



ILONA PIKKANEN

Casting the Ideal Past

a Narratological Close Reading of Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's
History of the Finnish Theatre Company (1906-1910)



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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1 INTRODUCTION

”Swings and roundabouts: what is gained in coherence may be partly lost in the perceived correspondence to the period; what is lost in coherence may be gained in iconic fidelity. What priorities is one to set?”¹

A Handbook of Finnishness and a Textbook of Citizenship

In 1784 Friedrich Schiller declared, “If we would see the day when we have a national theatre, then we would become a nation.”² From the eighteenth century onwards national borders were being drawn by military means, but also by searching for national primeval pasts with the aid of linguistic theories, myths about the great descent, folk poetry and folktales, historical novels, historical source collections and history-writing all around Europe. They were also staged in national theatres, both in the countries with established vernacular high cultures (such as England, France, Spain) and in the new-born nations of the Central, Northern and Eastern Europe of the post-Napoleonic era. Theatre was one of the central means both in the creation of national literature and in the efficient distribution of the ideas of national cohesion and images of common descent and national characteristics.³

Following the international examples the nationalists of Finland, a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire, started to discuss the need to establish a

¹ Rigney 2001, 87.

² Quoted in Leerssen 2006, 96.

³ See for example Wilmer 2001, 16–17, 25–27.

Finnish-language theatre in the first decades of the nineteenth century. After decades of discussing and writing about the idea and organising an occasional Finnish-language societal theatre event, The Finnish Theatre Company was established in 1872.⁴ In 1902 it was renamed the National Theatre of Finland. The massive, four-volume history written about the first 30 years of its existence, published between 1906 and 1910, was one of the first big cultural-historical publication projects in the twentieth century Finland.

The reception declared that Professor Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's⁵ (1847–1917) *History of the Finnish Theatre Company I–IV* (1906–1910) was a great cultural deed, “a handbook of Finnishness and a textbook of citizenship”.⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä was the professor of Modern Literature and Aesthetics at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki and a central figure in the most important cultural institutions and societies defining the Finnish nation in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries (the vice president of the Finnish Literature Society, a member of the Board of the Finnish Theatre Company and later of the Finnish National Theatre, and vice president of the National Board of Antiquities, to name a few).⁷ He was also a diligent writer producing biographies and articles about literature, theatre and other arts. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History continues to have an established place as the main source and a reference book for Finnish theatre scholars and historians dealing with the theatrical life of the nineteenth century.⁸ However, in spite of his influence on the culture of history-writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, Aspelin-Haapkylä, as so many other non-professional historians, does not figure in historiographical surveys.⁹

This study stems from the interest in the role of vernacular theatres in the creation of national cultures, a multifaceted phenomenon that was at the same time strongly nationalistic and transnational, especially when it came to the

⁴ Seppälä 2010b, 25, 30.

⁵ Aspelin until 1906, when he took the double form Aspelin-Haapkylä. I am using the double name all through the present study.

⁶ Maila Talvio, *Uusi Suometar* 19.12.1909 (no 294).

⁷ Riikonen 2005, 106–107; Saarenheimo 2001; Selkokari 2008, 48, 89–101.

⁸ According to Pirkko Koski, Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History dominated the theatre research at the beginning of the twentieth century. Koski 2000, 383, 386. I would claim that it seems to be difficult to write about the Finnish-language theatre in the nineteenth century without relying on his representation even today.

⁹ Klinge 2010, 7, 275–276.

repertoire but also touring singers, actors and directors. It was both elitist and popular gathering different social groups within the same space, following the same performances. It had both political goals, when it was promoting a single language in the situation of competing linguistic strategies, and cultural aims, when its existence was used to create a national literary canon.

However, when dealing with the Finnish-language theatre there is no way around Aspelin-Haapkylä's massive, paradigmatic representation of it. After Aspelin-Haapkylä there have been separate articles written about different aspects of the Finnish theatre history in the nineteenth century and few monographs approaching the subject matter thematically, discussing for example actresses of the Finnish Theatre Company or workers' theatres.¹⁰ The most current survey (2010) charts theatre and drama in Finland from the eighteenth century until the present. It breaks the Finnish-nationalist paradigm by placing The Finnish Theatre Company among the many theatre companies performing in Finland in the nineteenth century, but continuously uses Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History as one of the main sources.¹¹ In other words, it is not easy to replace Aspelin-Haapkylä's monograph as *the* interpretation of the nineteenth century Finnish-language theatre.¹²

¹⁰ One of the early studies is Helmi Krohn's biography of Emilie Bergbom *Emilie Bergbom: Elämä ja työ*, telling the story of the Finnish Theatre Company from the point of view of one of the directors – strictly following Aspelin-Haapkylä's interpretation: Krohn 1917. For more recent studies, see for example Hanna Suutela's article *An Instrument for Changing Nationalist Strategies: The Finnish Theatre Company, 1872–1883* (2001) and her monograph about the actresses of the theatre, *Impyät. Näyttelijättäret Suomalaisen Teatterin palveluksessa* (2005) and S. E. Wilmer's comparative article *German Romanticism and its Influence on Finnish and Irish Theatre* (2001). Timo Tiusanen's study about the development of the Finnish-language theatre from the 'time of folk poetry' to the beginning of the twentieth century *Teatterimme hahmottuu: näyttämötaiteemme kehitystie kansanrunoudesta itsenäisyyden ajan alkuun* is very much influenced by Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History and its national paradigm: Tiusanen 1969. Elina Pietilä has been studying the Finnish amateur theatre and the international roots of its repertoire: Pietilä 2003, and Mikko-Olavi Seppälä the workers' theatre in Finland in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries: Seppälä 2007 and 2010a. Pentti Paavolainen has edited together with Aino Kukkonen an amply illustrated general overview of the theatre history in Finland, *Näyttämöllä. Teatterihistoriaa Suomesta*. The book covers different forms of theatre from prehistorical times to the twenty first century: Paavolainen 2005. Pentti Paavolainen's biography of Kaarlo Bergbom, the director of the Finnish Theatre Company 1872–1905, is currently in preparation. In addition, Ilona Pikkanen has written a comparative article focusing on the writing of theatre histories and their role in the nation-building *Theatre Histories and the Construction of National Identity: The Cases of Norway and Finland* (2010).

¹¹ Suomen teatteri ja draama. Eds. Mikko-Olavi Seppälä & Katri Tanskanen. Like, Helsinki 2010.

¹² Many scholars have first pointed out the need to revise his interpretations and then used his history as the central source for the subject matter. See for example Suutela 2001a, 72–73.

Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is a good example of nationalistic history-writing and as such perhaps of interest outside the disciplinary confines of the theatre studies or the national borders of Finland. Nationalism, its birth conditions and phases and the differences between different nationalisms, both in Europe and in other parts of the world, have been fervently discussed ever since the 1980's.¹³ An important part of the debate is the question of whether nationalism is solely a modern phenomenon or if it has premodern roots.¹⁴ In a recent volume *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, after publishing a series of comparative studies on nationalism¹⁵, take 'nationalism' at its face value, and focus instead on national history-writing and its mechanisms mapping different qualities and

¹³ Elie Kedour's *Nationalism* was published already in 1960; however, at the beginning of the 1980's there was a surge of studies on the subject, for example John Armstrong's *Nations Before Nationalism* (1982), John Breuilly's *Nationalism and the state* (1982), Ernst Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), Eric Hobsbawm's & Terence Ranger's (ed.): *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), Miroslav Hroch's *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (1985) and Anthony D. Smith's *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986). See Pakkasvirta and Saukkonen 2004, passim. The volume of the metadiscussion about the different positions these and other historians writing about nationalism have taken tells both about the amount of research and the wide interest in nationalism: the abovementioned and subsequent scholars have been divided into different groups according to their explanations of the mechanisms of nationalism and its age: they have been labeled for example as primordialists, modernists and ethno-symbolists; essentialists and constructionists; structuralists, functionalists and instrumentalists; those speaking for system integration theories and those speaking for socio-cultural integration theories. For a good general introduction, see Pakkasvirta and Saukkonen 2004, 14–25; see also Ichijo and Uzelac 2005, 9–13.

¹⁴ There is an extensive discussion about the origins of the national sentiment and nationalism before the nineteenth century, part of which is the question of the relationship between language, literature and national culture. The special character of the Finnish-speaking areas of the Swedish Kingdom was sometimes emphasised in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. However, it has been pointed out that this kind of territorial or even national particularism, although indicating an understanding of a special character of an area, should be separated from nationalism aiming at establishing an independent national unit within defined borders. Consequently, it all depends on the definition of the term nationalism. For example Jussi Pakkasvirta and Pasi Saukkonen write that different historical situations have created different kinds of nationalisms, and thus it is not necessarily an outcome of the development of capitalism and the modern nation-state apparatus, whereas Ichijo and Uzelac emphasize nationalism as a modern phenomenon which has accompanied, among other things, the processes of industrialisation, the spread of capitalism and the establishment of a modern state. Pakkasvirta and Saukkonen 2004, 9; Ichijo and Uzelac 2005, 2; about the difference between territorial and national particularism and nationalism in the Finnish context see Engman 2009, 26–29 and Pulkkinen 1999, 122.

¹⁵ Writing the Nation series, general editors Stefan Berger, Christoph Conrad and Guy P. Marchal. The most important volumes for the present study have been *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*. Eds. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (2008) and *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*. Eds. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (2010).

characteristics of national historiography across Europe with a comparative method. They emphasize that national histories have been prominent in a variety of political systems – liberal democracies, fascist dictatorships and communist regimes – and thus they have decisively structured discourses about Europe.¹⁶

According to the abovementioned study, national histories are characterized by a strong presentist tendency: in them, the societal and political frameworks condition the framing of the history. This presentism often finds its expression in a particular teleology that culminates and ends either in the present or in the future and goes back to the mists of time to seek the ‘origins’ of ‘their’ nations. Hence national histories are rarely open-ended. The beginnings and the endings of national histories determine the narrative construction of the middle.¹⁷ In the language of the dissertation at hand this means that the national historiography is often a genre of tightly woven narratives.

In national history-writing the national authenticity can be found either in the continuous histories since time immemorial or in the constant disruptions (immigrations, invasions, revolts). National histories are also usually, implicitly or explicitly, defining and dealing with “the Other”: religion, ethnicity, race or class. They are also narrative enactments of heroism and contain seemingly contradictory characteristics: in them mythologization and demythologization are closely related.¹⁸ All in all, Berger and Lorenz emphasize the remarkable complexity, multi-layeredness and continuity of ‘writing the nation’, an activity to which Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä also decisively, in the Finnish framework, contributed.

When it comes to ‘writing the nation’ by writing about theatres there are also similarities across national borders. The European dramatic scene was markedly homogeneous in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.¹⁹ However, according to the theatre historian S. E. Wilmer, the focus of the theatre historians looking at the vernacular theatres established back then has been to emphasize their national particularity, their ‘nationness’, which means, for

¹⁶ Berger and Lorenz 2010, 25.

¹⁷ Berge and Lorenz 2010, 11–12.

¹⁸ Berger and Lorenz 2010, 12–14.

¹⁹ Senelick 1991, 2–4.

example, concentrating on the domestic repertoire (written in the national language, depicting national themes) and ignoring the transnational character of it.²⁰

Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is voluminous enough to act as a thought-provoking tool for discussing the question of 'writing the nation', and its different narrative methods at the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition, Professor Adolf V. Streng noted in his review of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* in *The Historical Periodical* as early as 1912 that no subsequent study could replace Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History and that from then on it would be impossible to write about the Finnish-language theatre without leaning on it.²¹ Or, as a modern scholar would put it: it is impossible to study the Finnish-language theatre without first analysing Aspelin-Haapkylä's representation of it.

This study sets to close read and examine Aspelin-Haapkylä's representation of the Finnish-language theatre in the nineteenth century. It will ask what Aspelin-Haapkylä decided to tell his readers about the theatre, how he chose to do that, and what position the Theatre History had in the wider field of national history writing. In other words, through a close reading of a major, official historical narrative it will contribute both to the history of history-writing in Finland and to the understanding of the nationalistic discourse around the turn of the century. The concepts and methods offered by narrative analysis and, to be more precise, by historiographical narratology have provided the best tools to do this kind of close reading. I will now proceed by further elaborating the research tasks and the method, and then by discussing first the conceptual framework of the study and after that the main concepts used in it.

²⁰ When one looks at the representations of the programmes in general it is clear that the importation of plays from other countries (in the form of adaptations or translations or in the original language) is often excluded from theatre histories even though foreign plays may have outnumbered domestic plays. Wilmer 2004, 19.

²¹ Adolf V. Streng: Suomalaisen teatterin historia. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, no. 1, 1912, 37–38.

Objectives of the Study

Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's *History of the Finnish Theatre Company* is an exceptional piece of history-writing in many ways. Professor Aspelin-Haapkylä published the first volume four years after the Finnish National Theatre started to perform in the grand building constructed for it in the heart of Helsinki in 1902. The Finnish-language theatre (The Finnish Theatre Company as it was known) had officially existed from 1872 onwards. In other words, the 4-volume history with its almost 1600 pages depicts a period of a little over 30 years, which means that the historian dedicates on average over 50 pages for each season. It is a detailed representation of the life of the theatre on a daily basis and its archival character makes it a very persuasive representation, one of the reasons for its popularity as a source book. It is a written monument and a monumentalization of the recent national past.

The main question of the present study is how the Finnish nation was written at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the midst of political, social and cultural changes, by writing about the recent history of the Finnish-language theatre. Formulating the question accordingly points to a textualist approach, which sees language not only as an object of contemplation and communication but also as an instrument of action and power.²² Epistemologically this means that historiography is seen as a storied form of knowledge, or, to borrow a recent formulation by Kalle Pihlainen, "(h)istory's importance for us in cognitive terms is not in --- details but in the form, the moral, the story, and the particular take on the world that that particular story with its particular ideological bent produces."²³ Accordingly, history-writing is understood as an intertextual field of competing interpretations. What historians do is to compare their representations with each other, because it is impossible to compare them directly with the actual past that is beyond their reach as such, which also means that historical insight is born in the space between rival narrative

²² Bourdieu 1991, 37.

²³ Pihlainen 2012, 328.

interpretations.²⁴ Pieces of historical scholarship are written more in the context of this intertextual field of historical representations and the broader historical culture than in relation to the past itself.

In this approach the traditional theoretical dilemma for the historians, that is the relationship of the past and the sources (How much we can really know about the past?), is set aside. It is replaced by questions addressing the relationship of historical scholarship and history-writing. How do we actually do history and why the results look as they do? In other words, my study is set in the theoretical field of inquiry interested in the questions of historical discourses and the intertextual field of history-writing within which these discourses are formed.

The emphasis on the culture of history-writing brings the questions of the textual and literary means of representing the past to the fore. In this approach the main question of historiography is not only to describe in detail the interpretations of a given phenomenon and the ideologies informing those interpretations, but also to concentrate on the literary and narrative means through which those interpretations are established, and the real events in the past are symbolically reconstituted and invested with a particular significance for the contemporary public.²⁵

The claim that historical research is to a large degree a textual enterprise should not be surprising anymore; ever since the so-called linguistic turn and especially the seminal writings of Hayden White, Roland Barthes, Michel de Certeau, Lionel Gossman and Paul Ricoeur in the 1970's and the 1980's and the subsequent discussions on narrativity²⁶ it has been accepted by most historians that historical writings are not only documentary sources of information but also 'verbal artifacts' and may be legitimately studied as such.²⁷ However, in spite of

²⁴ Gossman, 1990, 293; Munslow 2007, 17. Frank Ankersmit has ventured to claim that if we have only one narrative interpretation of a historical topic, we have no interpretation at all. Ankersmit 1994, 38, 41 and 2001, 14-15; see also Ankersmit 2001, 83 and Bann 1984, 34.

²⁵ Rigney 1990, xii.

²⁶ See for example Ankersmit 1995, *passim*.

²⁷ Rigney 1990, xi. Philosophical views of the place and significance of narrative in historical inquiry were addressed already in the mid-1960's by the almost simultaneous appearance of books by W.B. Gallie (*Philosophy and the Historical Understanding*, 1964) and Morton White (*Foundations of Historical Knowledge*, 1965). Gallie and White first called the attention of analytical philosophers of history to the importance of the topic. See Dray 1989, 131 and footnote 1 on the same page.

the volume of the metahistorical debate ever since the early 1980's, and the self-reflexivity of historians in regard to their research processes brought about by the diverse theoretical turns of the late twentieth century, there is a tendency to suppose the homogeneity of all historical writing and to ignore the sheer variety of discursive forms adopted by historians, even within the same work.²⁸ Furthermore, there are many historians who dislike concepts such as 'plot' or 'story', especially when it comes to their own writing. For them 'narrative' is an ahistorical means of delivering knowledge about the past and thus there is no reason to investigate it especially; historiography provides us with the security of the omniscient and impersonal 'news from nowhere' narration, that is, a direct connection to the national past.²⁹

Research tasks

The present study sets to examine narrative enactments of national pasts by taking one piece of history-writing, namely Professor Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's *History of the Finnish Theatre Company (I–IV)* as its case study approached through a close reading of its narrative and rhetorical devices. The emphasis is on the history-writing, and especially on its national variant; the subject-matter of Aspelin-Haapkylä's study, the Finnish-language theatre in the nineteenth century, is a side-track, although an important one. *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* is not a poor choice for this kind of close reading, since the relationship between nationalism and the stage is an intriguing question. However, any piece of historical scholarship could be approached through the method adopted in this study.

According to my definition above, the main task of the present study is to find out how the Finnish nation was written at the beginning of the twentieth century by writing about the Finnish-language theatre in the nineteenth century. The task needs to be both elaborated and broken down into smaller units: I am

²⁸ Rigney 1995, 144.

²⁹ Munslow 2007, 44; Pihlainen 2012, 323, 327; Rigney 2001, 66; Rüsen 1990, 190; for the still agonizing nature of this discussion, see for example Jorma Kalela's article *Miksi ei pidä ajatella, että historiantutkija tuottaa kertomuksia?* (*Why we should not think that a historian produces narratives/stories?*). Kalela 2009, 294–313.

asking what *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* can tell us about the culture of historical writing in the Grand Duchy of Finland at the beginning of the twentieth century. An even further and a more general definition: I am asking how a close reading like this can help us to understand the mechanisms of national history-writing. In other words, the text – *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* – is in the centre of the study, and it will be approached as a textual universe within its own confines by conducting a close reading on several levels. However, to make it a historical inquiry, and to ask and answer questions that have a meaning beyond the mere text, it must also constantly be placed in the framework of the culture of historical writing in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. It is not only a question of what scholars study, but also what kind of representations they construct about the past. Consequently the intertextual field of historical writing around the text will be explored.

Through a thorough close reading the surface features and the general characteristic of the narrative (such as the plot structure) and its smaller units (such as words and wordings) can be discussed. I will begin by approaching the Theatre History as a concrete object, a platform carrying the story the historian wants to convey by discussing its physical proportions. After this the actual narrative of the History will be analysed. The analysis starts with a question of the overall plot structure: how the narrator³⁰ takes the narrative forward, what are the turning points and milestones he wants the reader to pay attention to, and how this attention is drawn on these key places. This discussion will be elaborated by exploring the more implicit key episodes in the History: those events, episodes and characters in the narrative that are more vividly and intensely described than their surroundings. I will ask what is the role of these key episodes in the framework of the whole story-line, what kind of story of the Finnish-language theatre they convey and what kind of rhetorical and narrative methods the narrator used to represent them convincingly and to persuade the readers of his interpretations of them, and consequently of the whole theatre company. I am also interested in the concrete wordings, metaphors and labels

³⁰ 'Narrator' is a concept developed by literary scholars to denote an agent that tells or transmits the story. Neumann and Nünning 2008, 30. For a more detailed discussion of the term and the reasons to use it in the analysis of scholarly history-writing, see pp. 52–56 in the present study.

attached to events and episodes depicted in the Theatre History. This analysis will result in sketching the 'vocabulary of nationalism' the narrator used to furnish and maintain the discursive world he created.

Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History seems to occupy a position between popular and academic history-writing: in its reception it was defined as a didactic device every citizen should become familiar with and there are only a few footnotes pointing to the sources. On the other hand, there is a source reference apparatus, although of a peculiar kind, and Aspelin-Haapkylä discusses his aims in scholarly terms reflecting the ideals of the scholarly community. Consequently in the present study the History is placed in the tradition of scholarly history-writing by examining those manifestations of scholarly conventions, for example the source-reference style adopted in it. My hypothesis is that the explicit deviations from the scholarly rules are a sign of older layers of the culture of history-writing still operative and significant, and do not mean that the Theatre History should be defined first and foremost as a popular history.

In other words, besides close reading the text, it is also placed in the wide framework of the culture of historical writing. This is crucial for understanding the political and intellectual background and the narrative methods of the History, but it will also contribute to our understanding of that culture. I will discuss the Theatre History in the landscape of the nineteenth century historical scholarship by presenting definitions of 'national history-writing' in Finland, and by asking how the Theatre History fitted in or answered those definitions. This means also addressing the (perhaps for the time being unsolvable) question of the typicality or exceptionality of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History.

Discussing the source basis of the Theatre History and approaching the narrative as a fluctuation between source quotations and the narrator's efforts of bringing the story forward gives me also a chance to consider the authorial position Aspelin-Haapkylä takes in regard to his Theatre History and hence in regard to the past – what kind of narrator do we find in the History and consequently what kind of powers he is provided with – and then to return this set of questions back to the culture of history-writing of the Finnish-language nationalists at the beginning of the twentieth century. Was the past something

that needed to be firmly controlled and guarded or was it a looser area of open endings and negotiations?

In this connection the question of voice will be raised too. I will ask who is allowed a voice in this kind of national narrative, especially at the moment of a rapid cultural and political change. Indeed, one of the questions that runs through the whole analysis is who is or who are the active subject(s) – the protagonist(s) – in Aspelin-Haapkylä's story. I am approaching this question by analysing, for example, how the narrator deals with the inner dynamics of the theatre and how he discusses the playwrights and the audience.

