

**Journey from Rousseau to Sibelius:  
The Development of Nationalism through Interaction of  
Music and Folklore from French Revolution to Finnish  
Independence**

**by  
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The Development of Nationalism through  
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## **Abstract**

The French Revolution was one of the most significant and influential events in world history and had an undeniable impact around the world, including Finland. I will argue that the French Revolution had a profound influence on Finland's independence movement primarily through Herder's principles of cultural nationalism focusing on the importance of common history, culture, and language. I will also argue that the interaction of music and folklore, particularly in the form of *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic and the music of Sibelius, played an integral role in that movement.

I will present an interdisciplinary study of the emergence and development of Nationalism based on Romantic ideals sparked by the French Revolution, and I will discuss the literary, musical, and philosophical ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the influence of the Age of Enlightenment, Romanticism, and Nationalism, that had migrated to Finland resulting in Finland's independence.

**Keywords:** Enlightenment; French Revolution; European Romanticism; Development of Nationalism; Music and Folklore; Finnish Independence

*This Project is dedicated to my Mother,  
who always encouraged me to think for myself  
who always supported my educational endeavours,  
and  
who taught me to enjoy music.  
Were she alive today to read this story,  
she would be very proud of me.*

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# Prelude

## Music is a Representation of the World We Live In

“The French Revolution was one of the most significant and influential events in world history and continues to fascinate more than two hundred years after the people of France rebelled against their rulers” (Cobb and Jones 9). “It had an undeniable global impact affecting the history of the whole world while transforming the map of Europe” (Desan et al. 1). The immediate effects were mostly felt in France while reverberating throughout Europe and the rest of the world. Much has been written about the French Revolution and my intention is not to compete with the information already available. Instead I will primarily concentrate on two of its significant outcomes, Romanticism and Nationalism, as they relate to my research topic on the development of nationalism through interaction of folklore and music from the French Revolution to Finnish Independence.

Music and folklore have formed integral parts of my life since childhood. My early memories include reading the *Kalevala*, the national epic, based on ancient Finnish mythology, and listening to the music of Sibelius inspired by the *Kalevala* and the Nordic landscapes. The kalevalaic poems are still typically recited to music by *kantele*, a five-stringed musical instrument. The essential connection of *Kalevala* and the music of Sibelius with the Finnish independence movement tends to be firmly embedded in every Finnish person’s mind. It is the Finnish story. For a long time, I thought of the combination of folklore and music as unique to Finland. However, I eventually learned that no culture functions in a vacuum, and I realized that other cultures may have similar stories, and that the familiar Finnish story probably had outside influences over time. Then I began to question the origins of those influences.

Initial research soon connected me to the French Revolution “which put individual rights at the forefront of society” (Smithsonian 149). As a result, from a musical perspective, “the composers of the Romantic Age used a new and personal voice to express emotion and were inspired by a fascination with the beauty of nature, classical myths, medieval legends, patriotism, and the desire for liberty” (Smithsonian 158). Another characteristic of the Romantic period was “the cult of the individual, and the

individuality of nations became a theme in European culture” (Smithsonian 176), and I began to wonder how those Romantic ideals may be connected to the Finnish story.

While reading about the ideals of Romanticism and Nationalism I came across frequent references to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who I was first introduced to by reading his book titled *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, which reinforces the Romantic ideals of enjoyment and beauty of nature. Reading his book reminded me of my walks through the landscapes of my native country, the landscapes that also inspired Sibelius. Since Rousseau’s political, musical, and philosophical thoughts continued to be referred to in much of my research, he will frequently accompany me during my journey of discovery, which will begin with the Age of Enlightenment and its *philosophes*, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Based on my initial and subsequent research, I will argue that the French Revolution had a profound influence on Finland’s independence movement primarily through Herder’s thoughts on cultural nationalism based on the importance of common history, common culture, and common language. I will also argue that the interaction of music and folklore played an integral role in that movement, particularly in terms of the integration of the folklore with the music of Sibelius.

“Nationalism was the most pervasive and dynamic ideological force in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe and came in many forms beginning with the cultural nationalism represented by Johann Gottfried von Herder and his followers. It was based on the thought that each nation has a unique folk spirit worthy of preservation. That idea eventually gave way to political nationalism, the belief that to maintain national values effectively, each nation must establish itself as a sovereign state. At the same time the liberal nationalism of political idealists, who saw in the nation-state a means of achieving constitutional representational government that would ensure liberty and justice for all citizens, evolved into a more arrogant and bigoted nationalism, that was a belief in the superiority of one nation over another in which racism played a prominent role and eventually led to modern nationalism” (Rich 46). “A dark side of nationalism surfaced in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe when Hitler used nationalism by discriminating against non-Aryan races, predominantly against the Jews, while making the German race seem more important or worthy than everyone else’s in an attempt to re-establish German national pride” (Das Judenthum in der Musik).

Herder's cultural nationalism spread through Europe in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and eventually migrated to Finland, probably through Sweden, and was the primary influence towards the development of Finnish nationalism on the way to Finland's independence. "Music was harnessed to the cause of nationalism at all levels to stir up patriotic feeling and to create a national self-consciousness" (Rich 63).

My project consists of an interdisciplinary study of the emergence and development of Nationalism based on the Romantic ideals sparked by the French Revolution. I will discuss nationalism based on Herder's ideas of cultural nationalism as they tend to be most applicable to the "Case study" of Finland. Within that process, I will provide examples from European cultures, such as France, Germany, and Norway, ending with a "Case study" of Finland, including musical interactions throughout.

My journey of discovery begins with a brief exploration of global aspects of the French Revolution, particularly from political, philosophical, and musical perspectives, and by a review of the unfolding of revolutionary political systems and the interaction of music and democracy based on Rousseau's controversial writings. The French musical culture remained active throughout the Revolution, but changed with the times to reflect revolutionary events in songs, such as the *Ça Ira*, *Carmagnole*, and *The Marseillaise*, that was chosen as the French national anthem long after the Revolutionary Age.

Wars and political upheavals across 19th century Europe triggered a desire for "national" qualities in music in the forms of mythology, folk culture and spectacular landscapes as a transition or perhaps a merger of Romanticism and Nationalism influencing particularly the Nordic composers. My project continues with an introduction to German Romanticism, and to Ludwig van Beethoven as a classical, political and revolutionary composer, who also had an interest in folksong arrangements. Early Romanticism leads to Johann Gottfried von Herder, who sparked the initial interest in folklore collecting across Europe with each country searching for its own common historical past. Early folksong collecting in France resulted in the French literary epic of *The Song of Roland*, and travels to Norway provide folkloric connections to Norwegian identity through the music of Edvard Grieg followed by German nationalism through the Icelandic folklore of *Edda*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the music dramas of Richard Wagner. Romanticism was rich with literature, visual arts and music and many artists,

literary figures and musical icons will make appearances at appropriate moments during my journey.

Chapter Three will present the “Case study” of Finland exploring the interrelated issues of Finnish Nationalism, its folklore as depicted in its national epic, the *Kalevala*, and the music of Sibelius, and the integral role that the combination of music and the *Kalevala* played in Finland’s struggle towards independence. At the same time, I will provide historical background of the country itself continuing with the search for the origins of Finnish folklore and its influence on the music of Sibelius and on Finland’s independence movement in general. The search for a sense of Finnish national identity tended to follow Herder’s belief that the nationhood was expressed through a shared language, folk customs, and a profound sense of spiritual belonging.

Embedded within the historical information are my own personal journeys, the first of which follows the footsteps of Jean-Jacques Rousseau to the Café Procopé in Paris and to Île de St. Pierre in Switzerland, the footsteps of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart from Parisian Royal Court to the Viennese society, Ludwig van Beethoven’s trail while listening to his revolutionary *Third Symphony*, the *Kreutzer Sonata* depicting human emotion, and his magnificent *Ninth Symphony* in Vienna. Then I follow Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann, the masters of song cycles and folksong arrangements, and Frédéric Chopin, the nationalist Polish piano virtuoso before my journey continues to Bayreuth for Richard Wagner’s music dramas, especially *The Ring Cycle*, and finally, I arrive in Finland to follow in the footsteps of Jean Sibelius to listen to his symphonies and tone poems depicting the many aspects of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, and its impact on the Finnish independence movement. While presenting my journey through several centuries of European political and musical history, I will provide some of my own thoughts and reflections based on my experiences that are directly related to the historical events to indicate my personal connections with this story.

Yet another journey, integrated within my Project, will follow the development of Romanticism as a reaction to Enlightenment while placing an increasing focus on national identity based on ethnicity, language, and culture and getting a significant boost from the French Revolution and from the revolutionary decade in general. I expect these journeys to provide answers to my research questions with my primary question relating to the connection between the French Revolution and the Finnish Independence

movement. Did the French Revolution influence the Finnish independence movement, and if it did, how did that influence develop? Did that influence flow directly from France or perhaps by way of Germany or was there a longer trail on its way to Finland?

Intertwined within this Project will be a journey of exploration towards a Herderian idea of united folklore, united language and united culture towards a united history and a united national consciousness. Furthermore, my story is an exploration, not only of political, cultural, and musical ideas, but a confirmation, that whatever happens in our world, music continues to represent historical world events throughout centuries. Music was an underlying factor during the French Revolution and the revolutionary century that followed, and music played an integral role in Finland's struggle towards independence. Music has represented the world we live in, not only since the period of European history depicted in my journey, but throughout the world since pre-historic times, and is likely to continue that trend far into the unknown future while constantly adjusting to represent the increasingly global environment we live in.

I will present a comprehensive narrative of important world events relevant to my topic during the volatile revolutionary decades, the seeds for which appeared already during the Enlightenment, including interactions of those events with music. I have wanted to tell this story for a long time desiring to understand the flow of ideas resulting in the independence of Finland. Long ago I had begun to think that there must be more to the "Finnish story" than what I remembered from childhood. This journey does not follow a straight line from beginning to end, but includes detours to describe details of people and events within the narrative. My related thoughts and experiences will add a personal touch connecting me to the story. The literary, musical, and philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and Nationalism culminated in the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic, on the way to Finland's independence a little more than one hundred years ago.

# Chapter One

## The Enlightenment and Music of the French Revolution

### Introduction

My journey of discovery begins in 18<sup>th</sup> Century France with a brief exploration of the Age of Reason (Enlightenment), its *philosophes* and their influence on the French Revolution followed by a discussion on the social, economic and political conditions in pre-revolutionary France including some of the causes for the Revolution. I will explore the controversial influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau on the French Revolution and the unfolding of political systems during the revolutionary decade followed by a discussion of its musical aspects including the interaction of music and democracy based on Rousseau's musical theories, the sung constitutions as educational devices directed toward France's mainly illiterate population, and how *La Marseillaise* was chosen as the French national anthem.

### Discussion

The Age of Reason, also referred to as The Enlightenment, was a movement of intellectual liberation emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition, and "18th century France was a classic example of a country where almost all intellectuals were critical of existing social and political institutions. Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau were among the most prominent of a vast company of *philosophes*" (Breunig 4-5), "a group of French intellectuals who stood at the centre of the Enlightenment. The way these men presented their ideas and fashioned their lives brought about a dramatic reassessment in the values of many educated Europeans. Their bold and self-conscious break with deeply ingrained traditions of authority produced a new intellectual climate in which reason, experience, and utility were highly idealized" (Woloch 231).

"The principal figures of the Enlightenment were of varied nationalities and social origins. Their interests ranged from literature to mathematics, history to political theory, economics to formal philosophy. Many were French, but they had counterparts in

Germany, Italy, Scotland, England, Spain, and even in the American Colonies. They shared a commitment to intellectual freedom, and a belief that tradition, especially religious authority, was an obstacle to human fulfillment. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reduce their concerns to a formula, but the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) came closest to doing this successfully” (Woloch 231). In an essay titled *What is Enlightenment?* Kant defines Enlightenment as “man’s emergence from his self-imposed nonage, which is the inability to use one’s own understanding without another’s guidance”. Kant continued: “Dare to know! (Sapere aude!) Have the courage to make use of your own understanding”. Those words became the motto of the Enlightenment.

Paris, the second largest city in Europe after London, with a population in 1789 of about 650,000, was the home of the Enlightenment and its *philosophes*, including Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau, who met regularly at the homes of wealthy patrons, where they discussed political events and ideas over elegant meals. Those salons were the envy of European intellectual circles, and although a select few of the guests were invited for a meal, most of the salons were for ‘conversation or performance’ rather than for formal meals. Some of the salons took place in the mornings, others at midday, and yet others in the evenings, and they were frequently accompanied by musical performances often featuring private orchestras. In 1764, the 8-year old Mozart performed for guests at the Chapelle Royal de Versailles, and two years later, he was entertaining the Royal Court of Louis François, Prince of Conti, in the *Salon de Glaces* of the Palais du Temple in Paris. The Prince of Conti not only hosted salons for discussion and entertainment, but he also provided shelter for Rousseau in his palace for a short time prior to Rousseau’s eventual flight to England in 1766.

The defining achievement of the French Enlightenment was the publication of the *Encyclopédie*, edited by Denis Diderot and Jean d’Alembert, which was a ground-breaking series of publications compiled over several years and presented information about science and the arts including music in a clear and systematic fashion. It was a multi-volume compilation of useful knowledge that was to propel European civilization towards progress. The men who wrote for the *Encyclopédie* often congregated at the Salon at Madame Geoffrin’s house. Attendance at the salons was by invitation only and although Rousseau was often invited, he felt more comfortable in a coffee house environment, such as the Café Procopé, believed to be the oldest in Europe, established

in about 1689. The Café Procopé served, not only coffee, but also tea, chocolate, liquours, ice cream and confiture in a luxurious setting.

“Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the brasserie Procopé was the meeting place of the intellectual establishment, and it was on the marble-topped tables of the Café Procopé where Denis Diderot developed his concept of the *Encyclopédie*” (Haine 209). Not all the *encyclopedistes* drank forty cups of coffee a day like Voltaire, who mixed his with chocolate, but they all met at the Procopé, while another one of Diderot’s favourite cafés was the Regency Café located within the Palais-Royal, opposite the Tuileries, which was also the location of Paris Opera (Académie d’Opéra) founded in 1669 by Louis XIV. On 18 December 1752, Rousseau retired to the Procopé before the performance of *Narcisse*, his last play, had even finished, saying publicly, how dull it was, now that he had seen it staged. After that disappointing experience, it is easy to imagine Rousseau sitting down with Diderot for a game of chess while imbibing a cup of chocolate. However, when Rousseau first walked into Paris in 1731, he did not see the cafés and the elegant salons. In his book titled *Confessions* (163), Rousseau had

figured to himself a splendid city, beautiful as large, of the most commanding aspect, whose streets were ranges of magnificent palaces, composed of marble and gold, but on entering the Faubourg St. Marceau, he saw nothing but dirty, evil-smelling streets, filthy black houses, an air of slovenliness and poverty, beggars, carters, and butchers, and heard nothing but cries of tisane and old hats.

Rousseau was never able to erase that first impression from his mind and never wanted to remain in Paris any longer than necessary, but preferred to stay “at a distance from it”, because the reality had not matched his imagination. Rousseau first entered the Faubourg St. Marceau (St. Marcel) neighbourhood that specialized in tanning, dyeing, and brewing with six- and seven-story tenements, darkened, narrow, crowded streets, and obscure passageways that gave access to secondary buildings and a maze of courtyards within each block. Since before the Revolution, these neighbourhoods were flooded with thousands of unskilled immigrants from the poorer regions of France searching for work, and beggars were part of city life. In 1789, these unemployed and hungry workers became the foot soldiers of the Revolution.

Some say that Rousseau just took the wrong road to Paris that first time, but that random decision may have been the most important one he ever made, because “that

labyrinth of narrow, dirty, evil-smelling streets with filthy, black houses, poverty, peddlers, and beggars” (de Beer 18) as a first impression may have made the profound influence on him that prompted the writing of works, such as *A Discourse on Inequality* and *The Social Contract*. Perhaps Rousseau did not take the wrong road to Paris after all.

Although the elegant salons were not accessible for the working class and the poor of Rousseau’s first encounter, their life was not devoid of music and entertainment, because their environment comprised a musical culture of its own. The working class and poor of the Parisian society were able to enjoy lively street entertainment and spend some of their free time at *guingettes*, first mentioned as early as 1723 in the *Dictionnaire du commerce* of Savary. A *guingette* was a type of tavern located just outside the city limits of Paris, where wine and other drinks were taxed less and were much cheaper than in similar establishments within the city limits. They were open Sundays and holidays, usually had musicians to accompany the dancing, and attracted large crowds of working-class Parisians eager for rest and recreation at the end of their work week. As time went by, they also attracted middle-class Parisians with their families.

“Meanwhile, the rich led lives of conspicuous consumption. Bankers and businessmen lived in the Faubourg St-Honoré, close to the stock exchange (established in 1724 on the site of the present Bibliothèque National), and the great noble families congregated in the Faubourg St-Germain. In both these areas, the streets were wide, flanked by graceful, spacious houses” (Cobb and Jones 57), one of them perhaps the home of Madame Geoffrin, who hosted a Salon that Rousseau was occasionally invited to during his subsequent visits to Paris.

My interest in Paris began developing in the early 1960’s, while studying French language, culture, and history in high school and while corresponding with Danielle, my Parisian pen pal. I have yet to visit Paris, but hope that my imagination, based on the many postcards that I received from Danielle, on Edward Rutherfurd’s historical novel “Paris”, and on Woody Allen’s film “Midnight in Paris”, will match my reality better than it did for Rousseau. Time will tell, but once in Paris, I plan to follow in Rousseau’s footsteps to Café Procope for a cup of chocolate and perhaps for interesting philosophical discussions with prospective new friends.

The *philosophes*, like Rousseau, “shared a commitment to intellectual freedom, and a belief that tradition, especially religious authority, was an obstacle to human fulfillment” (Woloch 231), “while the Church claimed a direct role in absolving men and women from sin and assuring their salvation in the hereafter. In order to accomplish that, the Church was obligated to propound standards of behaviour based on the Bible’s moral guidelines. In order to enforce these standards for the good of the flock, the Church believed that it was necessary to suppress heretical ideas and influences” (Woloch 235).

“The *philosophes* strongly opposed the attitude of the Church, arguing that religion should be a purely private affair and that each individual should have complete freedom to think or worship as he chose, and the only religious policy should be toleration. Here was the real battle line. No matter how “reasonable” Christianity might be in accommodating science, its mission was still to save souls, and the Church felt that it could not do this effectively if deprived of public influence. Until the eighteenth century this attitude prevailed in Europe, but now it was challenged by the *philosophes*, especially by Voltaire” (Woloch 235).

Voltaire, the pen name for François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778), was a French Enlightenment writer, historian and philosopher famous for his wit, his criticism of Christianity, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, as well as for his advocacy of freedom of speech, freedom of religion and separation of church and state. Voltaire was a versatile and prolific writer, producing works in almost every literary form, including plays, poems, novels, essays, and historical and scientific works. He was an outspoken advocate of civil liberties despite the risk this placed him in under the strict censorship laws of the time. As a satirical polemicist, he frequently made use of his works to criticize intolerance, religious dogma and the French institutions of his day.

Voltaire engaged in an enormous amount of private correspondence during his life, with, among others, Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1786), who was also a composer of over a hundred sonatas for the flute, which he played often as a soloist in chamber music ensembles held at his palace of Sans Souci sometimes accompanied by C.P.E. Bach on the keyboard. Voltaire also corresponded with Catherine the Great of Russia (1729-1796), who was born Princess Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst in Stettin, Prussia, and who exposed the educated Russian aristocracy to French culture during her reign.

She supported the ideals of the Enlightenment and is usually regarded as an enlightened despot, and as a patron of arts, she presided over the age of the Russian Enlightenment. The language of their correspondence was French, which was the language of the European aristocracy, since France was generally considered the leading nation in Europe at that time, the country whose literature, art, and manners were most admired.

Voltaire discussed his views on historiography in his article on *History* in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. Early in 1759, Voltaire completed and published *Candide, or Optimism*, a satire on Leibniz's philosophy of optimistic determinism, which remains the work for which Voltaire is perhaps best known. In 1764 Voltaire published one of his best-known philosophical works, the *Dictionnaire philosophique*, a series of articles mainly on Christian history and dogmas, which Rousseau and others saw as an attack on Rousseau. In 1778 Voltaire returned to Paris after a 25-year absence to see the opening of his latest tragedy, *Irene*.

Another one of the influential group of *philosophes* was Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755), generally referred to simply as Montesquieu. He was a French judge, a man of letters, and a political philosopher, who emphasized the importance of liberty, and was fearful of tyranny and despotism. He preferred the English form of mixed government and hoped that in France, too, the monarchy might be effectively limited by other institutions, such as the thirteen *parlements*. "Montesquieu affirmed that a powerful upper class was the only force that could serve as a barrier against tyranny. For Montesquieu, freedom from tyranny would be defended by strengthening the nobility's political privilege. His emphasis on nobility was merely one application of his general belief in the balance and separation of powers" (Woloch 248).

Montesquieu achieved literary success with the publication of his 1721 *Persian Letters*, a satire representing society as seen through the eyes of two imaginary Persian visitors to Paris and Europe and cleverly criticizing the absurdities of contemporary French society. Some sources have referred to him as an early anthropologist. His *Spirit of the Law* was originally published anonymously in 1748 and it came to influence political thought profoundly in Europe and America, but in France, it received an

unfriendly reception from both supporters and opponents of the regime. The Catholic Church banned *The Spirit*, along with many of Montesquieu's other works in 1751.

