melodies conformed to the Imperial


Kolppanan seminaarin XIV:s oppilasvuoro kevätlukukauden lopussa 1913.

Kolppana Seminary students in spring of 1913.

PHOTO: INKERILIITTO.FI

PHOTO: INKERILIITTO.FI

Pupils and teachers of the Kolppana Seminary on May 31, 1920, after the move to Helsinki. The only female students that ever graduated from Kolppana Semenary – Aino Parkkinen, Anni Savolainen and Maikki Pärssinen – can be seen in the center of the picture .

Agenda of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia and thus represented the Baltic-German tradition.[52]

Four-part singing was officially included in the curriculum as late as in 1916 but it had been taught since at least 1899. The reason was that enthusiasm for choral singing spread in Ingria towards the end of the 19th century.[53] Unfortunately, there is no material about the choral repertoire used at the Kolppana Seminary, but rather only vague mentions of "four-part songs", "newest choir songs in four parts", or "newest Finnish songs for male voices in four parts".[54] However, following the example of the Estonian and Finnish national song festivals, Ingrian Finns started organizing them as well. In total, the Ingrian Song Festival took place seven times between 1899 and 1918. Graduates from the Kolppana Seminary played a key role in organizing the song festivals, and one 1913 event was organized in Kolppana in connection with the seminary's fiftieth anniversary.[55]

AT THE KOLPPANA SEMINARY, pupils were given both teacher and churchwarden training. However, not all pupils had such good grades in music that they could be considered to have completed a churchwarden's degree. On the other hand, there were pupils who excelled in music but did not perform so well in other subjects that they could have been given a teacher's certificate; in that case, they became only churchwardens.[56] Most graduates found employment in combined offices in parishes and primary schools. Even though their musical proficiency was often modest, they established many choirs and brass bands that performed in local festivities. The repertoire consisted largely of what they had been taught at the Kolppana Seminary – religious and patriotic songs. At all events, they were usually the only professional musicians and pedagogues in their own locale.[57]

The question of gender

The Kolppana Seminary was designed only for men and at the time of its foundation there were no discussions on whether it should be open to women as well. Due to a lack of sources, I address why women were left out from the Kolppana Seminary by using secondary material. It seems that there were at least two reasons: the weak position of women in the Ingrian society in general and their role as housewives – both of which were inherited from the era of serfdom – and the training of churchwardens, which might have influenced the exclusion of women because it was widely accepted that a woman could not serve as a congregational music director.

In her folkloristic research, Satu M. Gröndahl focuses on Ingrian women's folk poetry. According to Gröndahl, women had a negative self-image, and they often used the word "pitiful" (*parka* in Finnish) when describing themselves. Gröndahl has discovered a reason for this primarily in the travelogs of Finnish oral poetry collectors who visited Ingria. Many of them considered the position of women in Ingrian society to be poor; men were at the top of the family hierarchy, whereas many women experienced domestic violence and sexual abuse. While men traveled elsewhere to earn money, women were forced to take care of the farming and the household. Even after the abolition of serfdom the culture changed only slowly. Although women's folk poetry describes the joy of life, love for family, and their home region, it seems that the private collective experience of Ingrian women was that they had no chance to improve their position but rather settled in it.[58]

In addition, at that time in Ingria, as in much of the rest of the world, the opportunities for women to make a career were few and limited to single women. Getting married meant becoming a housewife, regardless of social stratum. It used to be said in Ingria, "Why should a girl go to school when she can get married".[59]

The Russian Church Laws of 1832 and 1900 did not say anything about churchwardens' gender. Nevertheless, all of them were men and it seems that there was no discussion about women getting the post. In Finland and most probably also in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia, the justification was Paul the Apostle's instructions in the Bible that women should be silent among the congregation. Nevertheless, it is interesting that

women were allowed to participate in congregational singing and choirs, but it was not possible for them to conduct or accompany singing in the church. The Bible was interpreted as prohibiting women from taking any office in the church.[60] The training of churchwardens in Kolppana may therefore have been one of the reasons why women were not admitted to the seminary.

In Finland, the Jyväskylä Teacher Seminary was open to women as well. In the early days of the seminary's operation most of the female students came from families who belonged to the gentry or the new bourgeois intelligentsia. Since the Finnish pastors of Ingrian Lutheran parishes used to educate their children in Finland, there was no such intelligentsia in Ingria until the Kolppana Seminary raised it. It is natural that the desire to receive education arose especially among the daughters of teachers and churchwardens. Only the wealthiest parents could send their daughters to seminaries in Finland, and those who completed their degrees there were not formally qualified teachers in Russian schools. Therefore, many women who wanted to become teachers went to a Russian seminary, which caused concern from a national perspective about whether they would be eligible to be teachers of Ingrian-Finnish children.[61] However, these female teachers became role models for Ingrian girls,[62] which might have an impact on discussions about whether the Kolppana Seminary should have been opened to women as well.