Analysing the source basis of the Theatre History has both narrative and ideological levels. A narrative level, since I am looking for binary oppositions³¹ between different characters and situations in the story arguably used to create the necessary narrative tensions in order to make his History a convincing and interesting representation, and an ideological level, since it has all to do with the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion: what has been taken in and left out of Aspelin-Haapkylä's story and thus of the grand narration of Finnishness.

In all these discussions the actual Finnish-language theatre in the nineteenth century is approached too. As stated above, my aim is not to write a parallel story of that theatre, but our picture of it will naturally become more varied when Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is set against the sources he used.

Some of the wordings above have already hinted at the main hypotheses of my study: narrative and rhetorical means are used to 'maintain' a story and to 'persuade' the reader. In other words, I understand a piece of history-writing as a textual world of its own, the success of which depends on how well it maintains its inner integrity. The narrative devices used in the Theatre History are all meant to serve that purpose. However, they also have, as already mentioned, a communicative purpose: they are meant to persuade the reader that the piece of historical scholarship in question represents an accurate and a meaningful

³¹ Stephen Bann has been discussing the French historian Jules Michelet's way of making the readers conscious of historiographical space, and especially the difference between the past and the present by stating or implying a series of polarities – such as modern/medieval, rational/irrational. Bann 1984, 50–51. Aspelin-Haapkylä's use of polarities is connected to the depiction of social and political dynamics in his narrative.

interpretation of the past.³² Thus the textual world also opens up and spills over its limits. Studying the reception of the Theatre History tells how successful Aspelin-Haapkylä was in achieving his goals, and how those goals were defined and redefined by his immediate surroundings.

Referring to the maintenance and persuasion also points to the understanding of any piece of history-writing as an end result of a constant struggle between a discursive representation of the past and the past reality, which the historian seizes both at understanding and controlling by selecting parts of it and synthesizing them into a coherent narrative.³³ I will address the position of the variant of history-writing – the national history – Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History stands for in regard to this struggle in the Finnish context.

Yet another hypothesis is that different literary genres dealing with the past were collaborating closely when the nation was in the process of being defined by, among other things, writing about its past. The nineteenth century culture of historical writing consisted of many literary genres, both factual and fictional, which is easily forgotten by scholars focusing only on scholarly history-writing or only on fictional texts. This intertextual field of historical writing contributed crucially not only to the content but also to the form of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History. To address this question links between historical scholarship and historical novel and drama in the late nineteenth century Finland and their specific, sometimes shared thematic interests will be discussed. The theme is also addressed by close reading Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History: as mentioned above, special attention is paid to those parts of the History where the representative and referential rules of history-writing seem to be broken, which again leads to the questions of the borderlines between fictive and non-fictive writing, and thus the mechanisms of the culture of history-writing and historical consciousness at the beginning of the twentieth century.

³² In this sense the footnotes and other means of making references to sources should be understood both as scholarly conventions anchoring the representation to the sources used and as persuasive narrative means. They tell a parallel story of the scholarly effort and erudition. See Grafton 1997, *passim*. and my discussion about the source basis of the History in Chapter 6.

³³ Rigney 2001, 3, 22–25, 85, 100.

On the background of all these considerations is the question of Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's understanding – his idea of – history. However, I am not writing Aspelin-Haapkylä's (intellectual) biography, which unfortunately does not exist. The question will be addressed as the conclusion of the abovementioned research tasks, and in relation to some of his reviews about other pieces of history-writing from the turn of the century. The Theatre History is discussed throughout as an example of the historical understanding of the group of Finnish-language nationalists from the beginning of the twentieth century that Aspelin-Haapkylä belonged to – the so-called Old Finns³⁴ – and in the end of the study the question of defining the generic narrative style of the Old-Finnish national history-writing – the poetics of it, if you will – will be addressed.

How to Read the History: the Method

As defined above, my research tasks circle around the questions of what and how: which episodes are discussed in the text and how it is done. Any text can be divided into two parts accordingly: the content and the form. The question of content points to the events and episodes described, the form denotes the way these are told. As a historian my first intention was to study the Finnish-language theatre in the nineteenth century and the nation-building process within and around that institution, which is the content Aspelin-Haapkylä is also dealing with. However, it soon became apparent that it is impossible without a deeper understanding of Aspelin-Haapkylä's paradigmatic representation of the phenomenon in question, which has so decisively influenced the view of the nineteenth century theatre. Concepts and methods offered by the narrative analysis and, to be more precise, by historiographical narratology provided the best tools to do an analytical close reading of the Theatre History.

³⁴ In Finnish history-writing these pro-Finnish-language nationalists are usually called Fennomans and their opponents, the Swedish-language nationalists, are referred to as Svecomans. The terms were already used in the nineteenth century. However, for the sake of clarity I am using the terms Finnish-nationalists and Swedish-nationalists in my study. The context Aspelin-Haapkylä is writing about and writing from within, the nineteenth century linguistic, cultural and political history, will be discussed in Chapter 2.

The term 'close reading' is one of those popular, nomadic concepts crossing the disciplinary borders within the Humanities. The reason for its popularity is probably its openness and broadness, which invite different kinds of interpretations and uses.³⁵ Close readings are nowadays done within a wide field of humanistic scholarship, from different forms of cultural studies to gender studies to ethnology. In history, reading 'closely' is a typical method in various microhistorical or deconstructionist approaches.³⁶

Folklorist Jyrki Pöysä has suggested a procedure to conduct a close reading. It starts with multiple readings of the text under scrutiny. The next phase is to 'write the text' – not compiling a summary of it, but taking notes, observing and reflecting the text in question. In the process of 'writing the text' the reception of it changes. The details of the text, not its entirety, become significant: the reading is no longer syntagmatic, observing the mere surface structure of the text, but paradigmatic, paying attention to its semantic details, rhetorical elements and so on. Accordingly, this is the phase when the text starts to open up. Pöysä also emphasizes that any close reading is always an open-ended process, later returning to the same text changes, at least partly, the understanding of it, and thus the previous close reading(s).³⁷

My way of close reading has been very close to Pöysä's model. Indeed, the second or the third reading of the text in question opened a new perspective on it: what previously had appeared as a minimally narrated (or nonnarrated) and uncomplicated, even boringly so, narrative, became a complicated mosaic of narrative and rhetorical means, and different levels of authorial participation. The analytical concepts that resulted in this new view on the Theatre History will be introduced after first discussing their disciplinary roots in literary studies and historiographical narratology. May it suffice here to present the way Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History was 'read closely' on a more general level.

³⁵ Jyrki Pöysä has paralleled the term in its openness to the conceptual pair of 'thick' and 'thin' description, proposed first by the philosopher of language Gilbert Ryle and further developed by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in the 1970's, and spread ever since across the wide field of cultural studies. Pöysä 2010, 331–333.

³⁶ However, for example Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz have chosen to use the concept 'microstudy' instead of 'close reading' in their introduction to *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*. Berger and Lorenz 2010, 8–9.

³⁷ Pöysä 2010, 337–344.

The main method was what might be called ‘textual counterfactuality’. It turned out to be the only way to see the expressional possibilities and limitations: asking if the narrator could have chosen to narrate differently, playing with those alternatives, making somewhat anachronical questions and observations on the text and the research position behind it. However, these alternatives and questions are seldom written out in my study, since this tool has been more a thought-provoking exercise. I am aware of the inherent anachrony of this approach: the (educated) guesses about the narrative alternatives are naturally influenced by my own textual, literary culture, and only part of that can be balanced with the contextual knowledge about the piece of historiography in question and with comparisons to other textual traces of the era (newspapers, letters et cetera).

The changes in the tone of the text will be traced all through the study: the emotionally intense and loaded places in the History or – on the contrary – the obvious understatements and omissions receive special attention. Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History is one of the places where the creation, maintenance and imagining of nationness happened.³⁸ Even if we cannot know all the intentions of its author³⁹, narrating a story is an intentional act and thus as worth studying as the factual event-history itself. History-writing is a strong identity discourse, and these intensive phases in the text are the ones creating responses in the readers, thus constructing connective, collective semantics.

Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History is throughout the study also cross-read against the archival sources the author used, namely the extensive letter collection of Emilie and Kaarlo (Karl)⁴⁰ Bergbom and their closest circle of relatives and friends (siblings Augusta af Heurlin and Ossian Bergbom; friend Betty Elfving; playwright Minna Canth, to mention the most important), and newspaper reviews and other writings about the Finnish Theatre Company and

³⁸ Or, as Erkki Sevänen has formulated the meaning of language and semantics in his introduction to an article collection discussing ‘sociology of texts’: they “are formations that significantly structure, fabricate and maintain the social life.” Sevänen 2011, 11.

³⁹ This is the problem literary scholars refer to as ‘intentional fallacy’, a term coined in the 1940’s. Nowadays literary scholars take many positions when it comes to approaching the ‘intentions’ of the authors (contrasting, for example, hypothetical and real intentions). However, anti-intentionalism has not disappeared altogether. See for example Tuhkanen 2006, 62–67.

⁴⁰ I am using the Finnish-translation Kaarlo Bergbom instead of Karl Bergbom. Aspelin-Haapkylä preferred the Finnish translation of Bergbom’s name for the sake of his nationalist approach, and it has become the established way of referring to Bergbom. Hence the use of it in my study, too.

its performances. Nevertheless, the emphasis here is not only on Aspelin-Haapkylä's archival skills. The voice of the Bergboms will be presented as the commentator on the narrative choices of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History; Aspelin-Haapkylä's narrative will be contrasted and deconstructed in relation to his protagonists' own opinions, interpretations, aspirations, expectations and motivations.⁴¹ By doing this kind of comparison the History will be placed in the framework of the theatrical life of the nineteenth century Finland and occasionally set against a wider European theatre culture, too.

The Possibilities and Limits of the Study

Different kinds of microanalyses or close readings of history-writing have been made during the last two decades but they do not abound in any way. The trouble is that historiographical narratology is constantly lagging behind the comprehensive and complex studies conducted by literary critics on fictional texts, but on the other hand, the concepts developed by literary critics cannot be applied as such to historical writing. The aim of the present study is to offer a systematic analysis of a piece of history-writing by exploring and testing concepts developed for understanding textual structures in fictional works.⁴²

Do these kinds of observations enhance our knowledge of the past? My answer is yes. The narrativist close readings are often comparisons of different scholarly works dealing with the same period or event. As such, they can shed light on a historian's role in representing the past and the culture of history-writing within which the representations in question were composed. As detailed analyses they can also serve as starting points for more general discussions about the changes in history-writing and the relationship between different literary genres dealing with the past. In Aspelin-Haapkylä's case the representation cannot be compared to other representations of the same

⁴¹ I have translated the quotations either from Finnish (from Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History and newspaper articles) or Swedish (from correspondence and newspaper articles). As this kind of textualist approach is very conscious of the language, I will provide the reader with the original quotations when they are longer than just few words, in Appendix 2.

⁴² The most notable exception is Ann Rigney who has been conducting narratological studies on history-writing ever since the early 1990's. See for example Rigney 1990, 1991, 1992a&b, 1995, 1996, 2001. Jan Eckel has recently emphasized that narrativist approaches could enhance our knowledge about the mechanisms of history-writing. Eckel 2010, 36.

phenomenon but it will be placed in the framework of historical writing from the period. In addition, the Theatre History will be compared to the aforementioned main bulk of his source material as far as it is available. In that sense even this kind of textualist study has the aim to be corrective in regard to previous interpretations of the same phenomenon, which is one of the main preoccupations of all historians.

What makes historiographical inquiry challenging is moving between two historical contexts: that of writing and that of the period the text in question deals with. In addition there is the third, self-reflective level: the researcher who is looking back and forth in the past through these two prisms and who is composing, in this case, her own narrative of the past within her own history-culture. The problem of the two contexts is pronounced in the case of Aspelin-Haapkylä and his Theatre History: there is no biography of him on which one could build the interpretations of his intellectual background. Working through the vast archive left by Aspelin-Haapkylä could not be done within the framework of this study; however, the manuscript of the Theatre History, which is kept in his personal archive, and his lecture notes on literature and aesthetics have been checked and used when relevant for the subject-matter under scrutiny here, as well as the diaries and some correspondence from the period of the writing.

In addition we do not have a modern history of the Finnish Theatre Company. As pointed out, there are some articles on the subject and a recent survey that touches upon the issue, but to supplement the picture delivered in them it was necessary to read Aspelin-Haapkylä's central sources, that is the letters of the leaders of the theatre, Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom (approximately 1000 letters, including the letters the siblings wrote to each other and to their closest friends and associates), and reviews and writings about the theatre published in the newspapers and periodicals. This helped to form an image of the variety of sources and pieces of information from which Aspelin-Haapkylä selected those written into his story. However, as a member of the Board of the theatre company, he was also relying on his own insight into the theatre's daily doings to a large extent, and at least in these places it is impossible to get beyond his representation.

In order to place Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History against a wider context of history-writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, mainly in the Grand Duchy of Finland but also in the European context, several general surveys and articles about historical writing in Europe throughout centuries were used. The most valuable of these turned out to be the concise and precise representation by Leidulf Melve, *Historie. Historieskrivning frå antikken til i dag* (2010), although it is often more a history of ideas than that of narratives. However, when it comes to Finland there have been relatively few studies on the history of history-writing – the only comprehensive contribution is Matti Klinge's *Suomalainen ja eurooppalainen menneisyys. Historiankirjoitus ja historiakulttuuri keisariaikana* (2010) without which it would have been difficult to conduct the study at hand. Klinge's study charts the nineteenth century Finnish history-writing, not forgetting the 'unprofessional' historians, mainly chronologically but also partially thematically.

Besides Klinge, among the recent studies on Finnish historiography are Juhani Mylly's study *Kansallinen projekti. Historiankirjoitus ja politiikka autonomisessa Suomessa* (2002) aiming at discussing the politics of history-writing in the nineteenth century Finland but focusing more on the political framework of history-writing than the thing itself, an article collection *Oma Pöytä. Naiset historiankirjoittajina Suomessa* (2005) about Finnish female historians in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, and Elise Garritzen's dissertation *Lähteiden lumoamat. Henry Biaudet, Liisi Karttunen ja suomalainen historiantutkimus Roomassa 1900-luvun alussa* (2011) concentrating on two Finnish historians in the early twentieth century but also commenting on the differences between the Finnish- and Swedish-language historiographical traditions in Finland and placing those in the wider European framework.

In addition, some case studies on Finnish historians from the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries were published in the early 1990's, focusing mainly on the themes these scholars dealt with, and the intellectual history of their scholarship: Jukka Tervonen's study on J.R. Danielson-Kalmari (1853–1933) and Pekka Ahtiainen's study on Gunnar Suolahti (1876–1933), both from 1991. Slightly later these authors co-authored a survey on history-writing in

Finland in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries *Menneisyyden tutkijat ja metodien vartijat. Matka suomalaisen historiankirjoitukseen* (1996).

All the abovementioned studies have been used as contextualizing devices and points of comparison to Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History. However, the kinds of textualist close readings I have been doing are difficult to find. I am greatly indebted to Ann Rigney's studies, especially her *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation. Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution* (1990) and *Imperfect Histories. The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (2001). These two studies provided me with indispensable conceptual tools to understand the Theatre History better.

However, in the Finnish context the problem of comparison remains. When I am making arguments about the narrative devices of the Theatre History or Aspelin-Haapkylä's ways to use his sources, I constantly face the question, "Compared to what?" In most places I can only tell how Aspelin-Haapkylä did it, and suggest what that might imply in regard to the national history-writing from the beginning of the twentieth century in Finland. It is the task of further studies to show how conventional or exceptional Aspelin-Haapkylä's *History of the Finnish Theatre Company* in the end really was.

When it comes to placing the Theatre History in the intertextual field of historical writing – the scholarly field of studying the past and the historical novel and play – the problem of previous research is topical again. There are no studies interrelating fictive and non-fictive writing about the past in the Finnish context. Derek Fewster has partly dealt with the question by concentrating on medievalism in his dissertation *Visions of Past Glory. Nationalism and the Construction of Early Finnish History* (2006). Hence, I have approached the thematical interests of the history-writers (scholars, novelists and playwrights) by comparing the information delivered in Matti Klinge's abovementioned survey and Hannu Syväoja's study of the nationalistic traditions in the nineteenth century historical novels in Finland "*Suomen tulevaisuuden näen*". *Nationalistinen traditio autonomian ajan historiallisessa romaanissa ja novellissa* (1998). I have supplemented the picture thus acquired by compiling a wide chronological material of scholarly history-writing, historical novels and historical plays in Finland 1797–1917, turned into diagrams and tables

presented in Appendix 1:1–4. This material has given me a tentative outline of the themes and periods considered important and a tentative picture of chains of impact moving back and forth between different types of historical writing, fiction and non-fiction.

Theoretical Framework: Narrative and Narrativity

In what follows I am placing the present study in its theoretical and thus also conceptual framework. The method – the ways to read Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History – was discussed already previously. However, the concepts we use when discussing the past are a crucial part of the method, and consequently this subchapter will widen the methodological approach of the study. First, the roots of the concepts, stemming from the two disciplines of literary studies and historiography will be discussed. After that the central concepts deployed both in the concrete analysis of the History and in the interpretation of it will be introduced. These will then be further developed and also to some extent supplemented in relation to my source material in the chapters that follow.

It has been said that we are able to discern the fears, expectations, desires and repressed elements of a culture by taking into account how it gives form to its past.⁴³ This form may be found in paintings, literature, poetry and theatre performances, but also in scholarly works concerning the past.

What matters here is the word *form*. In other words, to discern something elementary of a given culture and its relationship to its past, we should study the representational traditions used in conveying our image of the past(s). Posing the question in this way we are not only doing very concrete research but also theorizing about semiotic ways of communicating knowledge, attitudes and images of the past. The distinction between content/story and form/discourse is at the heart of this kind of approach. When it focuses on the history of historiography, we move into the well-established field of historiographical narratology that is also the home domain of my study.

⁴³ Ankersmit 2001, 1; see also Kellner, 1995, 2; White 1987, 1.

There has been an explosion of interest in the narrative that has taken place in the past decades – the “narrativist turn in the Human Sciences” as it is called – with this multifaceted object of inquiry becoming a central concern in a wide range of disciplines and research contexts.⁴⁴ Literary critics, historians, philosophers, psychoanalysts and psychologists, anthropologists, film theorists and scholars studying memory have all attempted to determine the narrative quality of their objects of study. In the course of this wide interest a ‘narrative’ has become not only a way to deliver a story but has been conceived as a basic mode of organizing and constructing reality. For example, sociologists have claimed that telling a coherent life story is the fundamental way for an individual to come to terms with his/her past.⁴⁵

This interest has created three broad, basic research positions for discussing and defining the term narrative and hence the research object embraced by this ambiguous term, summarized well by the literary scholar Pekka Tammi.⁴⁶

The first alternative is to see narrative as a type of discourse and to agree with the literary scholar Dorrit Cohn, who defines narrative as a series of statements that deal with a causally related sequence of events that concern human (or human-like) beings. Secondly, narrative can be contextualised as a rhetorical speech act. Thirdly, narrative can be understood as a cognitive schema: as a tropological operation or a performative discourse that makes the text it analyses a narrative.⁴⁷ Tammi also emphasizes that the object of analysis does not have to be a written piece of text – a ‘text’ should be understood in a very broad sense. ‘Narratives’ are found in all kinds of life-stories, personal reminiscences, interviews, oral histories et cetera.

Narrative, therefore, can reside either in a text, in communication, or in the reception of a text.⁴⁸ Matti Hyvärinen discusses at length in his article *Towards the Conceptual History of Narrative* all these alternatives and complains

⁴⁴ Herman 2007, 4; Hyvärinen 2006, 20; Hyvärinen 2009, 29; Martin 1986, 7, 15.

⁴⁵ Eckel 2010, 26. When it comes to the “narrative turn in the Human Sciences” Eckel is referring, among others, to M. Kreiswirth: ‘Tell Me a Story: The Narrativist Turn in the Human Sciences’, in M. Kreiswirth and T. Carmichael (eds.), *Constructive Criticisms: The Human Sciences in the Age of Theory* (1995).

⁴⁶ Tammi 2009, 140–166; see also Hyvärinen 2006, 34.

⁴⁷ Tammi 2009, 142–146; see also Hyvärinen 2006, 34.

⁴⁸ Hyvärinen 2006, 34.

about both the lack of conceptual clarity and the problems of the mere metaphorical uses of the terms such as narrative and story. In fact the result is often that 'narrative' and 'story' are not themselves the objects of analysis; instead they serve as metaphorical resources with which to observe something else, for example 'identity'. In addition, the narrative-turn scholars, as Hyvärinen calls the multidisciplinary collective of scholars who have adopted the terminology, have often been so determined to focus on the content of the stories that the narrative aspect itself has been at risk of being marginalized. There is often also a political and cultural mission of introducing new, previously silenced voices to the reading public behind the adoption of the terminology.⁴⁹

What about history-writing then? When we refer to its representational, narrative nature, are we using the term metaphorically and then go on analysing something else, or are we really asking how we write about the past and why? The representational nature of historiography is a door opened a long time ago, although historians do not really like to be reminded of the consequences of it, as discussed above.⁵⁰ However, it is seldom asked from where the terminology historians use when pointing to the narrative nature of history-writing is stemming from, and what theoretical and methodological consequences it actually has.⁵¹

Therefore, in what follows, I will first make a short summary of the history of narratology in the domain of literary studies. After that I will discuss the so-called historiographical narratology and end by presenting the conceptual tool-kit used in the present study stemming from these both.

Literary Critical Approach to Narrative

It comes as no surprise that the study of novel, with relatively few, repeated examples, has dominated the narratology practiced by literary scholars. However, as an answer to the inflation of the term after the boom of interest among the cultural and social studies from the beginning of the 1980's onwards and the flourishing metaphorical use of the term 'narrative', literary scholars

⁴⁹ Hyvärinen 2006, 31, 37.