"Rousseau (1712-1778) shared Voltaire's and Montesquieu's passion for liberty and their hatred of despotism, but, unlike them, believed that an individual could be free only if all men were free. In *The Social Contract*, published in 1762, he sought to show how a democratic society could function arguing that supreme sovereignty rested with the general will, which expressed the aspirations of all citizens. He did not share the pride of the other major *philosophes* in the arts and the sciences, but believed instead, that sophisticated civilization had corrupted mankind rather than improved it" (Cobb and Jones 25). However, of the many individuals who wrote during the French Enlightenment, Jean-Jacques Rousseau stands out for the originality and force of his ideas and therefore defies compartmentalization. He was an enigmatic figure and marched to his own drumbeat, substantially different from that of the other *philosophes*.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was born in Geneva, and referred to himself as a "Citizen of Geneva". He was a man of the Third Estate, an apprentice to an engraver in Geneva before running away and meeting Mme de Warens in Annecy, Savoy, who acted by turns as his mother, mentor, and lover. A voracious reader since childhood, he taught himself philosophy and literature, worked briefly as a tutor in Lyons, and in 1742 arrived in Paris, where he met Denis Diderot, who he befriended and collaborated with on the *Encyclopédie*. While staying at Hotel Saint-Quentin, he also met Thérèse Le Vasseur, who became his lifelong companion. After winning an essay competition sponsored by the *Académie de Dijon* by writing an essay titled *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts* (1750), that criticized the corrupting influence of civilization, he supported himself by his writing and by copying music, although he continued to enjoy the hospitality of enlightened aristocrats.

Rousseau was considered primarily as a musician, music theorist and composer, but he also worked as a music teacher and wrote articles on music and political economy for Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, composed several operas, including *Le Devin du Village* (1752), for which he also wrote the libretto, and he designed an innovative numerically based musical notation system. Julius Portnoy indicates that "with *Le Devin du Village* Rousseau expressed his philosophy of music that guided the master composer Gluck and influenced the young Mozart" (Portnoy 161), who wrote a German-

language adaptation of *Le Devin*, which was also translated into English by Charles Burney (1726-1814), a highly respected English music historian, as *The Cunning Man* and was performed in London in 1762. *Le Devin* was first performed before the Royal Court at Fontainebleau on 18 October 1752, and for the public at the Paris Opera on 1 March 1753. It remained in Paris Opera's regular repertoire till 1830 and became one of the most popular operas of its day bringing Rousseau both wealth and fame. *Le Devin* was also performed at Fontainebleau in 1770 at the wedding of the future Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. It was the first work in the repertory of the Académie Royale de Musique for which the text and the music were by the same author.

Two hundred years later, the tunes of *Le Devin du Village* were heard in New York City's opera scene, when, "as part of its celebration of the bicentennial of the French Revolution, the French Institute/Alliance Française presented Concert Royal and the New York Baroque Dance Company in five performances of *Le Devin du Village*, a one-act opera by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The production opened in New York City in June 1989, and was also offered in Boston and at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. later that month. *Le Devin* is Rousseau's argument in favour of the melodic Italian language as more suitable for opera compositions than the French language. In *Le Devin* Rousseau is also making a case for his preference of common, rustic virtues over the venal life of the court. The music reflects the simplicity of the Italian Baroque style with distinctly French melodies and dance rhythms" (Kozinn).

While writing about *Le Devin du Village*, I have been listening to a 1956 recording of the music of *Le Devin*, and find it entertaining and enjoyable to listen to. I particularly enjoy the dance tunes, but also detect the sacred aspects of the Baroque influence. It is amazing how Rousseau was able to compose *Le Devin* with his limited musical training by basically simply deciding, that he could do it. He is in good company with Richard Wagner, another mostly self-taught composer, who will be introduced in Chapter Two.

Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality* was published in 1755 and a polemical *Letter to d'Alembert on Theatre* in 1758. Rousseau's novel *Julie, or the new Héloïse* (1761) was greeted enthusiastically, but *The Social Contract*, his boldest political work, and his treatise on education, *Émile* (both 1762), were condemned as subversive. His *Dictionary of Music* was published in 1768. Fleeing arrest, Rousseau traveled to Switzerland, where he began his autobiographical *Confessions* (published posthumously

in 1782), which paints a romantic picture of a young roustabout introduced to life, learning, and love by an older woman. He returned to Paris in 1770, where he wrote *The Reveries of the Solitary Walker*. A collection of melodies composed by Rousseau titled *Consolation for the Sorrows of my Life* was published (posthumously) in 1781.

*The Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, especially *The Fifth Walk*, was my introduction to Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *The Reveries*, his last great work, part reminiscence and part reflection, the product of his final years of exile from the society that condemned his political and religious views, inspired me to write an essay based on my thoughts, experiences and observations during my frequent adventures in nature. Since then, I rarely walk in the woods or by water without thinking of Rousseau strolling along the forest paths of Île de St. Pierre or aimlessly floating in a rowboat on Lac de Biemme enjoying the musicality of the waves softly lapping against the boat, while I enjoy the crashing of ocean waves against a concrete seawall with musical sounds of their own, majestic trees humming in the wind, and beautiful flowers in the environment surrounding me. Music was of fundamental importance to Rousseau as it has been for me since childhood, and like him, I cannot imagine life without music. Also like Rousseau, I am a voracious reader, and nowadays I spend my late evenings reading a beautifully illustrated 1891 edition of the *Confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*.

Although I don't necessarily agree with Rousseau's political, social, and feminist theories, particularly his ideas on the role of women in society, I feel as if he is my soulmate, with whom I could spend hours sharing philosophical thoughts on books, music and the wonders of nature. Rousseau tended to consider himself a "Citizen of Geneva", although, "for years Rousseau had been torn between conflicting impulses, the Genevan and the anti-Genevan in him" (Rosenblatt 42). His patriotism matches my feelings of my origins in Finland and those of Jean Sibelius (1865-1957), the Finnish nationalist composer, who is considered the symbolic father and progenitor of Finnish music. Landscape, nature and folklore were the prominent inspirations for Sibelius's work. He never left Finland for extended periods of time, primarily because of his fundamental connection to his native country. The three life stories are very different, but the sense of patriotism and a sense of belonging is very similar regardless of where each of us ended up spending most of our lives. The issue of patriotism will be discussed in more detail in upcoming chapters on Romanticism and Nationalism, where Rousseau's thoughts will again play an important role.

“While the 18<sup>th</sup> century Enlightenment represented a new way of thinking about mankind and the environment as the main proponents of this intellectual movement, the *philosophes*, were primarily men of letters, such as Diderot, Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau. Their views stemmed from the scientific revolution of the previous century influenced by discoveries of Galileo, Kepler, Newton and others” (Cobb and Jones 24). “It is difficult to say how the *philosophes*, men of theory rather than of practical experience in politics, would have reacted to the concrete issues of The Revolution, but they did not call for a violent revolution that would overthrow the monarchy and establish a republic. Most looked toward a constitutional monarchy coupled with representative institutions” (Cobb and Jones 25).

“Jean-Jacques Rousseau shared Montesquieu’s and Voltaire’s passion for liberty and their hatred of despotism. From the evils of ‘despotism, feudalism and clericalism’, the revolutionaries, a generation later, adapted the watchwords of ‘Liberty, Equality, Fraternity’ drawing on ideas of the Enlightenment. But because the *philosophes* lived and wrote some years before the coming of the Revolution, it is difficult to assess their direct influence on the events of 1789 and after. Yet the foundation documents of the Revolution - *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, *the August decrees*, and *the Constitution of 1791* - clearly reveal the debt owed to Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau” (Cobb and Jones 25).

The French Revolution was not only a French event, but had global and national causes and outcomes, which were often intertwined. “Europe’s upper classes, its nobilities, landed gentries, and urban aristocrats shared power uneasily with kings and princes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but on the whole enjoyed an extended period of stability until the 1770’s. Aristocracy usually wielded their influence through constituted bodies, such as self-perpetuating assemblies, diets, councils, and estates that were sanctioned by long usage or written charters. Other citizens, no matter how reasonable their claims or serious their grievances were simply excluded from any legitimate voice in public affairs. Pressure against this exclusion increased in the 1770’s producing various kinds of cracks in the old regime’s façade. These movements revealed the inadequacies of Europe’s political and social institutions almost everywhere, but nowhere were the pressures on the traditional framework of the government stronger than in France” (Woloch 301).

“Few moments in modern history have been more dramatic and transformative than the year 1789 in France” (Tackett 39). It was the turning point and the year that the Revolution, already apparent in the minds, customs, and way of life of the French nation, began to take effect in government. “The most striking of the country’s troubles was the chaos of its finances, the result of years of extravagance intensified by the expense of their support of the American War of Independence. In January 1775, Britain’s thirteen American Colonies rose in revolt against their mother country. Hostilities lasted until 1782 with American independence formally recognized in 1783” (Cobb and Jones 20).

I believe that it is important at this point to present a brief overview of the social and political structures of pre-revolutionary France to gain some understanding of the background for the revolts, riots, and general unrest that had been brewing among the various levels of society all over the French countryside for a long time, and particularly because similar governmental and social structures existed in other European countries, including Finland. It is particularly important to discuss the overall situation in France because of the impact that The French Revolution had, not only in France, but in rest of Europe and much of the rest of the world. Much of the rioting in France was due to shortages of food and the increasing cost of bread that were primary reasons for the “Women’s March on Versailles” and other protests, that were usually accompanied by music. Music played a significant role in reflecting the grievances of the French population from the rural regions to Parisian city life. Each of the three estates produced musicians, including noble troubadours at court and buskers in the streets, depicting political, societal and musical events of their time.

Pre-revolutionary France was a mixture of lands haphazardly aggregated over the preceding centuries, with the different laws and institutions of each new addition often kept intact. By 1789, France comprised an estimated 28 million people and was divided into provinces of vastly varying size. France was still essentially a feudal nation with peasants forming about 80% of the population. The only major region of large-scale farming was around Paris where harvests were critical, but fluctuating, causing periodic famine, high prices and riots. The remaining 20% of France lived in urban areas that were home to guilds, workshops, and industry, with workers often traveling from rural areas to urban ones searching for seasonal or permanent work.

France was governed by a king who was believed to be appointed by the Grace of God. While about ten thousand people worked in his main palace in Versailles, the rest of French society was divided into three *estates*. The First Estate was the clergy, who owned a tenth of the land and were due tithes of one-tenth of everyone's income. They were immune from paying tax, frequently came from noble families and were all part of the Catholic Church, the only official religion in France. The Second Estate was the nobility that was formed in part from people born into noble families, but certain highly sought-after government offices also conferred noble status. The nobles were privileged, didn't work, had special courts and tax exemptions and held the leading positions in court and society. Although some were enormously rich, many were no better off than the lowest of the French middle classes. The remainder of the population formed the Third Estate, the majority of which lived in near poverty, but around two million of them were referred to as the middle classes, the bourgeoisie, which had traditionally represented the Third Estate in the medieval assembly, the Estates-General.

Although the Third Estate formed a vastly larger proportion of the population than the other two estates added together, in the Estates-General they only had one vote, the same as each of the other two estates. Also, the representatives of the Estates-General weren't drawn evenly across all society, but tended to belong to the well-to-do clergy, nobles, and the bourgeoisie. When the Estates-General was called in the late 1780's, many of the Third Estate's representatives were lawyers and other professionals, rather than any one in what could be considered as "lower class".

"Looking back, as 1789 began, the elections to the National Assembly, accompanied by the drawing up of lists of grievances, had raised expectations for radical changes at every level of French society" (Cobb and Jones 19). "But the winter and spring of 1788-1789 had been a time of severe economic difficulties, with crop failures and grain shortages more than doubling the price of bread, while unemployment and stagnating trade from an earlier depression had not been overcome. Vagrants and beggars filled the roads, grain convoys and marketplaces were besieged by angry consumers, and relations between town and country were strained. This short-term situation ended up having a deep-felt impact in the course of future events, and the struggle among patriots, aristocrats, and monarchy in the Estates-General was played out against a wide-spread and popular mobilization over subsistence issues. Normally such popular protests and rioting would have been contained and eventually suppressed

by the military, but in 1789 the fabric of royal authority had unravelled so completely that the outcome turned out to be different. Struggles among the elites and disturbances among the common people merged, making the Third Estate invincible and 1789 the year of revolution” (Woloch 337-38). “Then one day, standing on a marble-topped table in the Café de Foy in the Palais-Royal, Camille Desmoulins exhorted the people of Paris to take Bastille” (Haine 2).

The Bastille fell on 14 July 1789 and “on 26 August 1789 the National Assembly passed the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, a fundamental legal document of the French Revolution and in the history of human rights. It presented to the world a summary of the Revolution’s ideals and principals and justified the destruction of a government based upon absolutism and privilege, and the establishment of a new regime built upon the inalienable rights of individuals, political equality and liberty. The *Declaration* became the preamble to the Constitution of 1791” (Cobb and Jones 83).

“A persistent call for a constitution was almost unanimous in 1789. It was viewed as a cure-all for the ills of a political system which had become corrupt. Reforming ministers such as Turgot in the 1770’s had told the monarch that France needed a written constitution to regulate the operation of the state to ensure that it worked harmoniously. Many political writers argued in favour of the existing constitution that was composed of the inherited customs and usages governing her political and social life, and certain ‘fundamental laws’ already dictated the functions and powers of the monarchy and of important institutions like the *parlements*. However, it was widely agreed, that the laws needed updating to fit changes in society. The growth of trade and enlightenment called for a recognizably modern, and practical, constitution” (Cobb and Jones 125).

Besides Rousseau’s works in social and political theory, it is useful to consider his vast body of theoretical work on music, and “if we hope to realize democracy in the way that Rousseau understood it, an exploration of his music theory may provide the crucial bridge between theory and practice. Rousseau’s theoretical work on music, and singing in particular, cover a number of distinct subject areas. First, his proposal for a new system of musical notation connects directly to democratic tendencies in his political and social theory. Second, the kinds of emotions that music stirs are related in Rousseau’s thoughts to forms of expression that remain closer to their natural origins.

Finally, Rousseau's preference for melody, as opposed to harmony, relates directly to his conception of the political sphere and specifically to the relationship between the general will and the functioning of the body politic in a democracy. Unexpectedly, reading Rousseau's musical theory alongside his democratic theory suggests a moderate view of the social contract that deepens our understanding of the relationship between relative and absolute values in politics as well as in music and presents a model for practice" (Simon 433-34).

"At first glance it may not be obvious that music has any particular link to democracy. While particularly well suited to move passions, music might actually seem out of place in a democracy, because those passions might cloud judgment and prevent the proper functioning of the general will. The relationship of music to democracy is a complex one in Rousseau's thought. Though it is true that music can be used to move the passions and therefore has the potential to be abused by a tyrant to oppress people, it is also true that music enables patriotic expression and can serve as a practical model for democracy and help in its effective practice" (Simon 439).

"Musical performance, but most of all singing, fosters feelings of community. Listening to the human voice, with its limitless capacities for sound production and the continual reminder of our sense of belonging, tells us that we are not alone. We hear the feeling of passion in the song of another and are moved by the experience. In its most ideal form, spontaneous collective bursts into song are likely to reinforce the social and moral bonds of the democratic community. In a singing democracy all individual voices are heard, and at the same time it is the voice of the community that sings" (Simon 453-54). Since music tends to reflect the thoughts of the community at large, revolutionary ideology may well have been on the top of the mind for the communities to sing about, particularly the ideas of the 1791 constitution.

What do Rousseau and music have to do with the constitution? Although there doesn't seem to be a connection between Rousseau's idea of music and politics and the singing democracy, it is interesting to note that "the constitution of 1791 was defended in twelve dialogues set to music" (Schneider 236), including one of Rousseau's compositions. "Catechisms and songs were recognized as ways of educating the mostly illiterate lower classes while the song itself was valued as the most suitable and effective tool for propaganda and for influencing the masses, especially country people. The song

and the hymn therefore belong to the most strongly politicized genres of the Revolution. Songs which seemed to publicize or criticize the constitution formed an additional instrument to the politicized press and the catechisms of the Revolution, which aimed at democratizing information” (Schneider 236-37).

To sing the articles of a constitution may seem like a strange proposition.. However, “our conception of what song is includes its serving to comment on social and political phenomena or on moral attitudes, but it is contrary to the essential brevity and lyrical quality of a song for it to transmit lengthy legal texts. The writing of song cycles that the setting of constitutions to music led to, was something quite new when the earliest sung constitutions came into existence. It was an innovation predating the rise of the song cycle in Germany, which began with Beethoven’s *An die ferne Geliebte*, Op.98, in 1816. The first of the *constitutions en vaudeville* appeared in 1792” (Schneider 236).

“Sung constitutions, which were current from 1792 onwards, reflect on the texts of constitutional documents and the hopes of the people, as well as on their criticisms of particular articles that legislate their rights and duties. They are both a public art form and a type of political publicity of unprecedented independence with a new social significance. As art for the masses, political songs in general and sung constitutions in particular represent one of the most effective means of stirring the emotions and political awareness of the ‘*petit peuple*’. For this reason, they must be studied for a better understanding of the character and trends of the popular revolutionary movement. Like the illustrated prints, the folk theatre, the pamphlets and the political newssheets, they represent an essential part of a carefully considered publicity campaign. Their importance lies not only in the reproduction and broadcasting of facts and events, but much more in the forming of attitudes and opinions on political and social issues” (Schneider 237).

“The authors of song collections intended for political propaganda and the instruction of the people did not usually set their texts to new music, but imitated well-known melodies, that made the memorizing of the texts quicker and easier. Research shows that the melodies, their character and expression, and the words associated with them, play an important role in the understanding of songs or *vaudevilles*” (Schneider 249-50).” Although the reason Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s ‘*Je l’ai planté*’ was chosen for the songs dealing with the swearing of oaths is not altogether clear” (Schneider 253), but

may well be based on the chapters on law in *The Social Contract*. “The sung constitutions must be seen as part of a strong didactic movement during the revolutionary period, and in the context of other methods of propaganda and education intended for the people. The exercise of power through the people could be achieved only if the populace were directed and enlightened, and if new social values and principles were produced for them” (Schneider 255). “The constitution is sung ‘*a la portée de tout de monde*’, that is for everyone, including the two-thirds of the French population who were illiterate and who, by singing and amusing themselves, received instruction at the same time” (Schneider 239).

“In every culture, music is intricately interwoven with the lives and beliefs of its people. This is especially true of many non-Western societies, where, just as in the West, the “classical” exists alongside the “popular” and both have evolved from an abundance of traditional music that is closely related to daily living. Music performs different functions in different societies though some basic roles are universal. It accompanies religious and civic ceremonies, it helps workers establish a uniform rhythm to get the job done more efficiently, and it provides entertainment through song and dance. The social organization of any particular culture has much to do with its musical types and styles. In some cultures, such as in Western classical tradition, only a few people are involved with the active performance of music while in others, cooperative work is so much a part of society that the people sing as a group, with each person contributing a separate part to build a complex whole” (Machlis and Forney 61-62).

“Although music is composed for every conceivable occasion, the specific occasions celebrated vary from one culture to another. Therefore, musical genres, as categories of repertory, do not necessarily transfer from one society to the next, though they may be similar. Also, we can distinguish in most cultures between *sacred music* for religious or spiritual functions, and *secular music* for and about everyday people outside of a religious context” (Machlis and Forney 62).

Thinking about Parisian musical life during the revolutionary decade, it’s hard to imagine the multitude of musical events happening among the storming of the Bastille, the Women’s March on Versailles, the Champ-de-Mars massacre, the Reign of Terror and the many uprisings and executions, many of which were accompanied by music and the cheering of the attending crowds. The musical life seems to have continued virtually

uninterrupted, but had evolved in the revolutionary process to reflect the changing social and cultural activities of the city.

“The French Revolution offers a challenge to music historians, because of its re-examination and re-creation of its institutions and the changing patterns of musical patronage, whether state-inspired or individually organized. The evaluation of anything becomes a challenge because of the temporal concentration of events and the politicization of so much of the musical art, and difficulties of access to even those repertoires which have been known to survive” (Charlton 2). “Basic music-related industries continued including manufacture of musical scores. At least fifty piano makers continued working in Paris during the revolutionary decade and artists continued to live by their art as long as possible. In music the continuities were chiefly visible in opera, but were also present in concert-giving and in the practice of domestic chamber music. Some concert series ended, but as *Les Spectacles de Paris* for 1792 noted under the heading of ‘*Concerts Spirituels*’ and as Charlton (4) reports on that article:

Twenty new concerts have taken their place, and the most famous virtuosos have been heard, whether at the Cirque (a new theatre erected in the Palais-Royal) or at the Hotel du Musée. The Théâtre de la rue Feydeau has particularly pleased the music lovers and the six concerts performed there on solemn feast days were most brilliant.

*The Concerts Spirituels* was a series of public concerts established in 1725 and presented performances in Parisian salons, often in a Salon within the Tuileries Palace. Rousseau mentions in his *Confessions*, that two of the motets he had composed were presented at one of these salons and sung by Mademoiselle Fel, who he had dedicated them to. Marie Fel had also performed the role of Colette in the premiere of “*Le Devin du Village*” at the Royal Court at Fontainebleau in 1752.

“Entrepreneurs supplied concerts as long as people would pay to hear them and theatres and orchestras continued working, although social unrest caused some personnel to leave. 1792-93 saw the beginning of concerts designed for a wider public, some performed by the band of the National Guard” (Charlton 4). “The new Conservatoire held its first prize-giving concert in October 1797 and the *Concerts de la rue de Cléry* started in 1798 in the townhouse of the art dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun” (Schama 216-17). Lebrun was the husband of Elizabeth Louise Vigée Lebrun, a portraitist and a friend of Marie Antoinette, who she painted more than thirty times.

Vigée Lebrun was admitted to the Royal Academy in 1783 and was criticized for being both portraitist and a society lady, as if one precluded the other. In her memoirs, she recalled improvising Grétry song duets with the queen. When her name appeared on the “blacklist”, she escaped from France and painted portraits of other European royals and aristocrats till she was able to return after the Revolution.

I was introduced to Elizabeth Vigée Lebrun’s work during a visit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City in April 2016. The landmark exhibition of Vigée Lebrun’s paintings, some never before seen in public, was titled *Vigée Lebrun: Woman Artist in Revolutionary France*. I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to see originals of her intimate depictions of Marie Antoinette, some of which presented the Queen with her children. After a few months at the Met Museum, the exhibit traveled to the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa.

“In terms of revolutionary theatres in Paris, there was essential continuity, despite some changes of name, location and management, and there was an enormous increase in new theatres. The collections of The Paris Opera have remained largely together to this day” (Charlton 6). “The “organized” music discussed so far, does not include the many thousands of popular songs, some with new tunes, some adapting existing ones. Yesterday’s *Opéra Comique* audiences were now enjoying the same tunes as their contemporaries, the street singers” (Charlton 9-10) at the numerous street festivals taking place all over the country.

