

## BYZANTINE CHURCH MUSIC IN FINLAND: EXPLORING THE PAST, ENVISAGING THE FUTURE

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### ***PART I: The Past***

**by Maria Takala-Roszczenko**

#### *Introduction*

In the past few decades, several Orthodox churches have experienced a need for renewal in their musical tradition. This has become particularly evident in the small, often nationally-based churches, such as the Orthodox church of Finland. A need for renewal is not, however, understood as the creation of something entirely new but, in a very Orthodox sense, as going back “to the sources”<sup>347</sup> – to an older tradition, in order to build the future on the basis of the past.

The idea of a return is also reflected in the promotion of the Byzantine chant in Finland. From a cultural and historical point of view, it can hardly be called a “return”, since Finnish Orthodox church music has never belonged to the Byzantine musical legacy as such. From a wider perspective, however, the Finnish Orthodox church can be considered a descendant of the Byzantine tradition as a descendant of the Byzantine-Slavonic tradition and as sharing some of the basic elements of the Byzantine Orthodox church music – the Octoechos principle, for instance. For this reason, it is justified to view the Byzantine chant tradition as a potential source for the Finnish Orthodox church music to return to.

#### *The roots of Finnish Orthodoxy*

In order to understand the current situation in Finnish church music, it is necessary to take a look at its earlier stages. Christianity came to Finland both from the east and from the west. The eastern part of modern Finland, Karelia, belonged to the Orthodox cultural sphere of Novgorod, later Russia, while the rest of the country belonged to the Roman Catholic and, later, Lutheran Sweden. For most of its history, Karelia has been a frontier land between two powerful states. This has led to numerous wars<sup>348</sup> which, understandably, have disrupted the social and cultural development of the region. This is an aspect which cannot be ignored in the research of church music, either: we can only guess at the number of manuscripts and other sources that have been destroyed in the course of these wars.

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<sup>347</sup> The idea of the return to the sources, *ad fontes*, has inspired Orthodox thinking since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly with the development of the “neopatristic” movement of Georges Florovsky.

<sup>348</sup> The Russo-Swedish wars over Finland resulted in partitions of the country in 1323, 1595, 1617, 1721, 1743 and 1809. Minor warfare continued in the borderlands throughout the centuries.

The Christianization of Karelia may have begun in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, as some have suggested,<sup>349</sup> but the organization of the ecclesiastical and lay jurisdiction dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century – as does the founding of certain monasteries, such as the Valaam monastery on Lake Ladoga,<sup>350</sup> the most famous of the Karelian monasteries. The ecclesiastical organization was based on a few small towns with a church and some minor chapels; however, most of Karelia was still wilderness and majority of the inhabitants most likely associated Christianity only with the authorities and taxation<sup>351</sup>. The indigenous cults prevailed – there were reports of pagan rites being performed still in the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>352</sup> and several pagan customs, having merged into the Orthodox customs, continue to exist in the Karelian folk culture even today.<sup>353</sup>

### *The Karelian church singing tradition*

These were the conditions in which the Karelian church music began to develop, probably from the 13<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries onward. So far, there is very little adequate research on the origins of the Karelian singing tradition or on the actual practice in the first parishes or monasteries. (However, we must admit that much of the research that has been conducted in Russia is still unknown to us.<sup>354</sup>) In any case, it can be assumed that

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<sup>349</sup> For most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Finnish historians seem to have agreed on the early Christianization of Karelia, basing their arguments on chronicle and hagiography sources. Professor Heikki Kirkinen dates the founding of the first Karelian monastery, the Valaam monastery, to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of hagiographical information about lives of the founding fathers, Sergei and Herman. He argues that eastern Christianity had been adopted in Karelia already earlier in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and points to the archaeological evidence of Christian origin found in the area. Kirkinen, Nevalainen, Sihvo, *Karjalan kansan historia*. WSOY 1994, 63-4.

<sup>350</sup> Professor Jukka Korpela has criticized the traditional Finnish Karelian historiography for the over-interpretation of single details and the lack of adequate criticism in the source analysis. He views the first Christian contacts of Karelia as a natural consequence of the Viking trade route going through Karelia but does not interpret archaeological evidence (Christian symbols, crosses etc.) as indications of the adoption of Christianity but rather as evidence of the exchange of goods – also Christian amulets. To his view, the first Christian parishes in Karelia can be dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century; however, the first unquestionable written evidence of parochial organization in Karelia dates back to 1396. He dates the founding of monasteries also to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Korpela, “Kristillisyys Karjalassa ja Itä-Suomessa keskiajalla”, *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 95 (2005)*, Helsinki 2005, 56-7.