⁵⁰ Rigney 1990, xi

⁵¹ For exceptions in this respect, see for example Rigney 1991, 591–593 and also Munslow 2007.

have set to work to define a definition of narrative that would distinguish the literal from the metaphorical uses.⁵²

This has meant that the basic question – what is a narrative? – has remained topical and discussed, as can be seen, for example in the contributions in the latest *Cambridge Companion to Narrative* (2007). In accordance, although the field has become more interdisciplinary and the postclassical approaches⁵³ have shifted the focus towards what has been defined as ‘the contextual factors’ (that is, cultural discourses, values and norms, concepts of gender, identity and alterity as well as ethical issues)⁵⁴, the traditional questions dealing with the closed semantic universe of a single narrative – the relationships between narration and plot, time and space, character, dialogue, focalization and genre – seem to be central even today.

Definitions of Narrative by Literary Scholars

In the 1960’s the Russian Formalism and (Saussurean) linguistics worked as the pilot-science of narratology. The Formalists looked into simple narratives: folk tales, myths, *romans policiers*, thus enabling the idea of a single theory on narrative.⁵⁵ Tzvetan Todorov coined the term “la narratologie” to designate what he and other structuralist theorists (Barthes, Genette, Greimas, Bahktin, among others) conceived of as a science of narrative. The main point was to study all kinds of poetical and imaginative story-tellings and the nature of narration in general rather than to interpret individual narratives. Already these early theorists of narrative argued explicitly for a cross-disciplinary approach, which, according to some critics, has hardly been reached so far.⁵⁶

⁵² Herman 2007, 4; Ryan 2007, 22.

⁵³ For the difference between the so-called classical and postclassical approaches, see footnote 57 on page 31.

⁵⁴ Neumann and Nünning 2008, 144–145.

⁵⁵ Chatman 1978, 15. The earliest, pioneering narratological study is Käte Friedemann’s *Die Rolle des Erzählers in der Epik* from 1910. Hägg, Lehtimäki & Steinby 2009, 9–10.

⁵⁶ Herman claims that “although more needs to be done to promote genuine dialogue and exchange among story analysts working in different fields, it is undeniable that the past decade in particular has seen an exponential growth of cross-disciplinary research and teaching activity centering on narrative.” Herman 2007, 5. Hyvärinen, however, points out that understanding narrative “requires more extensive theoretical interchange than is now occurring”. Hyvärinen 2006, 37.

All in all the goal of this structuralist classical narratology⁵⁷ was to develop an extensive theory of narrative, both in its microstructures (how the individual pieces of narrative fit together) and in its macrostructure (the general designs of plots). By studying the macrostructure a theory of plot typology could be achieved. It would all add up to an explicit characterization of the narrative model underlying people's intuitive knowledge of stories, in effect providing an account of what constitutes human's narrative competence.⁵⁸

However, although the goal was to study narrative as a whole and to create an embracing theory of narratology, only few comprehensive studies on that subject in general have been published. Instead libraries abound with studies on a single genre or author.⁵⁹ In addition, in spite of the attempts of the classical narratologists to create a multidisciplinary field of inquiry, the 'narrative' was and indeed is defined in a way that automatically points towards fiction thus marking the territory of literary scholarship. The one notable exception was Roland Barthes, who also looked into the field of history-writing and determined some basic features of what he called 'historical discourse': the *referential illusion* that points to historians' declination to appear as narrators of their texts and the *reality effect* pointing to the tendency of historians to present their object as existing outside historical discourse.⁶⁰

The literary theorist Gérard Genette partly took the blame on himself in his *Fiction&Diction* from 1991 pointing out that he had not included factual representations in his earlier works on narration. However, according to him such study would require a large-scale inquiry into discursive practices such as

⁵⁷ Narratological approaches have been divided into classical and post-classical branches, which are at least partly successive. The early narratologists from the 1950's to the 1980's are defined as classical narratologists: they were interested in structuralist description and categorization of different elements of the narrative (for example Wayne C. Booth or Gérard Genette). The research object was usually a single fictive text, although some of the French classical narratologists had a broader approach to the term narrative. The post-classical school was born in the 1980's and in the 1990's, when poststructuralism, feminist and postcolonial theories, psychology et cetera broke or opened up the typologies of the earlier narratology and created what has been called cultural and historical narratology. However, Markku Lehtimäki has pointed out that the results of the classical and postclassical narratologies do not differ very much. Lehtimäki 2009, 29. It has also been suggested that one should talk about different or a wide variety of narratologies. Hägg, Lehtimäki & Steinby 2009, 10–13; Neumann and Nünning 2008, 144–145; Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)b, 141–142.

⁵⁸ Chatman, 1978, 84; Herman 2007, 14; Hägg, Lehtimäki & Steinby 2009, 11.

⁵⁹ Chatman 1978, 9; Martin 1986, 8.

⁶⁰ Eckel 2010, 28.

those of history, biography, personal diaries, newspaper accounts, police reports, judicial narratives, everyday gossiping and other forms of "universal reporting", or, at least the systematic analysis of some major text deemed typical.⁶¹ In addition, Wallace Martin had pointed out already in 1986 that the most important developments in narrative theory had come about by an interdisciplinary insight, born when the French structuralists realized that the anthropologist, the folklorist, the historian and even the psychoanalyst and the theologian are all concerned with narratives.⁶² In spite of these arguments the core question that constitutes the whole field of literary inquiry has remained the same: the specific character of fiction as 'the narrative'.⁶³

In other words it seems that the border between fictive and factual writing is still difficult to cross. When for example history-writing is looked into by literary scholars, it usually serves as a bouncing wall against which to test the theories and indeed emphasizes the peculiar character of different genres of fiction.⁶⁴ One of the reasons might be that the way for a literary genre to attain esteem in the eyes of the literary scholars is to show that its techniques are subtle and complex, the status for example the novel received in the scholarly discourse only after World War II.⁶⁵ It is also obvious that the same arguments are used when history-writing is left out from the narrative analyses of different literary genres. Historical discourse is often seen as constituting the objective – and, accordingly, uninteresting – pole of representation. It has been described as a genre in which nobody speaks, consisting of texts that appear as direct, unmediated representations of past events.⁶⁶

So, the idea of poetic language and imaginative writing has been in the heart of narratology. Narratologists have generally shared a minimalistic definition of narrative as a representation of a sequence of non-randomly connected events; the 'connectedness' or 'coherence' of the represented events is

⁶¹ Genette 1991, 56

⁶² Martin 1986, 23.

⁶³ See also Rigney 1991, 593.

⁶⁴ Stephen Bann has claimed, relying on Louis Mink, that there is a cultural necessity of maintaining the distinction between history and fiction. He quotes Mink, "Our understanding of fiction needs the contrast with history as much as our understanding of history needs the contrast with fiction. --- If the distinction were to disappear, fiction and history would collapse back into myth---." Bann 1984, 173.

⁶⁵ Martin 1986, 16

⁶⁶ Carrard 1995, 108; Martin 1986, 15–20.

generally recognized as an essential feature of narrative. However, the troubles begin when the nature of this 'connectedness' is tried and defined. Consequently more complex definitions of narrative have been developed, introducing distinctions between concepts such as story and plot and narrative discourse (all defined differently depending on the scholar).⁶⁷ The 'narrative' has also been defined in terms of sequence and change: a narrative has a temporal dimension, it plots the events and thus gives them a meaning. It is a complete, orchestrated whole, characterized by the structure of beginning – middle – ending, thus distinct from other ways of using language. Some feel that there is even a further need for a full(er) definition and claim that a narrative always entails representation of human experience, representation of at least two real or fictive events in a time sequence, and meaningful connection between them in a temporal and causal way.⁶⁸

The existence of a narrator and the complex question of his/her relationship to the story is also usually mentioned as a signpost of the narrative character of a text. Narrative is often defined by listing different narrative genres and discussing questions such as whether a weather report is a narrative. What about a cooking recipe, a letter or a medieval chronicle? All in all, definitions glide from the simple understanding of narratives as representations to full-package requirements, and as the term becomes more popular and all-embracing, it also risks becoming vacuous to the point of losing all effectiveness as an analytical tool.⁶⁹

The Gliding Scale of Narrativity

The difference between the so-called scientific description and a narrative was and indeed is often offered as a further device for defining the field of inquiry. According to this distinction a narrative is characterized by particularity, its temporal profile and human experientiality, whereas scientific explanation deals with the ways that the world tends to be on the general level.⁷⁰ Indeed, the

⁶⁷ Rigney 1991, 591–592.

⁶⁸ Ryan 2007, 23.

⁶⁹ Rigney 1992b, 264.

⁷⁰ Herman 2007, 10.

abovementioned *Cambridge Companion to Narrative* defines the term in the introduction as follows (taking the concepts story and narrative as synonyms),

“Rather than focusing on general, abstract situations or trends, stories are accounts of what happened to particular people – and of what it was like for them to experience what happened – in particular circumstances and with specific consequences. Narrative, in other words, is a basic human strategy for coming to terms with time, process, and change – a strategy that contrasts with, but is in no way inferior to, “scientific” models of explanation that characterize phenomena as instances of general covering laws.”⁷¹

The author of this definition, David Herman, suggests together with Marie-Laure Ryan that instead of making lists of narratives and non-narratives and thus seeing narrativity as a clear on-off category, it is instead fruitful to describe narrativity in terms of typicality and level: there are prototypical narratives and narratives in the fringes almost coalescing to other types of representation. In this approach, rather than seeking binary elements, the definition is gliding and narrativity appears as an open series of concentric circles from a prototypical narrative to more vague forms of it. The aim in this approach is to develop criteria for determining the degree of narrativity of a text.⁷²

According to Ryan, it is possible to organize the conditions of narrativity into three semantic and one formal and pragmatic dimensions. The semantic dimensions deal with the spatial, mental and temporal preconditions of narrativity. A narrative occupies a world of its own, a world that must be populated by individual existents who react to the states of their world. It must be situated in time and it must go through significant transformations in the course of the narration. On the formal and pragmatic side the sequence of events must form a unified causal chain and lead to closure, and there must be something meaningful that the story is communicating to the audience.⁷³

⁷¹ Herman 2007, 3.

⁷² Ryan 2007, 28–30.

⁷³ Ryan 2007, 28–29.

However, these dimensions are not absolute requirements of a narrative. Instead, they offer a toolkit for do-it-yourself definitions. They can be used to discuss the abovementioned degree of narrativity, which depends on how many of the conditions are fulfilled; a prototypical narration would contain all these features.⁷⁴ In a way Seymour Chatman's earlier remark of the 'minimally narrated' stories⁷⁵ could be seen as an example of the same kind of reasoning: being a narrative is not something either/or and a story can consist of non-narrated or minimally narrated parts and narrative parts, which affects the position of the representation in question on the general scale of narrativity.

In spite of this new approach to the question of narrative Ryan nevertheless returns to the old dilemma of narratologists, that is, the categorization of different narrative types or genres within these dimensions. Ryan presents the possibility of dividing the narratives, not according to their plot-structure but according to the dimensions of spatiality, action and mentality. Science fiction, for example, uses lots of space to construct an imaginary world on a very detailed level and is thus a spatial narrative.⁷⁶

This kind of analysis discussing rather the scale of narrativity of different genres of writing – and also levels of narrativity within one text – than deciding whether they are narratives or not, is stimulating also for historiographical narratology. It makes it possible to see a text as partly narrative and makes it easier to analyse a historian's representation. It might also allow us to note differences in the narrative character, i.e. narrativity, between different subgenres (paradigms) of history-writing⁷⁷, which consequently, may reveal something significant of the culture of history-writing within which the representation in question was composed.

History-writing and Narratology

As all much used and debated concepts, 'narrative' and 'narration' have become so fluid and partly, as some scholars claim, all-embracing in

⁷⁴ Ryan 2007, 30–31.

⁷⁵ Chatman 1978, 147, 166–169.

⁷⁶ Ryan 2007, 30–31.

⁷⁷ See also Rigney 1991, 599.

philosophical and theoretical discussions about history-writing and its epistemological basis, that it is sometimes difficult to keep track of what the discussants are actually talking about, and if the concepts give any new insight anymore. Indeed, the ambiguity of the term 'narrative' itself has proven to be a kind of stumbling block for the research as well as a lodestone for the critics of the approach.⁷⁸ In the middle of all these discussions and uses of the term I find it necessary first to chart briefly the history of historical narratology and the differing uses of the concept itself by historians, before continuing with my own approach to historiographical narratology.

Definitions of Narrative by Historians

Many of the questions raised after the narrative turn in historiography were discussed already in the nineteenth century when historiography was institutionalized and professionalized and its methods were being developed according to the model offered by the natural sciences. As a response to the empiricist declarations, J.G Droysen (1808–1884) argued in his *Historik* (Munich 1875) that the historical text could never be seen as a simple mimesis or reflection of the past “as it has actually been”. Droysen, along with Friedrich Nietzsche, who in his turn had been influenced by Jakob Burckhardt, stressed the fundamental autonomy of historical writing with regard to the past itself, a crucial claim for all the later historiographical narratologists.⁷⁹

As mentioned above, scholars dealing with 'literature' and 'narratives' tend to leave historiography outside their discussions. Fiction is the field of literary studies; history-writing that of historiography. In spite of this, the term narrative turned out to be alluring for philosophers of history and theoretically inclined historians, too and the narrativist turn reached also historiography in the 1960's. It was an answer, among other things, to the debate initiated by the philosopher Carl Hempel's covering-law model for historical explanation (1942), posing that historical events are explained by comparing them to other events

⁷⁸ According to Ann Rigney, one of the major problems for example in Hayden White's *The Content and the Form* (1987) is "the uncertainty surrounding White's central category 'narrative.'" Rigney 1991, 598–599.

⁷⁹ Ankersmit 1995, 278.

taken place under similar conditions and by the laws thus constructed, and to the claims of the French Annalists, that narrative history was merely a recital of social and political change from the perspective of one or another ideology. These claims and critics prompted philosophers of history to re-examine the assumptions underlying historical narrative.⁸⁰

In other words, the narrativist turn challenged to a certain extent the dominant historical trend which saw historical scholarship as fundamentally the same as the natural sciences. Until that point historical theory and the philosophy of history had mainly been dealing with the process of historical research, that is, the discussion concerning the past and what is left of it, the sources. Now the so-called analytical philosophers of history turned to the question of the language and narrative of historians. Nevertheless, historians usually left philosophers to fight over how they were writing.⁸¹

In the subsequent discussions within the discipline history, the term 'narrative' has been used loosely as a noun pointing to a historian's text and as an adjective defining one branch or genre of history-writing. The 'narrative turn' has also generated an extensive metatheoretical discussion about the truth-claims of the empiricist historians. In addition, the concept 'narrative' has been used as one of the analytical tools when approaching a singular text (or narrative). The situations where the concept 'narrative' most often occurs in metahistorical discussions can be summarized as follows⁸²:

1. 'Narrative' as a cognitive model, as the way to explain the world: the idea that telling coherent stories is fundamental for individuals coming to terms with their pasts.
2. 'Narrative' as a specific character of Humanistic explaining, especially when contrasted to scientific explanations.
3. 'Narrative history' as a distinct type of history-writing: the main dividing line being between different (often pejorative) definitions of 'narrative

⁸⁰ Dray 1989, 131; Martin 1987, 72; Ricoeur 1990 (1983), 112; Vann 1995, 40–43; Zammito 2011, 67–68.

⁸¹ Vann 1995, 56.

⁸² My summary is based on the 10-point list Ann Rigney made of the ways 'narrativity' and 'narrative history' have been defined in historiographical discussions. Rigney 1991, 594–595.

history' and its counterparts (which consequently should be defined as non-narrative types of history-writing).

4. 'Narrative turn': Theoretical discussion focusing on the epistemological basis of historiography and the relationship between the past and its representations.
5. 'Historiographical narratology': Historiographical approach: textually-oriented research questions inspired by the idea that the past is not something invisible and untouchable but is presented by a concrete object, i.e. the text created by a historian; a branch of history of history-writing.

Let us next take a closer look at points 3–5 in the list above, leaving the broad question of narrative as a cognitive schema and the comparison between humanities and sciences aside.

Narrative History versus Non-narrative History?

The simplest use of the term 'narrative' is as a substitute for each of the concepts text, story or representation, which themselves have multiple definitions. Thus it points to the concrete outcome of the historical research. One could assume that the conscious use of the term might reveal the (historiographical) deconstructionist position and point to the idea, that a historian is also an author, a creative composer of a text, and to an epistemological position that acknowledges the historian's role as the mastermind behind his/her narrative.

However, the term 'narrative history' often denotes what looks like a simple and traditional representation that follows a chronological story-line and is possibly also influenced by a strong ideological position. In this sense it is used as a category, type or genre of history-writing. In other words, using the term narrative history is quite often a way to conduct historiography by categorizing seemingly different genres of history-writing. As Ann Rigney has pointed out, some of these requirements and definitions are contradictory in terms and following them leads to different definitions of narrative history. The most

traditional and perhaps also most common is the position where narrative history is understood as a discursive representation of diachronic processes that focuses on individuals (and/or political changes initiated by individuals) and that has a powerful political appeal.⁸³ Practitioners of this kind of narrative history are seen to follow the story wherever it goes on its own, with the idea that the facts are self-organizing. The facts speak for themselves and develop their own themes and connections of relevance.⁸⁴

The term narrative history has also been used, among other things, to denote history that is not structural; history that is descriptive; history that emphasizes unique events and actors and the individual experience.⁸⁵ All in all, narrative history is often defined as something that is not theoretically advanced in a slightly pejorative tone. It has the flavour of the times past and of slightly old-fashioned points of departure.

This kind of use of the term should then, naturally, also include the idea of its counterpart, the 'non-narrative' history-writing, which is defined by contrasting it to the narrative history in question. If we accept the above definitions of the narrative history, the non-narrative variant can thus concentrate on structures (instead of individuals), or it utilizes a quantitative methodology, or it contains postmodern self-reflections of the author-historian or claims that a historian can write without an explaining metanarration behind his/her story.

Narrative Turn in the Philosophy of History

Point four on the list above refers to the use of the term narrative as a heuristic tool in the philosophical discussions about history-writing. It was the theories of the so-called Analytical Philosophers of History, with A. C. Danto as the leading figure with his *Analytical Philosophy of History* (Cambridge 1965; an

⁸³ Rigney 1991, 596.

⁸⁴ Kosso also points out that this kind of narrative history is oddly like positivism, although the historians, whose texts could be gathered under the rubric of narrative history as it is defined above, are likely to oppose any comparison, let alone similarity, between history and the natural sciences. However, the assumed passive role of the historian as a collector and lister of facts denies the worries of subjectivity, which is similar to the pure empiricism that is associated with positivism. Kosso 2011, 21.

⁸⁵ Rigney 1991, 594–595.

enlarged and revised version appeared under the title *Narration and Knowledge* in 1985), that were promoting the new theoretical discussions informed by literary critical narratology. They were asking how the meaning in historical narration is created by focusing on the elements of the historical text, such as statements expressing causal connections, or on the temporal perspective of statements about the past. These philosophers of history were interested in discovering the logical properties of history writing.⁸⁶ Much of this discussion took place in the Anglo-American Academia but for example German historical theorists adopted the same questions to a larger extent.⁸⁷

However, it was the American literary theorist Hayden White with his seminal *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (1973) who really created a wide-scale interest in the question of narrativity in historical writing. White was the first to concentrate on the narrative level of historiographical texts of the central nineteenth century historians and philosophers of history, namely Michelet, Ranke, Tocqueville, Burckhardt, Marx, Nietzsche and Croce. He did not engage himself in detailed textual analyses but built a complex theoretical, linguistic edifice discussing especially the means to make the chaotic reality understandable by language. For White what historians did was to 'emplot' their texts in order to create meaningful stories; it was these plots that created the actual meaning in historical representations. As has been repeatedly pointed out by most of the theoretically inclined historians ever since, White distinguished between four major emplotments (tragedy, comedy, satire and romance). The novelty of White's approach was to read the great historical texts as if they were novels, something no theorist had ever done before.

⁸⁶ Good examples are Arthur Danto's 'narrative sentences' or 'project verbs'. The previous make events significant in light of future events, for example "The Thirty Years War started in 1618", the latter organize microactions into one unique overall action (as in the expressions "make war" or "write a book"). Ankersmit 1994, 3; Danto 1995, 70-85; Ricoeur 1990 (1983), 144-147.

⁸⁷ Eckel 2010, 30, and footnote 13. The works of the German historians Eckel is referring to are R. Koselleck and W.-D. Stempel (eds.), *Geschichte – Ereignis und Erzählung* (Munich 1973); J. Kocka and T. Nipperdey (eds.), *Theorie und Erzählung in der Geschichte* (Munich 1979); W. Schiffer, *Theorien der Geschichtsschreibung und ihre erzähltheoretische Relevanz*. Danot, Habermas, Baumgartner, Droysen (Stuttgart, 1980); S. Quandt and H. Süssmuth (eds.), *Historisches Erzählen. Formen und Funktionen* (Göttingen, 1982). Philosopher Hans Michael Baumgartner was a notable exception going further than A.C. Danto and most of the Anglo-American theorists in his claim that history is constituted only in the mode of narration. H. M. Baumgartner and J. Rüsen (eds.), *Seminar: Geschichte und Theorie. Umriss einer Historik* (Frankfurt/M. 1976).

Consequently White's theory of the tropes achieved the first rapprochement between history and literature after the disciplinization of history.⁸⁸

The philosopher of history Frank Ankersmit continued to open the doors for narrativist reflections. Ever since his dissertation *Narrative Logic. A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language* from 1983 Ankersmit has been challenging the way historians think about the historical practice, and has perhaps become the leading postmodern theorist. Ankersmit has written about historical theory and philosophy of history from a post-linguistic turn and a postmodernist point of view. Even after the new historiographical wave focusing on the texts in the 1980's and the early 1990's, he continued to emphasize the need for metahistorical reflections.