“Fêtes, spontaneous festivals of national unity celebrating civic and moral virtues, had been popular from the start of the French Revolution. Distinctively military, they culminated in the Fête de la Fédération, the national ceremony on the Champ-de-Mars in Paris on 14 July 1790, which prominently featured the National Guard and the royal army. Revolutionary ideals were reinforced and the celebrations in Paris included the singing of the egalitarian *Ça Ira*, which achieved an electrifying effect through its reiterative refrain ‘*Ça ira*’ (equality will reign at last). The Festival commemorated the fall of the Bastille, and was expected to be the first in a series of annual celebrations of that event. However, the king’s attempted flight on 20 June 1791 and his subsequent suspension from power precluded any such holiday in Paris that year, although there were festivities in the provinces” (Cobb and Jones 146).

*La Carmagnole*, another song created and made popular during the French Revolution, was usually accompanied by a wild dance of the same name. It was first sung in August 1792 as a sarcastic depiction of the triumphs over Queen Marie Antoinette and King Louis XVI and the French monarchists in general. It was mainly a rallying cry or entertainment for the revolutionaries. *La Carmagnole*, along with other revolutionary songs, was viewed as an important part of the new French Republic and it was particularly popular, because, like *Ça Ira*, it contained simple lyrics that illiterate people could easily learn and understand, like the *constitutions en vaudeville*.

“When the third anniversary of the fall of the Bastille approached in 1792, the military situation had deteriorated and the Legislative Assembly was forced to take drastic action. It dissolved the King’s Constitutional Guard and summoned 20,000 volunteers from the National Guard to defend the capital, and the National guardsmen began their march to Paris from all over France. On July 30<sup>th</sup> the Marseille contingent, by far the most renowned of the guardsmen, entered the city to the sounds of the newly composed ‘*War Song of the Army of the Rhine*’, soon to be called *La Marseillaise*, in their honour. Its potency strengthened the revolutionary spirit and encouraged anti-monarchical sentiment” (Cobb and Jones 146-47). *Allons enfants de la patrie! Le jour de gloire est arrivé!* was heard loud and clear all the way to Paris.

“*La Marseillaise* was first heard in Strasbourg, not in Paris. That stirring martial music first aroused the enthusiasm of the French men and women on 25 April 1792, in what was then a frontier town in the week-old war with Germany and Austria. Originally known as the *War Song of the Army of the Rhine*, it was written by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, an army engineer, and sung by Baron Philippe-Friedrich de Dietrich, the mayor of Strasbourg at the time, who had encouraged Rouget de Lisle to compose patriotic songs. An amateur composer and poet, and author of a *Hymn to Liberty*, Rouget de Lisle was inspired by the songs which expressed the people’s determination to defend the Revolution. *La Marseillaise* was influenced by the works of the composer François-Joseph Gossec” (Cobb and Jones 148), who had also composed the *Hymne a Jean-Jacques Rousseau* in 1794 to celebrate the transfer of Rousseau’s remains to the Tuileries Gardens and two days later to the Panthéon. “Gossec used large choirs and wind instruments, which made a profound impression at open-air festivals. Rouget de Lisle was also inspired by the sprightly marches written for the National Guard. Above all, *La Marseillaise* was a call to arms. Carried from Strasbourg to the Midi, it was

brought to Paris by the Marseillais guardsmen, who stormed the Tuileries on 10 August 1792. In every village on the long, hot journey from Marseille to the capital, ‘*Aux armes citoyens!*’ had resounded as the Marseillais waved their hats and brandished their swords in terrifying unison” (Cobb and Jones 148).

“*La Marseillaise* was adopted as France’s official anthem in 1795, after the Terror, despite strong competition from *Le Réveil du Peuple* (The Re-awakening of the People), a counter-revolutionary song against extremist Jacobins. Napoleon, suspicious of popular fervour, discontinued the practice of its singing, and the Bourbons banned it when they returned to the throne in 1815. During the revolutionary upheavals of 1830, 1848 and 1870-71, *La Marseillaise* reappeared as a symbol of republicanism, a conception represented by Delacroix’s painting ‘*Liberty singing the Marseillaise on the barricades and calling the people to the battle of July (1830)*’, but it was 1879 before *La Marseillaise* became France’s national anthem as a pledge to the permanence of the republic and its values” (Cobb and Jones 148-49). Malcolm Boyd explains in the frontispiece of his book titled *Music of the French Revolution*, that

Rouget de Lisle’s famous anthem, *La Marseillaise*, admirably reflects the confidence and enthusiasm of the early years of the French Revolution. But the effects on music of the Revolution and the events that followed it in France were more far-reaching than that. Hymns, chansons and even articles of Constitution set to music in the form of vaudevilles all played their part in disseminating revolutionary ideas and principles; music education was reorganized to compensate for the loss of courtly institutions and the weakened influence of cathedrals and churches. Opera, in particular, was profoundly affected, in both its organization and its subject matter, by the events of 1789 and the succeeding decade.

“The importance of *La Marseillaise*, *La Carmagnole* and *Ça Ira* as revolutionary anthems can only be understood if the universal passion for songs in Louis XVI’s France is appreciated. Songs were sold by strolling vendors on the boulevards, bridges and quays and were sung at cafés, their themes spanning a whole universe from the predictable airs of songs of courtship, seduction and rejection, but to others they carolled the profligacy of the court. The vast quantities of words – spoken, read, declaimed or sung – at the end of the old regime extended to far-flung boundaries. While it was at its most fervent in Paris, it was by no means an exclusive metropolitan phenomenon. There may have been nothing quite like the Palais-Royal in the provinces, but traveling hawkers, adventurous booksellers and eager customers all ensured that both the

newspaper press and the market for clandestine works were as lively in Bordeaux, Lyon, and Marseille as in the capital” (Schama 181).

The storming of the Bastille was only a singular event in the middle of uncertain and restless times with riots and revolts before 1789 and beyond the revolutionary decade, when revolutions continued to erupt for more than half a century not only in France but all over Europe. Through the Age of Enlightenment and the revolutionary decade, music had continued seemingly disregarding any revolutionary activities, while reflecting those activities within it. “As the Age of Revolution approached, comic opera became an important social force, whose lively wit delighted even the aristocrats it satirized. Classical opera buffa spread quickly, steadily expanding in scope until it culminated in the works of Mozart, the greatest dramatist of the 18<sup>th</sup> century” (Machlis and Forney 304). Mozart is generally referred to as a Classical composer and was the last of the prominent composers of the Age of Enlightenment, although he also displayed pre-Romantic tendencies steering instrumental music toward the brink of Romantic expressivity.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), christened Johanne Chrysostom Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart, was born in Salzburg, two hundred or so miles southwest of Vienna. He was an extraordinary child prodigy playing harpsichord and violin at four, composing dances at five, and touring Europe at six years of age. Mozart was pre-eminent among composers for the inexhaustible wealth of his simple songful melodies. One of the outstanding pianists of his time, Mozart wrote many works on his favourite instrument and his twenty-seven concertos for piano and orchestra elevated this genre to one of the most important positions in the Classical era. The piano that Mozart used to compose his late piano concertos is now on display in the Mozart Museum in Salzburg. He often had it carried to and from concert venues. Mozart’s symphonies, which extended across his career, are characterized by a richness of orchestration and a remarkable depth of emotion. The most important of his more than forty symphonies are the six written in the final decade of his life including the magnificent *Symphony in C Major, The Jupiter*, which he completed in about two weeks in 1788. With these works, the symphony achieved its position as the most significant form of music in this period.

Mozart was a sponge for various international musical styles and was better at absorbing those styles than almost any composer in history, and he composed in just

about every musical genre available at that time. His music was the synthesis of everything from earlier composers and he used a multiplicity of themes that ended up sounding like a unified whole. Mozart was mentored by Franz Joseph 'Papa' Haydn. The two were friends having a major influence on each other and at times played chamber music together. Mozart had a lot of respect for Haydn and showed it by dedicating his six 1785 string quartets to Haydn. He was also influenced by Rousseau's *Le Devin du Village*, and reflected the reforms which Gluck had brought to French opera. He learned that it was an aesthetic necessity to portray the dramatic action realistically, but was also intrigued by the flowing melodies of the Italians.

In 1781 Mozart settled permanently in Vienna and died there ten years later. It was a decade of perhaps unparalleled musical creation. Among his numerous compositions were six of the greatest operas in the repertoire. My favourite of those is "*The Marriage of Figaro*, which premiered in May 1786. It exploited Beaumarchais' theme on the moral decadence of the aristocracy and supposedly helped pave the way for the French Revolution. *The Marriage of Figaro* may seem to be of a playful nature but behind it is a serious political and satirical tone expressive of Mozart's social philosophy of the need for a new order. Although Mozart was a devout Catholic in faith, he joined the Freemasons in protest against the social inequities which the State produced and the Church permitted to exist" (Portnoy 164-65).

I have seen and heard many of Mozart's operas, piano concertos and other music, and listen to his music often. My first introduction to Mozart was through *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* (A Little Night Music), which is a serenade for strings written for a string quartet. Its apparent simplicity is a product of its design aesthetics with complexities out of sight, below the musical surface. My 45rpm record was a parting gift from a friend at the end of a summer in Germany during my teenage years and reminds me of that wonderful trip every time I listen to it. One of Mozart's best-loved choral works, *The Requiem Mass*, was unfinished at the time of his death in 1791 and was completed the following year by Mozart's friend, the composer Franz Xaver Suessmayr, at the request of Mozart's widow. *The Requiem Mass* truly is a masterpiece and a suitable ending to a discussion on Mozart, the musical genius.

## Reflections

The French Revolution was not only a French event, but a global one with domestic and global causes and outcomes. My journey began with a brief examination of the Enlightenment that may have contributed at least indirectly to the outbreak of the French Revolution. Immanuel Kant had coined the motto of the Enlightenment encouraging people to think for themselves and many of the *philosophes* followed that motto by sharing the commitment to intellectual freedom and to a break with old traditions of the *ancien régime* in France. Although the *philosophes*, including Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau, were not generally in favour of a violent revolution, and looked toward a constitutional monarchy coupled with representative institutions, once the Revolution broke out, it took a life of its own and was responsible for irreversible changes in France, the rest of Europe and in much of the rest of the world. I believe, that an explanation of the pre-revolutionary social and political structures was necessary to help us to understand that changes were needed in social and political conditions for the general population, particularly for those of the Third Estate.

Seeds of nationalism seem to have been already embedded in the musicalization of the early version of the 1791 Constitution. Therefore, the discussion of the role of music in The French Revolution was especially important, including the emergence of *La Marseillaise* as France's national anthem. The *philosophes*, who frequently met to discuss their philosophical, literary and musical ideas at salons held at homes of prominent Parisians and at cafés, such as The Café Procopé, played important roles in the Enlightenment. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as one of the most influential, interesting and controversial philosophers over the past more than two hundred years, will continue to contribute to the exploration of Romanticism and Nationalism to be discussed in upcoming chapters, particularly because of the interdisciplinary aspects of his ideas. He truly followed Kant's thoughts by emerging from self-imposed nonage and by having the ability to use his own understanding without another's guidance.

The French Revolution still tends to be thought of as a one-day event, 14 July 1789, although seeds of discontent, evidenced by wars, riots and revolts had been surfacing in France and elsewhere long before the storming of Bastille. Those turbulent times continued in France and in the rest of Europe intermittently for the following more than half a century, and are reflected in the music played in opera houses, concert halls,

theatres, homes and on the streets. Music continued to reflect the changing times to the genius of Mozart at the end of the Enlightenment era, and will continue into the world of Romanticism beginning with an introduction to Ludwig van Beethoven, the giant of Classical and Romantic music.

## Chapter Two

# Emergence and Development of Romanticism and Nationalism: A Musical Perspective

### Introduction

My journey continues to 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century European Romanticism beginning with an introduction to the Romantic era as an outcome of the French Revolution followed by an introduction to German Romanticism. I will introduce Beethoven, who was not only a Classical, but also a political and revolutionary composer with a little known or recognized interest in composition of folksong arrangements. Beethoven was born during the Age of Enlightenment and was eighteen when the Bastille fell. For the next half a century, armies battled almost continuously throughout Europe; republics sprang up and withered; Napoleon rose and fell; the Holy Roman Empire vanished from the map. Stephen Rumpf quotes Felix Markham, who wrote that “like Napoleon, Beethoven was not of the generation which made the Revolution, but was a product of the revolutionary age, a time when traditions and customs were broken, and nothing seemed impossible in the face of reason, energy, and will” (Rumpf 1-2).

An exploration of specific aspects of European, and particularly German, Romanticism will lead us to an introduction to the emergence of Nationalism as a spin-off of the Romantic era. My review of a nationalist component to music as an introduction to Finnish patriotism will be based on the search for a common historical past through folklore and folksong and will eventually lead us to Wagner, and the folkloric origins of his *Ring Cycle*, to Sibelius and his Nordic, late Romantic, influences, and to an introduction to Finnish Nationalism based on the country's folklore and the music of Sibelius.

### Discussion

The French Revolution resulted from the inevitable clash between momentous social forces. It signaled the transfer of power from a hereditary landholding aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, which was firmly rooted in urban commerce and trade. Like the American

Revolution, this upheaval ushered in a social order shaped by the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution, which was “for a long time thought of as a relatively sudden flurry of technological innovations and inventions, particularly in the manufacturing and textiles sectors that occurred in England during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, modern scholars tend to regard the Industrial Revolution as a much more complex series of developments. It transpired first in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century England but was repeated, with variations, in the northwestern regions of the European Continent in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in some states of Germany and Northern Italy after 1850, and in Eastern and parts of Southern Europe towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, some of the developments associated with the Industrial Revolution are still continuing today in Asia, Africa, and Latin America under labels of *economic development* or *economic modernization*” (Breunig 155).

“In terms of music, the Industrial Revolution helped to trigger the popularity of instrumental music. Instruments were better made, their cost became lower, and the growing middle classes, with more money and leisure time, wanted to raise their status by playing music” (Smithsonian 130). “The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of unprecedented developments in the history of musical instruments, and inspired by the Industrial Revolution, craftsmen and composers used their skills and imagination to transform the way musical instruments sounded” (Smithsonian 188). “A magnificent invention by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Belgian musician and craftsman Adolphe Sax was the saxophone, which blended the best qualities of both brass and woodwind instruments. It was patented in 1846 and remains a central pillar in today’s diverse music scene” (Smithsonian 190-91).

The invention of the saxophone reminds me of a beautiful saxophone composition titled *a love supreme, a love supreme* by John Coltrane, the famous jazz musician. Coltrane was inspired by a Michael S. Harper poem titled *Dear John, Dear Coltrane*, that I was introduced to some years ago. The mellow and strong sounds of the saxophone emphasize the words of the poem reflecting racial tension and slavery of the poem far better than mere words ever could. The words of the poet interact with the music creating an effective depiction of a heart wrenching human condition. Slavery has existed since at least ancient Egyptian times and has taken many forms throughout human existence. Although the poem refers to slavery in the American South, it has existed, and still does, in many parts of the world. In a different form, the oppression of the Finns by the Russians, particularly towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of

the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is a form of slavery and is referred to as such in the vocals of *Finlandia*, the tone poem composed by Sibelius to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Perhaps the russification movements of late 1800's and early 1900's that were a direct threat to Finland's agreed-upon political autonomy and nationalist aspirations could be called political slavery, one of many modes of the term that extend to the present time. Another reference to slavery appears in the last two lines of the second verse of the French national anthem, *La Marseillaise*, as follows:

*C'est nous qu'on ose méditer  
De rendre à l'antique esclavage.*

*It is to us they dare plan  
A return to the old slavery.*

The new society, based on free enterprise, emphasized the individual as never before. "The slogan of the French Revolution – "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" – inspired hopes and visions to which artists responded enthusiastically. Sympathy for the oppressed, interest in simple folk and in children, faith in humankind and its destiny, all formed part of the increasingly democratic character of the Romantic period" (Machlis and Forney 68).

The idea of democracy has evolved since ancient times and gained strength in the 1700's particularly from the writings of the Enlightenment *philosophes* who at least indirectly contributed to the outbreak of the French Revolution. The increased literacy rates of the Enlightenment era and perhaps, from musical perspective, the *constitutions en vaudeville*, brought the revolutionary slogan to the consciousness of the French population, including the illiterate people, who could now learn about the articles of the constitution in song. Another significant development was the passing of *The Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, which was a fundamental legal document of the French Revolution and in the history of human rights as discussed in Chapter One. Although, according to many sources, the French Revolution "failed", I believe, that the hope for a more democratic future and the hope for a rise in the idea of equality based on the new and less rigid class structure, did not "fail" or disappear, but that hope increased and continued to increase throughout the Romantic era and contributed to the ideals of nationalism and patriotism to be discussed later in this chapter.

“Romanticism dominated the artistic output of the early decades of the 19th century and gave its name to a movement while creating a multitude of artistic works, including musical ones, that still capture the imagination of millions” (Machlis and Forney 70). “The Romantic era brought forth a truly overwhelming wealth in the fields of music, art, and literature. Composers from Beethoven, by way of Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, and Liszt, to Wagner compete for our attention in the concert hall. The art of Goya, Friedrich, Constable, Delacroix, and many others challenge our artistic sensibilities in museums. The poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge, the dramas of Kleist, the novels of Hugo enchant our imagination. Rarely, if ever, has the world of aesthetics witnessed a similar outpouring of genius along with the accompanying achievements in philosophy, history, medicine, law, and other fields of intellect” (Ziolkowski 1).

*Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer* (Wanderer above the Sea of Fog) by the German Romantic artist Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) has been considered one of the masterpieces of Romanticism and one of its most representative works and currently resides in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, Germany. It is my favourite Romantic era painting and therefore I will add Hamburg as yet another destination for my future journey following the footsteps of my favourite philosophers, artists and musicians. While contemplating that painting, I see myself, instead of the man in a dark green overcoat, gazing at the distant mountaintops peeking out of the thick sea of fog. To me, the painting represents freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom to look into the future to consider its infinite and exciting possibilities.

Romanticism in Central Europe is generally thought to have been a 19<sup>th</sup> century phenomena beginning with the death of Beethoven in 1827 and developing as a reaction against the Enlightenment or against views which were attributed to writers of that era, and as a response to the French Revolution. However, historical movements – cultural, political or other – rarely have precise dates for beginning and ending, particularly keeping in mind that early signs of Romanticism were evident already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century through writers, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who some have referred to as the “Father of Romanticism”. In the late 1700’s he wrote *Confessions*, an autobiographical account of his life, and the *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, in which the *Fifth Walk* presents a romantic narrative of the few weeks he spent in exile on Île de St. Pierre describing his walks in nature, his botanizing adventures, and his deep reveries while

floating on Lac de Bienne in a rowboat, both works expressing early Romantic tendencies.

“The writings of Rousseau showed many aspects of Romanticism, such as an emphasis on the individual personality and his preoccupation with nature and the “natural”. In Germany, the literary movement referred to as *Sturm und Drang* (storm and stress), out of which German Romanticism developed, dates from the 1770's. By the early 1800's, Romanticism as a literary movement was in full swing in Germany, and had its representatives in Britain as well as in France” (Breunig 200), but was being adopted at a slower pace in Eastern Europe, in the Scandinavian countries and in Finland.

German Romanticism was the dominant intellectual movement of German-speaking countries in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, influencing philosophy, aesthetics, literature, and criticism, and let's not forget about music. Compared to English Romanticism, the German variety of Romanticism notably valued wit, humour, and beauty. As it is hard to define the timeline for beginning and ending of Romantic era, it is also hard to define Romanticism by countries of origin. The movement itself originated in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century at the same time as the French Revolution, which did not only affect France, but also the rest of Europe and much of the rest of the world.

Romanticism continued to grow in reaction to the effects of the social transformations caused by the Revolution that played a huge role in influencing Romantic writers, such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who initially shared an agreement with the revolutionary ideals and were instigators of English Romanticism. In 1799 Wordsworth and Coleridge travelled to Germany, where Coleridge (1772-1832) studied German language and literature within the cultural context of its production at the University of Göttingen hoping to serve as a cross-cultural mediator and interpreter of German literature on his return to England. I believe, that in that process he was influencing German Romanticism with his English Romantic ideas and at the same time absorbing German ones and integrating them into the Romantic movement in England. I also believe, that it would be more appropriate to refer to the Romantic era as pan-European rather than pertaining to any particular country or area, because of the cross-cultural, pan-European, and international exchange of thoughts and ideas in the increasingly borderless globalized world of the 1800's.

The early German romantics aspired to create a new unification of art, philosophy, and science, by viewing the Middle-Ages as a simpler period of integrated culture. However, the German romantics soon became aware of the uncertain aspects of the cultural unity they sought. The late-stage German Romanticism emphasized the tension between the daily world and the irrational and supernatural projections of creative genius. In particular, the critic and poet, Heinrich Heine, criticized the tendency of the early German romantics to look to the medieval past for a model of unity in art and society. My favourite poem by Heine, for which I still remember the melody and some of the words, is *Die Loreley* that was based on a German legend of an enchanting, seducing mermaid, who lures seamen to their deaths. Music for the poem was composed by many, but perhaps the most famous one was by Franz Liszt. My literal translation depicts the meaning of the first verse while describing the background for the unfortunate events of the short poem:

*Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten,  
daß ich so traurig bin.  
Ein Märchen aus uralten Zeiten  
das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.  
Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt,  
und ruhig fließt der Rhein;  
der Gipfel des Bergen funkelt  
im Abendsonnenschein.*

*I don't know what it will mean,  
that I am so sad.  
A fairytale of ancient times  
that does not come out of my mind. (meaning: I cannot forget)  
The air is cool and it darkens,  
and calmly flows the Rhein;  
the summit of mountains darkens  
in evening sunshine.*

“German Romanticism in general and German Romantic opera in particular grew out of *the Sturm und Drang* movement that was inspired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s belief that feelings serve us more reliably than reason. *Sturm und Drang* authors advocated free expression in language, dress, behaviour, and love. The movement’s outstanding writer was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), the author of *The Sorrows of Young Werther* that sparked the early phase of German Romantic movement. He was a dramatist and a poet of great influence, who proved the German language capable of the highest level of literary beauty and expression. Goethe became

an advocate for German-language literature and music by creating a body of German-language poetry that would be set to music by the next four generations of composers” (Greenberg 243), such as Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann.