<sup>351</sup> Korpela sees the “Christianization” of the Karelian people mainly as an indication of the organization of taxation in the area: the population was listed in official documents (by Christian clerks) as Christian tax payers, although their personal faith and culture had experienced no change. Korpela 2005, 59.

<sup>352</sup> Archbishop Makary of Novgorod described the pagan customs of Karelians in his letter to the Prince in 1534: animistic worship, sacrifices, witchcraft. Kirkinen, *Bysantin perinne ja Suomi*, OKJ 1987, 126-131.

<sup>353</sup> Many of the traditional burial rituals among the Orthodox Karelians point to both pagan and Christian origins, for instance, bringing food to the dead in the cemetery. Jetsu, *Kahden maailman välillä. Etnografinen tutkimus venäjänkarjalaisista hautausrituaaleista 1990-luvulla*. SKS 2001.

<sup>354</sup> Notable research on northern Russian *Znamenny* singing has been conducted by Professor Albina Kruchinina at the Conservatory of St Petersburg. The Russian National Library of St Petersburg has valuable collections of MSS from Karelia, providing material for generations of scholars. However, the high level of research and its notable results rarely cross the national borders – the publications are difficult to obtain and the language barrier prevails. It can only be hoped that in the future, the exchange of information and the much needed cooperation with the Russian scholars can be developed.

The research on the Karelian singing tradition also brings forward a question as ancient as the Karelian land itself: whose is it? The Finnish-Karelian ties are based on the common Finno-Ugric linguistic and ethnic origins and the Finns tend to consider Karelia as a region that has traditionally belonged to the Finnish cultural sphere. However, the Orthodox church culture of Karelia was unquestionably Slavic and it is thus

the earliest singing tradition in Karelia belonged to the general Slavic *Stolp* or *Znamenny* tradition<sup>355</sup> which, in its turn, had developed from the adaptations of Byzantine chant material and hymnography into the Old Slavonic language and practice.<sup>356</sup> In this way, it is possible to see the Karelian church singing as a descendant of the Byzantine tradition.

The *Znamenny* tradition continued the Byzantine practice in many ways. Firstly, it was monodic: one neumatic line corresponded to one text line. The Slavic neumatic notation (the *Znamenny* notation) developed its own graphic forms which in time became nearly independent of the original Byzantine signs, but their function remained the same: they indicated the direction of the melody and the expression of the singing. The singing was constructed from melodic patterns, based on the Octoechos system. All these elements continued the Byzantine chant tradition in the Slavic practice; they were only adapted to the Slavonic language and modified to suit the local culture.

The neumatic manuscripts found in Karelia point to the *Znamenny* tradition as the heritage of Karelian church singing. The number of the manuscripts that are preserved in Finland<sup>357</sup> is very small: about ten neumatic collections have been preserved in the Church Museum of Kuopio<sup>358</sup> and the Helsinki University Library<sup>359</sup>. So far, none of

understandable that the Russian researchers hardly recognize the “Karelianism” of monasteries such as Valaam or Solovetsky.

<sup>355</sup> The name “*Stolp*” (СТОЛП) points at the Tone structure of the singing tradition: one *stolp*, pillar, consisted of one cycle of 8 Tones (Octoechos). The name “*Znamenny*” (знаменное пение) indicates the use of *znamya* (“sign”, “neume”) in the notation.

<sup>356</sup> The translation process of Byzantine singing manuscripts into Slavonic in the first centuries of Slavic Christianity included also the modification of the Paleobyzantine notation which, nevertheless, remained as the core of *Znamenny* notation. Бражников, *Русская певческая палеография*. Санкт-Петербург 2002, 24.

<sup>357</sup> The MSS preserved in Russian museums and libraries lie beyond the scope of this article. To take into account all the MSS that have been preserved from the tradition of monasteries that may be defined as “Karelian” (such as the Solovetsky monastery, although this monastery is usually regarded as northern Russian rather than Karelian, whereas Valaam and Konevets on Lake Ladoga can at least geographically be defined as Karelian), we would need to explore the Russian fonds and scholarship more thoroughly.

<sup>358</sup> The library of the Orthodox Church Museum of Kuopio (OKM) contains five neumatic MSS. Four of them were catalogued by Johann von Gardner as “*Kuopiensis I-IV*”. Gardner, “*Altrussische Neumen-Handschriften des orthodoxen Kirchenmuseums in Kuopio (Finnland)*” in *Die Welt der Slaven XVIII* 1973, pp. 101-120.