However, Ankersmit writes about the "radicalization" of historical theory into "a kind of linguistic idealism, leaving no room at all for reference, truth, and rational debate", and emphasizes the need to find the *juste milieu* between the linguistic innocence of traditional historical theory and the hyperbole of some postmodernist theorists. In other words, despite his 'postmodernism' he accepts the existence of a real past with real people and events, and holds that historiographical statements that are singular constative statements can be true if they correspond to the past reality. Consequently, he does not claim that language does not refer to reality, but emphasizes – among other things – the difference between narrative idealism (colligatory patterns and structures are imposed on the past by historians) and narrative realism (a historian simply recounts the story s/he found in the past). According to him, narrativism recognizes that a historical interpretation *projects* a structure onto the past and does not *discover* it as if this structure existed in the past itself.⁸⁹

Alun Munslow has argued that these metahistorical discussions about the narrative quality of history-writing created three different epistemological positions among historians: the reconstructionist, constructionist and deconstructionist, reflecting the enduring epistemological debate over the relationship between empiricism, analysis and narrative. Reconstructionists,

⁸⁸ White 1973, *passim*.; see also Ankersmit 1994, 7–8 and 1995, 280–281.

⁸⁹ Ankersmit 1983, 79; Ankersmit 2001, 21, 80–81 (my italics). See also Murphey 2011, 183.

those whole believe that theory is just an excuse for idleness in the archive⁹⁰, are described as the midwives of the past. Constructionists form the largest group. They acknowledge the need for theory and appreciate the narrative nature of history-writing but, in spite of that, still firmly believe that history-writing is an empirical-analytical process of 1) reference 2) explanation 3) meaning and 4) prose narrative. For them, historical scholarship is a combination of empiricism and theoretical reflections. Creating a narrative is a necessary but very unproblematic part of historical research.⁹¹

In contrast to the first two types of historical thinking the deconstructionist approach sees historical scholarship as a basically and fundamentally textual enterprise. History-writing is a genre of authored narrative, as are the other genres of literature, too. It emphasizes that history and all history has always been a narrating activity. Historical scholarship happens in the process of writing, in the intertextual field of other narrativized interpretations of the past. Deconstructionists are asking how history appears when considered only as a narrative-making activity.⁹²

However, in contrast to some suspicions, deconstructionists do not claim that historians' representations do not have any resemblance to the past, or that historians can invent at their will. What they do is take the question of narrating seriously, arguing that historical representation is dependent in practice as much on the representability of events, as it is on the reality as such. This is a question of the availability of sources but it also involves the capacity to synthesize information in such a way as to produce a meaningful discourse about the past.⁹³ As Munslow summarizes his argument,

"I began by confronting the reconstructionist and constructionist belief that reference, explanation and meaning are merely re-presented in the form of a narrative. I argued that as a representation – as a story space – history is categorically different from the past and there can be no translation between the two by methods of empiricism. While empiricism

⁹⁰ Munslow is referring to the constructionist historian Geoffrey Elton and his books *The Practice of History* (1967) and *Return to Essentials: Some Reflections on the Present State of Historical Study* (1991). Munslow 1997, 3.

⁹¹ Munslow 2007, 16–28.

⁹² Munslow 2007, 16–28.

⁹³ White 1973, 5; Rigney 2001, 3; see also Ricoeur 1990 (1983), 92.

is a significant element in history, it should not obscure what happens in the 'telling' process. Thus, I have argued that the story space, as the site of the historian's narration, is the location for her/his various strategies for narrating. For this reason, if no other, we ought never to assume that reference equates with truthful meaning."⁹⁴

This kind of claim often causes malaise even among theoretically inclined constructionist historians, since two levels of arguments get mixed up in these discussions: the key point for the mutual misunderstanding is the distinction between a single statement about the past (that can be true or false) and the narrative in its entirety, as a representation. Historical narrative is a totality of narrative statements⁹⁵. However, a historical narrative is a historical narrative only insofar as the (metaphorical) meaning of it, in its totality, transcends the (literal) meaning of the sum of its individual statements. Being a historical narrative, therefore, is a matter of degree.⁹⁶ As Munslow implies above, when the statements are turned into complex narratives, their level of correspondence to the past changes. In other words, the autonomy of narrative language with regard to the past itself (which, by the way, is the central argument of the historical narratologists) does not in the least imply that narrative interpretations should be arbitrary.⁹⁷

Deconstructionist approaches have also been collected under the rubric of the New Philosophy of History. In his introduction to the article collection bearing the same title Hans Kellner describes the method as the way of seeing the historical work as a *whole vision* which draws its meaning from a plot and its authority from a voice.⁹⁸ In other words, this kind of study of history-writing does not only concentrate on specific arguments, statements or interpretations

⁹⁴ Munslow 2007, 28.

⁹⁵ About the term narrative statement, see for example Chatman 1978, 146. According to Chatman, the discourse is a compilation of 'narrative statements', where 'statement' is the basic component of the form of the expression, independent of and more abstract than any particular manifestation. It is the expression's substance, which varies from art to art. A narrative statement can, for example, be a certain posture in the ballet, a series of film shots, a whole paragraph in a novel or only a single word.

⁹⁶ Ankersmit 1994, 33, 36, 40–41.

⁹⁷ Ankersmit 1994, 38, 41. Ankersmit refers to 'narrative substance' when he is discussing the singular statements about the past being turned into narratives. Ankersmit 1983, 100–101. See also Pihlainen 2011, *passim*. and Pihlainen 2012, 326.

⁹⁸ Kellner 1995, 1 (my italics).

of the historian in question – as does the earlier research of history of historiography – but studies a piece of history-writing also as a constructed entity and uses methodological concepts mainly developed by literary scholars interested in narrative, such as the plot and the voice.

The many labels given to these narrativist metahistorical points of departure reveal again the multiple positions within which it has been both practiced and criticized. It has been called, depending on the scholar, the new philosophy of history (versus the traditional philosophy of history), the interpretative (versus descriptivist) philosophy of history, the synthetic (versus analytic) philosophy of history, the linguistic (versus critical) philosophy of history, or, as does Hans Kellner, the postmodernist (versus modernist) philosophy of history. Or, as Ankersmit chooses to label them, the narrativist philosophy of history (versus the epistemological philosophy of history). According to Ankersmit, the epistemological philosophy of history has always been concerned with the criteria for the truth and validity in historical descriptions and explanations. The narrativist philosophy of history, on the other hand, concentrates upon the nature of the linguistic instruments historians develop for furthering our understanding of the past. It remains in the domain of historical language.⁹⁹

Historiographical Narratology as a Textual Micro Study

As became apparent above, categorizing genres of history-writing by asking whether they are narratives or not seems to be a somewhat otiose task. Neither are the terms of metahistorical discussions directly employable in the close-readings of history-writing. Thus, the scholars who are interested in the workings of singular texts, their characteristics and narrative and rhetorical strategies have been making recourse to literary studies. Jan Eckel has pointed out, that "(i)n view of the highly differentiated analyses of literature, a systematic exploration of how categories of literary narratology can be transferred to historiography would immensely refine the study of historical writing."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Ankersmit 1994, 44–45.

¹⁰⁰ Eckel 2010, 36.

Hans Kellner declared in his introduction to the aforementioned article collection, that the philosophers of history have turned away from the truth-value of the historical statement -discussion and started to look at narratives claiming that their truth is more akin to the truth of a novel or a painting than to that of a syllogism. Among these historical narrativists there are several starting points and research interests but what unites them is their view that history is a discourse that is fundamentally rhetorical, and that representing the past takes place through the creation of powerful, persuasive images which can be best understood as created objects, models, metaphors or proposals about the past. Hans Kellner argues that understanding a historical text both as an aesthetic object and as a part of a persuasive social discourse will broaden and deepen our understanding of how and why to represent the past.¹⁰¹

The article collection edited by Kellner has been a valuable, thought-provoking study both for my concrete discussions about Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History and the adjoining metahistorical reflections. Some of the scholars contributing to the edition have been both discussing theoretical questions and the formal features of history-writing, which has been a helpful combination for the present study. Linda Orr has looked for the charged emotional scenes or convergences on histories authored by Madame de Staël, Jules Michelet and Alexis de Tocqueville, concentrating on subjectivity which can be "anything that clues the reader into a writing".¹⁰² Philippe Carrard has been testing the alleged 'speakerlessness' of the French Annales School by looking for the enunciators – references the authors make to themselves – for example, the first-person singular and the ways of circumventing it. According to Carrard those texts that claim to be objective and free from ideology are among the easiest to deconstruct.¹⁰³ Ann Rigney's contribution is to consider some of the difficulties faced by historians in finding a discursive form for events and articulating them, by using concepts such as relevance and coherence, and taking the historians Augustin Thierry, Thomas Macaulay, Amans-Alexis Monteil and Jules Michelet as her examples.¹⁰⁴ An extended and elaborated version of the

¹⁰¹ Kellner 1995, 1–2; Rigney 1992a, 209.

¹⁰² Orr 1995, 90, 89–107.

¹⁰³ Carrard 1995, 110, 108–126.

¹⁰⁴ Rigney 1995, 127–147.

same discussion can be found in her book *Imperfect Histories. The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (2001).

In addition, Rigney's aforementioned *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation. Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution* (1990) has been used all through my study, since it is one of the few monographs carrying out a sustained textualist analysis of historiographical practice. Rigney's examples come, again, from the French nineteenth century history-writing, namely Alphonse de Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins* (1847), Jules Michelet's *Histoire de la Révolution française* (1847–1853) and Louis Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution française* (1847–1862). In her study Rigney compares the representations of the French Revolution by these three historians by discussing, among other things, their respective depictions of one of the canonical or 'cardinal' moments of the Revolution, and their constructions of actorial figures in the Revolution. She concentrates all along also on the narrative and rhetorical devices (vividly described episodes, literary topoi and commonplaces and so forth) employed by these historians. Her approach to history-writing is a deconstructionist one, if we use the aforementioned definition by Munslow: she emphasizes the narrativity of the historical scholarship but also discusses the way the past – the sources – actively participate in the process of representing it.

In a recent article *Narrativizations of the Past: The Theoretical Debate and the Example of the Weimar Republic* (2010) Jan Eckel has analyzed the German historiography in the Weimar Republic arguing that it offers a particularly useful example for exploring how the writing of a text shapes the interpretation of history. Eckel looks into three historical syntheses of the first German democracy, including books by the historians Karl Dietrich Erdmann, Detlev Peukert and Heinrich August Winkler, and contrasts their analyses to the study by a British historian Richard Bessel. The focal points of Eckel's discussion are the overall structures of these histories, the narrators' roles in them, their plot structures and the configuration of time.¹⁰⁵ Eckel's analysis of a single work is not very detailed due to the restricted limits of an article and the comparative perspective, but it is a good introduction to the narrativist point of departure in historiography and demonstrates the benefits of the comparative approach.

¹⁰⁵ Eckel 2010, 26–48.

The concepts these scholars have adopted mostly from literary studies have offered them very concrete tools to study discursive techniques and aesthetic qualities of history-writing. However, they also emphasize that this thing-like quality of history-writing does not mean that it is understood as a closed textual universe or as a completed totality within itself. The textual approach to historiography is a three-dimensional enterprise moving along the triad: text – historian – audience. Thus this rhetorically-oriented research paradigm is different from the classical literary narratological approaches. Literary scholars have been wary of discussing authors, authorship and authorial intentions in the quest to escape the trap of the so-called biographism. Consequently, more recent studies taking into account the writing context or the intellectual history of the author, or issues such as gender, ideology, cognition and emotions are labeled as 'further contexts for narrative study', showing how, for example, "research on stories can profit from greater attention to matters of ideology".¹⁰⁶ In other words, the concepts adopted from the literary studies often need to be reworked to better suit the study of history-writing.

However, in historiographical narratology, practical implementations, that is, comprehensive narrative and rhetorical studies of history-writing, are more difficult to find than theoretical polemizations. Historians have not been after general theories of narrative but have mainly used the inspiration created by the term to discuss epistemological questions about the nature of their enterprise. In this sense the historiographical discussion is in sharp contrast to the literary one where the studies on single genre or piece of literature abound.

Hence, there has not been a wide variety of research literature to rely on when close reading Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History. The concrete conceptual tools used in conducting the present study originate from the writings of literary scholars Gérard Genette and Seymour Chatman, from the aforementioned studies of Ann Rigney and from the theoretizations of Alun Munslow, especially in his introduction to historiographical narratology *Narrative and History* (2007). However, one of the peculiarities of the humanities is that we cannot run the same tests on diverse materials. Consequently the approaches of the

¹⁰⁶ Herman&Vervaeck 2007, 217.

aforementioned scholars have been adjusted in order to analyse Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History.

Analysing the Narrative of The History of the Finnish Theatre Company

Finding a systematic way of close reading Aspelin-Haapkylä's four-volume history turned out to be crucial for the accomplishment of my study. The analysis of the narrative tempo¹⁰⁷ of the Theatre History proved to be one, and it became the backbone of the close reading. It was a concrete tool to find the places where the narrative slows down and sometimes pauses, the most significant episodes in the Theatre History, as pointed out above.

According to Genette and Chatman there are five different temporal possibilities when it comes to the relationship between the story-time and the discourse/narrative time, that is the duration of the narrative¹⁰⁸: summary, ellipsis, scene, stretch and pause.¹⁰⁹ The difference between these alternatives points to the relation between the narrative time and the time the story-events themselves lasted:

- *Summary* summarizes: the time of narration is shorter than story-time.
- *Ellipsis* means that something is left out: the narration halts although time continues to pass in the story.
- In a *scene* narration-time and story-time are equal; a well known example of a scenic representation is a dialogue.
- *Stretch* is depicting events in a slow-motion, soliloquies and mental events are typical examples; it has been characterized as a very cinematic category.
- In a *pause* story-time, that means the flow of events, halts but the discourse/narration continues. Descriptive passages are the most usual pauses in a narrative.

¹⁰⁷ In his *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, Gérard Genette points out that this could also be called the 'speed' of the narrative. Genette 1988, 34.

¹⁰⁸ Questions of frequency and order will be discussed later, in the actual analysis of the History.

¹⁰⁹ Chatman 1978, 68–78; Genette 1980, 93–112; Neumann and Nünning 2008, 67, 72–75; see also Munslow 2007, 56–57.

However, these concepts as defined above cannot be directly applied to history-writing, since their fine distinctions are designed to approach the novel that often plays with the temporal relations. In history-writing the explicit reservoir of possible and accepted ways to narrate is narrower than in fiction: for example we seldom get depictions of the inner thoughts of the protagonists (although for example Aspelin-Haapkylä ventures into this area, too).

There are other temporal differences, too: whereas a modern novel can consist of separate scenic dialogues surrounded by ellipses (untold patches), a piece of history-writing should form a consistent entity where contextualizing descriptions are in balance with the representation and discussion of the source material and analyses and conclusions based on it. The historian is expected to write the story-line transparently and admit the ellipses, that is the "holes", in the sources. The constant shifting between narrative parts and source quotations is also typical for a historical representation. Furthermore, source quotations can have several purposes within one study: They are anchoring the arguments into the sources thus standing for the authenticity and reliability of the representation. They are often the central part of a historian's argumentation. They can present exemplary scenes and thus serve as a contextualizing, 'illustrative' means. This kind of varying structure makes the textual analysis of history-writing challenging, since the researcher cannot employ a very mechanical conceptual and methodological view on it.

The Tempo of the Historical Narrative

In spite of the differences listed above, historians do deal with temporal change and construct stories that usually involve several agents. Hence a historian needs methods to make an understandable representation that cannot include everything found in the archives. It is not only a question of making choices between sources; it is also a question of creating a coherent narrative, of presenting some sequences in a detailed manner and jumping over others, and constructing the time-relations within the narrative. In other words, concepts developed by literary scholars to analyse temporal relations in fiction are, with

minor adjustments, a useful methodological tool in analysing history-writing. They can be used to find, for example, the aforementioned crucial episodes, events and characters in a narrative, the representation of which should then be 'read' even 'closer' than the rest of the story.

Before discussing the way Genette's and Chatman's terms have been used in the present study, let us first look into the general tempo of the narrative in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History. The story of the Finnish-language theatre is told according to a strict chronology: it is built around the seasons of the theatre, each consisting of a single chapter (the first volume being an exception here, since it is organized both chronologically and thematically). Each season/chapter describes a sequence of premieres, performances and reviews, in chronological order again, from June to May of the following year. In other words, the narration proceeds on an annual and monthly pace. It could be simply labeled as an event-based narration since it is representing and thus recording the daily doings of the theatre as accurately as the sources and the national story-line allow.

However, there are places where this event-based narration slows down: scenes, stretches, summaries and pauses. In the close reading of the Theatre History the idea of a *scene* was used as literary scholars use it: to denote the dialogues in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History, but also to point to 'textual paintings', or *tableaux vivants*¹¹⁰ he arranges. Chatman emphasizes that a *stretch* – the slow motion – is basically a cinematic way of narrating, of highlighting the meaning of a certain event, and cannot really be used in literature.¹¹¹ However, I have used it to point to those episodes in the Theatre History that are 'lifted above' the bulk of the narrative. As mentioned earlier, Aspelin-Haapkylä is building his narrative on premieres and performances. However, some of them are described more vividly, in a more detailed manner than others. These are stretches in the narrative flow of the Theatre History.

Summaries occur in the Theatre History sporadically: in few places the historian jumps over a month or two in his chronological depiction by summarizing the performances. The idea of *pause* proved to be more important for analysing the temporal relations. Pauses are either analytical places or

¹¹⁰ See for example Moi 2006, 120–122; Rigney 1990, 15, 78–80.

¹¹¹ Chatman 1978, 73.

thematical entities in the pace of the narrative. Analytical pauses contain the most important arguments and are thus openings to the metanarrative behind the Theatre History. Thematical pauses are the places where the strict chronology of the presentation breaks down, mainly by analeptic and proleptic¹¹² jumps back and forth in the History, or by extending the discussion of a certain event across different chapters. They could also be labeled as metadiegetic stories: substories within a story (diegesis).¹¹³ Finding these thematical pauses was crucial for analysing Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History.

The only concept that could not be used when analysing the narrative flow of the Theatre History was that of the *ellipsis*. Silences, things and events left out, are categorically different from ellipses, since it is seldom a question of playing with the narration, or (as happens for example in a detective story) building up the suspense or tension. However, silences in history-writing indicate authorial choice, conscious or subconscious, informed by political or social positions, and thus they are important for interpreting the text in question. They are the things that cannot be discussed, which, naturally, can also be connected to the lack of sources. The problematics of refusing to discuss certain themes or episodes a latter-day historian would surely be interested in will be discussed in relation to Aspelin-Haapkylä's source quotations in Chapter 6.

In spite of this extensive discussion of the concepts used to analyse the narrative tempo of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History, the analysis of it will not be presented as such. It is the backbone of my study, as mentioned previously, and the beginning of the discussion: it does not really tell us anything if I claim, for example, that the depiction of the premiere of Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (or *Noora*, as it was called back then on the Finnish-language stage) is a *stretch* in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History. However, the analysis of the narrative tempo can confirm that Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (*Noora*) was important in the course of the whole narrative. To explain why it was important we have to go to

¹¹² For these terms, see pp. 116–117 in the present study.

¹¹³ Within his discussion about narrating instances, Genette distinguishes between different narrative levels: to simplify it a bit, there is the diegetic level, that is the universe of the primary story; the metadiegetic level (stories within the primary story; the universe of these metastories, also referred to as the second-degree narrative) and the extradiegetic level (the highest narrative level; the one immediately superior to the diegesis and concerned with its narration). Genette 1980, 227–228 and footnote 41 on the page 228; see also Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 92.

the discursive level, to analyse the language used, the structure of the stretch in question, the meanings attached to the play, and look into the relation between the moment of writing and the period depicted.

Telling the Story: the Author-Historian and the Narrator

The kind of textualist approach adopted in my study is informed by a position, where the historian is referred to with the double-definition *author-historian* to emphasize his/her role as the person who 'authors' the past into a storied form of knowledge and aims to turn it into a convincing, plausible representation. According to Alun Munslow, "author-historian is the individual whose function is to generate narratives within which reference, explanation and meaning are created."¹¹⁴ The author-historian is the man-of-flesh-and-blood, Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, sitting by his desk and working with his manuscript at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is also the voice of the author-historian that we hear in the paratextual spaces¹¹⁵ of the Theatre History: texts such as prefaces, epilogues and headings enclose the narrative of the Finnish-language theatre within the authoritative voice of the author-historian himself.¹¹⁶

It would be possible to discuss the narrative of the Theatre History merely as an outcome of the choices made by the author-historian. However, that would lead to a different level of analysis from the research tasks formulated above, directing the attention away from the intratextual dynamics. In other words, when moving to the text-internal levels of a book the aforementioned manuscript was turned into, one has to find ways of discussing the mechanisms of narrative communication and the relations and dynamics between different levels of narrative transmission within the text in question. As discussed above, in this study some concepts developed by literary scholars have been adopted and adjusted to analyse the tempo of the narrative. Further concepts are

¹¹⁴ Munslow 2007, 130.

¹¹⁵ For the definition of paratexts, see p. 99 in the present study.

¹¹⁶ In the Theatre History footnotes are mostly part of the diegesis due to the source references that are embedded into the narrative itself. See pp. 225–228 in the present study.

necessary when we address the “whole narrative-communication situation”¹¹⁷ of a piece of historical writing; the most important of these is the concept *narrator*.

Literary theory emphasizes that one of the textual signposts of fictionality is the distinguishability of the narrator from the author, made easier by the practice that the author of a specific text is seldom discussed in the modern literary scholarship.¹¹⁸ In contrast to literary theory, the identification of the narrator with the author of the text has not been deemed problematic in those few theoretical contributions addressing the question of suitable literary concepts in the analysis of history-writing.¹¹⁹

However, I would like to argue that a nuanced textualist analysis of history-writing requires the implementation of the concepts designated for studying the narrative transmission and levels of communication in literary, fictive texts, among them the ‘narrator’. It does not mean that the author-historian is insignificant or uninteresting: as the analysis of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* will show, the historian and thus the author of a specific text is present all the time, at an arm’s length of the narrative voice, which creates its own complications for the analysis.