Besides my enjoyment of Goethe’s poetry, particularly the poems set to music, my connection to Goethe is the enjoyment of chocolate. Apparently, “Goethe was an early riser, and always started his day with a cup of chocolate. He also always took a chocolate cup, cocoa, and chocolate bars with him in his luggage when travelling” (Teubner 213). Chocolate had arrived in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and coffee and chocolate houses appeared in at least the major European cities, such as Madrid, Vienna, London and Paris. It was at Café Procopé in Paris where Rousseau enjoyed a cup of chocolate after a theatrical disappointment, and where Voltaire typically added chocolate to his coffee. In 1770, the young Goethe met Johann Gottfried von Herder, who became his mentor, in Strasbourg, and recognized his own artistic inclinations through Herder’s observations on Homer, Pindar, and Shakespeare, and on literature and folksong. I wonder if Goethe and Herder had any of their conversations in a Strasbourg café allowing Goethe to enjoy his daily cup of chocolate.

During their meetings in Strasbourg, Herder also introduced Goethe to the Scottish Ossian folk epic. Ossian is the narrator and supposed author of a cycle of poems published by Scottish poet James Macpherson from 1760. The poems achieved international success. However, there were immediate disputes regarding Macpherson’s claims of authenticity on both literary and political grounds (Ossian), although undoubtedly the Ossian poems were influential in the Romantic era. One part of the debate refers to the existence of Ossian, a debate similar to that of Homer. Since both the Homeric and Ossian debates appear to be on-going, the topic perhaps deserves a study of its own outside of my current project.

Before 1750, the German upper classes often looked to France for intellectual and cultural leadership and French was the language of high society. By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the *Aufklärung* (The Enlightenment) had transformed German high culture in music, philosophy, science, and literature, and Christian Wolff (1679-1754) explained the Enlightenment to German readers by legitimizing German as a philosophic language. Then Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) broke new ground in philosophy and poetry, as a leader of the *Sturm und Drang* movement, that involved Herder as well as

Goethe, Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) and others. Herder argued that every folk had its own particular identity, which was expressed in its language and culture. This legitimized the promotion of German language and culture and helped shape the development of German cultural identity. Schiller's plays expressed the restless spirit of his generation depicting the hero's struggle against social pressures and the force of destiny. German music, sponsored by the upper classes, came of age under composers, such as Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. The German Enlightenment won the support of princes, aristocrats, and the middle classes permanently reshaping the culture.

"The attitude of most romantic writers toward the individual differed from a point of view that was prevalent in the Enlightenment. Although the *philosophes* had expressed an interest in the individual and his rights, their main concern had been to discover what qualities men had in common, what characteristics united them. On the other hand, most romantic writers were convinced of the uniqueness of the individual personality and were suspicious of the kind of generalizations made by their predecessors" (Breunig 200-01).

"The composers of the Romantic era used a new and personal voice to express emotion. They were inspired by nature, classical myths, and medieval legends, as well as by works of literature, such as Shakespeare's plays and Goethe's and Byron's poems" (Smithsonian 158). "Between the Middle-Ages and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, songs had gradually become more complex with more sophisticated accompaniment. Composers also began to link songs together into song cycles based on groups of poems that told a longer, more complex story. By using more than one song, this new form offered composers a way to explore more emotions as the story unfolded" (Smithsonian 154). The sung constitutions described in Chapter One are generally thought of as pre-cursors to the song cycles appearing in German art music during the Romantic period. The song cycles, at least to some extent, were inspired by the sung *constitutions en vaudeville* that first appeared in 1792 reflecting the articles of the 1791 French Constitution.

It is uncertain, if Beethoven was aware of the sung constitutions, but "his song cycle, *An die ferne Geliebte* (To the distant Beloved), written in 1815-1816, is the first hint of Romanticism in German song. The cycle consists of six songs linked by piano music, which functions as a connection between the songs. In true Romantic spirit, the

texts conjure up visions of misty hilltops, soft winds, and wistful longing for reunion with the beloved. The piano accompaniment reflects the words, and the assertive return of the opening theme at the end of the cycle provides a satisfying optimistic musical conclusion” (Smithsonian 154). Beethoven’s output of songs also includes the extraordinarily expressive setting of the poem *An die Hoffnung, Op.94, (To Hope)* written in 1815.

“Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) was born in Bonn, Germany, where his father and grandfather were singers at the court of the local prince. The family situation was unhappy; his father was an alcoholic, and Ludwig was forced to support his mother and two younger brothers at an early age. By age eleven, he was assistant organist in the court Chapel, and a year later he became harpsichordist in the court orchestra. At age sixteen, he visited Vienna and had an opportunity to play the piano for Mozart, who gave him high praise and predicted his future greatness. Beethoven’s talent as a pianist so impressed the music-loving world that he was welcomed in the great houses of Vienna by powerful patrons. In an era of revolution, this young genius persuaded the “princely rabble”, as he called them, to receive him as an equal and a friend. He thought, that it was good to move among the aristocracy, but that it was first necessary to make them respect you” (Machlis and Forney 266).

“Beethoven was able to take advantage of a modified form of the patronage system, and was not attached to the court of a prince, but was paid handsomely by them. Also, the emergence of a middle-class public and the growth of concert life and music publishing worked in his favour and at the age of thirty-one, he had several publishers for his works and could name his own terms. Then fate interfered and Beethoven began to lose his hearing. On the advice of his doctors he retired in 1802 to a summer resort near Vienna called Heiligenstadt, where he wrote his famous Heiligenstadt Testament admitting to having contemplated suicide, but deciding to live, because he still had more music inside him to share with the world of music. In May 1809, when the attacking forces of Napoleon bombarded Vienna, Beethoven, very worried that the noise would destroy the rest of his hearing, hid in the basement of his brother’s house covering his ears with pillows. In 1827, while riding in an open carriage during severe weather, he suffered an attack of edema that proved fatal, and died in his fifty-seventh year famous and revered” (Machlis and Forney 266-67).

“Beethoven was also considered by many as a political composer. He found his political voice in Bonn with a cantata memorializing the enlightened reforms of Joseph II, and crowned his public career in Vienna with *The Ninth Symphony*’s hymn to universal brotherhood. No intervening work required more revisions from him than *Fidelio*, the first political opera to remain in permanent repertory. *The Third Symphony*, probably Beethoven’s most influential work, reflects on a funeral march evoking patriotic ceremonies from the French Revolution, but that fame was overshadowed by the famous and problematic relationship of the symphony to Napoleon” (Rumpf 1).

“Beethoven’s *Third Symphony*, the *Eroica*, was originally dedicated to Napoleon, who seemed at first to represent the spirit of revolution and freedom. When Beethoven discovered that Napoleon had proclaimed himself emperor, he became disenchanted and was quoted as saying that “he too is just like any other! Now he will trample on the rights of man and serve nothing but his own ambition”. The embittered composer tore up the dedicatory page of the just-completed work and renamed it the *Heroic symphony to celebrate the memory of a great man*. *The Fifth Symphony* is popularly viewed as the precursor of the genre, and *The Seventh* rivals it in universal appeal. The finale of *The Ninth*, or *Choral* symphony, in which vocal soloists and chorus join the orchestra, is a setting of Friedrich Schiller’s poem *An die Freude* (To Joy), a ringing prophecy of a time when “all people will be brothers” (Machlis and Forney 268) as Beethoven hoped.

My many experiences of Beethoven’s *Ninth Symphony* include a recent performance by the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra featuring the Vancouver Bach Choir at the beautiful Orpheum Theatre. All the performances of *The Ninth* I have experienced have been truly magnificent compositions proving that Beethoven was not only an instrumental composer, but was also capable of composing for the human voice, contrary to the opinions of some music critics. At the end of the performance, *The Ninth* will surely leave every audience member humming *Ode to Joy* on their way home.

My first introduction to Beethoven’s music came to me when I was still a teenager and belonged to an organization called The Musical Masterpiece Society. One of the first monthly selections was Beethoven’s *Sixth Symphony*, *The Pastoral Symphony*, where Beethoven expressed his love of nature. Robert Greenberg (203) explains, that

Beethoven's *Sixth Symphony*, which is nicknamed the *Pastoral*, remains one of the great "back-to-nature" works of the nineteenth century. Over the course of its five movements, Beethoven describes a day in the country. The climax of the symphony is the fourth movement, which Beethoven entitles *Sturm* (Storm). What begins as a summer night's thunderstorm becomes a cataclysm, nature at its wildest and most uncontrolled, and a metaphor for humankind's powerlessness over its own fate.

Beethoven spent a great deal of his time walking in the country and frequently left Vienna to work in rural locations. His numerous compositions include not only symphonies, but also concertos and sonatas, including *Sonata No. 9 in A major, Op. 47* for Fortepiano and Violin, *The Kreutzer*, in which he expressed his anguish related to his deafness crisis, and the *Piano Sonata No. 14 in C# minor, Quasi una Fantasia, Op. 27, No.2*, popularly known as the *Moonlight Sonata*, which was considered by the music-loving public as one of Beethoven's most popular piano compositions already in his lifetime, and is one of my favourite pieces of music.

Beethoven's preference to compose in the peaceful rural atmosphere outside Vienna is perfectly understandable, particularly based on my own experiences of enjoying the *Pastoral* beauty of the Austrian countryside more than a hundred years later during the summer of 1961, while visiting my pen pal, Anni, in her home village of Asparn-an-der-Zaya located about forty kilometers north of Vienna. I still remember the beautiful meadows and rolling farmlands surrounding the little village Anni lived in with her family. I also remember experiencing *Das Ernten Dank-fest* (Harvest Festival) with music, singing and dancing a few days before returning home, and wonder whether Beethoven perhaps composed some of his music in Asparn-an-der-Zaya or in a near-by village.

As music had interacted with the French Revolution and with subsequent revolts throughout Europe, the musical life of Vienna continued without interruption. Music is the constant factor in the world we live in and interacts with world events and continues, not only in the concert halls of Vienna and Berlin, but in small villages like Asparn-an-der-Zaya. Since I did not have a chance to experience the beautiful city of Vienna much during my couple of days there, I plan to continue my personal journey there. After following in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's footsteps from Café Procopé in Paris to Île de St. Pierre in Switzerland, I plan to follow the footsteps of Mozart and Beethoven to Vienna's famous Musikverein, the Vienna Opera House and the Wiener Konzerthaus to enjoy

their music, and to Café Sacher for authentic Sacher Torte and a cup of chocolate. Perhaps I will also visit the historic Café Frauenhuber, the oldest Viennese coffee house still operating today since 1824. It is a classic café, where both Mozart and Beethoven performed. I am already looking forward to a cup of chocolate with a Buttersemmel (butter roll) for breakfast accompanied by the music of the two musical geniuses.

Perhaps surprisingly, “Beethoven’s repertoire includes nearly two hundred folk song arrangements, in which traditional tunes are provided with preludes, postludes, and accompaniments, over a period of eleven years from 1809-1820. An intriguing feature of these folk song settings is that they are almost entirely in English and consist mainly of Scottish, Welsh, and Irish songs based on poems by Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, and Lord Byron in collaboration with a Scottish publisher George Thompson” (Cooper 1). At that time Scotland was experiencing a movement to collect folk songs with the most notable collections dating back to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Thompson (1757-1851) came on this scene in the 1790’s with the aim to make his collection surpass all previous ones in scope and quality. Some of the folk song arrangements Beethoven set to music were of Continental origin, some from Austria (Vienna), that Beethoven collected himself, and one French song arrangement written by Jean-Jacques Rousseau for *Le Devin du Village* titled *Non, non, Colette n’est point trompeuse*. One of the most important ones was Beethoven’s *An die ferne Geliebte* of 1816 already mentioned in relation to the German song cycles.

While, on the one hand, Beethoven was influenced by the French Revolution and its aftermath, on the other hand, he instigated his own revolution by revolutionizing Western music. Many performers of Beethoven’s music have claimed, that his music was too difficult to perform, like Rodolphe Kreutzer, who refused to play the *Kreutzer Sonata* that Beethoven had dedicated to him, because of its challenging musical structures. Kreutzer was reported as finding the sonata “outrageously unintelligible”. The *Kreutzer Sonata* as an expression of human anguish has since inspired at least two novels, several films, plays, and musical works including a ballet currently being performed in a Moscow theatre. Beethoven was quoted as responding to the criticism on his music by commenting that his music was not for this world, but for the next generation. Because Beethoven wrote some of his greatest music after he became totally deaf, he embodies the Romantic ideal of the tragic artist who defies all odds to conquer his own fate by portraying the triumph of the human spirit.

“Beethoven was also the chief precursor of the Romantic movement in opera with his three-act opera *Fidelio*, the only opera he composed. It was presented in Vienna in 1805. The story and music embody the spirit of longing for liberty and freedom in the face of oppression that was to become a key characteristic of Romantic opera” (Smithsonian 166). Also, his titanic talent transformed our understanding of music forever. He composed symphonies, concertos, sonatas, and perhaps surprisingly, numerous folk song arrangements. “Like Beethoven’s contemporary, Napoleon Bonaparte, he was a man of his time, who changed the face of Western history, in Beethoven’s case, the history of Western music” (Greenberg 177).

“During the Romantic era, song provided an ideal vehicle for expressing profound emotion. Composers set the words of carefully selected poetry to music with increasingly dramatic intensity, and the piano was used to partner the voice reflecting and enhancing the singer. The Romantic era embraced new musical forms, and among these were German songs, known popularly as *Lieder*. Germany was also home to many great poets who were undergoing their own romantic rebellion towards a new style of song writing, including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) whose poems were set to song by a number of composers” (Smithsonian 154), such as Franz Schubert and Robert Schumann.

“Franz Schubert (1797-1828), the most romantic of the romanticists and the creator of the German *Lied*, surpassed even Beethoven in the creation of beautiful melodies. His warm, colourful, free-flowing melodies enhance many of Germany’s great poetic masterpieces. His veneration for Goethe inspired him to set much of his poetry to music” (Portnoy 180). “Schubert wrote more than six hundred songs including one of my favourite Schubert songs, the *Heidenröslein* (Wild Rose) which was inspired by a poem by Goethe. Schubert demonstrated a deep understanding of human emotion and psychology in his songs. The settings of these songs ranged from simple folk-like tunes, such as *Heidenröslein*, to extended, lyrically expressive lines of the song cycles, especially *Winterreise* (Winter Journey) inspired by twenty-four poems of Wilhelm Müller” (Smithsonian 156). I used to know the words to *Heidenröslein* by heart and be able to sing it in German.

“Robert Schumann (1810-1856), was the successor to Schubert in the creation of German *Lieder* and took the musical possibilities of romantic song to a new level. In his

songs, the piano is no longer a mere accompanist to the voice but a true partner playing an equal role in expressing the meaning of the words through music. He wrote the song cycle *Dichterliebe* (Poet's Love) in 1840 based on a set of sixteen poems by Heinrich Heine (1797-1856). Schumann's setting of Heine's words is breathtaking and very real, while the piano part is intensely expressive" (Smithsonian 154). "A *Poet's Love* is universally regarded as a masterpiece of Romanticism" (Machlis and Forney 88). "Schumann's *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16. was considered by many as one of the most beautiful pieces of piano music, and Schumann himself considered it his best piano composition. The *Kreisleriana* takes its title from the heading that embraces thirteen tales in Volumes 1 and 2 of E.T.A. Hoffman's *Fantasiestücke*" (Ziolkowski 160-61). Schumann's *Kreisleriana* is my favourite piece of piano music and I listen to it frequently.

"The dawn of Romanticism along with improvements in piano manufacture, provided new opportunities for emotional expression and technical expertise. The compositions of Chopin, Mendelssohn and Schumann helped move the piano into the spotlight. Most piano recitals took place in private salons of the well-to-do and musical performances for small groups of guests were a popular form of entertainment, while some composer-performers found wealthy patrons among the guests at such events. Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849), the poet of the piano, was welcomed at exclusive society gatherings throughout Europe. He was particularly popular within the Parisian Salon culture and also entertained guests at the Salon of Prince Radziwill in Berlin in 1829. His music, most of which was composed for the piano, is characterized by delicacy, deeply felt expressive passion, and lyrical melody" (Smithsonian 160-61).

"Chopin's nationalist impulse predates 1848, but was itself a patriotic tribute to his Polish homeland, a country partitioned and occupied in Chopin's time by Russia. The distinctly Polish aspects of Chopin's music include the sounds of Polish-language-derived rhythmic character and its melodies. Chopin's polonaises and mazurkas are stylized Polish dances, works that display the expressive spirit and rhythmic character of Polish national dances" (Greenberg 256).

"In 1848, the European world was turned upside down as revolutions and nationalist movements broke out across Western and Central Europe. By the summer of 1849, the revolutions had, one by one, faltered and failed. In the wave of repression that followed, overt political nationalism was outlawed, but the nationalist aspirations

unleashed by the failed revolutions found expression instead in the arts; in literature, in visual arts, and in music. The year of the failed revolutions gave impetus to a kind of musical nationalism, which incorporated folk music and folk-like music into concert works, songs, and operas. Program compositions and operas were based on stories from national or folk traditions, and very often these stories were reinforced by the inclusion of actual folk melodies in the works themselves. The result was music and opera that stirred powerful patriotic feelings of home and made a strong ethnic impression abroad. The 19<sup>th</sup> century musical nationalism is often also referred to as folkloric nationalism, which was, at least initially, as much a political movement as an artistic one” (Greenberg 255-56).

“Art mirrors the great social forces of its time and Romantic music reflected the profound changes that were taking place in the 19<sup>th</sup> century at every level of human existence” (Machlis and Forney 70). “The interest in folklore and the rising tide of nationalism inspired Romantic musicians to increasingly use folksongs and dances of their native lands. As a result, a number of national idioms flourished greatly enriching the melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic language of music” (Machlis and Forney 71).

“In 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, political conditions influenced the growth of nationalism and patriotism to such a degree that they became a decisive force within the Romantic movement. The pride of conquering nations and the struggle for freedom of suppressed ones resulted in strong emotions that inspired the works of many creative artists. The Romantic composers expressed their patriotism in a number of ways. Some based their music on the songs and dances of their people, others wrote dramatic works based on folklore or peasant life. Yet others wrote symphonic poems and operas celebrating the exploits of a national hero, an historic event, or the scenic beauty of their country. In associating music with love of homeland, composers were able to give expression to the hopes and dreams of millions of people. And the political implications of this musical nationalism were not lost on the authorities. Many of Verdi’s operas had to be repeatedly altered to suit the Austrian censors” (Machlis and Forney 122-23), and in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Finland, during the russification movements, the Russians forbade the playing of *Finlandia*, the symphonic tone poem composed by Sibelius, because of its nationalistic overtones.

Since no other arts can match the power of music to stir emotions, “music was employed to the cause of nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and played a role, whose importance can probably never be accurately assessed in stirring up patriotic feelings and in creating a national self-consciousness. Patriotic songs and anthems, most of them written in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were given a prominent place in collections of “folk” songs of the era, and singing them became a ritual at most public gatherings. Among nationalities living under foreign rule, their patriotic songs were used as ways to keep alive (or awaken) national sentiment and played important roles in their revolutionary movements” (Rich 63-64)

“The greatest Italian composer, Giuseppe Verdi, was an ardent nationalist, whose early operas, written while Italy was still divided and partly under Austrian rule, are filled with moving expressions of love of country and longing for freedom from foreign oppression. Throughout his life, Verdi maintained a resolute independence in his musical style and expressed distress over the influence of foreign, especially German, ideas on the works of his fellow countrymen. In Germany, Richard Wagner deliberately turned away from classical and foreign themes and based the majority of his operas on German legends. Verdi and Wagner were both working within a powerful national musical tradition and did not have to look elsewhere for inspiration” (Rich 64).

Nationalism as an ideology became a major political movement at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the modern sense of national political autonomy and self-determination was formalized. Since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, nationalism has generally been referred to as a significant spin-off of Romanticism, which in turn was an outcome of the French Revolution and a reaction to the Enlightenment. The words nationalism and patriotism used to be synonymous but have taken on different connotations over time. Initially both words referred to the love and affection one felt for one’s country, but while patriotism still tends to mean that, nationalism tends to be rooted in the belief that one’s country is superior to all others, and carries the connotation of disapproval of other nations or a rivalry with other nations.

In modern times, examples can be seen in the emergence of German nationalism as a reaction against Napoleonic control of Germany. The role of nationalism emerged in Europe about 1700 and developed in Britain reaching full form in the 1830’s. Typically historians of European nationalism begin with the French

Revolution, not only for its impact on French nationalism, but even more for its impact on Germans, Italians and on European intellectuals and philosophers, such as Rousseau and Voltaire, whose ideas influenced the French Revolution, and who had in turn been influenced by earlier constitutionalist liberation movements, notably the Corsican Republic (1755-1769) and the American Revolution (1765-1783), for which the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776.

The political turmoil of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century associated with the American and French revolutions massively increased the wide-spread appeal of patriotic nationalism. The political development of nationalism and the push for popular sovereignty culminated with the ethnic and national revolutions in Europe. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, nationalism became one of the most significant political and social forces in history and is typically listed among the top causes of World War I.

As a musical movement, nationalism emerged early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in connection with political independence movements, and was characterized by an emphasis on patriotic musical elements, such as the use of folk songs, folk dances or rhythms, or on the adoption of nationalist subjects for operas, symphonic poems, or other forms of music. As new nations were formed in Europe, nationalism in music was a reaction against the dominance of the mainstream European classical tradition as composers began to separate themselves from the standards set by Italian, French, and especially German traditionalists.