**OKM 64 (Ku II):** *Irmolaj* (*Pevchesky sbornik*) from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, several users, the latest repository in the Valaam monastery. Interesting features: *homonía* in text, *anenaiki* (“*anene naani*”) syllables inserted in the *velichanie* of Annunciation, *Azbuka* list of neumes.

**OKM 69 (Ku III):** *Irmolaj* from the late 16<sup>th</sup> – first half of 17<sup>th</sup> century. *Homonía* in text.

**OKM 102:** Appears to be a *Stihirar’ - Prazdniki* (the beginning and the end torn out), starting from the feast of the birth of Virgin Mary. Neumes and text are large, only 8 rows on a page. Neumes written in black, cinnabar letters added, decorations in blue, purple and violet. Names of the *popovkas* inscribed on the margins. Two stamps visible on some of the pages: both include the two-headed eagle of Russia, the other with the text: “*Князя Паскевича*”.

**OKM 993 (Ku IV):** *Irmolaj* from the late 18<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century, produced among the Old-Believers (*bezpopovtsy*). *Homonía* in text.

**OKM 1791 (Ku I):** *Stihirar’ – Prazdniki* from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, purchased from Kemi (town by the White Sea, in the proximity of the Solovetsky monastery). Interesting feature: a *stichira* for the feast of the execution of St John the Baptist is composed in several Tones: 1-5-2-8-3-8-4-8 (sic!).

them have been properly examined. Part of them seems to have been produced in the Old-Believer communities of Karelia in the 18th – 19th centuries. These manuscripts are quite readable, since they employ the “Stolp B” notation<sup>360</sup> (i.e., *Znamenny* notation with cinnabar markings indicating the direction of the melody; these were introduced in the Russian church singing the early 17<sup>th</sup> century). Four manuscripts date back to the 16th century; thus, their transcription is more challenging. The inscriptions in these manuscripts generally point at their production and use in different regions of Karelia.

While the general structure of the *Znamenny* church singing in Karelia reflected its Byzantine origins, the actual musical contacts between the Byzantine culture and Karelia remain so far unexplored. It is interesting that some of the main protagonists of the Christianization of Karelia had presumably direct contact with the Byzantine tradition. The Valaam monastery tradition presents its founder, monk Sergei, as a Greek.<sup>361</sup> Moreover, monk Arseni from Novgorod, who became the founder of the Konevets monastery, spent years on Mount Athos.<sup>362</sup> There seem to have been frequent contacts between the Byzantine world and the northern Russia. To define to what extent this influenced the Karelian church culture – as transmission of ideas and innovations, exchange of manuscripts, education of singers – remains a challenge for the future researchers.

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<sup>359</sup> The electronic catalogue of the National Library in Helsinki ([www.nationallibrary.fi](http://www.nationallibrary.fi)) lists five MSS: four of them are most likely neumatic, one in square notation. Since not all of the books and MSS of the Slavonic collection are electronically listed, there may be still more sources to examine.

**Sl.Ms.O-15.1** *Праздники* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**Sl.Ms.O-18.1.** *Старообрядческий богослужебный сборник*, undated.

**Sl.Ms.O-19.1.** *Старообрядческий богослужебный сборник* from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Sl.Ms.O-20.1.** *Старообрядческий сборник богослужений* from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Sl.Ms.O-51.1.** *Праздники* from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>360</sup> Gardner developed a retrospective method of classifying the historical stages of *Znamenny* notation by defining the notation after 1668 as Stolp A (indicating the use of cinnabar alphabet and black markings beside the neumes), the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century notation as Stolp B (indicating the use of cinnabar alphabet) and the earlier notation (containing no additional markings) as Stolp C. Гарднеръ, *Богослужебное пение русской православной церкви. Сущность, система и история*. Томъ I. 1978, 144-5.

Among the Karelian MSS, **OKM 1791** employs Stolp C with several *fity* and *lica* (without *razvod* interpretations); only in the *slavnik* for St Demetrios, someone has added the cinnabar letters in black ink, thus turning the notation into Stolp B. An interesting feature is the Trisagion for Holy Saturday, including the mysterious Э sign in the beginning of each musical and textual line, resembling the *Put'* and *Demestvenny* notation. **OKM 64** employs Stolp C but also occasionally Stolp A; also *Put'* notation. **OKM 69** uses only Stolp C, whereas **OKM 993** is written in Stolp B (Old-Believer tradition). Gardner, *Die Welt der Slaven* 1973. **OKM 102** is also written in Stolp B.