Let us next proceed by looking more closely into the central concept of *narrator*, first in relation to other terms coined for analyzing the communication structure of a text. Later I will explore the term ‘narrator’ in a more detailed manner, in order to justify its applicability in the narrative study of history-writing. The term will be further elaborated in relation to the discussion of the source basis of the Theatre History in Chapter 6.

Besides the narrator, literary scholars debate the other participants in the intratextual communication. On the side of addresser the candidates are the implied author and the narrator, and on the side of addressee the narratee and

¹¹⁷ Chatman 1978, 151.

¹¹⁸ Chatman 1978, 147; Neumann and Nünning 2008, 23. However, Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning also point out that despite this essential difference between the author and the narrator, it is important to note that the concept of author is vital for the historical understanding of a text also within the literary studies. Neumann and Nünning 2008, 29–30.

¹¹⁹ For example Kalle Pihlainen has argued, drawing on Dorrit Cohn and Frank Ankersmit, that as opposed to the historical novel, in history-writing the narrator is always equal with the historian. Pihlainen 2002, 52, 59–60 (footnote 35). This statement could also imply that the term narrator does not bring any added value to the analysis of history-writing.

the implied reader¹²⁰; as pointed out above, the real author and the real reader are usually left out of this level of analysis. Readers construct the implied author when they face the relations between the story (what the characters are doing) and the discourse (how this is expressed, how the events are told and interpreted). The implied author is an image of all the efforts made to maintain the story-space, keep the current of narrative running and convince the readers of its correctness. It directs the attention to the norms of the narrative, to the general cultural codes behind it. Literary theory emphasizes that the real author can postulate whatever norms he likes through his implied author, and that the real author should not be held responsible for the attitudes of the implied one.¹²¹ According to some theorists, the difference between the implied author and the narrator is that the former does not have a voice, “(u)nlike the narrator, the implied author can *tell* us nothing. --- It instructs us silently, through the design of the whole, with all the voices, by all the means it has chosen to let us learn.”¹²²

It is precisely due to this formulation that for example Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan reserves the intratextual communication only for the pair of narrator and narratee.¹²³ In the present study the emphasis is on the question of how the story is told (its form), not on the relation between the historical author and the implied author and the consequences of that for the interpretation of the text. Accordingly it is the narrator who features in the narratological analysis of the Theatre History as the intratextual agent taking the story forward. A textual analysis of a piece of history-writing – at least the way it is conducted in my study – moves constantly between the text and its surroundings, but the use of the term narrator returns the attention back to the textual level and works as a reminder of the basic research position of the study. In the specific case of the Theatre History it also points to the fact that I am not writing Aspelin-Haapkylä’s

¹²⁰ For the definition of the implied reader, see page 219 in the present study.

¹²¹ Chatman 1978, 148; Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983), 88.

¹²² Chatman 1978, 148.

¹²³ Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 89–90.

biography but discussing him mainly as he appears on the pages of one of his studies – as the narrating voice.

So the narrator's presence derives from the audience's sense of communication: the feeling of being told something presumes a teller.¹²⁴ However, it has been argued that texts can be also non-narrated¹²⁵ or minimally narrated as in the case of plays or novels based on dialogues. Compared to these literary genres the narrator in history-writing is expected to be audible: to step forward in order to instruct, summarise and point out the problems in the representation of the past.

However, there are different levels of audibility or different depths of intonation both in fiction and history-writing.¹²⁶ In the case of a stronger presence of a narrator, the narrators are usually divided into four categories according to the level of the narrative, the extent of participation, the degree of perceptibility and the reliability. In what follows, I will concentrate on the three first-mentioned types of narrators, which are the most important for the analysis of the Theatre History.¹²⁷ To simplify a complex issue a bit: the question of level denotes the hierarchy of (sub)stories within a story: an extradiegetic narrator is above the story he is telling, and an intradiegetic narrator is one of the characters in the story.¹²⁸ When it comes to the question of participation there are homodiegetic and heterodiegetic narrators: the former narrates internally, from within the story and the latter is based outside of the story. A heterodiegetic narrator is thus also an omniscient narrator: he knows the thoughts of the characters and the way the story is about to turn. In addition, literary theory has distinguished between protagonist-narrators, autodiegetic

¹²⁴ Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 89.

¹²⁵ In the case of 'non-narrated' stories for example Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan disagrees with Chatman: according to the former, the narrator (and the counterpole, the narratee) are constitutive, not just optional, factors in narrative communication. He writes, "Even when a narrative text presents passages of pure dialogue, manuscript found in a bottle, or forgotten letters and diaries, there is --- a 'higher' narratorial authority responsible for 'quoting' the dialogue or 'transcribing' the written records." Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 89.

¹²⁶ Chatman 1978, 196, 224.

¹²⁷ For a good typification for the reliable / unreliable narrators, see for example Neumann and Nünning 2008, 98–102; Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 101–104.

¹²⁸ However, it has also been argued that instead of speaking of intradiegetic narrators one should rather use the term 'narrating characters', and reserve the term 'narrator' for the agent which operates on the whole level of the narrative transmission. Neumann and Nünning 2008, 31, 93.

narrators (narrators telling their own stories) and witness-narrators, among others.¹²⁹

Consequently it seems that in history-writing the narrator is usually of the extradiegetic-heterodiegetic type; in some cases, as in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History, he is also partly an autodiegetic narrator. However, in the analysis of the History special attention will also be paid to the question of perceptibility or visibility of the narrator.

The degree of visibility or audibility ranges from the maximum of covertness to the maximum of overtness. In covert or effaced narration we hear a voice speaking of events, characters and setting, but its owner remains hidden. According to Chatman, we sense "a shadowy narrator lurking in the wings".¹³⁰ In contrast to this man in the dark, the overt narrator is describing the setting, identifying characters according to his prior knowledge, making temporal summaries, defining characters authoritatively, reporting things characters did not think or say and making (in this case) metahistorical commentaries or generalizations.¹³¹ In other words, the overt narrator is characterized by a full use of the privileges of narrator; he becomes visible to the audience who can then form an impression of his/her personality and values. I will be returning to the question of the presence of a covert or overt narrator taking the story forward and guiding the reader in the analysis of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History.

The Spatial World: Stories, Plots and Narratives

A narrative is a temporal art as the theorists emphasize, but the other important dimension of it is space in two senses: an author-historian has to create a plausible spatial world for his/her story, and a narrative occupies a space when it lingers on its way as it proceeds.¹³² Thus I am using space-related terminology when discussing both the physical proportions of Aspelin-

¹²⁹ Neumann and Nünning 2008, 93–94; Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 97.

¹³⁰ Chatman 1978, 196–197.

¹³¹ Chatman 1978, 219–228; Neumann and Nünning 2008, 94–95, 97; Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 98–101.

¹³² Cobley 2001, 12–13.

Haapkylä's Theatre History and the entity of narrative means those proportions enclose.

The totality of Aspelin-Haapkylä's representation about the first 30 years of the Finnish-language theatre will be discussed as the *story-space* he created. Story-space is the universe the author-historian aims at controlling. The elements of this universe are the story, the narrative and the paratextual spaces. Thus it is a more concrete term than, for example, the representation, which denotes more the interpretive level of the study expressed in words and may thus have some epistemological consequences, and a broader term than a description, depiction or a text.

Representation is used when I discuss Aspelin-Haapkylä's interpretation of the history of the Finnish-language stage. When it comes to this extensively used term, may it suffice here to point to the etymology of it: we may 're-present' something by presenting a substitute of this thing in its absence. The real thing is not, or is no longer available to us, and something else is given to us in order to replace it. Representation means establishing a meaningful relationship between something that is presented and something that is absent.¹³³ So, whereas the story-space is a concept used to discuss the whole discursive universe transmitted by a narrator, representation is used as a necessary short-hand for scholarly interpretations of certain phenomena.

In addition there is also a need for a term denoting ideologies and political currents informing the representation. The term *metanarrative*¹³⁴ is used when I refer to the specific world-view informing the story-line of the Theatre History: the logics of the Herderian-Hegelian idea of a nation-state, which acquires its right to exist and its identity through the authenticity of its

¹³³ Ankersmit 2001, 11, 80–88; Rigney 2001, 25.

¹³⁴ Some scholars prefer the term master narrative. Krijn Thijs writes about the 'master narrative' as the 'big story' told by the dominant group in a given society. By interpreting the world and its history it conveys social power. However, Thijs argues that rather than using the master metaphor when discussing this kind of schematic narrative, we should discuss and study comparatively the 'narrative hierarchy', within which the master narratives form the narrative framework prefiguring concrete histories and lending them structure, meaning and legitimacy. Thijs 2008, 60–74. In the framework of the twentieth century these metanarratives are often discussed in terms of paradigms: for instance according to Mary Fulbrook, there are three 'paradigms proper' which are based on a set of very strongly held metatheoretical premises akin to a belief system: Marxism, structuralism and the psychohistorical approaches. Fulbrook's definition is strangely ahistorical, implying that there were no paradigms before the twentieth century. Fulbrook 2002, 41–46.

vernacular culture. The Old-Finnish nationalism provides the obvious emplotment for the representation of the Finnish-language theatre and it is the source of the vocabulary of nationalism the narrator furnishes his story-space with.

Literary scholars define *story* and *plot*, respectively, as the sequence of all the events that are to be depicted (in history-writing, for example, the sequence of events found while working in the archive) and the explanations for why things happened as they did: the chain of causation, which dictates that these events are somehow linked.¹³⁵ However, I have mostly used adjustments of these concepts, mainly *story-line* or *emplotment* and *plot structure* as short hand for the first-mentioned. These terms denote more clearly the active nature of selecting one representable framework amongst the many possible ones.

Story and story-line show us the 'what' and the 'why'; *narrative* is the telling part, the 'how': how things are expressed, what kind of labels they are given and how the story advances temporally, among other things. It points to the means by which the narrator tries to convince the reader of the coherence of his interpretation and its correctness.

The many and varied uses of the term 'narrative' have been discussed above both in regard to literary studies and to historiographical narratology. In my study I use the term 'narrative' as just described, to point to the flesh on the bones: the totality of the varying discursive means the narrator uses to convince the readers. It is not used as a substitute for a *text* or a *story* or a *representation*. I am referring to the *narrative tactic* when I want to emphasize the means by which the narrator is pointing to certain events and interpretations, thus blotting out the undesirable ones. It carries social connotations since it is precisely the narrative tactic and the story-space supported by it that makes (or does not make) a piece of history-writing a socially bonding act. In addition, one of the recurring concepts in the present study, connected to the constitution of meaning in terms of language, is *discourse*. On a general level it has been defined as a language terrain that is

¹³⁵ Cobley 2001, 4–7; for different ways to define these concepts, see for example Rigney 1991, 592.

concerned with how a story is told¹³⁶, and I have been using it to denote a specific way, adopted by a community, of speaking about and representing a specific phenomenon ('nationalistic discourse'). A discourse can then, for example, be garnished with different rhetorical figures.

Narrativity, on the other hand, is a concept used to discuss the characteristics of the Theatre History on a more general level according to the way proposed by the literary scholars discussed above. It is not a strictly binary feature, a property that a given text has or does not have. Neither does it denote a culturally recognized and central category influencing our choices of reading. It is a theoretical question, a quality that every text has, an attribute the level or degree of which can – in theory at least – be measured.¹³⁷

In addition, the broad category of *historical writing* has been used when referring to the intertextual field of written texts dealing with the past, both fictional and non-fictional, contrasted to the narrower scholarly history-writing. The *culture of historical writing* points then both to professional (scholarly, academic) and non-professional, (non-fictional and fictional) ways of representing the past. In other words, it is a wide concept referring both to the narrative means¹³⁸ active in a culture within a given time and to the key stories in a nation's history operative at a given time. It has been necessary to adopt this kind of general term for those occasions when I want to emphasize the interaction between different textual means of representing the past in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

Structure of the Study

The research tasks, methods and concepts have been introduced in the present chapter. Furthermore, there is a small introductory sequence at the

¹³⁶ Munslow 2007, 132; Neumann and Nünning 2008, 13.

¹³⁷ Ryan 2007, 28–33.

¹³⁸ Ann Rigney has been discussing *narrative culture* in the same sense: it is the reservoir of models which has been built up in the course of previous narrations of a real or imagined experience and which can be called upon by subsequent narrators and readers in order to make sense of events. Rigney 1992b, 279.

beginning of each chapter both elaborating the broader research tasks and breaking them down into smaller units.

The second chapter, *The Nineteenth Century Historical Culture and The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*, will contextualize Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History in its political, cultural and literary landscape, both at the beginning of the twentieth century and in the nineteenth century: in order to understand the Old-Finnish nationalism from the writing period of the Theatre History, its roots in the previous century have to be explored. This is done in order to give the reader enough understanding of the political and ideological currents that gave rise to the kind of narrative the History turned out to be. Special attention will be paid to the intertextuality of historical writing, that is the relationship between fictive and non-fictive genres, and to the question of the ideal national history-writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Finland. In other words, this chapter will form the basis for all the later discussions dealing with the position Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History had within the field of national history-writing, and its typicality or exceptionality.

In the subsequent chapters this political and cultural situation will only be referred to; instead the focus changes to the Finnish Theatre Company and the later discursive representation of it. Chapters 3–6 entail the close reading of the Theatre History. The questions that run through all these chapters are related to the mechanisms of national history-writing, thus deconstructing the Theatre History: how strongly narrativized it is, how the reader is guided through the story, what kind of specific plot structures and mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion were used. However, each chapter has also its own starting point.

In Chapter 3, *The Ideal Story-line and its Difficulties*, the overall emplotment of the History will be discussed: the narrator's construction of the turning points and milestones of the 'prehistory' of the National Theatre of Finland, the incongruencies between the ideal story-line of the linear development of the Finnish Theatre Company and the national dramatic art and the actual content of the volumes. Chapter 4, *The Key Episodes*, will elaborate this approach by paying attention to the more implicit key episodes in the History organized in three thematic groups. The narrative means of these episodes, their

meaning in the framework of the whole story, and the author-historian's metanarrative behind them will be discussed. The analysis of the key episodes will then be concluded by discussing the possibility to use the term 'fiction' in relation to history-writing.

After thus deconstructing the overall story-line and its smaller but significant episodes and events, the rhetorical level of the Theatre History will be addressed in Chapter 5, *The Vocabulary of Nationalism*. Recurrent wordings, motifs, literary commonplaces and metaphors that are used all through the History will be examined and discussed as a set of attributes and models of behaviour. The idea of history-writing as a persuasive discourse will be addressed. Chapter 6, *The Sources and the Voice*, will address the stance the narrator takes in regard to his narrative – whether he is absent or present – and it will also ask, who is granted a voice – a permission to speak – in the Theatre History. In this context some of those elements the narrator did not include in his story will be examined by presenting three case studies where the representation in the Theatre History and its source basis will be compared.

The last chapter of the close reading widens the perspective again: Chapter 7, *The Reception*, will ask how the Theatre History was received and how its place within the culture of historical writing was defined at the beginning of the twentieth century. Aspelin-Haapkylä's role in the field of history-writing will also be briefly discussed by referring to the reception of his additional oeuvre from the time. Finally the concluding Chapter 8, *The Ideal of History*, will draw the pieces of the close reading together by summarizing the discussion of each volume. It will also address more general questions of the narrative tempo and authority in the Theatre History. The concluding chapter will end with an attempt to answer the question of what the close reading of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* can tell us about the culture of historical writing in the early twentieth century. Also a suggestion of defining the representative matrix – the compositional and narrative rules – of writing the nation in Finland at the time will be made.

2 NINETEENTH CENTURY HISTORICAL CULTURE AND THE HISTORY OF THE FINNISH THEATRE COMPANY

The first volume of Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History opens with a small preface of three pages devoted mainly to describing the launch of the project.¹³⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä does not elaborate his aims or goals in regard to the task at hand, which implies that his understanding of what a theatre history could contain and consist of is uncomplicated and self-evident. Perhaps this was also a generic feature of national history-writing at the time: the subject-matter and the result of the study were both so obvious and so grand that it was unnecessary to reflect critically upon them.¹⁴⁰

However, there is one brief remark on the scope of the study, which gives us the first glance into the whole philosophy of history Aspelin-Haapkylä is subscribing to, and a premonition of the almost 1600 pages that follow. The author-historian is describing his plan to compile a four-volume-history with thick annexes and continues, "According to these plans the work may expand more than some have thought it should. However, it must be pointed out that the representation must be relatively detailed, if the activities of the theatre are to be shown in the correct light. Only with a detailed representation it becomes apparent how important an element the Finnish Theatre Company is in the cultural history of our country."¹⁴¹

Besides this genuine and ambitious interest to know about a specific phenomenon by showing the details and the 'correct' past contained in them, the Theatre History was also written as a part of and as a response to the wider field of historical writing. Hence, in this chapter the framework of textual representations of the past around *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*

¹³⁹ About prefaces, and the other so-called paratexts around the narrative, see Genette 1997.

¹⁴⁰ There are no research questions in Yrjö Koskinen's – one of the most prominent nineteenth century Finnish historians who will be introduced in this chapter – studies either. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz observe also that "the nation-state turned into the self-evident spatial unit of the professional historian, not in need of any further justification. This situation lasted well into the twentieth century and arguably into the twenty-first century too." Berger and Lorenz 2008, 11.

¹⁴¹ Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä 1905 (I), I-II.

will be discussed. As mentioned previously, this kind of textual close-reading of a single piece of history-writing is inevitably a slightly anachronistic enterprise, since it is guided by our experiences of and expectations about history-writing. However, this anachronistic tendency can be counter-balanced by examining the specifics of the intertextual field around the text in question, which also means providing the text with the cultural, social and political framework within which it was produced.

Consequently, the present chapter will start with a discussion of the Finnish nationalisms at the beginning of the twentieth century. The opening festivities of the new National Theatre of Finland in 1902, where the commissioning of the Theatre History was decided upon, points to the year when the accelerating Russification efforts caused a deep rift between the so-called Old Finns – the party Aspelin-Haapkylä belonged to – and the conglomeration of the Young Finns and the Swedish-language liberals, the Constitutionalists.¹⁴² This politically active time was also a period of flourishing literature, a time of big, national publication projects and other monuments celebrating the national past. In this context the period Aspelin-Haapkylä is describing in his study, namely the latter half of the nineteenth century with its accelerating political and cultural changes – which provided the impetus for the Finnish-language cultural institutions such as historical writing and theatre – will also be preliminarily introduced.

Furthermore, the monumental proportions of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History will be explored and discussed as a manifestation of the Finnish-nationalists. The History will be investigated as a concrete object, as a platform carrying the story-space the author-historian created. There are often no indicators of the sheer sizes of the volumes researchers are introducing in historiographical studies, and the reader is left wondering whether s/he should be picturing a thin volume or a massive book. This kind of descriptive information could, however, help to place the themes discussed into their textual landscape and thus give a broad idea of the textual entity one is dealing with.

Intertwined with the discussion of the political, social and cultural prerequisites of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History the literary traditions

¹⁴² Larmola 1990, 27–28; Vares 2000, 72–73.

within which it was produced will also be introduced. This is firstly done in the Finnish context by presenting a general picture of the historical writing and the ideals and ideologies defining it in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the nineteenth century.¹⁴³ Professor of History Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) will get his say, as will the 'national philosopher' Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881), who could also be characterized as one of the early Finnish philosophers of history. Snellman's definitions of Finnishness will also be briefly discussed, since his ideas of nationness in its different adaptations informed all the subsequent generations of Finnish-nationalists from the 1860's onwards, and especially the social and intellectual surroundings of Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, who is also continuously discussing the current political, cultural and social setting using Snellmanian phrases in his diaries from the period of the writing of the Theatre History.¹⁴⁴

The first scholarly monograph written in Finnish, namely professor, senator Yrjö Koskinen's (1830–1903) study *Nuijasota, sen syyt ja seuraukset* (*The Club War, its Reasons and Consequences*) from 1859 will serve as a focal point for the discussion of the system of relevance¹⁴⁵ of the culture of historical writing. *Nuijasota* (*The Club War*) was produced at the turning point from the early ethnic-cultural nationalism to the civic-political nationalism with its sharp divide between the Finnish-nationalism and its Swedish equivalent, public newspaper polemics and Diet disputes. It has been suggested that it was precisely in the beginning of the 1860's when the nationalistic self-awareness of the wider circles of Finnish society was born.¹⁴⁶ The roots of the establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company can also be found here.

The system of relevance of the culture of historical writing will be approached by presenting patterns of attention certain clearly distinguishable periods in the Finnish past received in the nineteenth and the early twentieth

¹⁴³ There is an unfortunate incongruity in this approach: general introductions to historiography are usually written by discussing the themes or subjects the historians were dealing with, and scarcely paying any attention to the forms the narratives took. So the focus of the discussion in this chapter is evidently in the content – the themes – of the works in question, unlike in the rest of the chapters, where the form of the Theatre History is in the focus.

¹⁴⁴ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä's definition of his fellow Old-Finns in May 1906, "They do have a firm basis [in their ideology and politics], as they are directly connected to Snellman." Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 12.5.1906. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive. SKS Kia, A 490.

¹⁴⁵ Rigney 2001, 69–70; the concept will be opened up later in the present chapter.

¹⁴⁶ Jussila 1989, passim; Jussila 2004a, 270–283 and 2004b, 22.

centuries. As mentioned in the introduction, the information has been collected from historiographical and literary surveys and specific studies dealing with the literary culture in Finland between 1796 and 1917. When it comes to the historical play, the appendix in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History has been used as a source. The material represented as diagrams in appendix 1:1–4 consists of approximately 420 items of historical writing, and although certainly not exhaustive, it provides us with a general picture of the trends within it.

However, two methodological observations should be made. First of all the amount of historical writing was for long at such a low level in Finland that one productive author interested in a certain period could decisively shift the focus. And even more importantly the amount of writing regarding a certain period or theme does not always reveal its importance in the historical culture: one immensely popular work – such as J. L. Runeberg's heroic ballads about the Finnish War 1808–1809, *Fänrik Ståhls Sönger (The Tales of Ensign Ståhl)*, published in 1848 and 1860 – can be much more influential when it comes to the image of the national past than its position in this kind of statistically-inclined survey can reveal. However, the number of publications can tell something about the general interest invested in each period and about the division of labour between different genres of historical writing.