“Some sources indicate that musical nationalism began with the wars of liberation against Napoleon, leading to a receptive atmosphere in Germany for Weber’s opera *Der Freischütz* (1821) and for Richard Wagner’s epic dramas based on German (and Icelandic) legends. At the same time, Poland’s struggle for freedom from Tsarist Russia produced a patriotic spirit in the piano works of Chopin, Italy’s aspirations to independence from Austria resonated in many of Verdi’s operas” (Machlis 125-6), and by rich instrumentation and strong harmonies in his tone poem *Finlandia*, Sibelius was creating feelings of patriotism by conveying pride in his homeland of Finland.

“An important part of the process of channelling the spirit of nationalism to the masses was the formulation of theories proving that members of a nation originated from the same racial background, shared the same cultural and historical traditions and

similar national tragedies and triumphs. The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a great increase in the study of history, with emphasis on the national origins and development of the European peoples, together with a new and intensive interest in their own folklore, myths, and music. In Germany, the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm collected old and almost forgotten folk tales, Richard Wagner based his music dramas on Teutonic legends” (Rich 46), and much of Sibelius’s music was based on Finnish folklore and myths.

“In the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the cultural nationalism represented by Johann Gottfried von Herder and his followers, which held that each people had a unique folk spirit worthy of preservation, gave way to political nationalism and the belief that to maintain national values effectively, each nation must establish itself as a sovereign state” (Rich 46). “In the beginning there were folksongs” (Herder and Bohlman 21), and “in the 1770’s Herder published his most sweeping folk song collections, *Alte Volkslieder*, implementing a discourse about the collective singing of songs, which he was the first to systematically call “folk songs”, thereby affording political and cultural dimensions to widespread musical practices” (Herder and Bohlman 5). “Herder’s *Alte Volkslieder* was a call to action: the old folksongs of all peoples deserve to be gathered” (Herder and Bohlman 21).

As my journey continues, I will emphasize the new and intensive interest in the collection of folklore, and once compiled, usually referred to as a national epic, beginning with a brief mention of *The Song of Roland* of France as one of the oldest European national epics (not including Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which fall outside of the scope of this research project, and deserve a study of their own).

*The Song of Roland* (La Chanson de Roland) is a narrative epic poem (*chanson de geste*) based on the Battle of Roncevaux Pass in 778 AD, during the reign of Charlemagne. It is the oldest surviving major work of French literature and exists in various manuscript versions, which testify to its enormous and enduring popularity in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. *The Song of Roland* is the first and, along with the Iberian epic, *El Cid* (*Cantar del mio Cid*), which Herder translated and compiled, one of the most outstanding examples of the *chanson de geste*, a literary form that flourished between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries and celebrated legendary deeds. After two manuscripts were found in 1832 and 1835, *The Song of Roland* became recognized as France’s national

epic when an edition was published in 1837. Early editors of *The Song of Roland* were informed in part by patriotic desires to produce a distinctly French epic. By supplying it with an appropriate epic title and providing it with general history of minstrel performance, in which its pure origin could be located, the early editors presented the 4,002-line poem as 'sung French epic'. These poems were usually sung to the accompaniment of a plucked string instrument, such as a harp.

"Today we tend to think of Germany as one of the old-established great powers, like the nation familiar to us in 20<sup>th</sup> century history. Yet this image of Germany originates from no longer ago than 18 January 1871, when the King of Prussia, William I, became *Kaiser* of all Germany. Before that, the German-speaking area was divided into a large number of independent kingdoms and duchies with considerably varied languages. That situation was quite different compared to their strong and long-unified neighbours, France and Great Britain. It took four centuries for the German-speaking peoples to develop a sense of nationhood and an idea of unification as a single nation" (Björnsson 68). "After the book *Germania* was discovered by the Roman historian Tacitus in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, its publication revived the concept of the Germanic peoples, and the German scholars began to promote German national consciousness" (Björnsson 70-71).

"In the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there had been a growing pressure to reduce the number of small German states by unification and many influences were at work there. Technical progress had increased productivity in agriculture and industry, and merchants, farmers, and manufacturers wanted to abolish the multitude of import duties imposed by each small state. The bloody Seven Years' War of 1756-1763, waged by Frederick the Great of Prussia against the 'three petticoats', (Maria Theresa of Austria, Catherine the Great of Russia and Mme de Pompadour in France), *der Krieg mit dem drei Röcken*, as he called it, also strengthened the argument that a strong united Germany should be formed, which could stand against the other major powers. Visionaries seeking to promote a sense of German nationality and wanting to disseminate knowledge of ancient Germanic culture were, of course, supported by those who wanted unification for economic reasons and some of them were fairly wealthy. Therefore, publication of books and periodicals supporting unification and German nationalism increased greatly after mid-eighteenth century" (Björnsson 74).

“After the defeat at the hands of Napoleon’s armies in 1806 and the French occupation that followed, more and more voices called for unification of the fragmented German states. At the same time, the Germans were urged to nurture the Germanic cultural heritage and the memory of their own ancient heroes rather than enviously contemplating the ancient glories of Greece, Rome, and France. Early German poems of chivalry and courtly love began to be published, and translated into contemporary High German verse, or into prose, to make them more accessible. Before this, such poetry had mainly been the domain of scholars. Now poets and other artists began to create poems, stories, plays and visual art inspired by this early literature” (Björnsson 75-78).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, “the most influential of the Germans in the field of folk song collection was Johann Gottfried von Herder, who believed that all poetry originated with the people, regardless of national boundaries. He was deeply interested in folk-poetry independent of conventional ‘culture’, and thought that folk-poetry deserved as much respect as the works of recognized poets and that the Greeks and Romans were not the only ones that could boast of fine ancient poetry and culture. Others followed Herder’s line, like Friedrich Schiller, who demanded full respect for German folk-culture” (Björnsson 74-75).

“The longest and most famous of the early German poems is *Das Nibelungenlied* that was composed in Middle High German around AD 1200. The poem exists in various fragments and versions of different length in over thirty manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries and comprises a total of thirty-nine sections and nearly 2,400 stanzas. The characters of the poem coincide to some extent with those in Old Icelandic poems and stories, and it has generally (and mistakenly) been believed that Wagner’s *Ring Cycle* is mainly based on the first part of the poem” (Björnsson 78).

“*The Nibelungenlied* was not published until 1755, and remained largely unknown outside a small group of scholars for a long time. However, after 1800, it was published frequently in contemporary German versions, and it began to be glorified as a treasure of German cultural heritage, and was extensively used to promote German national consciousness. Artists added illustrations, and it provided inspiration for many poems, stories, and plays” (Björnsson 79).

“German writers and scholars first made the acquaintance of Old Icelandic literature in Latin translations. The first of these were of the *Prose Edda*, a treatise on poetics and mythology originally written by Snorri Sturluson, a 13<sup>th</sup> century Icelandic poet and historian, and the first two poems of the *Poetic Edda*, that formed a 13<sup>th</sup> century collection of traditional heroic and mythological poems. The Icelandic text of the first of these, *Edda Islandorum*, was based on a greatly altered redaction of Sturluson’s *Edda* and was accompanied by Danish and Latin versions” (Björnsson 81).

“The *Poetic* and *Prose Eddas* and *Volsunga Saga* all belong to Old Icelandic literature. Scholars have long known that Wagner made extensive use of the poems in the *Poetic Edda* along with *Icelandic Heroic Sagas*, and indeed he said so himself on various occasions. The name of his work as a whole, *The Ring of the Nibelung*, has carried the unconscious implication that most of its material is derived from the well-known medieval German poem, *Das Nibelungenlied*. As a result, it needs to be emphasized, that Wagner’s main sources were originally written in Iceland in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and preserved in Icelandic manuscripts until they were printed in mostly Swedish and Danish editions of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later. Wagner’s own claim has been confirmed by new and precise textual comparison. The conclusion is that about eighty per cent of the derived motifs are drawn exclusively from Icelandic literature, and only about five per cent exclusively from German literature, while about fifteen per cent are common to Icelandic and German literature” (Björnsson 7).

“Wilhelm Richard Wagner (1813-1883) was born into a theatrical family in Leipzig, and began composing while working part-time as a chorus master in Würzburg. At the age of fifteen, Wagner decided to become a composer, despite the fact that he could hardly play any musical instrument and knew next to nothing about the mechanics of music, but he turned out to be the most amazing adolescent prodigy in the history of Western music. Within five years, by the age of twenty, he had composed his first complete opera. From the beginning, Wagner wanted to write operas, and from the beginning of his operatic career Wagner was his own librettist. In that way he controlled virtually every aspect of his works” (Greenberg 247-48).

“Wagner’s career was a lesson of perseverance. After a rocky start, he acquired a job as an assistant director of the Dresden Court Opera. Unfortunately, his outspoken political activism during the failed Dresden uprising of May 1849 got him in trouble with

authorities, who issued a warrant for his arrest. He escaped Dresden and spent the following more than a decade in Switzerland, where he re-evaluated his career and the type of music he wanted to write. Wagner concluded that the artist of the future would combine the achievements of ancient Greek drama, myth, Shakespeare and Beethoven into a single art form, that he called music drama” (Greenberg 248-49), a genre that integrated theatre and music completely. At this point I was reminded of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who was forced to leave France and flee to Switzerland to avoid being arrested because of his controversial literary endeavours.

“After a difficult marriage to the actress Wilhelmina (Minna) Planer, Wagner married Cosima von Bülow (daughter of Franz Liszt) in 1870. With Cosima he founded the Bayreuth Festival, which continues to perform his operas on a yearly basis” (Smithsonian 167). Richard Wagner was a musical genius and his *Ring Cycle* is a monumental music drama based on Icelandic and German mythology, as already discussed. It stands alone as a musical masterpiece that continues to captivate the viewing audiences for up to eighteen hours depending on the particular conductor’s interpretation of Wagner’s directions. Wagner was also a controversial character, who had total confidence in himself and referred to himself as one of the greatest dramatists, one of the greatest thinkers, and one of the greatest composers in the world. That tends to remind me of similar confidence, perhaps even arrogance, in Beethoven’s confidence in himself. Beethoven had a significant influence on Wagner, particularly by his *Ninth Symphony*.

Writing of Wagner’s *Ring Cycle* now reminds me that I have not yet seen it performed live on an operatic stage. At the same time, I remembered an enjoyable afternoon during my most recent trip to Finland, when my girlfriend and I spent two sunny summer days inside watching all four operas of Wagner’s *Ring Cycle* on TV while eating strawberries and drinking sparkling wine. Watching it in such a short time span left me with a profound impression of the storyline and music. When one opera of the cycle ended, I could hardly wait for the next one to start to find out how the story would continue providing evidence of Wagner’s skill at seamlessly unifying the words with the music while keeping the continuity intact and the audience’s attention unwavering.

An occasion to hear Wagner’s music in a concert hall setting came to me a couple of years ago, when Vancouver Symphony Orchestra presented their Spring

Festival exploring *The War of the Romantics: The Music of Beethoven, Brahms and Wagner*. The program notes referred to *The War of the Romantics* as one of the most important periods in classical music history, and of a time, when some of history's greatest music was written and performed. During the Festival, the VSO presented music by Beethoven, Brahms, and Liszt followed by Wagner's *Lohengrin Prelude Act III*, *Die Meistersinger Overture*, *Tristan und Isolde Prelude* and *Liebesträume* along with *Der Ring Ohne Worte* (The Ring Without Words), a 75-minute arrangement of all the major orchestral themes in Wagner's four-opera cycle.

"*The Ring Cycle* is a perfect example of Wagner's development of the revolutionary theory of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which translates loosely as "universal artwork". In his theory, opera is a meaningful drama, and the text, stage setting, acting, and music must all work together closely as a single all-encompassing unit toward a central dramatic purpose of the opera. To hold the free-flowing music and drama together, Wagner used the *leitmotif* (a concentrated musical theme) to act as a kind of musical label for an idea, a person, a place or a thing in the drama" (Smithsonian 167).

"Wagner, at least for the most part, did away with the "number" opera with its separate arias, duets, ensembles, choruses, and ballets and created a continuous fabric of melody that would never allow the emotions to cool" (Machlis and Forney 183). That idea of "endless melody" definitely contributed to my enjoyment of the music and helped me to stay focused on the storyline, while watching *The Ring Cycle* on TV many years ago. Besides the wonderful music, the story itself, freely adapted from the myths of the Norse sagas and the legends associated with a medieval German epic poem, *The Nibelungenlied*, contains Gods and heroes, mortals and Nibelungs intermingled with betrayed love, broken promises, magic spells, and corruption brought on by the lust for power. It also contains human emotions, such as love and passion, jealousy and greed. It is an adventure story of life and death, murder and incest, and so much more to make it interesting and relevant for today's audiences.

Some scholars interpret *The Ring Cycle* as depicting "the birth of the world gone mad with greed on the way to its destruction". Yet others indicate that the fire at the ending of *Götterdämmerung*, the last opera in *The Ring Cycle*, represents the frequent eruptions of the Icelandic volcanoes, and according to the CD liner notes to the complete recordings I have been listening to while writing about *The Ring Cycle*,

a reddish glow issues through the bank of clouds that have gathered on the horizon, gaining intensity. Illuminated by its radiance, the three Rhinemaidens, all to be seen riding the less turbulent waves of the now gradually subsiding Rhine. They are playing with the ring, whilst swimming around in circles. The fiery light rises up in the heavens to reveal therein the hall of Valhalla, in which the gods and heroes are gathered. Blazing flames appear, encroaching on the hall of the gods. When the flames have completely obscured the gods from view, the curtain falls.

That ending is very similar to Wagner's December 1852 final published ending emphasizing fire, which suggests both the emotional fire of Brünnhilde's love for Siegfried and the physical fire of the funeral pyre. Also, love conquers lust for power as Brünnhilde casts the ring back to its original owners, the Rhinemaidens, in order to ignite the passion of her heart.

"Wagner brought German Romantic opera to its ultimate form. He was one of the towering figures of the 19<sup>th</sup> century writing voluptuous yet mystical romantic operas, such as *The Ring Cycle*. His only significant works are those for the theatre, and few could imitate his genius for creating colour in his powerful orchestrations. For Wagner, the music served the drama" (Smithsonian 167). His theory of *Gesamtkunstwerk* included the building of the Festspielhaus for the sole purpose of the performance of his operas. However, nowadays Wagner's *Ring Cycle*, along with his other operas, are performed not only in Bayreuth, but in major opera houses around the world. It is generally challenging to obtain tickets for a performance of *The Ring Cycle* in the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth because of about a decade-long wait for the tickets, so I may need to be satisfied seeing *The Ring Cycle* in some other opera house, such as the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City or perhaps at San Francisco or Seattle Opera. In any case, my personal journey is likely to include a detour to Bayreuth to see at least one of Wagner's works in his Festspielhaus.

Wagner's original production of *The Ring Cycle* was completed in 1874 and premiered at the first Bayreuth Festival at the purpose-built Festspielhaus two years later. The idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk* of Wagner's *Ring Cycle* had never been tried before, and therefore stands alone as a revolutionary musical achievement that by combining all the elements of Romanticism still characterizes Romantic opera in general. It also contributes to German nationalism by the way Wagner deals with all his source materials.

“From all his sources, Richard Wagner synthesized his own myth, which is integrated and independent. His intention was not to set *Das Nibelungenlied* or *The Eddas* to music. Instead, he used material from many different sources and melded it together in his own crucible, using the motifs in different places in his writing. Direct borrowings, while they exist, are relatively rare. It may be worth repeating that Wagner’s librettos are his own independent creation” (Björnsson 115). Therefore, I believe, that Wagner’s *Ring Cycle* should be referred to as a German work that fundamentally contributes to not only late German Romanticism, but also to German nationalism, particularly, since it seems to me that Romanticism and Nationalism, both outcomes of the French Revolution, developed concurrently, while influencing each other, making it, at least at times, difficult to separate the characteristics of one from another. I also believe that the fourteen to sixteen-hour operatic work could be referred to as a musical epic in its own right based on Wagner’s idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Like Rousseau’s writings, Wagner’s music was hijacked for controversial purposes. In Rousseau’s case, his books were read posthumously by revolutionaries and monarchists with competing political views, each finding authority for their own beliefs in his work. Also like Rousseau, Wagner was a controversial figure during his lifetime and has continued to be so after his death, and “Wagner is still associated in the minds of many with Nazism, and his operas are thought to praise the virtues of German nationalism” (Wagner controversies).

“Besides his musical works, Wagner was a prolific writer publishing essays and pamphlets on a wide range of subjects throughout his life. However, perhaps the most controversial of his essays was *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Judeism in Music) published in 1850, which presented a critical view on the influence of Jews in German culture and society at that time” (Wagner controversies). “The essay heavily attacked Jews in general and the composers Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn in particular” (*Das Judentum in der Musik*). “Wagner was promoted during the Nazi era as one of Hitler’s favourite composers, and historical perception of Wagner has been tainted with this association ever since. There is still a debate over how Wagner’s writings and operas might have influenced the creation of Nazi Germany” (Wagner controversies).

## Reflections

Music interacted with political, cultural, and revolutionary events throughout The French Revolution, and so it did through the revolutions, revolts, and upheavals of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that also experienced the emergence and development of Romanticism and Nationalism as significant outcomes of The French Revolution. Beethoven's music served as a transition from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century with his musical revolution continuing the interaction of music and political events of the era. Schubert's and Schumann's compositions of the German *Lieder* interacted with the poetry of Goethe, Heine and other poets of the time depicting romantic ideals from literary and musical perspectives. Again, music was a constant factor throughout the turbulent 19<sup>th</sup> century seemingly ignoring, but at the same time responding and reacting to the intermittent revolutionary activities. In the meantime, romantic and nationalist ideas were influencing each other.

The search for national unity based on common history, origins and language sparked a profound interest in collections of folklore and folksong towards a compilation of national epics, such as *The Song of Roland* in France and *The Nibelungenlied* in Germany, which, in conjunction with the Icelandic *Eddas*, resulted in the music dramas of Richard Wagner. Wagner's musical revolution, while changing the world of opera forever, contributed to German nationalism through his ingenious mingling of the various literary sources in the process of writing the librettos.

In the next chapter I will explore the emergence and development of Finnish nationalism that was primarily inspired by the *Kalevala*, an epic poem based on Finnish mythology, and was the main inspiration for much of the music of Jean Sibelius. The essential connection of *Kalevala* and the music of Sibelius with the Finnish independence movement tends to be firmly embedded in every Finnish person's mind. Therefore, my journey will now continue to Finland to investigate that connection while searching for other possible, and perhaps surprising, influences that may have developed over time. I will also provide the necessary historical, political, and literary background towards a better understanding of the Nordic, Finno-Ugric country called Finland, that is ethnically, culturally, and linguistically unique.

## Chapter Three

# From Folklore and Folksong to Nationalism and Music of Independence

### Introduction

“The cult of the individual was a characteristic of the Romantic period, and as the individuality of nations became a theme in European culture, composers found inspiration in unique aspects of their country, especially in folk songs and landscapes. Wars and political upheavals across Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century triggered a voracious appetite for “national” qualities in music. The results of this ranged from the superficial application of local colour in the form of folkdance rhythms, to a passionate expression of national character” (Smithsonian 176). “The most profound and distinctive influences on the Nordic composers were the rich mythology, folk culture, and bleakly beautiful landscapes of their native countries” (Smithsonian 184), particularly in the music of Edvard Grieg of Norway and Jean Sibelius of Finland.

Although the main purpose of this chapter is to discuss Finnish folklore, folksong, and development of nationalism on the way to independence, I will provide a brief introduction to the music of Grieg due to the similarities between the inspirations in the music of Grieg and Sibelius. Following a short visit to Norway, I will travel to Finland to explore the interrelated issues of Finnish nationalism, its folklore as depicted in its national epic, the *Kalevala*, and the music of Sibelius and the integral role that the combination of his music and the *Kalevala* played in Finland’s struggle towards independence. “Probably in no other country has the marriage of folklore studies and nationalism produced such dramatic results as in Finland, and some scholars maintain that had it not been for the publication of a collection of folk poems known as the *Kalevala*, and for subsequent cultural work based on it, there is good cause to believe that Finland could not have achieved independence” (Wilson ix). Also, “it has been said that the Finnish people actually sang themselves into existence as a national identity through the publication of the *Kalevala* in 1835” (Karner 152). The poems of the *Kalevala* were, and still usually are, sung to the tunes of a harp-like five-stringed musical instrument called *kantele*, often referred to as the national musical instrument of Finland.

This chapter, consisting predominantly of the “Case study” of Finland, begins by presenting an historical overview of several hundred years of foreign domination, first as part of the Kingdom of Sweden and for the last just more than a hundred years as a Grand Duchy of Russia. I will discuss the emergence of Finnish as the national language, the significance of the Finnish Lutheran Church in the process of developing the national language and religion, and the importance of the Church in its role in the country’s early musical scene. And I will discuss the integral role played by the *Kalevala* in the development of Finnish patriotism and the eventual inspiration that the folklore provided for Sibelius’s music, which in turn fired up the idea of nationalism in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries on the way to Finland’s independence.

## Discussion

“Most commentators on 19<sup>th</sup> century European nationalism agree that sustained interest in folk culture dates from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of Enlightenment thinking. A ‘return to the folk’ was seen as an idyllic, idealized state of individuality. But the perceived connections between folklore, nationalism and romanticism which developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were more philosophically and ideologically driven. Hegel, like Herder, believed that nationhood was expressed through a common spirit which articulated a powerful sense of community through shared language, folk customs, and a profound sense of spiritual belonging. This Hegelian model of nationhood was founded on ideals of universality and shared culture. Interest in folk culture was also driven by more localized political agendas, through struggles for national independence and cultural self-determination” (Grimley 22).

“The wave of nationalism that spread through central Europe in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century took longer to reach the Nordic countries, because the influence of German culture was still felt through political and cultural ties and took time to recede. The individual identities and national influences of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland were slow to emerge, although the Nordic countries had vigorous folk traditions that eventually filtered through to classical music” (Smithsonian 184). “Finnish nationalism as a purposeful doctrine was formulated largely under the inspiration of folklore studies. Many say that the Finnish nation was conceived in and born of folklore, that the *Kalevala* has been and still is the abode of the Finnish national spirit, and that apart from

Christianity and the Reformation, the appearance of the *Kalevala* has been the most important thing that ever happened to the Finns” (Wilson ix).