<sup>361</sup> The nationality of Sergei is not mentioned in any chronicle source concerning the founding of the Valaam monastery. However, since the chronicles leave the possibility open, it is possible to presume that the oral tradition of the monastery might be accurate in this case. Kirkinen, *Bysantin perinne ja Suomi* 69.

<sup>362</sup> The hagiography written by igumen Varlaam describes how monk Arseni joined fathers from the Holy Mountain in Novgorod. He then worked in “every monastery of the community” and stayed there for three years. Finally he was sent back to Russia to found a monastery (which became the Konevets monastery on Lake Ladoga). Kirkinen, *Bysantin perinne ja Suomi* 107-109.

*The development of Orthodox church singing in Karelia*

Although Karelia was, for most of its history, periphery in the political sense, the changes in church music ultimately spread from the centres to the frontier. The major change that transformed the Slavic singing tradition in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century was the replacement of the neumatic *Znamenny* notation with the linear staff notation, the square notes. It may be assumed that the adoption of the square notation in Karelia took place around the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This change is, however, difficult to trace, because the evidence of the use of two notation systems at the same time is lacking – there are no Karelian double-notated manuscripts (двознаменники) preserved in Finland.<sup>363</sup>

The small number of preserved manuscript of Karelian origin from the 17<sup>th</sup> century can at least in part be explained by looking at the historical development of the region. Out of 63 Karelian monasteries existing independently or beside parishes, one third suffered greatly from the advances of the Swedish army.<sup>364</sup> Several of them, including the great Valaam monastery, were entirely destroyed and disappeared for almost a century. Understandably, the church singing tradition was severely disrupted.

The earliest square-notated manuscripts now preserved in Finland date back to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>365</sup> However, their Karelian origin is highly uncertain – they seem to have been imported from other parts of Russia and possibly even from the Ukraine.<sup>366</sup> A great majority of the square-notated manuscripts in the Finnish repositories – the Church Museum of Kuopio<sup>367</sup> and the New Valaam monastery library<sup>368</sup> – once belonged to the

<sup>363</sup> Generally, there is at least one double-notated manuscripts from northern (Karelian) Russia: an *Oktoih* of the Solovetsky monastery from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. This *Oktoih* has now been printed in St Petersburg and offers valuable guidance to the interpretation of the *Znamenny* notation. *Певческий Октоих 18 века нотированный (знаменная и пятилинейная нотации)*. Рукопись из собрания Соловецкого монастыря, хранится в Российской национальной библиотеке им. Салтыкова-Щедрина (Санкт-Петербург). Шифр: Сол. 619/647. 1999.

<sup>364</sup> Kirkinen, *Karjala idän ja lännen välissä* I. 1970, 263-7.

<sup>365</sup> The New Valaam monastery collection of musical MSS contains three anthologies from the 17<sup>th</sup> century: Furthermore, there are 28 MSS from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (201-228), 18 MSS from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (301-318) and 94 MSS from the 20<sup>th</sup> century (401-494). All of these MSS are written in square or round Italian notation. **VAL 101:** Праздники нотного пения и некоторые стихиры из нотного обихода, (written either before 1682 or after 1696), **VAL 102:** Обиход нотного пения (1882-1696) and **VAL 103:** Божественная литургия (by 1690). A catalogue of the MSS in Finnish can be obtained from the New Valaam monastery. Munkki diakoni Romanos, *Valamon luostarin historiallinen nuottimateriaali osa I: Käsikirjoitukset* 2003.

<sup>366</sup> The contents of **VAL 103** gives insight into the wide repertoire of liturgical singing: for instance, ектения киевского напелу, херувимская знаменная творение Архимандрита Игнатия, херувимская вилинская, витепская, Еветаевская, трестрочная, болгарская, скицкая, творение Митрофана Федотова, Божественная литургия Иоанна Златоуста творение Николая Дылецкого, Божественная литургии на 4 голоса напев Василия Титова, the same by Илия Нестеров, and литургия напелу кивского творение монаха Елисея are included in one anthology. The inclusion of Cherubic hymns from Vilna and Vitebsk may be seen as indications of its Ruthenian-Ukrainian origin.