Furthermore, it is not enough to place Aspelin-Haapkylä's study in the Finnish framework only. I will also be briefly pointing to the long tradition of history-writing and its institutional framework in the wider European context: transnational themes and narrative models – for example classical authors, eloquent Enlightenment histories, French historians trying to explain the French Revolution and the German debates about methodology – all influenced the culture of history-writing in the nineteenth century and, it seems, the wider field of historical writing in the Grand Duchy of Finland, too.¹⁴⁷ The disciplination of history and the 'historicization of the worldview'¹⁴⁸ that took place during the same century are often presented in revolutionary terms; however, it seems that the intellectual changes both in methodology and in the relationship to the past

¹⁴⁷ Klinge 2010 passim.; Koskimies 1968, 247; see also the propositions for the translations into the Finnish-language presented in the monthly meetings of the Finnish Literature Society in 1870 and 1887, including historiography. Sulkunen 2004, 160–161, 210–212.

¹⁴⁸ Den Boer 1998, 8.

took place even earlier, and, on the other hand, that the narrative methods of history-writing were relatively constant for centuries.¹⁴⁹

In other words Aspelin-Haapkylä was modeling and building his narrative on the nineteenth century historical literature, which in its turn was reflecting, commenting and revising historical writing of the previous centuries. Hence this international, intertextual literary field can explain some of the narrative models of his study. This argument will then be further elaborated in the following chapters. In addition, as previously pointed out, the term 'the culture of historical writing' is used in the present study in order to emphasize the interaction between scholarly and fictive historical writing in the creation of historical consciousness. Consequently Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is not only discussed as a part of the scholarly field, but it is also constantly set in the framework of other literary forms representing the past.

Monuments for the Nation

In September 1905 Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, as the chairman of the Finnish Literature Society, had a meeting with his Old-Finnish comrades to plan the "grand history of Finnishness", that should be commissioned by the aid of 10 000 Finnish marks donated to the Literature Society for the purpose.¹⁵⁰ According to their plans "the history should include all the branches of cultural life; it should be more concise up until the Greater Wrath and more extensive from the eighteenth century onwards, and become even more abundant when the current [of Finnishness] becomes stronger."¹⁵¹ So far Yrjö Koskinen's *Suomen kansan historia* (*The History of the Finnish People*) the first edition of which was published in 1869–1872 and the second edition came out in 1881–1882¹⁵² was the only synthetic representation of the Finnish history, whereas in other Nordic

¹⁴⁹ Burrow 2007, 299; Grafton 1997, 94; Iggers 1983, 3, 29–30, 65; Lorenz 2011, 396–398; Melve 2010, 65. Philippe Carrard, studying the French Annalists, has claimed that the practice of history-writing – implicit in discursive habits – returns constantly to earlier practices. Carrard 1995, 108–126 and especially 124–125.

¹⁵⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 16.9. and 26.9.1905. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 489; see also Häggman 2012, 172.

¹⁵¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 26.9.1905. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 489.

¹⁵² The title of the first edition was *Oppikirja Suomen kansan historiasta* (*Textbook on the History of the Finnish People*). See for example Klinge 2010, 184–190.

countries multi-volume histories of the national pasts had been published during the nineteenth century.¹⁵³

Apparently the plan did not succeed since there is no mention of it in the Minutes of the Board of the Society from the autumn of 1905.¹⁵⁴ However, Aspelin-Haapkylä's study on the Finnish-language stage can be seen as a cultural branch of this planned but not realized history of Finnishness, or, if one adopts the language of the meeting held in September 1905, a textual tributary running into the grand, ever-swelling river of the Finnish-language culture. It was a personally experienced, very recent history of the Finnish-nationalist movement¹⁵⁵, profoundly inspired by the current, drastic social and political changes. Aspelin-Haapkylä wrote his Theatre History between 1906¹⁵⁶ and 1910¹⁵⁷ while he was observing what seemed to be the political and social structure deriving from the nineteenth century falling quickly apart. The experienced radicalism of these changes is explained by the stability, even stagnation, of the political, social and cultural life of the Grand Duchy of Finland in the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ For example in Sweden E.G. Geijer's (1783–1847) *Svenska folkets historia*, 1832–1836, and a collectively produced *Sveriges historia från äldsta tid till våra dagar*, I–IV, 1877–1881; in Denmark C.F. Allen's (1811–1871) *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie med stadigt Henblik paa Folkets og Statens indre Udvikling*, 1840, A.D. Jørgensen's *Fyrretyve fortællinger af fædrelandets historie*, 1882, and a collectively produced *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I–VI, 1895–1906; in Norway P. A. Munch's (1810–1864) *Det Norske Folks Historie*, 1852–1863 and Ernst Sars' (1835–1917) *Udsigt over den norske historie*, 1873–1891. Melve 2010, 143–160; about Danish national history-writing, see Frandsen 2004, 21–28; about the similarities and differences in the Nordic historiography, see Aronsson, Fulsås, Haapala and Jensen 2008, 256–282.

¹⁵⁴ SKS:n keskustelemukset, 4.10.1905, 16.11.1905, 6.12.1905. See also Häggman 2012, 172.

¹⁵⁵ Häggman 2012, 167.

¹⁵⁶ "I have been so attached to the Theatre History that I have forgotten to write my diary." Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 12.1.1906. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 490. Aspelin-Haapkylä accepted the commission to write the History after Emilie Bergbom had died in late September 1905. The diary of Aspelin-Haapkylä 26.10.1905. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 489.

¹⁵⁷ "The work of five years is ready!" Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 24.12.1910. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 492.

¹⁵⁸ Compared internationally the Grand Duchy of Finland was socially exceptionally peaceful in the nineteenth century. The late nineteenth century was a period of accelerating mobility from the rural areas to the few urban centres as the amount of landless people living on odd jobs in the countryside grew quickly. It was also the period of industrialization, although a relatively late one, and the country was emblematically rural and agricultural when it entered the twentieth century. Alapuro 2004, 221–222; Haapala 2004a, 10 and 2004b, 203, 211.

After the eight¹⁵⁹ easternmost provinces that had belonged to Sweden since the late Middle Ages had been incorporated into the Russian empire as a Grand Duchy of Finland amidst the Napoleonic Wars in 1808–1809, the Finnish authorities saw it beneficial for the area to belong to the politically powerful Russian empire as one of its provinces. However, after the Crimean War of 1853–1856 the Russian empire lost its power-political standing and, as a consequence of that and the revolt in Poland, launched a programme of reformations in the Grand Duchy.¹⁶⁰ To implement the reformations the hesitant Tsar had to agree to summon the Diet in Finland in 1863 for the first time since 1809. However, already at that point the legislative basis of Finland's political status had been fervently discussed in the newspapers of the Grand Duchy and the image of the area as a 'state without sovereign powers' had been established.¹⁶¹

Consequently from 1890 onwards the Grand Duchy, entertaining an idea of a semi-independent existence, was brought closer to the Russian administration (the so-called Russification) starting with the rearrangement of the postal service and the army. Strict control of public opinion was also introduced and the most visible opponents of the new regime were expelled from the country. In this period the Old Finns adopted accommodating policies towards the Russian authorities, trying to avoid conflict and anticipate the will of the Emperor. The Constitutionals (the Young Finns and the Swedish-language liberals) appealed to the constitution and stressed the 'legal way' of reacting to the Russian restrictions of the autonomy.¹⁶²

However, when the Governor General N.I. Bobrikoff (1839–1904), who had acquired dictatorial rights to herd the separatist province back to its proper place, was assassinated in Helsinki in 1904 and Russia faced turbulences in both foreign and domestic policies (for example the Russo-Japanese War and the General Strike in 1905, which spread also to Finland), Tsar Nicholas II agreed to

¹⁵⁹ Or seven easternmost provinces, since the so-called Old Finland, the south-easternmost corner of the Swedish Empire, had gradually been annexed to the Russian Empire in 1721 and 1743.

¹⁶⁰ Jussila 2004a, 329.

¹⁶¹ Jussila 2004a, 290–300; However, it should be pointed out that the Finnish-nationalism was nothing like, for example, its Polish equivalent, which was aggressively defining itself against Russian rule. Alapuro 2004, 226.

¹⁶² Jussila 1989, 123–125, Larmola 1990, 27–28.

the modernization of the political regime in Russia. This included the parliamentary reform of 1906 in the Grand Duchy of Finland.¹⁶³

The reform transformed one of the most old-fashioned political regimes in Europe into a modern unicameral parliamentary system and granted a general vote to all the citizens, both men and women, over the age of 24. This forced the old and new parties to rearrange themselves, write political programmes and create local party units as a way to appeal to the voters. The workers movement(s) – the Workers' Party was established in 1899 and it adopted a socialist programme in 1903¹⁶⁴ – brought the mass power of the common people to the political stage around the turn of the century fulfilling the fears of most of the elite ever since the previous century, and the Social Democratic Party won the first election in 1907. In addition, The Finnish Party (the Old Finns) was very successful thanks to its programme of social reforms.¹⁶⁵ Consequently the number of Swedish-language members of parliament plummeted and the influence of the Swedish-speaking part of the population was reduced to its modest numerical strength. As a result a more radical version of the Swedish-nationalism emerged claiming that there were indeed two nations in Finland.¹⁶⁶

However, as much as the parliamentary reform changed the party politics within the Grand Duchy, it did not change the power-political balance between the Russian Emperor and the Finnish administration. The Tsar continued to be the one who summoned the parliament and also had the right to dissolve it, and who ultimately accepted the legislation suggested by the parliament.¹⁶⁷ When Russia got back on its feet after the turbulent years both in foreign and domestic policies, the process of bringing the Grand Duchy closer to Russian administration continued again after 1908.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ See for example Kurunmäki 2005, 116–117; Mylly 2006, 80–103.

¹⁶⁴ From the 1880's onwards the so-called Wrightian workers' movement (named after the factory owner Julius von Wright who established the Workers' Society in Helsinki) encouraged the establishment of workers' societies under the benevolence of elite authority. Alapuro & Stenius 1987, 38–39; Haapala 2004b, 212–213; Pulma 2004, 179–181; Turunen 1987, 211.

¹⁶⁵ Kurunmäki 2005, 116–128; Sulkunen 2006, 10–81. The Social Democrats, who won the election, got 80 seats, and the Finnish Party 59 seats out of 200 in the first parliament. Vares 2006, 11.

¹⁶⁶ Aronsson, Fulsås, Haapala and Jensen 2008, 267; Häggman 2012, 171–177.

¹⁶⁷ Jussila 2004a, 718–725.

¹⁶⁸ Usually the beginning of the second Russification Period is set either in 1908 or 1910 but according to Jussila it was actually launched already in 1906. Jussila 2004a, 711–713.

In spite of the moderate political success of the Old Finns in the first parliamentary election the beginning of the century was not easy for the spokesmen of the traditional social order such as Aspelin-Haapkylä. The abovementioned plan to write ‘the grand history of Finnishness’ perhaps reflects the need to re-define the past in order to control the uncontrollable present. Facing the new, mobile, possibly revolutionary civil society seemed to be almost a traumatic experience: Aspelin-Haapkylä’s diaries from the beginning of the twentieth century repeat phrases of deception and disappointment, and the representation of the social relations in the Theatre History emphasizes the importance of the authoritative order in the society describing the beginning of the new century almost gothically, “--- the constant bad news, which shed macabre light resembling a lightning on the hollows of national turmoil and destruction.”¹⁶⁹

In the middle of the political, social and cultural crises of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries the past became political dynamite in the Grand Duchy of Finland, as it had been all around Europe in different processes of nation-building: love of the fatherland, the celebration of one’s nation, was proclaimed and practiced everywhere as a fundamental precept in public morality. When statues and public monuments had originally been put up to celebrate royal glories, they became increasingly ‘national’ rather than dynastic during the course of the nineteenth century. Old public ceremonies were retrieved to serve different nationalisms: national anthems were composed and written, paintings and sculptures commissioned and produced, monument protection and restoration campaigns launched, and historicist retro-architecture was lavishly used for buildings with a public function such as museums and railway stations. All in all, the public spaces were suffused with visual renditions of the national past.¹⁷⁰

Literature, and especially its historical branch, was an important part of this thriving historicising of culture. Consequently publishing flourished in the Grand Duchy of Finland, too, and became a part of the language-based political disputes during the late nineteenth century: old, bilingual publishing houses lost

¹⁶⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 273.

¹⁷⁰ Leerssen 2006, 186–191; Pearson 1999, 65.

their positions and new ones were established on both sides of the language divide, and especially the amount of Finnish-language literature surged.¹⁷¹ The Finnish estates were eagerly discussing literary issues from the late 1880's onwards and, for example, the awarding of the state prize of literature was a major topic in the estates. The social mobility and the general vote provided the élite with the image of eager masses waiting to be informed on various issues, and the abolition of pre-censorship in 1905 caused a new boom in the publishing of both fiction and non-fiction.¹⁷²

Also the amount of historical writing peaked in the early twentieth century. When breaking 'historical writing' into two branches, that is to the academic history and the more literary or fictional forms (novels, plays and such), one sees that the main proponent of growth around the turn of the century was the fictional field: the decades 1890–1910 were its high season, and in the politically troubled period the novelists, playwrights and poets took recourse to the mythical and ancient past of the nation: stories set in the Kalevalaic or medieval settings dominate the picture.¹⁷³ Scholarly history-writing took a different turn: historians favoured themes dealing with recent or contemporary history – that is the nineteenth century events – returning to the heroes of the Finnish-nationalistic movement.¹⁷⁴

Besides the Theatre History, other massive research and publication projects were launched.¹⁷⁵ Collections of the 'magical words of Finnishness',

¹⁷¹ According to Kai Häggman, in 1895 approximately 400 new Finnish-language books and 250 Swedish-language books were published, whereas in 1905 the same figures were respectively 690 and 310. Häggman 2012, 199. In other words, the number of Finnish-language items grew by over 72 % between 1895 and 1905, in contrast to the more modest rise of 24 % for Swedish-language literature.

¹⁷² Häggman 2001, 97, 102; Häggman 2012, 189–214.

¹⁷³ Fewster 2006, 185–186, 398. See also appendix 1:1, figures 1.1.1. and 1.1.2. and appendix 1:2, table 1.2.2.

¹⁷⁴ Besides historian J.R. Danielson-Kalmari's studies with explicit political goals – to which I will return later – several biographies of nineteenth century Finnish national enthusiasts and Finnish-nationalists were published at this point: J.V. Snellman and J.R. Runeberg were among these heroes; Yrjö-Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen's biography appeared only in the early 1930's (I). Specific 'Finnish' heroes from the earlier centuries were also searched for: among these were for example philosopher H.G. Porthan (1739–1804), man of letters, liberal economist Anders Chydenius (1729–1803) and vicar, revivalist leader Abraham Achrenius (1706–1769). About the wave of biographies in the beginning of the twentieth century, see Klinge 2010, 273–278. See also appendix 1:2, table 1.2.1.

¹⁷⁵ Häggman 2001, 160, 165–167, 170–171; Krogerus 1992, 17.

namely writings of previous-century Finnish-nationalists were published¹⁷⁶; historian E.G. Palmén's popular *Oma Maa (Our Own Country)* series provided the reader with an uplifting daily article on the national past¹⁷⁷; librarian Arvid Hultin wrote a history of (mainly Swedish-language) Finnish literature in the period of Swedish rule¹⁷⁸, several histories of Finnish towns were published¹⁷⁹, as well as the women's movement activist Lucina Hagman's biography on novelist and playwright Minna Canth (1906, 1911) and historian M.G. Schybergson's biography on the eighteenth century historian, philosopher H.G. Porthan (1908–11).¹⁸⁰

This blossoming historical discourse set the framework for Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History, too. It seems that it was not short essays on nationness that the situation demanded, burdened with the heritage of the political and language disputes of the nineteenth century and facing more and more pronounced class-based claims of the twentieth century. In this framework the Theatre History was not an exceptional enterprise although its massive dimensions were commented upon and marvelled at.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ The writings of the late eighteenth century philosopher H.G. Porthan launched the publication project *Suomalaisuuden syntysanoja: kansallisten suurmiestemme kirjoituksia 1 (The Magical Words of Finnishness: Writings of Our National Great Men 1)* in 1904; the second part with the writings of A.I. Arwidsson came out in 1909. The writings of Yrjö-Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen were also published in a massive publication *Kansallisia ja yhteiskunnallisia kirjoituksia* in 1904. Häggman 2012, 171.

¹⁷⁷ The publication (1906–1911) was intended to be a kind of earthly, national postil, and the apparent aim was to inform and educate the citizens, who had just acquired the general franchise, about historical and contemporary issues. Klinge 2010, 257.

¹⁷⁸ *Den svenska vitterheten i Finland 1640–1720; Finlands litteratur under frihetstiden; Det ekonomiska tidevarvet i Finlands litteraturhistoria*. The three volumes were published 1904–1910. Klinge 2010, 283.

¹⁷⁹ P. Nordmann's *Bidrag till Helsingfors stads historia I–V* (1905–1908); Väinö Voionmaa's *Tampereen historia I–III* (1905–1910); T. Hartman' *Borgå stads historia I–II* (1906–1907); Alma Söderhjelm's *Jakobstads stads historia I–III* (1907–1914); Sigurd Nordenstreng's *Fredrikshamns stads historia I–III* (1908–1911); J.W. Ruuth's *Åbo stads historia under medeltiden och 1500-talet, I–IV* (1909–1923). Klinge 2010, 295–300.

¹⁸⁰ Klinge 2010, 276–277; Ollila 1998.

¹⁸¹ See for example the reviews 'Bergbomit kirjeittänsä valossa. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: Suomalaisen Teatterin historia. III.', *Helsingin Sanomat* 14.12.1909 and Adolf V. Streng: 'Suomalaisen teatterin historia'. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, no. 1, 1912. However, it should also be pointed out that massive monographs dominated the field of history-writing in the nineteenth century. Garritzen 2011, 181–182.

The Proportions of the National Past

Aspelin-Haapkylä's *History of the Finnish Theatre Company* covers 33 years: the history of the theatre company itself from its establishment in May 1872 until the end of the season 1905 and the last months of the Bergbom siblings. In addition to this the first volume explores what Aspelin-Haapkylä calls the prehistory of the theatre, the literary and political 'prerequisites' of the Finnish-language theatre in the early and the mid-nineteenth century. The temporal distance of Aspelin-Haapkylä's *History* to the past it describes falls within the range of 50 to 4 years: the starting-point of his story is around the mid-nineteenth century, after which it approaches the writing-moment through three decades up until the funeral of Kaarlo Bergbom in January 1906. In spite of Aspelin-Haapkylä's intentions to present the history in the 'correct' light¹⁸², one of the basic rules for scholarly history-writing, namely a sufficient temporal distance¹⁸³, was broken to start with.

Consequently the characteristic double quality of Aspelin-Haapkylä's *Theatre History* lies in its presentism and contemporaneity: the starting point is the Finnish National Theatre and its grand new premises, and the time of narrating and that of the narrated almost overlap as the narrative reaches the beginning of the twentieth century. Furthermore the autodiegetic narrator has a personal experience of many of the events he is describing. This temporal closeness to the past is perhaps partially the reason for its detailed representation, since selecting requires temporal and intellectual distance. However, Aspelin-Haapkylä points out in the preface that the narrative will become less detailed as the representation approaches the present to ensure the objectivity of it.¹⁸⁴ In that sense it seems that the meticulousness of the representation was a conscious narrative tactic.

Especially in the last volume the distance between the narrating situation and the events depicted is becoming so short that it is difficult to say whether it

¹⁸² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), II.

¹⁸³ Most historians regarded 50 years as the absolute minimum for 'hot' history to 'cool down'. Lorenz 2011, 394.

¹⁸⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), I.

should be discussed as a representation of the politico-cultural context of the writing moment or as a piece of scholarly history-writing. As already mentioned, the first Russification Period was a very trying time for the author-historian and some of the narrative features of the Theatre History reflect this. In this sense it is possible that the representation is approaching more and more the diary form, testimonies from within. On the other hand the political and social changes that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century, including the parliamentary reform and the first election, form a barrier of experience between 1910, when the fourth volume of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History came out, and the period it is depicting. Consequently, all of the four volumes have been analyzed as pieces of scholarly history-writing in the present study.

In the first volume the birth of Finnish-language dramatic art is contextualized in the Herderian ethnic-cultural nationalism of the Grand Duchy of Finland. The civic-political nationalism, that is the hegemonic power-political goals of the Finnish-nationalists behind the establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company, is not analyzed, not in the first volume or in its sequels. Accordingly the division of the political and the cultural field into a Finnish-language and a Swedish-language segment is taken as self-evident – although for the Finnish part always unfair – state of existence.

After the first, 'prehistorical' volume, the second part deals with the first seven seasons of the Drama Department of the Finnish Theatre Company and the Finnish Opera¹⁸⁵ which was established in 1873 and functioned as the second department of the Finnish Theatre Company until it was abolished in 1879. The third part is devoted to the 'high season' of the Finnish-language theatre in the nineteenth century covering the years 1879–1893, that is 14 seasons. The fourth and the last volume depicts the seasons 1894–1905, 12 altogether, and the construction work of the new premises of the Finnish Theatre Company, renamed as the National Theatre, and ends up in an extensive concluding part and appendix.

¹⁸⁵ These departments are often referred to as the Drama Company and the Finnish Opera Company in theatre historical studies written in English. The probable reason is that they were run almost as independent units. However, for the sake of clarity, I will be using the term the Finnish Theatre Company when referring to the whole enterprise consisting of the Drama Department and the Finnish Opera.

The Theatre History is a massive work: the four volumes amount to 1551 pages and include 173 pictures (usually small portraits of the theatre personnel and photographs of actors in their stage costumes). In addition there is an appendix of 47 pages at the end of the fourth volume. The most extensive volumes are the second and the third: 476 and 487 pages respectively. The first consists of 279 pages and the fourth volume has a narrative part of 309 pages and the above-mentioned appendix (a summary of the incomes and expenses of the theatre, a list of plays performed and a list of playwrights and composers) and an index. In other words the second and the third part form the bulk of the story-space. However, when one looks at the approximate number of pages devoted to a single chapter (season), the picture is slightly different: the first more thematically organized volume dedicates 46.8 pages per chapter, the second volume 68 pages per chapter/season, the third 34.7 pages and the fourth 22 pages.