THE FIRST INITIATIVES to open the Kolppana Seminary to female pupils were made as early as in the 1870s; since then, the proposal was repeated occasionally throughout the history of the seminary, but the sources do not indicate who were active in these discussions. The seminary board always opposed the initiatives, citing a lack of funding, for instance.[63] However, it must have been more about the attitude and religious views. The closest the initiative came to being realized was in 1906, when the Ingrian Finns gathered for a citizens' assembly to discuss national issues. One topic was the renewal of the Kolppana Seminary, in connection with which it was proposed to establish a separate seminary or department for women in connection with the seminary. The reform committee chosen by the same meeting prepared a new proposal for the seminary by-laws, according to which the seminary would have had two departments, one for male and another one for female pupils. However, the reform did not take place this time either, as the seminary board, consisting mostly of pastors and other church leaders – of men only – did not approve it.[64]

It was only after the February Revolution in 1917 that a decision was made to establish a women's department in the Kolppana Seminary and, as a result, 36 female pupils started studying there in September of the same year. In December 1918, there were a total of 52 female pupils; about a third of them were the daughters of churchwardens and teachers. However, none of them had time to graduate in Kolppana before the seminary was moved to Helsinki a year before it closed for good. Three female pupils graduated in Helsinki in 1920.[65]

"IT WAS ONLY AFTER THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN 1917 THAT A DECISION WAS MADE TO ESTABLISH A WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT IN THE KOLPPANA SEMINARY."

Conclusion

At the turn of the twentieth century, a historical and contemporary bond between Finland and Ingria was strong. They both belonged to the same Russian Empire, shared the same major language and the same major denomination. As Finnish-speaking Lutherans, Finns and Ingrian Finns thus formed together a remarkable minority that differed culturally, religiously, and linguistically from the majority of the population in the Eastern Orthodox and Russian-speaking realm. Nevertheless, located outside the borders of the Grand Duchy of Finland, Ingria considerably differed from Finland administratively and culturally; through the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Russia, Ingrian Finns had a tight bond with Baltic Germans, and through the shared experiences of serfdom, they were close to Estonians, Livonians, and Latvians. For that reason, in the last decades of the 19th century Ingrian Finns formed their own conception of national culture and identity independent of Finland. The Kolppana Seminary, established in 1863, played an important role in maintaining and developing this national identity. Music education was considered an effective vehicle to reach nationalistic goals.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Ingrian Finns gradually became aware of their own national identity and culture. This national awakening can be considered both a consequence of and parallel phenomenon to a similar process in Finland because the clergy who came to Ingria from Finland gradually started nationalistic upbringing among their parishioners, and many Ingrian Finns actively read Finnish nationalistic writings. The Kolppana Seminary educated teachers for Finnish-speaking primary schools – the number of which was increasing all the time – and churchwardens for Lutheran parishes. At the turn of the twentieth century, national thinking also began to emerge from the deep ranks of Ingrian-Finnish people, partly because these Ingrian-born teachers and churchwardens formed a new, schooled intelligentsia. Music played a central role in the nation-building process and Kolppana graduates taught the religious and patriotic repertoire they had learned there. At the same time the shadow of Russification policy fell increasingly dark over Ingrian-Finnish aspirations.

FROM A GENDER perspective, the situation was unequal. The new intelligentsia was composed only of men because the Kolppana Seminary was not open to women. A woman's place in Ingrian society was weak because of the culture adopted during serfdom and the hierarchical teaching of the Lutheran Church. The opening of the seminary to women was discussed throughout its history, but the seminary board, which consisted of the church

leadership, did not support the proposal. Towards the end of the 1910s, the status of women was finally improving. However, the Bolsheviks came to power during the October Revolution in 1917 and ended all national, cultural, and ecclesiastical efforts of ethnic minority groups throughout Russia. The Kolppana Seminary closed in 1919, before any female pupils could graduate.

Ingrian Finns strove to preserve their native language, Lutheran religion, and national customs. Even though they recognized Finland as their spiritual homeland, the Ingrian-Finnish national spirit was marked by a clear "Ingrianism". Part of the reason for this was that the Ingrian Finns had a strong connection with the Baltic Germans through their common church organization, and when defining their identity, they shared the experience of serfdom with the Baltic ethnic groups.

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2 As in my previous publications, I refer to *lukkari* in Finnish, *klockare* in Swedish, and *Küster* in German with the English word "churchwarden", even though it might be somewhat misleading to an Anglo-Saxon reader. There is no established translation, and I find the words used by earlier scholars problematic. "Precentor" and "cantor" are inaccurate because individuals in this position had many other tasks besides musical ones. "Parish clerk", in turn, does not include musical tasks at all.

3 *Inkeri* or *Inkerinmaa* in Finnish, Ингрия or Ингерманландия in Russian, *Ingermanland* in Swedish and German.

4 *Vađđalaizõd* in Votic, *va tjalaiset* in Finnish, водь in Russian, *voter* in Swedish, *Woten* in German.

5 *Ižora* in Izhorian, *inkerikot* in Finnish, ижора in Russian, *ingrer* in Swedish, *Ischoren* in German.

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8 The author behind the initials J.P. was probably Juhana Peräläinen (1877–1931), who worked as a teacher in different schools, wrote diligently for newspapers, and also held different positions of trust in the Kolppana Seminary. "Elämäkerrallisia tietoja Kolppanan opettaja- ja lukkariseminaarin oppilaista vuosina 1873–1912, [Biographical information about the pupils of the Kolppana Teacher and Churchwarden Seminary, 1873–1912]" in *Kolppanan Seminaari*, 139–140. However, he is not the only option, as there were other Kolppana Seminary graduates with the same initials who wrote for different publications.

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