“In the decades following the *Kalevala*’s publication, a small group of Finnish scholar-patriots reached deeply into Finnish folklore to create a literary language, to establish a national literature, and to reconstruct the prehistoric period of the nation’s past independence, when the Finns had lived free of any foreign domination. The *Kalevala* and the cultural works based on it gave the Finns a newfound pride in their past, a courage to face an uncertain future, and, above all, a feeling of self-esteem they had never known before. That this small nation had produced an epic comparable to the world’s greatest epics was to be a never-ending source of pride to the Finns. The *Kalevala* thus became their book of independence, and their passport into the family of civilized nations” (Wilson ix-x).

However, “the story did not really begin with the publication of the *Kalevala* in 1835, because folklore collecting and research in Europe did not suddenly break into full bloom, as is sometimes suggested, immediately upon the publication of Herder’s seminal writings. In Finland at least, scholars had been collecting proverbs, riddles, legends, songs, and customs for almost three centuries and had frequently used them to illustrate the past or to glorify the exploits of their forefathers. If it had not been for those pioneering efforts, the seeds of Herderian romantic nationalism sown throughout Europe in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century may not have reached the Nordic countries, such as Norway and Finland, to make a notable impact” (Wilson 3-4) in their musical folklorism.

“Norwegian Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was the first Scandinavian composer to be well regarded abroad and through his study with the Danish composer Niels Gade, he developed a fresh musical voice, rarely quoting folk tunes directly but capturing the spirit of Norway with its rich folklore and scenic splendour. For Henrik Ibsen’s play *Peer Gynt*, Grieg wrote incidental music consisting of twenty-six short movements and two orchestral suites. The intricate folk tale on which *Peer Gynt* is based has a large cast of characters, including trolls, witches, gnomes, madmen, dairymaids, a mountain king, a skipper, and Anitra, the daughter of a Bedouin chief. This complex cast of characters inspired Grieg to lofty descriptive heights, especially in the gentle, flute-led *Morning Mood* and the haunting *Solveig’s Song*. According to the composer, the latter was the only occasion when he used an original folk tune unaltered” (Smithsonian 185). Another

recording I received from the Musical Masterpiece Society as a teenager presents compositions from Edvard Grieg's *Peer Gynt Suite No. 1*, including my favourites, *Anitra's Dance* and *In the Hall of the Mountain King*. The music easily allows me to imagine the mountainous Norwegian landscape and nature that Grieg had in mind while composing.

"Grieg's music is rich in evocation of nature and of open spaces. Mountain echoes, herding calls, and distantly heard folk melodies saturate his work and are among the most characteristic features of his music. It was well-suited to the construction of the Norwegian musical style during the 19<sup>th</sup> century that was a function of more extensive processes of cultural and political self-determination in which folklorism played a central role contributing to Norwegian identity" (Grimley 55). For Grieg, and for Sibelius, nature and landscape played significant roles inspiring their compositions of late-Romantic nationalist music.

Although the music of Grieg brought the Nordic countries into the central European musical sphere, the greatest national voice in the Nordic countries was that of the Finnish composer Jean Sibelius (1865-1957). In order to fully understand the music of Sibelius, I will first present highlights of Finland's turbulent history followed by a discussion of Finland's ancient folklore and its interaction with Finnish musical and cultural history and its eventual effect on the music of Sibelius and the continuing effect of the *Kalevala* in the Finnish people's self-esteem and sense of independence.

Finland (Suomi in Finnish) is a Nordic non-Scandinavian country with a population of about five and a half million sandwiched between Sweden and Russia with a short northern border with Norway and with about one third of the country above the Arctic Circle. Very few written records of Finland or its people remain in any language from its earliest times and primary written sources are therefore mostly of foreign origin, most informative of which include Tacitus' description of *Fenni* in his *Germania*, the sagas written down by Snorri Sturluson, as well as the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century ecclesiastical letters written for Finns. Numerous other sources from the Roman period onwards contain brief mentions of ancient Finnish kings and place names, as such defining Finland as a kingdom and noting the culture of its people. As the long continuum of the Finnish Iron Age into the historical medieval period of Europe suggests, the primary source of information of that era in Finland is based on oral traditions and on

archaeological findings using modern application of natural scientific methods such as DNA analysis and computer linguistics. There is no commonly accepted evidence of early state formation in Finland, and the presumably Iron Age origins of urbanization are contested.

Finland is a country of hundreds of thousands of lakes, dozens of rivers and rapids, and nearly five thousand miles of inland waterways wander through the Finnish countryside, with another five thousand miles of coastal fairways, and about two thirds of the country is covered in forests. Thinking of the Finnish landscape and remembering my walks through the woods and along the shores of the lakes and rivers, I cannot help but think of Jean-Jacques Rousseau once again, of his walks in the woods, of his enjoyment of nature, and of him floating aimlessly on Lac de Bienne in a rowboat gazing up at the sky in his reveries.

As many cultures have their own versions of the creation myth, some scholars have referred to the *Kalevala* as one such myth, and Tina Ramnarine (24) explains the beginning of the Finnish version by writing, that “Väinämöinen, the mythical hero – shaman and musician – emerges from a wide expanse of water into barren and silent land” and confirms the explanation by lines from the *Kalevala*:

*Nousi siitä Väinämöinen  
Jalan kahen kankahalle  
Saarehen selällisehen  
Manterehen puuttomahan*

*Then did Väinämöinen, rising,  
Set his feet upon the surface  
Of a sea-encircled island  
In a region bare of forest.*

“To approach Finland from the sea is to come upon a mysterious and alien land that appears to rise miraculously out of rocks, mists, and marine depths. The metaphor of emergence is appropriate, because geologists say that the land is indeed rising as a consequence of its release from ice sheets that formed during the last Ice Age. Finland has been rising figuratively as well, and since the early twenty-first century, the country has enjoyed a booming economic and artistic golden age. Finland is generally considered as a model for its humane social programs, educational achievements, technological excellence, and artistic attainments. With the global success of Finnish

products ranging from Nokia mobile phones and utilitarian modern art forms to world-class conductors, singers, composers, and even prize-winning rock groups, Finland stands at the forefront of technology and education, and of medical, social, and musical accomplishments. Yet a long and terrible history involving countless personal sacrifices underlies the success of the Finns and their mysterious country of thousands of lakes” (Goss 9)

The Finns are of Finno-Ugric origin and started moving west and northwest from the Volga River and the Ural Mountains about 5,500 years ago. The earliest historical records of the Finnish people date back to about a thousand years placing the Finns in the southwestern corner of what is today known as Finland, the region which, at the time of the arrival of the Finns, was occupied by the Saami, an indigenous Finno-Ugric people. Today the Saami inhabit large parts of northern Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia above the Arctic Circle, an area usually referred to as Lapland. The Saami (Sami) have historically been known in English as the Lapps or Laplanders and are still today predominantly reindeer herders and have a rich folk culture of their own. They are typically at least bi-lingual speaking Finnish in addition to one or more of their native languages.

“Up to the Swedish Conquest, at about 1151 AD, the country was independent with a democratic form of government based on folkloric evidence and on archaeological excavations of population settlements, particularly excavations of graveyards and of grave contents. However, relatively little is still known of the political and legal institutions of the Finns of that early period. Many Swedish kings made crusades into Finland and introduced the Roman Catholic religion and the Swedish language. The Pope took the country under his direction awarding the sovereignty of Finland to Sweden in 1216” (Saari 33-34). He did much the same in Latin American countries a few centuries later. “The introduction of Catholic Christianity to Finland had a profound effect upon the history of the Finns by including the country in the Western culture area” (Saari 33).

In the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Bishop Thomas became the first known bishop of Finland, although at the same time, there were several secular powers who aimed to bring Finnish tribes under their rule. However, the Finns had their own chiefs, but most probably no central authority. Some Russian chronicles indicate that there were several conflicts between Novgorod and the Finnic tribes from the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century to the

early 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was the Swedish regent, Birger Jarl, who allegedly established Swedish rule in Finland through the Second Swedish Crusade, usually dated to 1249, when the Dominican order arrived in Finland and came to exercise significant influence.

Also, “during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Finland was integrated into medieval European civilization and in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, the first documents of Finnish students at the University of Sorbonne appear. In the southwestern part of the country, an urban settlement developed around Turku, which was one of the biggest towns in the Kingdom of Sweden. Besides Finns and Swedes, its population included German merchants and craftsmen. During the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, great numbers of Swedish settlers had moved to the southern and northwestern coasts of Finland, to the Åland Islands, and to the archipelago between Turku and the Åland Islands. In these regions, the Swedish language is widely spoken even today and Swedish also became the language of the upper classes in many other parts of Finland” (History of Finland).

In the 1300’s Finland served as a battleground for a war between Sweden and Russia and in the peace accord of 1323, Finland was awarded to Sweden. Although the Finns were allowed to keep their own language and to hold many governmental and ecclesiastical positions, the Swedish influence was in the country and so was the start of bilingualism with pressure from Sweden towards the increased use of the Swedish language. By the last half of the 1700’s it was fashionable for the upper circles of Finnish society to speak, read, and write in Swedish, and not much literature was actually printed in the Finnish language during that time.

The Reformation had reached Finland in the 1500’s bringing with it the Lutheran religion, which remains the predominant religion (more than 90%) of the country. “It was under the auspices of the Church after the Reformation had begun that the vernacular Finnish became a literary medium. This formed the basis for later, especially 19<sup>th</sup> century, nationalist trends which glorified the use of the Finnish language. It likewise furnished much of the foundation upon which secular education in modern Finland was ultimately built” (Saari 34).

“Music and religion had always been closely associated, and singing formed part of the rituals of the early Christian Church” (Smithsonian 27). Beginning in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, huge A-frame stone churches were constructed in many communities across

southwestern Finland. They were built of Finnish granite and still are imposing and magnificent structures reaching up to the sky, perhaps meant to reinforce the strength and importance of the Catholic Church's message of the power of God. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, one of those A-frame churches was constructed in my home town of Lohja in southwestern Finland. The Church of St. Lawrence (Pyhän Laurin kirkko) is one of the most remarkable medieval churches in Finland, outstanding because of its exceptionally rich murals.

The earliest documentary information on the congregation and the Church of Lohja dates back to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, although it seems apparent that Christianity had reached the district much earlier. The series of murals painted in *al secco*, follow primarily the chronological sequence of the ecclesiastical year, with the events of the Old and New Testament intertwined, beginning on one side of the altar with the creation of the world and the Garden of Eden, circling the Church and finally ending on the other side of the altar with the Last Judgement. A sculpture of the Patron Saint of the Church of Lohja, St. Lawrence (Pyhä Lauri), dating back to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, still hangs on the southern wall.

“When Martin Luther (1483-1546) pinned his 95 theses on the door of the castle church of Wittenberg, Germany in 1517, he initiated a period of Church reform that was to have a profound impact on sacred music during the rest of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Luther considered music to be second only to theology in importance in divine worship. He insisted that, unlike in a Roman Catholic service where the congregation sat largely in silence while the Mass was performed in Latin (which they did not understand), hymns or chorals were to be sung in the local language. He also encouraged every member of the congregation to sing, and he wrote the foreword to the first collection of Protestant hymns, *The Geystliche Gesangk Buchlein* (little book of spiritual songs), which was composed by Johann Walther and published in 1524. These were essentially simple harmonizations of well-known German melodies with which every member of the congregation would be familiar” (Smithsonian 58).

Besides being a religious reformer, Martin Luther was a music lover, composer and singer, and music was a big part of his family life. Even more significant was that he translated Latin texts into German, adapted Gregorian Chants, existing German devotional songs, and popular secular songs into his own hymnals, the first of which

appeared in 1524. Out of his many original compositions, *Ein feste Burg* (Jumala omi linnamme or God is our strength) used to be one of my favourites. Since early childhood, I remember church services in the huge A-frame Church of Lohja and the powerful church organ providing accompaniment to the singing and still dominating the Finnish Lutheran church services. Some of the hymns are sung by the church choir, several hymns are sung by the whole congregation and some interchange between the congregation and the clergy is delivered in a kind of monotone chant. The most impressive part of the service was, and probably still is, the combination of the powerful church organ, the choir and the congregation performing a hymn like *Ein feste Burg* with the music reverberating around the church. I still remember feeling it as a strong bodily experience rather than simply singing any hymn. I always felt it deeply inside me. It is still sung in Finnish churches almost five hundred years after Martin Luther composed it.

Many intelligent young men were given the opportunity to study this new religion in its cradle in Wittenberg, Germany. One of those men was Mikael Agricola (1510-1557), who had the opportunity to study with Martin Luther during his stay in Wittenberg. Agricola is generally referred to as “the Father of Finnish language”, because he wrote the first Finnish *ABC Book* in 1543, and translated the *New Testament* into Finnish in 1548, while in his role as the Bishop of Turku. His translation of the *Old Testament* into the Finnish language was interrupted by his death. He also wrote the initial *Handbook of Mass* based on a similar text written by Luther. Agricola was instrumental in the process of establishing the Lutheran Church and the written language in Finland. The Lutheran Church’s requirement of the individual study of the Bible prompted the first attempts at wide-scale education. The Church required from each person a degree of literacy sufficient to read the basic texts of the Lutheran faith. Although the reading requirement could be fulfilled by learning the texts by heart, the skill of reading became wide-spread among the population as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

“Finnish music is often said to derive from two basic sources. One is the ancient folk heritage, ranging from the kalevalaic epic poetry to the later, more varied and colorful ballads and lyrics. The other is the formal historical tradition, embracing the music of Church (first Catholic, then Protestant), school, salon, and concert platforms. Perhaps the most significant monument of early Finnish music, in addition to certain specimens of Catholic liturgical music is the school song collection *Piae cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae*, which, dating back to the 1500’s, includes melodies of

evident native Finnish origin” (Helasvuo 8). “Evangelical Church music in the vernacular gained dominance over time. Its cornerstones are masses and other liturgical and chorale collections, among which the *Hymn Book* in the Finnish language, published in 1702, signified a stabilization of the musical tradition in the Church of Finland” (Helasvuo 84). Hymnbooks are still typically provided for the congregation, so everyone has the opportunity to sing.

The Swedish (and Finnish) armies marched into Central Europe in 1630, as Sweden had decided to take part in the great struggle between Protestant and Catholic forces in Germany, known as the Thirty Year’s War. After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Swedish Empire was one of the most powerful countries in Europe. However, high taxation, continuing wars, and cold climate (the Little Ice Age) made the Imperial era of Sweden rather gloomy for Finnish peasants. In 1655-1660, the Northern Wars took Finnish soldiers to the battlefields of Livonia (today’s Latvia), Poland and Denmark, and in 1676 the political system of Sweden was transformed into an absolute monarchy. In 1696-1699, a famine caused by climate decimated Finland. A combination of early frost, the freezing temperatures preventing grain from reaching Finnish ports, and a lackluster response from the Swedish government saw about one-third of the population die. Soon afterwards, another war was determining Finland’s fate.

During the Thirty Year’s War, several important reforms had been made in Finland, such as the founding of Finland’s first university in Turku in 1640, and the publishing of the complete Bible in Finnish in 1642. “For a period of more than a hundred years the University of Turku served as the central seat of musical as well as other learning in Finland. Music began to be dealt with in academic theses, and before long the institution found it practical to hire a musical director of its own. In the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the musical life of Turku flourished as never before culminating in the establishment of the Turku Musical Society. Promoting musical activities of every description, it organized private recitals and public concerts, at which the works of classical masters such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were performed. The society’s library contained the scores of more than 2,000 different works” (Helasvuo 8-9).

“The Great Northern War (1700-1721) was devastating, as Sweden and Russia fought control over the Baltic. Harsh conditions among peasants undermined support for the war and led to Sweden’s defeat. Finland was the battleground as both armies

ravaged the countryside, leading to famine, epidemics, social disruption and the loss of nearly half the population. Russia was the winner, annexing the south-east part of Finland, which by this time was sparsely populated with, in 1749, less than half a million people. However, with peace the population grew rapidly and doubled before 1800. Society was divided into four Estates, similar to the class divisions of pre-revolutionary France: the clergy, nobility, burghers, and peasants. 90% of the population were usually classified as “peasants”, and the Finnish peasant was typically a freeholder who owned and controlled his small plot of land. A minority of the peasants were referred to as cottagers (or cotters), and were estateless with no political representation” (History of Finland).

“There was no serfdom in which peasants were permanently attached to specific lands and were ruled by the owners of that land. In Finland (and Sweden) the peasants, except the cottagers, were represented in parliament, but outside the political sphere, they were relegated to the bottom of the social order just above vagabonds. However, the peasants were proud of their traditions and united for a fight to uphold their traditional rights in the face of burdensome taxes from the king or new demands by the landowning nobility. The desperate peasant rebellion, the Cudgel War, in the south in 1596-1597 against the nobles and their system of state feudalism was suppressed brutally. That bloody revolt was similar to other contemporary peasant wars in Europe” (History of Finland).

“The mid-18<sup>th</sup> century was a relatively peaceful time till the Lesser Wrath (1741-1742), when Finland was again occupied by the Russians after Sweden’s parliament had made a failed attempt to conquer the previously lost eastern provinces. Instead, the result of the treaty of Åbo (Turku) was that the Russian border was moved further to the west. Then in 1788 King Gustav III of Sweden started a new war against Russia, but despite a couple of victorious battles, the war was futile, managing only to bring disturbance to the economic life of Finland. However, during the interruption of the war (1788-1790), the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century had been an era of development in Finland. Things were changing in everyday life with new scientific and technical inventions, increased trade, and a more affluent and self-conscious peasantry. The Age of Enlightenment’s climate of wide-spread debate on societal issues, politics, religion and morals would in due time highlight the problem that the overwhelming majority of Finns spoke only Finnish, although the cascade of newspapers and political leaflets was

almost exclusively in Swedish, if not in French. By now the French language trend within European aristocracy had spread to the Nordic countries, including Finland” (The Age of Enlightenment).

“The Enlightenment brought Finland to the awareness of at least one of the French *philosophes*, and one of the earliest sources of information about Finland available to a larger European public was Voltaire’s preface to *Charles XII*:

After indicating Finland’s geographic location, Voltaire described the climate as harsh with hardly any spring and fall; winter reigned nine months and then heat of summer followed hard upon the excessive cold. After describing the northern lights and the clear air of the region, Voltaire said that the people were well developed and healthy due to the purity of the air and the harshness of climate, which hardened them, and they lived to a good old age” (de Gorog 8).

For many centuries, the Finns and the Swedes had successfully resisted invasion and conquest of their country by the Russians and Finland remained under Swedish rule till another war between Russia and Sweden, again with Finland as a battleground. “In the midst of the Napoleonic wars of 1808-1809 Finland became a pawn between Sweden and Russia once again, and Napoleon, seeking to weaken the tie between Sweden and his worst enemy, England, pressured Russia into launching an attack on Sweden through Finland. Though previously ruled by Sweden for over 600 years, Finland was left to provide her own defense against the invading Russians, and surrendered without a struggle. From 1809, with the signing of the Treaty of Hamina, Finland was annexed to Russia” (Karner 156) “and was constituted as an autonomous state, a Russian Grand Duchy. Finland retained its own constitution and laws and its religious and social forms, similar to those of Sweden. Finland had its own parliament, its own internal system of government, its own courts of justice, and ultimately obtained its own postal, monetary, and tariff systems, that were being applied to foreign countries, including Russia. Finland had its own army, and every power that belongs to an autonomous state except the head of the state. The Tsar of Russia appointed the Governor General and had charge of the foreign affairs of Finland” (Saari 34).

“In that way, Finland had been elevated, as the tsar himself proclaimed, to “membership in the family of nations”. But in many ways these advances were more apparent than real. Farsighted Finns understood that what the tsar had given, the tsar could take away, and many feared that union with Russia, even as a grand duchy, would

eventually lead to attempted russification of Finnish society and that the country, divided into separate linguistic factions, would not be able to withstand the pressure. The Finns began, therefore, to prepare for a difficult future by bringing the factions together by making the entire nation “Finnish” in both language and culture. Ironically, the first to react were not members of the Finnish-speaking population but a select group of Swedish-speaking students that soon developed it into a vigorous nationalistic movement” (Wilson 27).

“During the last generation or two of the Swedish period of Finnish history, it was becoming gradually clear that a trend toward Finnish culture and linguistic separation was under way. By 1808-1809 it had produced several significant results. In the first place, interest in local Finnish history grew markedly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Scores of local studies reflecting new and active interest in the “fatherland” denoting, not the kingdom as a whole but the Finnish part of it, were published. The outstanding historian of the period, H. G. Porthan, investigated the character of Finnish folklore and poetry, and conducted research in the field of Finnish history” (Saari 34-35).

“After the old bonds uniting the Finns and the Swedes were severed, the nationalist movement, in the modern sense of the term, emerged. It was stimulated by many men; journalists, students, professors, members of civil service, and men who ultimately brought a sentiment of Finnishness into existence. A protest against what was considered to be a dangerous indifference to the safety and future well-being of the nation included the fear that a union with Russia would ultimately mean linguistic and cultural russification. That threat could only be met by bringing the people as a whole to the realization that national unity was the only buffer against the Russian giant. The core of the new creed was: We are no longer Swedes, we cannot become Russians, let us therefore become Finns in thought, feeling, and deed” (Saari 35).

During the little more than a hundred years of Russian rule, however, the influence of the Russian Orthodox religion was creeping into Finland, intermittently forced on the Finns, especially in the areas of eastern Finland, where a small percentage of the population still practice the Russian Orthodox religion. During the Russian rule, the Finnish language came to the forefront, especially after a national awakening in the early 1800's, which, although it was suppressed by the Russians, caused a huge surge of Finnish literature. The major literary work of this period, and the

one with the most significance to the development of the Finnish identity, was *The Kalevala*, later known as the Finnish folk epic.

The last decade of the 1800's brought with it a russification movement that was taking place in the Baltic countries, and also, as predicted by the farsighted Finns earlier, extended into Finland, where "the movement began in 1890 with the Postal Manifesto, which was an attempt to unify the postal, customs, and exchange systems of Russia and Finland. The Post Office of Finland was made dependent on the Russian Post Office using Russian stamps in Finland, and Russian was made a compulsory language in more and more schools. In the following years, Finns were conscripted into the Russian Imperial Army, the Diet lost the right to make laws, and the judicial system was all but destroyed. In addition, the Governor General demanded that Russian be made the administrative language in Finland and that Russians be given positions in public office" (Wilson 58).