As these figures demonstrate the representation is most detailed in the first part of the actual history of the theatre company, that is until the beginning of the 1880's. The longest chapter in the second part is almost 100 pages, which gives a wide space to discuss the events of a single year only. There is an obvious explanation of the proportions of the second part: it depicts two very independent departments functioning almost as independent theatre companies. However, in the course of the present study I will be discussing some other ways of explaining this, too.

All through his representation the narrator is heavily building on direct quotations from or summaries – 'contractions' as they are called – of the original sources. The main sources are letters to and from the siblings Bergbom, newspaper writings and theatre reviews. In the first volume we have approximately 70 pages filled with source quotations, that is 25 % of the whole story-space; in the second volume 140 pages, which amounts to 30 % of the story-space; in the third volume the source quotations rise to an impressive 175 pages and 36 % of the story-space to drop in the last volume back to a more moderate 40 pages amounting to 17 % of the story-space.

These amounts alone reveal that the source quotations are not only used to bring authentic colour to the narrative: they contribute decisively to the way

the story proceeds, and they have an integral role in the argumentation and in the polyphony of the story. Thus they can also be analysed from the point of view of voice as will be done in chapter 6. They also point to the triple task the history-writing in Aspelin-Haapkylä's time had: it was supposed to tell a good story, to tell that story 'correctly', and to publish the sources used in the study extensively, almost in the antiquarian sense of the former centuries.¹⁸⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä was not the only historian constructing his narratives as dialogues between long source citations and narrativized parts.¹⁸⁷

The number of pages a single year, or a theme in the first volume, is allowed to take in the course of the whole narrative reflects the significance the narrator is investing in it. However, the reading experience and the interpretational horizon is not dictated by the number of pages alone, especially in this kind of chronologically organised, event-based, one might even say antiquarian, narrative. What matters also is the tempo of narration, the words and phrases used, the intensity and thus the density of description. These qualities will be further explored in the following chapters.

The intertextual field around the Theatre History guided its point of view, too. As previously discussed, the beginning of the twentieth century – when the Theatre History was commissioned and written – was an unprecedentedly active period, not only when it comes to political and social changes, but also in the field of culture. However, the historical writing at the beginning of the twentieth century can only be understood against the culture of historical writing of the previous century. Here we need to look into the system of relevance dictating which subjects are considered more important and hence more worthy of being remembered in historical discourse, more representative of history or the experience of history than others.¹⁸⁸ This culture of historical writing and its institutional background – both in the Finnish and in the wider European context – will be further discussed in the following pages.

¹⁸⁶ For example the popular guide to historical method, Ch. V. Langlois' and Ch. Seignobos' *Introduction to the Study of History* from 1897 (English translation in 1898) emphasized the idea of 'perfect history': gathering all the possible sources before setting out to write about the past. Accordingly the whole history would be 'ready' (that is researched and written) at some point. Garritzen 2011, 30–31.

¹⁸⁷ Matti Klinge has pointed out, that for example Finnish historians J.R. Danielson-Kalmari and C. von Bonsdorff relied heavily on long quotations from the original sources. Klinge 2010, 268.

¹⁸⁸ Rigney 2001, 69–70.

Early Academic History-writing

It was in the nineteenth century that governments started to pay large numbers of people to study the past, to teach history, to administer archives, and consequently turned historians into state officials.¹⁸⁹ The methodological formulations and the institutional model of the new science of specialized professionals called History was formulated in the universities of the German-speaking Europe, and written down particularly by Leopold von Ranke from the 1820's onwards.¹⁹⁰ However, the Renaissance, humanistic idea of reaching the original version of a text, thus understanding all the variants of the original as derivative and secondary forms, had been applied systematically to history already by historians at Göttingen University in the eighteenth century, and the terms denoting for example source criticism had become the basic conceptual tools of historians from the sixteenth century onwards.¹⁹¹

The Rankean-Humboldtian version of historiography from the first decades of the nineteenth century opposed the speculative philosophy of history (especially its Hegelian form) and Enlightenment philosophical or conjectural historiography of the previous century.¹⁹² Although Ranke was not the first to emphasize the use of the source critical methods, his writings did create a new self-understanding of historical studies as an empirical science with a special set of methodological rules and a strong emphasis on checking the earlier narratives about the past against primary sources – and subsequently, an identity of an independent scholarly field.¹⁹³ The Rankean ideals spread slowly across Europe and wider during the nineteenth century: in the mid-1800's Ranke's methods were followed still mainly in the German-speaking universities but a decade later

¹⁸⁹ Den Boer 1998, XV, 9.

¹⁹⁰ Ranke's *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations from 1494 to 1514* from 1824 inaugurated the new standard of historical studies, and also its anti-rhetorical turn. See for example Rüsen 1990, 191.

¹⁹¹ History had got a central place in the curriculum of the protestant universities, such as Königsberg (1544) and Jena (1558), but for a long time it was mainly lectured from chairs of rhetoric and belles-lettres, moral philosophy and law. Burrow 2007, 300–305, 315–319; Grafton 1997, 76; Melve 2010, 53–55, 65–66, 73, 82. A sign of the dawning disciplinary identity was the history seminar that was organized in Göttingen in 1764. Briggs 2004, 466; Lorenz 2011, 397.

¹⁹² Iggers 1983, 3–4; Lorenz 2011, 393–397.

¹⁹³ Melve 2010, 135; Rüsen 1990, 191; see also Grafton 34–61, 67–68.

they were reaching France, England, USA and Scandinavia.¹⁹⁴ Historical journals, societies and university chairs dedicated to the subject were established.¹⁹⁵

In the Scandinavian countries the professionalization of history-writing took place also mainly during the latter half of the nineteenth century: first in Denmark, if we take the establishment not only of the specialized academic chairs but also of specialized journals and societies as the criteria, then in Finland, Norway and Sweden.¹⁹⁶ However, the formal disciplinary differentiation happened relatively early in the Grand Duchy of Finland: History got an independent chair, separated from Ethics, in the Academy of Turku in 1811.¹⁹⁷ In spite of this for most of the nineteenth century history was still a very broad enterprise, the practitioners of which often also conducted statistical and economical surveys and wrote about archaeology, political science, ethnology, literary history and sometimes even about geography.¹⁹⁸ Thus also Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, who held the Extraordinary Chair of Aesthetics and Modern Literature from 1892 and the Ordinary Chair in the same subject between 1902–1908, could be characterized – in our modern terms – as a cultural historian: besides reviewing contemporary literature and theatre in the newspapers, he mainly published in the field of history-writing.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Den Boer 1998, 120; Iggers 1983, 23–24; Melve 2010, 124.

¹⁹⁵ For example in England genuinely specialized university chairs in History were established only in the late nineteenth century: the professorship of Modern History (that is, post-ancient history) in Oxford in 1866 and in Cambridge in 1895. In Napoleonic France each Arts Faculty was supposed to have a chair in History, but the universities became research-based institutions only in the late nineteenth century. Den Boer 1998, XV, 199; Melve 2010, 130, 134–136; see also Briggs 2004, 472.

¹⁹⁶ Denmark: periodical *Dansk historisk tidsskrift* (1839); Finland: the Historical Department within the Finnish Literature Society was established in 1864 and its periodical in 1866, The Finnish Historical Society in 1874 and The Historical Association in 1890; Norway: *Norske Historie Forening* in 1869 and its periodical in 1871; Sweden: *Svensk historisk tidsskrift* in 1881. Melve 2010, 150–159; see also Klinge 2010, 289–290 and Mylly 2002, 162–164. About the Historical Department of the Finnish Literature Society, see Sulkunen 2004, 147–148.

¹⁹⁷ The Academy of Turku, established in 1648, was the predecessor of the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki. The university was moved to Helsinki in 1827. Autio 1981, 161, 186, 194; Klinge 1989, 28, 88–105; Mylly 2002, 70; Tommila 2000, 69.

¹⁹⁸ Klinge 2010, 181, 236, 248, 282.

¹⁹⁹ A biography of the artist Werner Holmberg (1890), *Suomalaisen taiteen historia (The History of the Finnish Art)* (1891), a biography of the artist Elias Brenner (1896), a biography of the revivalist preacher Lars Stenbäck (1900), a collection of biographical essays *Muoto- ja muistikuvia (Portraits and Memorials)* (1911–1912, 1914) and a biography on the businessman Alfred Kihlman (1915–1918; the last part was published posthumously). In their collection of the 'key writings' of the Finnish aesthetics from the eighteenth century until the beginning of the 1970's, Oiva Kuisma and H. K. Riikonen have pointed out that the professors of Aesthetics and Modern Literature did not study systematically aesthetical understanding and its concepts but

During the first decades of the nineteenth century the interest in the past of the Grand Duchy of Finland was mainly academic. The formation of the new administrative unit gave scholars a new frame of reference, and both its ancient history and its more recent past were investigated and source collections published.²⁰⁰ In the absence of medieval representations of the national past the ancient roots of the new national unit were found in the Finnish-language folk poetry, which was collected, edited and published in its vernacular form (the first edition of the national epic *Kalevala* is from the year 1835²⁰¹), and debated in academic exercises and scholarly studies in Latin, Swedish and German.²⁰² Besides the folk poetry publications and religious literature, Finnish was mainly used in textbooks meant for educating the lower classes.²⁰³ However, the amount of historical writing remained modest until the mid-nineteenth century.

The first metahistorical discussions took place in Finland in the 1840's, when the versatile 'national philosopher', the journalist and senator, Professor Johan Vilhelm Snellman protested against the so far merely antiquarian history-writing in his newspaper articles about historiography and literature. National literature mattered to Snellman. He followed and participated in the current European philosophical debates discussing especially Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) and his heritage, and combined those with the language philosophies of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835). Building on these philosophers, among others, he argued that each nation had its own peculiar form of civilization and its own

concentrated on literature and art history before and during the period of Aspelin-Haapkylä's professorship. Kuisma&Riikonen 2005, 10.

²⁰⁰ The most diligent of these early nineteenth century source publishers was Edvard Grönblad in the 1840's and 1850's. Klinge 2010, 60–61, 94, 97, 135–136, 160, 287. After Grönblad's contributions, the amount of source collections peaked in the 1880's, when for example H.G. Porthan's letters and documents of the Porvoo Diet began to be published. See appendix 1:2, table 1.2.1.

²⁰¹ However, most of the elite and intelligentsia were not able to read the epos at that point, and the first edition, 500 copies, lasted until 1847. Sulkunen 2004, 62, 229 (footnote 175).

²⁰² One of the most diligent early scholars was Gabriel Rein who discussed Finnish antiquity and the historicity of the characters of *Kalevala*. In his *Finlands forntid i Chronologisk öfversigt åtföljd af de förnämsta händelser ur Rysslands och Sveriges Historia I-III* (1831) he summarized the Finnish antiquity and declared that Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen et cetera had been tribal chiefs in the seventh and eighth centuries, made divine by the subsequent generations. See also A.J. Sjögren's studies on the ancient history of Finland. Klinge 2010, 34–35, 37–42; Mylly 2002, 119–121.

²⁰³ One of the early examples is E. Lönnrot's and J.F. Cajan's *Suomen historia koetteeksi kerrottu lyhykäisessä järjestyksessä (An Attempt for the Short History of Finland)* (1839–1840) and its new edition from 1846. Klinge 2010, 46.

course of development; in the process those nations which had the potential for development recognized their specificity and authentic character and started to reflect them in national literature and other arts.²⁰⁴

In Snellman's thinking it was the immaterial resources of culture and education that created the national authenticity, not geography or climate as some earlier philosophers had claimed, and it was the vernacular language that was the primary means of expressing this inner authenticity, and, consequently, of participating in the development of the common world history. Snellman appreciated especially novelistic literature and drama but he also paid attention to the form of national historical literature: although in the fringes of Europe, contemporary French and English historians were read in Finland too, and for Snellman their emphasis on cultural and social sides of the past and their narrative eloquence formed the ideal of national history-writing.²⁰⁵

Snellman declared that Leopold von Ranke was the only German historian who was both a scientist and an artist and thus worth reading. However, it was the British politician and historian Thomas Babington (Lord) Macaulay (1800–1859) who, for Snellman, had created a new method of history-writing due to his exceptional talent in creating a plausible image of the past particularly in his *History of England from the Accession of James the Second* (1848).²⁰⁶ And it is true, the English historians, such as Macaulay and Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), were famous for imparting an unprecedented dramatic and emotional intensity to their historical narratives. They, especially Macaulay, were fascinated by the techniques developed in the novel, particularly by Walter Scott.²⁰⁷

The novel had emerged as the locus par excellence for treating the lives of private persons against the background of contemporary mores, and Macaulay, who thought that historiography had become the victim of its own dignity, ventured to give detailed descriptions of material conditions of everyday life in his works.²⁰⁸ Following the example provided by Macaulay, Snellman tried to

²⁰⁴ Jalava 2006, 91, 115–119.

²⁰⁵ Snellman was for example referring to A. Granier de Casagnac, F. Guizot and T.B. Macaulay. Klinge 2010, 76 (caption), 109, 131–132; see also Jalava 2006, 115–119, 126 and Klinge 1998, 284, 286.

²⁰⁶ *Litteraturblad* 1.7.1855 (no 7); Klinge 2010, 208.

²⁰⁷ Burrow 2007, 370–371.

²⁰⁸ Rigney 2001, 68–69.

encourage the Finnish historians to use literary means and thus narrate more vividly:

”One probably cannot expect that history-writing has the details of the historical novel when it comes to representing the way of living, costumes, weapons and so on. But it is indisputable that some remarks on these make the representation livelier.”²⁰⁹

In other words the narrative means of the historical novel were the point of comparison for the form of scholarly history-writing. When it came to the language and the content, Snellman also expressed his opinions without hesitation: the only possible 'national' literature was the vernacular one and consequently the protagonists in the development of the national spirit were those who were civilized and vigorous enough to actively change the world by creating the vernacular high culture, that is, the new nationalistic intelligentsia – provided that they learnt to create literature according to the Snellmanian criteria based on reason, artistic self-control and the right kind of idealistic patriotism.²¹⁰

Definitions of Finnishness and the National History-Writing

Besides writing about history-writing J. V. Snellman also formulated the specific Finnish Herderian-Hegelian nationalism in the 1840's. Snellman's sharp and fierce pen, diligently used in the pages of the newspapers he established, disturbed the peace of mind of the bureaucratic elite of the Grand Duchy and he became a cult character among students. He was a disputed figure from the 1860's onwards and especially, when he became a very powerful senator in charge of the Finance Department of the Senate. Perhaps precisely because of his controversial character, but also for his voluminous writings, he set the basic

²⁰⁹ Snellman's review on Yrjö Koskinen's *Nuijasota (The Club War)* in *Litteraturblad* 1.9.1859 (no 9).

²¹⁰ The national intelligentsia was continuously attacked in Snellman's newspaper writings due to its lack of these patriotic qualities. German nationalists were the ideal model for Snellman, unlike, for example, multilingual Switzerland that stood for a "weak, lazy, hibernating" nation. Jalava 2006, 114–128; see also Sulkunen 2004, 157–164. For Snellman's programme (1870) for "augmenting national literature" by translating Greek, Latin, French, English, German, Swedish and Danish literature into the Finnish language, see Sulkunen 2004, 160–161.

ideological outlines of what later became the conservative Finnish-nationalistic programme, and his thinking influenced the Finnish political life well into the twentieth century.²¹¹

The core ideas in the Snellmanian national programme were the prominence of the national language and the relationship between the individual and the community.²¹² The Finnish language was the token of the national peculiarity and the promotion of it the great national task. The language situation had not changed after Finland became a Grand Duchy within the Russian empire: the bureaucracy of the new administrative unit remained in the hands of local, Swedish-speaking elites and those who had defected to the Russian side during the late eighteenth century wars between Sweden and Russia.²¹³ The population was continuously divided into two language groups: the Finnish-language lower classes spoke, but seldom read or wrote, different Finnish dialects, and the Swedish- (and Latin-) speaking upper classes had a fully developed literary culture in their hands.²¹⁴

The role of Swedish grew even stronger in the course of the nineteenth century as the Swedish- (and Latin-) language schooling and literacy spread, and it remained the language of administration for approximately the next 80 years.²¹⁵ This language divide was also the starting point for the two main branches of nationalism in the Grand Duchy: the early, ethnic nationalism with the slogan "One nation, two languages" (that is, Swedish and Finnish) uniting the student body and having the approval of the political authorities, developed into a linguistic and ideological antagonism in the course of the 1850's and the 1860's.

²¹¹ Jalava 2006, 247, 258. It has been claimed that during Snellman's time, and even after him, every political agent had to take a stand on him. However, it has also been emphasized that for example Snellman's and Yrjö Koskinen's Finnish-nationalisms should not be directly paralleled: they had differing views for example on the general guiding principle of history (for Snellman it was the world spirit, for Koskinen national sprit and freedom). Liikanen 1995, 134–135; Sulkunen 2004, 172.

²¹² Jalava 2006, *passim.*, and especially 104–145; see also Pulkkinen 1999, 128–129.

²¹³ In other words, Finland developed its own administrative structure and its own ecclesiastic and cultural institutions. According to its directive, the domestic senate could only consist of Finnish-born senators, thus blocking the way for Russian participation. Nevertheless, the Russian governor general was soon in charge of most of the procedures, and had more influence than the domestic senate. Jussila 2004a, 92, 101, 786–787; see also Østergard 1997, 26, 48–62.

²¹⁴ Also referred to as 'the people of the broadsheets' and 'the people of the novels'. Engman 2009, 230–231.

²¹⁵ See for example Engman 2009, 27, 229–236.

The Finnish-nationalists – those of the Swedish-language intelligentsia who adopted the Finnish vernacular and set to turning it to a standardized, written language – claimed that in a few decades the Finnish-language would override the Swedish-language high culture altogether, whereas the Swedish-language nationalists underlined the importance of the Western, and especially Swedish-language, cultural and political heritage. The Swedish-nationalists, the economical and political elite, were mainly liberals²¹⁶ vouching for the ideas of liberal economic policy and for Scandinavianism that rose as a pan-Nordic movement in the 1850's.²¹⁷ The Finnish-nationalists, the new middle class consisting mainly of clergy, intelligentsia and gradually also of freeholding peasants, emphasized their connections to the Finnish-speaking population, strict language politics and loyalty to the Russian authorities.²¹⁸ Thus the basic division between the liberal, Scandinavian, Swedish-language group and the Finnish-nationalistic one – so central for the emplotment of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History at the beginning of the twentieth century – had been born.

The Finnish-nationalistic movement was later, in the 1860's and the 1870's divided into different segments: first the aforementioned Yrjö Koskinen became the leader of the politically active, and even aggressive, young Finnish-nationalists²¹⁹ (later referred to as the Finnish Party), who claimed to be the

²¹⁶ However, the antagonism between liberals and conservatives was not very peculiar for the Finnish political system since the (mainly) Swedish-language liberals had acquired political power without competing with the conservative parties. Ilkka Liikanen has characterized for example Snellman's ideology as a parallel ideology to liberalism, not as an opposite to it. Later, at the beginning of the twentieth century when the general franchise was discussed in the Diet, it was the Swedish-speaking population – liberal bourgeoisie – that most clearly tended to oppose it, and the farmers' estate and the clergy (often belonging to the Finnish-nationalists) who voted for it. Liikanen 1995, 125, 129–130; Stenius 2004, 159; Sulkunen 2006, 74–77.

²¹⁷ According to Bo Stråth, Scandinavianism was one of several ideologies of political unification in the nineteenth century European nation-building process. It imagined a nation that was never realized. The nation would have consisted of Denmark, Norway and Sweden – as a historical part of the Swedish realm Finland was in an ambiguous way both a part of and excluded from it. The movement emerged in culture, literature, art and academic reflection. Scandinavianism as a strong identity discourse died after 1871 but the idea of a Scandinavian community of destiny stayed alive. Stråth 2005, 208–221. See also Hemstad 2004, 187–225.

²¹⁸ Liikanen 1995, 121; Jalava 2006, 211–213, 238–248. The varying background of the new Finnish-nationalist middle class meant also that different members of it had diverse attitudes to the economic life. Some of them opposed the modernization of the society and consequently also the modernization of commercial and financial activities. On the other hand some of them saw the movement as a means to climb the social ladders of the new society, and also favoured the participation of the Finnish-nationalist organizations in the economical sphere. Alapuro 1988, 85–100; Paavilainen 2005, 20.

²¹⁹ This group distanced itself from the conservative old branch of the Finnish-nationalists ("Old and Honest Finns"), in many ways embracing the old ethnic, cultural nationalism and the

proponents of the 'patriotic culture', spoke for a strict linguistic policy, and relied on the wealthy Finnish-speaking farmers. In the late 1870's and the early 1880's this former Young-Finnishness turned ideologically into more a conservative Old-Finnishness, and was challenged by the more radical Finnish-nationalistic movements. The most long-lasting of these was the group called the Young Finns, most of whom wanted to abandon the language-based political divide and argued for liberal values, a more open civic society and modern trends in the field of art.²²⁰ They also opposed the Snellmanian ideas and ideals of the relationship between the individual and the society.

In his writings Snellman emphasized the individuals' loyalty towards their own nation and the demand to subordinate all personal aspirations to the common good, especially to the altar of the national state. The Snellmanian subordination developed ideally hand in hand with the internalized self-control and the national-ethical life (*Sittlichkeit*), which would create a new, disciplined, free individual, an individual who would naturally understand the requirements of the common good and work for the national spirit.²²¹ According to this ideology the biggest threats for Finnish autonomy were the separatist ideas and defiant political demands, not the dependency on an autocratic Russia: for Snellman it was Russia that gave the Finnish nation the possibility to find its true nationness.²²²

In its emphasis on education and culture Snellmanian philosophy finds its parallel in the Rankean, and also on a more general level the German historicist²²³ philosophy of history, which appreciated the cultured, propertied

linguistic co-existence. Liikanen 1995, 113, 116, 129–130, 152; Rommi&Pohls 1989, 73–81, 89, 97–118.