<sup>367</sup> The Orthodox Church Museum collection in Kuopio includes four square-notated MSS:

library of the Valaam monastery, rebuilt in the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Since the monastery was in ruins for the most of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is obvious that the 17<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts in its library were not produced nor used there at that time. It is, thus, difficult to argue much about the state of Karelian church singing on the basis of the Valaam collection, and the Karelian church singing in the 17<sup>th</sup> century remains – so far – a mystery.

The changes of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the Slavic Orthodox church singing, including the Karelian tradition, can be seen as a deviation from the Byzantine model. The replacement of neumatic notation with the square notes opened the church music to Western musical influences and the central role of the Octoechos system gradually weakened, resulting in a repertoire of church music that was not based on the use of melodic patterns but on free artistic inspiration.

The adoption of square notes also violated the principle of monody, since it enabled the use of polyphony in liturgical music. The early four-part harmony, партесное пение, appears already in the earlier mentioned 17<sup>th</sup> century Ukrainian anthology of the Valaam collection<sup>369</sup>, and also in a *Stikhirar'* of Karelian origin, possibly dating back to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>370</sup>. Most of the manuscripts in the Valaam collection are, however, still monodic. The monastic singing retained these monodic melodies in very simple harmonizations – by doubling the melody and accompanying it in doubled fifths – well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>371</sup>

#### *Orthodox church singing in Finland*

Up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Finnish Orthodoxy was concentrated mainly in Karelia, since the rest of Finland belonged to the Protestant Sweden. In 1809, however, a major change

**OKM 92:** *Oktoih* (beginning with *stihiras* for Saturday evening), probably produced in the Valaam monastery. The manuscript is large and in very good condition. The inscriptions contain cataloguing years 1847 and 1910 and also a list of users at the end of the MS: “monk German of the Valaam monastery” etc.

**OKM 120:** *Irmolog i prazdniki dvanadesyatnye* (“Siya kniga pisana 1690 goda”), containing stamps from the Valaam monastery. Some inscriptions in Latin letters: “Nikolaiu”, “Konec 3 glasa”, “milostyiu boz̄yeiu”, “pisano wleta•7000•100•90•8•godu fewruaryia w•2•den”. A list of *fitas* at the end.

**OKM 995** (Gardner’s **Ku 1**): *Trezvony* (containing mainly canons, no *stichiras*) in Greek *rospev*, probably produced among the Car’s singers in St Petersburg in the late 17<sup>th</sup> – early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Interesting features: in *canons*, all the *troparia* are notated, indicating that the whole *canon* was sung, although the Stoglav synod of 1551 decreed the *heirmoi* to be sung and the *troparia* to be recited!

**OKM 994** (Gardner’s **Ku 2**): *Stikhirar'* for the bass voice; inscription in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century handwriting indicating the collection to be “the notated *prazdniki* in Greek *rospev* for four voices – Base, Tenor, Alto and Discant, property of the priest of the Porecki village”. Gardner assumes this MS to come from East Karelia or from the neighborhood of Sortavala. Gardner, “Altrussische Notenhandschriften des orthodoxen Kirchenmuseums in Kuopio (Finnland) in *Die Welt der Slaven* XVII 1972, 225-236.

<sup>368</sup> Apart from the MSS listed in the footnote 19, the New Valaam monastery library repository includes 28 MSS from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (201-228), 18 MSS from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (301-318) and 94 MSS from the 20<sup>th</sup> century (401-494). All of these MSS are written in square or round Italian notation. Munkkidiakoni Romanos, *Valamon luostarin historiallinen nuottimateriaali osa I: Käsikirjoitukset* 2003.

<sup>369</sup> The four parts are written in their own sections, not on one staff.

<sup>370</sup> **OKM 994 (Ku 2)**. Gardner dates this collection to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century but analyzes the bass part as containing typical 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> century features. Garder 1972, 234.

<sup>371</sup> Archbishop Paul of Finland, a singer monk in the old Valaam monastery in the 1930s, described the singing in the monastery’s early liturgy as “old style singing”. Karjalainen, *Arkkipiispa Paavali – legenda jo eläessään* 1973, 56.

took place when the whole of Finland was annexed to the Russian empire as an autonomic principality. The Russian tsar established a network of garrisons for the Russian military and several Orthodox churches were built for their needs, and for the parishes that developed around them.<sup>372</sup> The singing in these churches was not as it had been in the old Orthodox centres of Karelia. Church music in Russia was under the control of the Imperial Court Chapel of St Petersburg which actively promoted choral singing and compiled collections of liturgical chant in four-part harmony.<sup>373</sup> It was this Court Chapel tradition that was cultivated in the military churches and, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, translated into the Finnish language.