In 1898, Nicholas Bobrikov was appointed as Governor General of Finland, which was followed by the issuance of the February Manifesto in 1899 depriving the Finnish Senate of most of its legislative powers. The purpose of the Manifesto was to subjugate Finland to the administration of the Russian Empire with a goal to unify the Empire. Over half a million Finns signed a petition to protest. However, when it was delivered, the Tsar refused to receive the delegation. Also, a cultural petition, titled '*Pro Finlandia*' was signed by over one thousand representatives of European arts and sciences. The second delegation was not received by the Tsar either, but now the outside world was aware of the Russian oppression of Finland. In 1903, the Dictatorship Statute gave the Governor General increased powers, including control of civil administration. Passive resistance took a violent form in 1904, when Eugen Schaumann, a Finnish government official, shot and killed Governor General Bobrikov and then himself. As a result, many Finns idolized Schaumann as a hero and many believed that Sibelius's march, *In Memoriam*, was his memorial to Schaumann.

"While Russia was at war with Japan from 1904-1905, the Finns voiced a strong desire for internal parliamentary reforms. Put to a vote by the National Assembly, the reform was carried by universal suffrage. Continuing their pressure for full autonomy, Finland's parliament became the most democratic in Europe, including giving women the vote and enabling the working class to become politically active" (Karner 163). "In fact,

Finland was the first country in the world to give women the vote along with the right of representation (eligibility to be elected to government office) allowing women to participate in the making of laws and in other functions of government. This was accomplished in 1906 more than a decade before Finland had declared its independence from Russia” (Saari 36). Although the women of New Zealand achieved the right to vote in 1893, they were not eligible to be elected to their House of Representatives till 1919.

“While Finland had gained some political concessions in 1905, in 1909 the Tsar issued new illegal decrees. In 1910 the Russian duma passed a proposal for imperial legislation subordinating essential matters of the economic, cultural, and political life of Finland to the decisions of the Russian authorities, thereby putting an end to Finland’s autonomous status. The new Governor General, F. A. Seyn, was more severe than Bobrikov had been and the Finnish Senate resigned hoping that this action would show the Tsar that all Finns opposed these illegalities” (de Gorog 66). At the same time, it seems that in the late 1800’s and early 1900’s as the Russian oppression increased, so did Finnish nationalism and patriotism.

After the Russian Revolution, the provisional government, which replaced the tsarist rule, declared all the measures taken against Finland illegal and restored the country’s autonomous status “while retaining the rights to determine foreign policy and military decisions over Finland” (Karner 164). “On December 4, 1917, a proposal was drafted for a constitution for an independent Republic of Finland and a simple speech was delivered for Finnish independence. Two days later, an even simpler declaration was added and as a result, December 6<sup>th</sup> is celebrated annually as Finland’s Independence Day” (de Gorog 68). When Finland declared its separation from Russia in 1917 and proclaimed itself an independent state, it already had a fully developed system of government, including a parliament elected by universal suffrage. All Finland had to do was to amend its constitution to provide for the election of a president and appointment of a minister of foreign affairs.

As mentioned earlier, there is very little evidence on the political and legal institutions of Finland prior to the Swedish Conquest of 1151 AD, but it seems certain that Finland had a democratic form of government. That evidence is mostly based on the Finnish folklore that was compiled over a long period of time and published in 1835, and

came to be known as The *Kalevala*. From initial independence to nearly eight hundred years of turbulent history of wars, hunger, and deprivation and being subjugated under the rule of neighbouring countries, Finland regained her independence just over one hundred years ago.

How did the *Kalevala* come into being and how did it influence and inspire the Finns to re-capture their lost state of independence?

Following the new creed: "We are no longer Swedes, we cannot become Russians, let us become Finns in thought, feeling, and deed" (Saari 35), "a movement towards the construction of a unique Finnish identity had begun at the University of Turku, and attempts to 'reclaim' their lost unique Finnish history were being made. Four young Finns studying under Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739-1804) had become the first to begin seriously collecting folklore in a patriotic attempt to ennoble their nation's past. Porthan had begun the scholarly research of oral folk traditions with his doctoral thesis in 1766-78, and was later given the distinction of being called the "Father of Finnish history". He theorized that through collection and comparison, a scholar could reconstitute the original organic unity of a cultural system that had been fragmented with the disruptions of history. Porthan's work served in part as the philosophical underpinning to the reclamation movement" (Karner 157-58).

"As a result of his efforts of the first thoroughly scholarly study of Finland's cultural history, through forty years of university teaching, through his work in the Aurora Society, which was a group dedicated to the study and advancement of Finnish culture, and through his newspaper publications, Porthan managed to kindle the spark of national awareness in still more of his countrymen, and by the end of the 1700's among many in the educated classes there had begun to crystalize the concept of the Finnish nation as a unique nation which had its own unique language, its own most ancient period of history, its own national character and national customs" (Wilson 24-25).

"As the patriotic sentiments intensified and as Finnish students returned from the University of Uppsala in Sweden to their homeland, the nationalistic movement that had been developing at the University of Turku for the previous several years was greatly strengthened. The young men of the University, the Turku Romantics, now had three principal aims: to create a sense of national pride by exalting the past, to persuade

Swedish-speaking Finns to abandon their language and learn Finnish, and to create a national literature in the Finnish language. The result would be a nation proud of its common heritage, speaking a common tongue, and producing a body of literature reflecting the national spirit. The country would thus be prepared to face the dark and uncertain days looming ahead as a united people. To help achieve these ends, the Turku Romantics urged that folklore be collected to mirror the past of ancient Finland, to serve as a source for pure, undefiled language, and to provide models for the development of the new literature” (Wilson 33-34).

“Four of Porthan’s students, known as the Turku Romantics (Elias Lönnrot, Johan Vilhelm Snelman, Johan Ludvig Runeberg and Zachris Topelius), became active in the collection and unveiling of Finnish oral traditions that were greatly influenced by Johann Gottfried von Herder’s organic metaphor of culture that sustained the Finnish struggle for nationalistic pursuits; the search for the nation’s own character through its unique language and its own folk poetry to ensure that the nation’s future can be true to its unique sense of identity through a return to its past” (Karner 158).

“Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884) published the *Kalevala* in 1835. It was one of the first books ever written in Finnish and fueled the national consciousness by reviving the ‘officially’ neglected language. Lönnrot had collected and compiled the *Kalevala* from the Finnish rural folk, who were seen as the least defiled by external foreign influences of first Sweden and then Russia. Thus, the *Kalevala* was thought to contain authentic representations of Finnish history; heroes, customs, and religion. Glorified as a reflection of the national spirit that had been ‘created by the Folk’, the *Kalevala* was considered a complete epic of the early Finns and rescued from oblivion by Lönnrot” (Honko 48) “following Herder’s thoughts, that the cultural and historical pattern of a people – the national soul – is expressed best in its language and particularly in its folk poetry, the highest expression to which language could aspire” (Wilson 29).

“With the emergence of the *Kalevala*, the ideology of Finnishness gained new levels of complexity giving Finns a language fit for literature, a sense of national culture, and a historic connection to the land while providing the seeds of an ideology of both reification and legitimacy. These elements of meaning originated with the publication of the *Kalevala*, but were not politically mobilized till later. Admiration for the *Kalevala* spread throughout Europe and lectures on it were given in Germany, most notably by

Jacob Grimm who expressed his admiration for it, and the French version was the sensation of literary circles in Paris. The *Kalevala* was favourably compared with the great works of the Greeks and found to be of equal stature to European literature by J. L. Runeberg, one of the Turku Romantics. Ironically, his notifications on the Finnish literary endeavour were published in Swedish. The Finnish language was gaining credibility, but not practical usage, because almost all intellectuals active in the Finnish-language movement were Swedish speakers. However, the *Kalevala* was now providing a bridge between the masses and the intellectual community and people of different social classes began to interact for the common goal of Finnish culture” (Karner 159-60).

“The publication of the *Kalevala* initiated an explosion of Finnish cultural history that provided the ideological components for later political mobilization. Popular support for Finnishness was reflected in the emergent literary and other art forms, which, in turn, served as symbolic exemplars of a nation yearning for self-expression and independence” (Karner 160).

Elias Lönnrot became the “greatest figure in the Finnish Romantic movement” (Hautala 21). “Nineteenth century folklore research generally focused on his work, the *Kalevala*, which completely fulfilled romantic nationalist aspirations and which is still today described as the national epic of Finland. The story of his compilation of the *Kalevala* can be read in terms of borrowing, appropriating, transforming, forging, and inventing cultural elements; in this case items of folklore, to use as indications of national identity. Indeed, subsequent analyses of the *Kalevala* demonstrate an interest in questions about the migration and borrowing of tradition that assume significance in heralding the epic as *national* and as *Finnish*” (Ramnarine 30).

“Lönnrot’s studies coincided with a time of change in Finnish intellectual life. The University of Turku was destroyed by fire in 1827, and its members moved to the newly established University of Helsinki, the new capital of the Finnish Grand Duchy. Shortly after the University of Helsinki had been opened, the Lauantai Seura (Saturday Society) was formed. From this informal circle, of which Lönnrot and Snelman were members, rose an idea of establishing a society whose object would be to create a national culture, and in 1831, the Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura or SKS (Finnish Literature Society) was founded. Its main purpose was to collect, publish, and study folklore material” (Ramnarine 30-31).

“To facilitate the collection of folklore, the SKS awarded Lönnrot a grant allowing him to make several field trips, mainly around the Finnish-speaking areas on both sides of the present-day Finnish-Russian border in Karelia. His fifth field trip was made to northeastern Karelia, where he met one of the most renowned singers, Arhippa Perttunen, who was sixty-five years old when Lönnrot met him. Perttunen had learned his songs as a child from his father and had an extensive repertoire. In two days, Perttunen sang over four thousand lines of poetry to Lönnrot. Perttunen’s repertoire contained all the narrative elements that made up the first *Kalevala*, the so-called “old” *Kalevala* that consisted of 12,078 lines arranged into thirty-two poems” (Ramnarine 31).

“Lönnrot was one of the few collectors who mentioned the singers from whom he collected songs, although collectors of folklore material generally did not mention the singers individually. Most collectors did not seem to be interested in the lives of the singers or in the singers as people, but only in the songs they sang. Lönnrot’s *Kalevala* was compiled from the repertoire of many singers, yet it was the work of Lönnrot as an individual that was used in the construction of national identity” (Ramnarine 33-34).

The collection included many types of songs. “The oldest Finnish genres of song are the lament or cry (‘weep, *itku*’) and the *runo* (song or laulu). Containing mythic elements, the laments convey symbolic expressions outside of normal language. Lamenting was a socially acceptable way to express sorrow and women lamented departures in life and death. Children’s songs included lullabies and chain songs with texts in *Kalevala* meter and many are still sung today, but usually by adults” (Leisiö 475).

“*Kalevala* songs were used in all social occasions, from feasts and rituals to work and amusement. *Kalevala* song texts include mythic, magical and shamanic themes, sea adventures from the Viking Age (ca. 800-1000 AD), Christian legends, ballads, and dance songs” (Leisiö 476-77). “Each epic and mythic song and incantation has its own history and appear to be deeply rooted in ancient Finnish mythology describing the exploits of shaman-heroes, and raids on neighboring peoples. Songs of this type attracted the attention of Finnish scholars and figure prominently in *Kalevala*” (Virtanen and DuBois 128).

“Lyric and ritual songs represented important counterparts to the epic tradition and presented sympathetic portrayals of the harsh realities of agrarian life. In a rigidly

hierarchical farm society, where people depended utterly on the families and households in which they were born or to which they moved, interpersonal relationships could become very strained and lyric songs gave anonymous voice to deep-seated tensions or sorrows. In contrast to the plenitude of lyrics regarding sorrow and grief, songs of romance and love find few examples in the kalevalaic tradition. Idealized romantic love as it is imagined today, enters Finnish folksongs only with the rhymed songs which eventually displaced the older trochaic tetrameter mode” (Virtanen and DuBois 143). “Ritual songs marked key moments in life, such as weddings, and reflected the static and hierarchical nature of the culture in which they were performed. Other ritual songs, such as those performed in connection with a successful bear hunt, reflect religious traditions shared by other Finno-Ugric peoples” (Virtanen and DuBois 147).

“The essential feature of early Finnish folk music, the so-called *runos* (chants or poems), was its close relationship to the spoken word. The *runos* were usually recited by two people, most often sitting at opposite ends of the bench facing each other, joining their hands and locking their fingers, all the while moving their bodies back and forth in the rhythm of the recitation. They took turns reciting, which was most often accompanied by the *kantele*, a harp-like five-stringed instrument. The *runo*-singers, both men and women, were illiterate, but their good memories guaranteed them the esteem of their neighbours” (De Gorog 15-16).

“The *kantele* is in a class of stringed instruments called psalteries, which include zithers. Its body was originally fashioned from a single narrow and smooth piece of wood in an atypical trapezoidal shape, hollowed out at the side, the bottom or the top. There are usually five strings of copper, brass or steel wire, and they are tuned by wooden pegs mounted at the wide end of the body. The player rests the instrument on his lap or props it on his knees and leans it against his body, and indoors it can be placed on a table. According to early sources, musicians accompanied their singing *runos* while playing on the instrument in unison. The modern instrument is built in different sizes and its repertory consists mainly of folk songs, dances and marches, as well as pieces especially composed for the instrument. The *kantele* has been a national symbol in Finland since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and *kantele* playing is taught in music academies in Helsinki and Tampere” (Sadie 358-59).

“In spite of extensive research, the etymology of the terms for *kantele* and its ethnic origins, dispersion and chronology remain obscure. In many places its association with supernatural folklore suggests a long history. The *Kalevala* epic tells, how Väinämöinen, the mythical national hero of the Finns, conquered his foes, and made nature subject to him by playing his *kantele*, made from the jawbone of a gigantic fish and strung with a young maiden’s hair” (Sadie 359).

“The publication of the *Kalevala* had an important effect on the process of nation building. With its appearance, the stature of Finnish language and of Finnish literature was immediately elevated. It was a major work demonstrating the richness of the Finnish language, and it gave to Finnish literature “what the period held as most valuable in literature: an ancient epic, a national epic” (Hautala 25). “The nationalists saw in the *Kalevala*, not only a record of a noble, heroic past, but also the model after which they were to pattern the future of their country. Just as Lönnrot had supposedly restored the fragmented parts of a once-unified epic to their original form, now it was their duty to restore to the Finnish people, broken by years of foreign domination, the national characteristics and cultural values described in the epic” (Wilson 42).

“Such was the positive response to *Kalevala*, that Lönnrot expanded the work using his further collections and materials made available to him by other collectors. A later edition, known as the “new” *Kalevala*, was published in 1849 and contained 22,795 lines arranged into fifty poems” (Ramnarine 32), which is the leather-covered boxed edition that my Mother gave me long ago. It is also the edition that I spent many hours studying in school. “The *Kalevala* also provided the foundation for “national” art. Characters and scenes from the *Kalevala* were painted by artists, including Akseli Gallen-Kallela. Titles of musical works were also based on these characters, such as Sibelius’s *Kullervo* Symphony, *Luonnotar*, *Pohjola’s Daughter* and his last major work, the tone poem *Tapiola*” (Ramnarine 32). Gallen-Kallela provided the illustration for my 1953 edition of the *Kalevala*.

“Elias Lönnrot’s *Kalevala* was part of a return to mythology, a desire to discover the roots of the nation’s culture and history that prevailed in all the peripheral regions of Europe. Every nation had to have a golden age discernible in its mythology, providing the foundations for a new national culture. In Finland the publication of the *Kalevala* in 1835 marked a decisive incentive towards the search for all that was inherently Finnish

in practically all the arts. The line dividing the beginnings of art music from folk music was in Finland particularly marked, and many years passed before the language of music became capable of absorbing elements of the *Kalevala* folk song, and it was possible to speak of a *Kalevala* style in music” (Tarasti).

“The emergence of any great names in national music is usually preceded by a stage in which the foundations are set up for musical life, and regular orchestras, music colleges and organized musical life as a whole become established. Only then is it time for the advent of a great composer, such as Jean Sibelius in Finland. His predecessors did not gain the recognition that they may have deserved, for their time went to solving frustrating practical problems that prevented them from realizing their full creative abilities in the realm of composition” (Tarasti).

Before 1790, music was found in Lutheran churches and in folk traditions. Since then Finnish music lovers had founded the Åbo (Turku) Musical Society, which gave the first major stimulus to serious music by Finnish composers. In the 1880's, new institutions, especially the Helsinki Music Institute (since 1939 called the Sibelius Academy), the Institute of Music of Helsinki University and the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, integrated Finland into the mainstream of European music. The history of Finnish (classical) music was in fact a continuation of the history of Swedish and German music well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the great composer of the national awakening was a German Fredrik Pacius (1809-1891), composer of the Finnish national anthem (*Maamme/Our Land*) and other patriotic musical pieces. He was a teacher of music at the University of Helsinki and the unequivocal focal figure of musical life in the Finnish capital.

“In the summer of 1874 the old Lönnrot was visited in Sammatti by two students, one of them the subsequently famous Finnish conductor and composer Robert Kajanus (1856-1933). The visit had a profound effect on Kajanus' career as a composer and aroused in him a love of Finnish music and he included the old *Kalevala* melody in his *first Finnish rhapsody*” (Tarasti). Lönnrot (1802-1884) spent the last years of his life in Sammatti, a small village about twenty kilometers west of my hometown of Lohja. I remembered recently, that my maternal great-great-grandfather was born in Sammatti in 1804 and lived there all his life, as did his son, my great-grandfather Efraim Vikström (1850-1931), and my grandfather Johan Jacob Vikström was born there in 1878. Since

Sammatti is a small village, there is good reason to believe that my great-grandfather and Lönnrot knew each other, although I have not come across any evidence to substantiate that belief.

Besides Finnish folksongs that Kajanus heard Lönnrot play on his *kantele* in Sammatti, “Kajanus was impressed by the music of Wagner and founded an orchestra in Helsinki in the 1880’s where the audiences had a chance to hear the major works in musical literature from Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven to Schumann, Mendelssohn and Wagner and to Nordic composers, such as Gade and Grieg. Wagner’s settings of Germanic and ancient Scandinavian mythology and especially his orchestrations loomed in Kajanus’ mind as one possible way in which themes from Finnish mythology could be used to create lasting artistic compositions. In the early spring of 1890 Robert Kajanus had the honour of conducting his symphonic poem *Aino* at a concert at the Berlin Philharmonic Society with great success.

Johan Julius Christian Sibelius (1865-1957) was a Finnish classical music composer and violinist of the late Romantic and early-modern periods. He is widely recognized as his country’s greatest composer and, through his music, is often credited with having helped Finland to develop a national identity during its struggle for independence from Russia. Sibelius was born into a Swedish-speaking family in Hämeenlinna, a garrison town in the Grand Duchy of Finland, an autonomous part of the Russian Empire. He attended the country’s first-ever Finnish-speaking grammar school and while there became immersed in Finnish mythology and folklore through *Kalevala*, which was taught as part of the school’s regular curriculum. In 1876 he was then able to continue his education at the Finnish-language Hämeenlinna Normal Lyceum passing the school’s final examinations in 1885 allowing him entrance to a university. As a boy he was known as Janne, a colloquial form of Johan, but during his student years, he adopted the French form Jean and became known as Jean Sibelius.

Sibelius began to study law at the Imperial Alexander University (now University of Helsinki), but, showing far more interest in music, soon moved to the Helsinki Music Institute (now the Sibelius Academy). One of his teachers was its founder, Martin Wegelius, who did much to support the development of musical education in Finland. An important early musical influence for Sibelius was his teacher Ferruccio Busoni, an Italian pianist and composer with whom he enjoyed a lifelong friendship. His close circle

of friends also included the Swedish pianist Adolf Paul and the conductor-to-be Armas Järnefelt, who introduced him to his influential family including his mother and his sister Aino, who would become Sibelius' wife. Järnefelt's mother, Elisabeth Järnefelt (1839-1929) was a Finnish salonist known as "the mother of Finnish art and culture" and hosted a literary salon in Helsinki. Her Salon, also called "Elisabeth Circle", was the centre of discussion of politics, religion, and equality and was regarded as the starting point of the modern Finnish language realism and of the first Finnish language writers. The Salon culture, that had taken shape mostly in the Age of Enlightenment, had migrated from Paris and Berlin to Helsinki.

Besides meeting at the Salons throughout the 1800's, Finnish artists also gathered in various hotels, such as the exclusive Hotel Kamp, established in 1887, to contemplate political, economic and cultural issues. While Jean-Jacques Rousseau visited the Salon of Mme Geoffrin in Paris of the 1700's, Jean Sibelius undoubtedly attended the "Elisabeth Circle" in Helsinki a hundred years later. The coffeehouse culture had also migrated from Paris to Helsinki. One of the oldest coffeehouses is the Café Ekberg that has been in operation since its founding in 1850. It still has the charm of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and that touch of style and class associated with sipping coffee in a café of that era. The most remarkable of Sibelius' works during this period was the *Violin Sonata in F major*, rather reminiscent of the music of Grieg.

Sibelius continued his musical studies, first in Berlin (1889-1890) and the following year in Vienna. In Berlin he had the opportunity to widen his musical experience by attending a variety of concerts and operas, including Richard Strauss's *Don Juan*. During his stay in Berlin, he also had the opportunity to experience Robert Kajanus conduct the Berlin Philharmonic in a program that included the symphonic poem *Aino*, a Wagner-Liszt-*Kalevala* hybrid, and a patriotic piece that may have triggered Sibelius's later interest in using *Kalevala* as a basis for his own compositions. It was during his stay in Vienna that he turned to orchestral composition and abandoned his cherished aspirations as a violinist.

"In 1892 Sibelius astonished audiences with *Kullervo*, an extended symphonic poem. Its massive scale of five movements with soloists and a male choir was reminiscent of the work of the Austrian composer Mahler, although the underlying mood was Finnish. Since Finland was still a Grand Duchy under Russian control, the public

took the work and its composer to heart. He had won lasting acclaim overnight after that first performance of *Kullervo*” (Smithsonian 184), “which was a landmark in the Finnish nationalistic movement and was important for Sibelius as a composer in forcing him to decide between native and foreign influences in his music” (de Gorog 84). “In fact, in *Kullervo*, he declares his independence, at least in a limited way, of the continental music tradition” (de Gorog 127).

“Following the success of *Kullervo*, Sibelius was asked to compose another resistance piece based on Karelian history, and he wrote the *Karelia Suite* during the summer of 1893. It was presented in November that year with Sibelius conducting. The presentation of this musical tableau included two *runo*-singers performing recitation and the performance ended with Pacius’s “*Maamme*”, the Finnish national anthem” (de Gorog 61-62) first played in 1848. Listening to the *Karelia Suite* many years ago, I was inspired to exercise my independent and patriotic spirit by choosing Karelia as my last name. I still love that musical piece and listen to it often while enjoying the musical connection of my last name to my favourite music reminding me of my Finnish heritage.

“In the summer of 1894 Sibelius visited Bayreuth and if his letters to his wife can be believed, he immersed himself fully in the scores of Wagner’s music dramas. He was most impressed with *Parsifal* with its dimensions of both religious and heroic, swan-rich and nationalistic. Sibelius was fascinated by swans and featured them especially in the *Swan of Tuonela*, a tone poem based on the *Kalevala*. He wrote to his wife that nothing in the world had made such an impression on him as *Parsifal* had, because it moved his innermost heartstrings, although overall, Sibelius tended to have a love/hate relationship to Wagner” (Goss 180).

In January 1899, Sibelius embarked on his *First Symphony* at a time when his patriotic feelings were being enhanced by the Russian emperor Nicholas II’s attempt to restrict the powers of the Grand Duchy. The Symphony was well received by all when it was premiered in Helsinki on 26 April 1899. But the program also premiered the even more compelling, blatantly patriotic *Song of the Athenians* for boys’ and men’s choirs. The song immediately brought Sibelius the status of a national hero. Another patriotic work followed on 4 November in the form of eight tableaux depicting episodes from Finnish history known as the *Press Celebration Music*. It had been written in support of the staff of the *Päivälehti* newspaper, which had been suspended for a period after

editorially criticizing Russian rule. The last tableau, *Finland Awakens*, was particularly popular, and after minor revisions, it became the well-known *Finlandia*, which played its important role in the process of Finland gaining its independence.

“The important popularity of *Finlandia* can be understood in view of historical events at that time. In June 1900, the tsar had signed a decree making Russian the official language of Finland. In face of the accelerated efforts towards Russification of the country, it is natural that the Finns found spiritual consolation in the piece. It was easy to interpret the opening fanfare as the Russian menace, the woodwind and brass motif of the Andante as the mighty oppressor, and the hymn as the oppressed for whom light would dawn after darkness” (de Gorog 64). The words for the hymn section of *Finlandia* were written in 1940 by Veikko Koskenniemi, a Finnish poet. The last verse depicts Finland’s journey from ancient history to Russian oppression and finally to hope for the future:

Oi nouse, Suomi, nosta korkealle  
Pääs seppelöimä suurten muistojen  
Oi nouse, Suomi, näytit maailmalle  
Sa että karkoitit orjuuden  
Ja ettet taipunut sa sorron alle  
On aamus koittanut, synnyinmaa

Oh rise, Finland, raise up high  
Your head crowned by great memories  
Oh rise, Finland, you showed the world  
That you banished slavery  
And that you did not bend under oppression  
Your morning has begun, native land

“Since the tsar considered *Finlandia* as a threat to Russia’s political life and its domination of Finland, the performance of *Finlandia* was prohibited during the years of oppression. However, it was typically presented in Finland under the title of *Impromptu* and in Paris during the Exposition of 1900 under the name *La Patrie*. It was believed that the brave Finnish message of *Finlandia* awakened more sympathy towards Finland than any other product of the sciences or arts. Ever since its composition, *Finlandia* has been closely identified with Finnish patriotism and seen as a symbol of their national aspirations” (Kallio 132). *Finlandia* is frequently referred to as the ‘unofficial’ national anthem of Finland and is often sung together with the ‘official’ national anthem *Maamme* (Our Land), especially at annual Independence Day celebrations. I particularly

remember singing both songs on 6 December 2017 while attending a Gala Dinner celebrating one hundred years of Finnish Independence at the Vancouver Convention Centre as one of the three hundred Finns attending that festive event.

“The symphonic poem *Finlandia* underlined Sibelius’ commitment to national pride and self-determination, and brought him international recognition. He went on to compose six more symphonies that share a unique harmonic language and melodic voice that describe the vast fir forests, solitary lakes, bleak winterscapes, and even birdsong of his native land. His use of brass and woodwind is profoundly felt and intensely emotional” (Smithsonian 184-85).

Sibelius loved nature, and the Finnish landscape often served as material for his music, in a similar way that nature also influenced Beethoven, Grieg and others. He once said of his *Sixth Symphony* that it reminded him of the scent of the first snow. The forests surrounding Ainola, his home in Tuusula, an artist community near Helsinki, are often said to have inspired his composition of his tone poem *Tapiola* based on the *Kalevala*. Ainola, surrounded by trees and a beautiful garden, is today a museum that I had the opportunity to visit a few years ago while vacationing in Finland. During my visit with Sibelius’s music all around me and while peering into his den, where he had composed much of his music, it all seemed very real to me. I could easily imagine him sitting at his desk composing *Finlandia*, which I kept hearing in my mind for the rest of the day. Even today, every time I hear *Finlandia*, it has a profound effect on me. I feel its power rather than just hearing the music.

On the subject of Sibelius’s ties to nature, his biographer Erik W. Tawaststjerna wrote, that

even by Nordic standards, Sibelius responded with exceptional intensity to the moods of nature and the changes in the seasons; he scanned the skies with his binoculars for the geese flying over the lake ice, listened to the screech of the cranes, and heard the cries of the curlew echo over the marshy grounds just below Ainola. He savoured the spring blossoms every bit as much as he did autumnal scents and colours.

Tawaststjerna also relates an anecdote in connection with Sibelius’s death:

He was returning from his customary morning walk. Exhilarated, he told his wife Aino, that he had seen a flock of cranes approaching and commented, that “There they come, the birds of my youth”, he exclaimed.

Suddenly, one of the birds broke away from the formation and circled once above Ainola. It then rejoined the flock to continue its journey.

Two days later in Ainola, on the evening of 20 September 1957, Sibelius died of a brain hemorrhage at age 91. At the time of his death, his *Fifth Symphony in E flat major*, conducted by Sir Malcolm Sargent, was being broadcast on the radio from Helsinki. Sibelius was honored with a state funeral and is buried in the garden at Ainola.

The spirit of *Kalevala* continues in Finland today, as the book itself is still studied in Finnish schools, and the *Kalevala Day* is celebrated annually on February 28<sup>th</sup> in memory of the date of its publication in 1835, not only in Finland, but in Finnish communities around the world, including the festivities organized annually by the Vancouver Finlandia Club. Patriotism is typically displayed by flying the blue-crossed flag of Finland depicting the white of the snow and the blue of the lakes, by singing the “*Maamme*”- laulu (song) and *Finlandia*, and by wearing the national costume decorated with pieces of a popular line of jewellery called *Kalevala-koru*, which depict scenes from the *Kalevala*. The *Kalevala*-inspired jewellery is particularly suitable to be worn with the traditional folk costumes originating from about 1000 – 1200 AD, and are considered formal wear. Many men and women wear the national costumes while attending the Independence Day celebrations. My favourite *Kalevala-koru* is the Hämeen emännän kääty (Matron’s chain from Häme), which is a bronze necklace, a replica of an archaeological artifact from ca. 800 AD of Late Iron Age (800-1050 AD). It is one of the many styles of replicas reflecting Finland’s ancient heritage and contributing to feelings of patriotism. Since the *Kalevala* and the music of Sibelius are firmly embedded in every Finns’ thoughts, perhaps it is appropriate to end my story with a few final words from the *Kalevala* encouraging us to look forward to the future with its unknown challenges:

*Siitpä nyt tie menevi  
Ura uusi urkenevi*

*This way now the course will lead  
Here the path lies newly opened.*

## Reflections

My journey to Finland has come to an end. It has included an unfolding of Finnish history beginning from the ancient times, early independence substantiated by an intensive collection of folklore and culminating in the publication of *Kalevala*, the Finnish national

epic, which was one of the first publications in the Finnish language. Since the kalevalaic poems were typically recited by singing and often accompanied by the *kantele*, the Finns literally sang themselves into existence as a national identity through the singing of the folklore, singing in the Lutheran Church after Reformation, and singing the songs in the *Piae cantiones* song book, but mostly through the singing of folklore throughout Finland's long history. The singing folklore was a constant factor through peaceful times, wars and oppressions, through famine and starvation. The sung *Kalevala* was the sustaining element in developing a united language, a united history and religion, and a united identity towards a united goal of independence.

The *Kalevala* continues to be instrumental in maintaining the famous Finnish SISU (survival spirit, persistence, stubbornness). The dominant position of culture, exemplified by the *Kalevala*, can be identified as a central element in the creation of Finnishness. Through the focus on language, the *Kalevala* can be seen as a socio-historical phenomenon amidst human conflict. As a discourse of Finnishness, the book was useful in disrupting Swedish cultural and Russian political dominance. The kalevalaic folklore infiltrated classical music that was migrating from Europe, and many Finnish classical music composers wrote music for concert halls, salons, and opera houses. The most famous of those composers was Jean Sibelius, whose tone poem, *Finlandia*, inspired the whole nation, and continues to do so to this day.

Since his youth, Sibelius was inspired by the *Kalevala* depicting the ancient history of Finland, and merged the ancient folklore with classical music providing a view from a musical perspective. Finnish patriotism continues to be visible in many modes and is instilled in Finnish people from an early age and the music of Sibelius is an integral part of that patriotism. I will have a chance to participate in that musical patriotism in a few days by attending a Vancouver Symphony Orchestra concert featuring Sibelius's *Fifth Symphony*, the symphony that was being played on the Finnish radio at the time of Sibelius's death. The concert will undoubtedly end with the patriotic sounds of *Finlandia* that continues to reinforce Finnish patriotism in an effort to maintain national unity and the nation's independence for future generations.

## Aftermath

“However, not everyone was in favour of the declaration of independence, but some envisioned a continuing relationship between Finland and Russia. The difference in political thought resulted in expressing itself in the short but brutally devastating Civil War (27 January – 15 May 1918), that was fought for the leadership and control of Finland during the country’s transition from a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire to an independent state. The clashes took place in the context of the national, political, and social turmoil caused by World War I (Eastern Front) in Europe. The political turmoil was mirrored, among other means, in imprinted song pamphlets published in 1917 and 1918. They both reflected and affected the ongoing revolutionary situation and political imagination in Finland. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Finnish Civil War of 1918 became key events that activated the publishing and performance of songs from popular song pamphlets, whose contents, functions and performance contexts were essentially shaped by the revolutionary events. They acted as an affective medium, and contested old forms of political legitimacy and introduced and reinforced new ideas of statehood based on class solidarity and national unity” (Suodenjoki 229).

Similar to the *Ça Ira*, *Carmagnole* and other popular songs, such as the sung constitutions, of the revolutionary decade in France, the Finnish songs included references to familiar tunes to which the lyrics could be sung. Most producers of these song pamphlets were not professional songwriters but composed verses as a hobby to earn extra money. The song collections were popular commodities that were performed, not only in theatres, restaurants and public parks, but at fairs and other public events, such as the activities during the Finnish Civil War. The similarity is striking to the music and songs accompanying the activities in France throughout their revolutionary period.

A dark side of nationalism surfaced in Finland in a form of a concept of expansionism and the envisioning of a Greater Finland (Suur-Suomi). It was a nationalist idea emphasizing territorial expansion of Finland and an idea to regain Karelia that was permanently lost in the Winter War and had to be ceded to Russia in the Moscow Armistice of 1944. The idea of Greater Finland had gained influence and popularity in 1917 but lost support after World War II and the Continuation War (1941-1944). Today the Greater Finland ideology is practiced by few people, although some still hope that Karelia, a region which straddles the Finland/Russia border, will once again become part

of Finland at some point in the future, but no demands or discussions are currently pending on the issue.

After much political violence, in the aftermath of the Civil War, the Finns emerged as an independent, democratic republic. The Civil War divided the nation for decades, but the Finnish society was reunited through social compromises based on a long-term culture of moderate politics and religion and the post-war economic recovery. Patriotism in Finland did not wane during the turbulent times of the early 1900's. Still today it seems to be based on Herder's cultural nationalism emphasizing the importance of united history, culture and language, and those ideas are strongly embedded in all Finns from early childhood. That kind of non-aggressive patriotism will hopefully be sufficient to protect Finland's independence for future generations. Denby Richards (1) writes that "it is only through the intense individualism of the Finn that a national personality has survived, despite the intrusion of other cultures down the centuries, preserving intact and unbroken for the musical historian a distinct and traceable Finnish culture back to its earliest times".

## Finale

### Music Continues to Represent the World We Live In

My journey from Rousseau to Sibelius and the development of Nationalism through the interaction of music and folklore from the French Revolution to Finnish Independence has been a small segment of a much longer historical journey, where music has always played a significant role, because the human connection to music has been a constant fact of life from beginning of humankind. The hominids (our ancestors) are deemed to have been able to sing more than a million years ago, probably gaining full vocal and auditory range at least half a million years ago based on archaeological evidence of skeletal bone structures. Bone flutes have been found in Slovenia from about 40,000 years ago and the Lascaux cave paintings near Dordogne, France, dated from about 15,000-20,000 years ago, depict hunting activities found to be related to rituals and were usually accompanied by music, dance, and singing to celebrate hunting achievements.

Much more recently, in Greek and Roman cultures, music was discussed by philosophers and mathematicians, including Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle. Also, the Greek poet Sappho's poems were generally accompanied by music. Trumpets were leading soldiers into battle and troubadours at court and buskers roaming along city streets and country roads were representing human activity. Music and singing played significant roles in Greek and Roman homes and on their theatre stages depicting contemporary and historical events. "Music and religion have always been closely associated and songs and dances accompanied many aspects of daily life in medieval Europe, enlivening special occasions, such as royal visits and religious festivals, as well as entertaining market crowds" (Smithsonian 32).

By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century "a new creative dawn was breaking over Europe as intellectuals embraced science and logic and moved to change society through the speed of knowledge, and the Enlightenment brought in a new emphasis on structure and clarity in the arts, including music" (Smithsonian 132). The winds of change that were blowing across France, the rest of Europe, and much of the rest of the world during the Enlightenment, also brought with them the *philosophes*, such as Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau, who tended to follow the motto, coined by Immanuel Kant encouraging

people to think for themselves. The *philosophe*, who followed that motto better than just about anyone was Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who I was introduced to through his early-Romantic book titled *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*. Rousseau has been referred to as the “Father of Romanticism” and also as an instigator, or at least an influencer, of the French Revolution, that was responsible for irreversible changes, not only in France, but around the world. Rousseau was a controversial *philosophe*, whose thinking influenced, not only social and political, but also musical theory of the time, and his thoughts are still debated today, more than two hundred years later.

Music as a representation of the world we live in was embedded in the musicalization of the 1791 French Constitution and had been reflecting the unrest and revolts well before the revolutionary decade, or perhaps I should refer to it as a revolutionary century. Seeds of nationalism were already evident within the thoughts of the *philosophes* and music continued to reflect the changing times during the Enlightenment and Romanticism and infiltrated the classical music scene in the music of Mozart and Beethoven among others. Music interacted with political, cultural, and revolutionary events throughout the French Revolution, and Beethoven’s music served as a transition from the 18th to the 19th centuries with his musical revolution continuing to reflect the interaction of music and political events of the era. Music was a constant factor throughout the turbulent 19th century responding and reacting to the intermittent revolutionary activities, while romantic and nationalist ideas were influencing each other.

The development of Nationalism, an off-shoot of Romanticism and a reaction to the Enlightenment, was an outcome of the French Revolution and sparked a search for national unity based on Herder’s thoughts on cultural nationalism with related aspects of common history, origins, and language. The result was a profound interest in collections of folklore and folksong towards a compilation of national epics, such as *The Song of Roland* in France, the *Nibelungenlied* in Germany and the *Kalevala* in Finland. My journey to Finland has included a brief unfolding of Finnish history from the ancient times. Finland’s early independence is substantiated by archaeological evidence and by intensive collection of folklore culminating in the publication of *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic in 1835. The *Kalevala* has played a significant role in maintaining the element of Finnishness and is often referred to as a socio-economic phenomenon against human conflict by disrupting Swedish cultural and Russian political dominance. It

still functions as a unifying feature among Finns all over the world, and the 185<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its publication was celebrated in February 2020.

My primary research question referred to whether there was a connection between the French Revolution and the Finnish Independence movement, and whether the French Revolution influenced that movement. What was the flow of ideas? I argued that the French Revolution had a profound influence on the Finnish independence movement. That in itself is not surprising, “because in the long run no European country entirely escaped the impact of the French Revolution, and its influence continued to be felt far into the future” (Breunig 64). “Despite the initial attraction of the revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity to sympathizers other than France, and their primary impact during the revolutionary decade was on the French” (Breunig 63), those ideals did not stay within French borders but migrated to the rest of Europe, including Finland.

Although it is generally believed that the French Revolution and subsequent 19th century revolutions failed, because they did not produce the results that were hoped for by the revolutionaries, I am convinced that the hope for a better future did not fail or disappear, but only changed towards finding new ways of realizing that goal. “Instead of envisioning their ends idealistically, the Europeans now tended to evaluate the concrete means of achieving their goals more realistically. As a result, the revolutions constituted a significant turning point in the history of 19th century Europe” (Breunig 278) by “shattering long-standing traditions and deep-rooted institutions while proclaiming new ideals which have powerfully affected succeeding generations inside and outside of France” (Breunig 64).

My journey of discovery has followed many of those ideas beginning with the Age of Enlightenment. The winds of change from the Age of Enlightenment eventually blew to Finland and affected its social and political structures through predominantly folkloric and musical interaction within its culture. Music continued to represent the French society throughout its revolutionary era in the *guinguettes*, cafés, salons, theatres, on the operatic stage, and in song pamphlets sold on the streets for everyone to sing at every level of society. The singing culture had also migrated to Finland and was particularly evident in the late 1800’s and early 1900’s in Helsinki at Hotel Kamp, at the historic Café Ekberg, within the “Elizabeth Circle”, and in song pamphlets appearing throughout the

Russian oppression, the Declaration of Independence, the Civil War and beyond. By the Enlightenment era, the *philosophes*, at least Voltaire, were aware of Finland, and Sibelius' music in the late 1800's brought the country into a wider awareness of the European community.

It is interesting to note that the division of population into estates was very similar in Finland compared to the population divisions in pre-revolutionary France with the peasants at the lowest level. The idea of slavery within the lower echelon of the peasantry was depicted musically in many ways, such as in *La Marseillaise*, the French national anthem, in John Coltrane's jazz composition of *Dear John, Dear Coltrane*, and in Sibelius' *Finlandia* each referring to a slightly different definition of the term.

It seems certain, that Finland was aware of the French Revolution and subsequent revolutions throughout Europe since the Enlightenment era, mainly based on newspaper publications. "The role of foreign news flow was crucial in shaping the understanding of revolution in Finland" (Rantala 1), "although the Finnish language at the time did not have a specific translation for the word 'revolution', while according to various sources, the words revolution, revolt, and uprising were used interchangeably. The first newspapers on Finnish soil were published in 1771, although at that time they were printed in Swedish. However, Finnish-, Swedish-, and German-language newspapers were published regularly after the 1820's within the Finnish territory" (Rantala 3). "The news reports seem to have suggested that it was possible to seek a new kind of political order through uprisings" (Rantala 8) or by the use of an equivalent term with a similar meaning. At the same time, it seems that Finnish independence was indirectly the result of the French Revolution, or at least influenced by revolutionary ideas through the flow of those ideas from the Enlightenment to Romanticism, and to Nationalism. The more direct influence may have been by way of newspaper reports depending on the linguistic accuracy of the reports translated from French, German and Swedish into Finnish.

The most significant milestones in the long-term development of Finnish patriotism was the Catholic Church for taking Finland under its direction and into the Western sphere of religious influence, the Reformation for mandating the use of the Finnish language in church services, and for Herder's influence in folklore collection followed up by the actions of the 'Turku Romantics' resulting in the *Kalevala*, the Finnish

national epic. Through the development of Finnish language, folklore studies, and the publication of the *Kalevala*, Finnish nationalism resulted in the country's independence over a hundred years ago with Sibelius' music playing an integral role in that process.

Music has always played an essential role in my life and therefore music formed an important part in my musical journey of discovery, while continuously reacting to the unfolding of cultural and political situations and serving as a sustaining force through time. Now that my literary journey of discovery has come to an end, I have another one ahead of me. I plan to follow my written story by travelling from Rousseau's Paris with its political and musical cafés and salons to Mozart's and Beethoven's Vienna to listen to their music in Vienna's Kozerthaus, to Wagner's Bayreuth for *The Ring Cycle*, and to Sibelius' Finland for the patriotic sounds of *Finlandia* to experience my literary journey in real life from a musical perspective.

In that process, I will attempt to recreate, at least in my mind, the feelings of patriotism and a sense of belonging that Rousseau, Sibelius and I have in common, although we lived in different places and at different times. I am also looking forward to spending a few days on Rousseau's Île de St. Pierre by walking on the forest trails that Rousseau strolled on enjoying his reveries, while listening to the music created by the wind in the trees and to the musicality of the waves softly lapping against his rowboat while floating on Lac de Bienne.

The French Revolution had a global impact from France to Finland and beyond with music playing a sustaining and interactive role as a representation of human activities throughout the revolutionary century. From a musical perspective, we have transitioned from the music of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution to music of Romanticism and Nationalism, to the music of sung national epics, and to music of Independence. After all, music will continue to represent the world we live in till the end of humankind.

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