The first four-part Liturgy anthology in Finnish was published in 1894.<sup>374</sup> It was followed by a Vigil anthology and other collections, mostly consisting of the St Petersburg *Obihod* adaptations and compositions by Russian composers.<sup>375</sup> The concept of church music in the Orthodox church of Finland gradually moved towards the composers' art and thus moved further from the original idea of liturgical singing.

**ILLUSTRATION 1: Resurrectional Aposticha, 6<sup>th</sup> Tone. St Petersburg Court Chapel style. Vigilia 1957.**

*Finnish Orthodoxy under Constantinople*

An opportunity for change appeared in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Until then, Finland had been an Orthodox archdiocese under the Moscow patriarchate. The Socialist revolution of 1917 broke the ties with the mother church. At the same time, Finland became an independent state. The delicate situation with the Orthodox population in a country whose national identity was to a large extent based on Lutheranism demanded immediate action in order to prevent the Orthodox from becoming second-class citizens or, worse, potential

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*Virrelmästikiira*

Sinun ylösnousemistasi, Kristus Va - pah - ta - ja,

enkelit veisuin ylistävät tai - vais - sa, tee meidät -

kin meän päällä o - tol - li - sik - si Sinua puhtain

sydämin y - lis - tä - mään.

<sup>372</sup> Orthodox churches were built in nearly all major cities in Finland, also on the western coast where Orthodoxy was entirely unfamiliar to the population.

<sup>373</sup> Morosan, Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia. 1994, 71,79.

<sup>374</sup> The four-part liturgy was preceded by Liturgy adapted for bass voice, compiled by priest Al'binsky and published in St Petersburg in 1873.

<sup>375</sup> Certain Russian composers, such as Bortnyansky, Archangelsky and Vedel', became popular in Finland and many of their compositions were adapted into Finnish.

traitors of the Finnish nation and collaborators with the Russians, at least in the popular imagination<sup>376</sup>. Assisted by the Finnish government, the Finnish Orthodox church turned from Moscow to Constantinople and gained autonomy from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1923.

A new living contact with the Byzantine tradition of Constantinople could have brought new influences into the Finnish church singing. However, in the struggle of the Finnish Orthodox to “Finnicize” their tradition, they did not look for stylistic change but concentrated on translating and publishing more material based on the old St Petersburg harmony.

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was particularly unfortunate for the great majority of the Finnish Orthodox who lived in Karelia. As a result of the Second World War and the partition of Karelia between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1944, about 90% of the Finnish Orthodox church’s property, buildings, lands, and also all monasteries, were lost. The Karelian population was evacuated and re-settled all over Finland, in areas that had never known Orthodoxy nor welcomed it. Understandably, in this situation people needed to hold on to the past, their traditional way of church singing and other customs, and not look for change.

## ***PART II: The Future*** **by Jaakko Olkinuora**

### *The introduction of Byzantine singing in the church of Finland*

It was, however, already in the 1950s that an interest in a renewal of church singing arose. The western scholarship had “found” the Byzantine tradition and the publication of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (MMB) had begun. This was an inspiration for the Finnish compilers of a new Vigil anthology in 1957:<sup>377</sup> for the first time in history, a collection of liturgical singing in Finnish included a Byzantine section, accompanied by a careful description of the style of performing. “The Byzantine melodies unite us in the divine service to sing with the past generations (...). They strengthen in us the feeling of the unity and timelessness of the Church and help us find a true spirit of prayer,” wrote the compiler who was responsible for the Byzantine adaptations into Finnish.<sup>378</sup>

Unfortunately, these Byzantine *Antiphons* proved too challenging for most singers and

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<sup>376</sup> The civil war of Finland in 1918 had divided the nation into two parties: the Whites – the land-owning class who wanted to promote Finnishness and Protestant values in the country, and the Reds – the poor working class in towns and countryside, often siding with the Socialist ideas and joined by the Russian soldiers who were still in Finland. Since the Orthodox were often regarded as “Russians”, they were suspected of supporting anti-patriotic values and thus often regarded as enemies. Some Orthodox churches were attacked during the civil war, some priests were threatened, and at least one teacher of Orthodox religion executed among the Reds.

<sup>377</sup> *Sunnuntaivigilia kahdeksansävelmistöineen*. OKJ 1957.

<sup>378</sup> The name is not mentioned in the publication, but probably it was professor Heikki Kirkinen. He is known to have adapted both Byzantine and Znamenny melodies into Finnish.