²²⁰ It should be emphasized that the Old Finns and the Young Finns were far from being homogenous political groups, and there were many segments and groupings within these broad conglomerations. However, on a general level one can claim that the Old Finns were a conservative power and the Young Finns a liberal power in the society. Vares 2000, 10–11, 43–48, 62–63.

²²¹ Jalava 2006, 132, 134, 138–141.

²²² Jalava 2006, 237, 259.

²²³ By 'historicism' Iggers means a comprehensive philosophy of life which views all social reality as a historical stream where no two instances are comparable and which assumes that value standards and logical categories, too, are totally immersed in the stream of history. This kind of historicism is a creation of the eighteenth century, and more specifically it was the German reaction against certain Enlightenment patterns of thought. J. G. Herder's *Also a Philosophy of History* (1774) was the first radical formulation of the historicist position. Historicism has also been defined as an approach to history seeking to re-create the past 'as it had been' and as an

middle classes as pillars of society and maintained a sharper distinction between the government and the governed than its French and British counterparts. For these historians – such as Leopold von Ranke, Wilhelm von Humboldt and J. G. Droysen – the state represented a higher spiritual principle. Accordingly it was the strong state that secured freedom, law and cultural creativity for any society; the state was the institutional embodiment of morality. German nationalism was inextricably interwoven with the German idea of history²²⁴ and one can argue the same for their Finnish-nationalistic counterparts, too.

The Finnish-nationalistic historiography did not favour too revolutionary tendencies or too strong an emphasis on social factors as the moving forces in history. The main preoccupation of the Finnish elite from the 1840's onwards was to prevent the class conflicts rising in the Central European nations from spreading to Finland, and also to preclude "that portentous innovation"²²⁵, namely the idea of an unlimited political democracy. The core question was how to stop the increasingly mobile society from falling apart, and the remedy was to educate and enlighten lower social segments not in revolutionary, communist claims but in nationness. An important way to do this was to write about the national history and thus teach the people their special national character based on endurance of hardships, work ethic and Christianity. In other words, the 'people' were not supposed to be activated politically; they were to become 'culture citizens', morally engaged in the nation as an ethical project, not 'reform citizens', capable of political deliberation, debates, arguments and negotiations.²²⁶

idea that sees the peculiarity of historical research in its concern for detail and individuality instead of generalizations and classifications. However, these ideas can be found already in Classical Antiquity. Iggers 1983, 29–30.

²²⁴ Iggers also emphasizes the continuation of the German historical thinking well into the twentieth century: although there were critical voices of the state-oriented research paradigm, the basic philosophical assumptions upon which the tradition rested were accepted not only by the majority of German historians but also by scholars from other fields. Iggers 1983, 4, 8–11, 15–16, 26.

²²⁵ Hobsbawm 1962, 149.

²²⁶ According to Jyrki Nummi the elite saw the people as "a politically neutral resource, represented by the Finnish intelligentsia and their leaders". Nummi 2006, xvii. For the difference between 'culture' and 'reform citizens', see Stenius 2003, 358–360; Kettunen 2005, 29–30. Even the generally liberal Young Finnish Party, officially established in 1894, referred to the rural population and workers only in the last pages of their programme: they were writing about and for the elite. The Young Finns wanted to augment the number of people participating in the

Snellman's pleas for national literature got their reward when the amount of historical literature started to increase rapidly after the mid-nineteenth century.²²⁷ This was due to the aforementioned more liberal era in the late 1850's and the early 1860's. However, the activating, antagonizing sphere of domestic politics with its newspaper polemics contributed to the general increase in the amount of literary, public discussions and literature, too.²²⁸

The long-lasting central theses of the Finnish-nationalistic history-writing were also formulated at this point, in the middle of the change from the early ethnic-cultural nationalism to the civic-political nationalism described above.²²⁹ The cornerstones of this historical understanding were Sweden, Russia and the idea of the existence of the separate, 'ready' Finnish nation during the 'Swedish period'²³⁰. The domestic and foreign policies of Sweden, and especially its wars against Russia in the eighteenth century, were discussed as a proof of neglect from the Swedish side. In the same tone Professor of History Zacharias Topelius asked whether Sweden had done everything in its power to protect its eight easternmost provinces against the Russian Empire or if it had "saved itself by letting Finland go"²³¹ in the midst of the Napoleonic wars. On the other hand it was claimed that becoming a part of the Russian Empire was a geographical destiny, since Russia naturally seized the control of the Gulf of Finland as part of its 'natural borders'.²³²

political decision making but their party programme did not entail a radical social programme or demands for the change of the estate system. Vares 2000, 51–52.

²²⁷ There were two peaks in the amount of historical literature in the late nineteenth century: the first one is in 1850–1860, when approximately 40 items were published. This rose to over 60 items in 1880–1890, and reached its high point of 70 items in 1900–1910. See appendix 1:1.

²²⁸ Klinge 2010, 214. The strict censorship regulations were mitigated and there was even a short period of freedom of press in 1865–1867. Tuusvuori 2007, 56.

²²⁹ The first formulator was Professor Fredrick Cygnaeus (1807–1881) who acted as the Professor of History before Zakarias Topelius, and took over the Chair of Aesthetics and Contemporary Literature later, thus being also the predecessor of Aspelin-Haapkylä. Klinge 2010, 152. Cygnaeus himself contributed both to the academic and the popular forms of history-writing; his special interest was the Swedish past and especially what is now defined as the Vasa-period (1523–1617).

²³⁰ 'The Swedish period' was the more neutral Swedish-language term, and 'the period of the Swedish domination' was the term used by the Finnish-nationalists. Engman 2009, 288; Klinge 2010, 166.

²³¹ A formulation by Z. Topelius, quoted in Klinge 2010, 154

²³² About 'territorial rationalization' and the idea of 'natural borders' in the seventeenth-century France, see Leerssen 2006, 52–54; in the Finnish context, especially in regard to Z. Topelius, see Klinge 1998, 349, 357–381; Klinge 2010, 197

In other words, Finnish history before the nineteenth century was separated from Swedish history in Finnish-nationalistic history-writing; eighteenth century wars and peace treaties were perceived through the spectrum of the Napoleonic wars and, especially, the so-called Finnish War of 1808–1809.²³³ This primordializing²³⁴ gaze was criticized by the Swedish-language historians of the Grand Duchy, who often leaned towards Scandinavianism. These historians and other academics wanted to include Finland in the western cultural hemisphere and emphasized the Swedish influence on the Finnish past.²³⁵ Finnish-nationalistic historians appealed to linguistic research and stressed the Finno-Ugric racial ancestry (the Turanian paradigm). These positions created a long-lasting debate about the cultural 'indebtedness' to Sweden.²³⁶

The aforementioned Topelius agreed with Snellman in his definitions of the themes and narrative devices of the ideal national history-writing. In Topelius's view each single part of the past got its meaning only as a part of a totality. According to him it was the task of the historian to select the significant details and episodes, synthesize them into a whole and represent them in a lively manner.²³⁷ All this should be done with a specific Finnish point of view. These pleas for national history-writing got their first answer in the Finnish-language monograph *Nuijasota (The Club War)*, published in 1857 and 1859²³⁸, and written by a historian, later Professor and Senator Yrjö Koskinen²³⁹.

²³³ Klinge 2010, 164.

²³⁴ Primordialism is the term used in the debate about the origins of national sentiments. Primordialists, or, as Anthony Smith has it, perennialists, believe that nationalism and nationness is essential and thus an inherent characteristic for humans. Nationalism can hibernate temporarily, and it can be woken up again. Pakkasvirta and Saukkonen 2004, 23–24.

²³⁵ The Finnish-language history books interpreting the Finnish history often got their Swedish-language counterpart, emphasizing the Swedish (-language) cultural heritage: the Finnish-language *Biografinen Nimikirja (The Biographical Book of Names)* was published between 1879–1883, and the Swedish-language *Finsk Biografisk Handbok (The Finnish Biographical Manual)*, published between 1895–1903. M. G. Schybergson's *Finland's historia (The History of Finland)* from 1887–1889 was at least partly a Swedish-nationalist comment on the leading Finnish-nationalistic historian Yrjö Koskinen's *Oppikirja (The Textbook)* from 1869–1872/1881–1882. Klinge 2010, 189–190, 205, 207.

²³⁶ See for example Aronsson, Fulsås, Haapala and Jensen 2008, 266; Engman 2009, 262–272; Klinge 2010, 185.

²³⁷ Klinge 2010, 158

²³⁸ Parts I–II were published in 1857 and 1859. Koskinen 1929 (1877), 5. In 1858 Koskinen defended his dissertation on the same theme. Klinge 2010, 136.

²³⁹ Born Georg Zakarias Forsman, who later took the name Yrjö-Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen, after his rise into the ranks of nobility in 1884. Koskinen was Forsmans's literary name, which he also

The Club War and Other Key Periods of the National Past

It seems that everything the historian, professor and senator Yrjö Koskinen wrote caused a public polemic, mainly alongside the linguistic divide but also within the Finnish-nationalist party.²⁴⁰ The history-writing of the Finnish-nationalists, especially in the 1860's when they were in the political opposition, has been later characterized as populist, propagandist, simplifying and thus antagonizing, and Koskinen was their leading historian.²⁴¹ The biggest polemic was created by Koskinen's abovementioned synthesis on the Finnish history, *Oppikirja (The Textbook)*, describing a predestined process of the birth and maturation of a nation, published in 1869–1872.²⁴²

However, Koskinen's earlier *Nuijasota (The Club War)* is more interesting in the framework of the present study, since – dealing with one temporally restricted phenomenon rather than synthesizing about the past as a whole – it provides us with a view on the aforementioned system of relevance of historical writing in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the mid-nineteenth century. This relevance is defined in the on-going process of textualizing the past, in the framework of the intertextual field of historical writing. The availability of sources contribute to its creation especially in the case of scholarly history-writing; however, historians were also discussing which topics were 'worth' writing about and in that sense the system of relevance is a conscious, ideologically and paradigmatically defined frame of representing the past.²⁴³ It seems to be linked to the representation too: the historian (or the novelist or the playwright) must also have some kind of idea of the sort of discourse to which

adopted for his Finnish-language scholarly works. In the Finnish historiography he is usually referred to by the Finnish version of his name. Koskinen was early in changing his name: the wave of changing the traditional Swedish names into Finnish ones occurred in 1906, when over 25 000 Swedish surnames were translated into Finnish ones during the centenary celebrations of the birth of J. V. Snellman. Suomalaisuuden liitto (The Union of Finnishness), established during the same year, promoted the project. Jussila 1989, 148–159; Klinge 1989, 861–862.

²⁴⁰ Koskimies 1968, 43, 92, 99–112, 129; Klinge 2010, 194.

²⁴¹ Klinge 2010, 194–195; Mylly 2002, 170–172.

²⁴² Koskinen 1933 (third edition); see also Klinge 2010, 184–190 and Liikanen 2005, 78. The second edition was published with the title *Suomen kansan historia (The History of the Finnish People)* in 1881–1882.

²⁴³ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä's list of the biographies from the beginning of the twentieth century that should be written soon. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: "Kirjamaailmasta. IX. Z. Topeliuksen elämäkerta." *Uusi Suometar* 30.12.1905.

the topic could give rise.²⁴⁴ In other words, there should be representational and discursive matrices on which to build and through which to look at things in order to turn new periods or episodes into research questions and narratives.

Koskinen's study deals with the war – or rather a peasant revolt – that took place mainly in the Western part of Finland in 1596–1597.²⁴⁵ The study has been characterized as the first scholarly, scientific, problem-oriented historical monograph in the Grand Duchy of Finland, and Koskinen is often represented as the first interpreter of the historical period in question.²⁴⁶ However, Koskinen did not invent the theme out of nowhere: the system of relevance was working, and before his study scholarly source collections had been published and plays depicting the revolt written.²⁴⁷ Koskinen adopted some of the already existing plot structures, such as the interpretation of the ancient independent character of the Finnish peasantry as the ultimate cause of the uprising, and, relying on the sources, abandoned some.²⁴⁸ In other words, the theme Koskinen picked up was not particularly novel, nor did the interpretation his study offered change the picture of the period decisively.

What mattered was the form of Koskinen's study. He merged the former representational matrices together, thus turning the event into a scholarly, authoritative narrative, narrated in an unexpected language, which lifted the whole work into a new, ideologically charged level. Accordingly, Koskinen's *Nuijasota* (*The Club War*) was seen as a conscious ideological act, and the possibility to accept a Finnish-language dissertation was fervently discussed in

²⁴⁴ Rigney 2001, 69–70.

²⁴⁵ According to modern research, the main cause was the war exhaustion of the Finnish peasantry (the most recent Swedish-Russian war had taken place sporadically between 1570–1595), the growing demands of the nobility and the famine plaguing the country. In addition, the power-political struggles between the Swedish king Sigismund (and his representative in Finland, Governor Klas Fleming) and Sigismund's brother Duke Charles influenced the situation in Finland too. Katajala 2002, 179–205.

²⁴⁶ Katajala 2002, 191; Tommila 1989, 91; see also Ihonen 1992, 54.

²⁴⁷ Other publications about the Club War before and around Koskinen's time: J. E. Grönblad's three-part source publication *Handlingar rörande Klubbekriget* (1844–1846); F. Berndtson's novel *Förrädaren* (1849) and Fr. Cygnaeus' play fragment from the same year; Fr. Cygnaeus' play *Claes Flemings tider* (1851); J. E. Grönblad's *Handlingar rörande förhållandena i Finland mellan 1592 och 1596*, including material dealing with the Club War (1856). Klinge 2010, 135–136; in addition there seems to have been "a merchant from Kokkola, Roos" who had written a play dealing with the Club War. For the last mentioned, see Suolahti 1933, 251.

²⁴⁸ Suolahti 1933, 251–254.

the consistory of the university²⁴⁹, the members of which had difficulties understanding its language but understood its political implications well.

Nuijasota (The Club War) was an answer to Snellman's call to fill the void of national literature and consequently to study the specific national past. The form of Koskinen's study made the Club War grander, more specific and particular than its real, long-term historical significance was. And perhaps more importantly: even more impressive than the Finnish-language version, published in two parts, was the Swedish translation of over 500 pages from the mid-1860's²⁵⁰. No wonder Koskinen referred to himself as one of the Finnish 'Clubbers' of the Club War, fighting foreign dominance.²⁵¹

Koskinen's authoritative interpretation dominated the academic field for a long time²⁵² and the theme was subsequently taken over by novelists and playwrights. The Club War period was especially popular right after Koskinen's monograph; indeed, the late sixteenth century peasant uprising seems to be the emblematic subject matter for the 1860's, when the Diet was convening for the first time after 1809 and the public sphere was gradually waking up to discussions about political, cultural and social issues.²⁵³ After the 1860's the interest clearly petered out. Perhaps it was also the combination of Koskinen's scholarly monograph and two immensely popular fictive works – J. J. Wecksell's play *Daniel Hjort* and Fredrika Runeberg's novel *Sigrid Liljeholm*, both published in 1862 – that made the theme so popular in the 1860's: other writers wanted their share of the fame and experimented with the efficient plot structure of

²⁴⁹ Koskinen's dissertation was not the first Finnish-language one: Fredrik Polén had defended his leaflet *Johdanto Suomen kirjallisuushistoriaan (Introduction to the History of the Finnish Literature)* in May 1858 and Koskinen defended his in November the same year. However, Koskinen's study had a far wider interest and political implications than Polén's literary history. Klinge 1989, 529–531.

²⁵⁰ Klinge 2010, 136.

²⁵¹ Koskimies 1968, 3 (the title page), 19. Koskimies is referring to Yrjö Koskinen's letter to his brother Jaakko Forsman, where he uses this exact expression.

²⁵² The next scholarly work is a dissertation by Hugo Sommarström from 1930. Katajala 2002, 192.

²⁵³ The most famous of these was probably J. J. Wecksell's play *Daniel Hjort* (1862) and the novel *Sigrid Liljeholm* from the same year by Fredrika Runeberg. In addition there were for example P. Hannikainen's *Salojärven kukkanen* (1864), pseudonym A ---n's sequel *Riimusauva. Kuvaelma Nuijasodan ajoilta* (1865) and Gabriel Lagus's *Klubbhövdingen* (1869) in the same decade. All in all, historians dealt with the period six times (when one includes both the monographs and the source publications shedding light on the period), and popular historical writing 13 times during the period under scrutiny here. See appendix 1:3, figure 1.3.1.

Finns resisting superior powers, finding consolation in the subsequent noble defeat, looking towards the future, where, surely, redemption must exist.

Besides the Club War there were seven temporal entities that the Finnish-nationalistic historical writing in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the nineteenth and early twentieth century dealt with: first of all, there are the rough categories of ancient/medieval period and the Swedish period; within the Swedish period the so-called Greater and Lesser Wraths²⁵⁴ and the late eighteenth century with Gustav III's Russian War and the so-called Anjala Conspiracy²⁵⁵ stand out as themes in their own right. In addition the Finnish War of 1808–1809 and the contemporary – that is nineteenth century – history were periods that were written about. Furthermore, scholars published thematic histories, which did not necessarily have a specific temporal definition (histories of towns, different kinds of registers and manuals) and source collections.²⁵⁶

The academic history-writing dominated the fields of contemporary history and the widely defined Swedish past, since the existing archival sources were from these periods and gave rise to many legal and economical histories and source collections, among other things.²⁵⁷ Besides the Club War, other periods that were clearly novelists' and playwrights' terrain were the early eighteenth-century Greater Wrath and the Anjala Conspiracy in the late eighteenth century. These were not moments of great national victories but offered many emotionally intriguing antagonistic situations and characters, useful for establishing an imagery of national characteristics. Some scholarly pieces discussed these periods too, but in both the abovementioned cases the interpretative tradition was begun by popular historical writing.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ The Greater Wrath: the Russian occupation of Finland 1714–1721, during the Great Northern War (1700–1721); The Lesser Wrath: the Russian occupation of Finland during the Russo-Swedish War of 1741–1743.

²⁵⁵ During the Russo-Swedish war 1788–1790 (or, as it is also called, Gustav III's Russian War) the dissatisfied Swedish officers placed in the easternmost border area formed the so-called Anjala Conspiracy seeing themselves as representatives of the 'Finnish nation', and aiming at peace negotiations with Tsarina Catharine the Great behind Gustav III's back. The plan failed and most of the officers were expelled.

²⁵⁶ Klinge 2010, passim. See also appendix 1:2, table 1.2.1.

²⁵⁷ Klinge 2010, passim, and especially 37–42, 71–77, 81–82, 109–110, 122, 135–136, 239–254, 291–294.

²⁵⁸ In the case of the Greater Wrath the first representation was Zacharias Topelius' *Björken och stjärnan* from 1852, set in the post-Greater Wrath period. It was followed for example by Fredrika Runeberg's *Fru Catharina Boije och hennes döttrar* from 1858. The first individual scholarly representation is from the 1870's. In the case of the Anjala Conspiracy Yrjö Koskinen

In the framework of the present study it is not possible to discuss in detail the reasons for this division of labour within the culture of Finnish historical writing. May it suffice here to point out that it seems that certain themes or periods were easier to approach through the novelistic narrative means and that a novel or a play seemed to provide even a historian with a real alternative to a scholarly representation. The borderline between scholarly history-writing and historical novel and play – in terms of themes, narrative means and requirements – was more permeable and less guarded in the process of nation-building in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries than it later became.

The Means for 'Perfect and Uplifting Images'

In 1897 the historian Kustavi Grotenfelt (1861–1928) reviewed in the *Valvoja* periodical J.R. Danielsson-Kalmari's (1853–1933)²⁵⁹ – another historian – latest study *Suomen sota ja Suomen sotilaat vuosina 1808 ja 1809* (*The Finnish War and the Finnish Soldiers in 1808 and 1809*), published the previous year.²⁶⁰ The study was part of a series of five studies with explicit political goals that Danielson-Kalmari published during the Russification years of the 1890's.²⁶¹ Interestingly Grotenfelt did not compare the new piece of history-writing to the earlier interpretations of the war compiled by historians but measured it against Johan Ludvig Runeberg's (1804–1877) aforementioned heroic ballads *Fänrik Ståhls Sönger* (*The Tales of Ensign Ståhl*; 1848, 1860). Runeberg's extremely popular epic poem had established the heroic image of the Finnish soldiers in the

published a small study *Yrjö Maunu Sprengtporten'ista ja Suomen itsenäisyydestä* in 1870; however, before that we have, among others, Zacharias Topelius's story *Häradshöfdingen* from 1845 and Emil Nervander's play *Vid Anjala* from 1863. See also appendix 1:3, figures 1.3.1., 1.3.2. and 1.3.3.

²⁵⁹ J. R. Danielson at this point; Danielson took the double form Danielson-Kalmari in 1906, at the same time with Aspelin-Haapkylä. However, he is usually referred to by the double form of the name. About Danielson-Kalmari as a historian, see Tervonen 1991.

²⁶⁰ *Valvoja* 1.1.1897 (no 1).

²⁶¹ Some of these studies were aimed at the international public, such as the slightly earlier *Die nordische Frage in den Jahren 1746–1751. Mit einer Darstellung Russisch-Schwedisch-Finnischer Beziehungen 1740–1743* from 1888 which was criticized by the Swedish and the Swedish-nationalistic historians in Finland for its Finnish-nationalistic point of view. However, the main purpose of the study was to strengthen the idea of the long basis of the Finnish autonomy in the face of the intensifying harmonization of the legislation within the Russian empire. Some of them, such as *The Finnish War*, were written to create patriotic consensus among its domestic readers. About Danielson-Kalmari's history-writing in the 1890's, see Tervonen 1991, 86–102.

war.²⁶² Grotenfelt was afraid that "many a beloved memory may vanish with research" but found, for his relief, that Runeberg's main characterizations were confirmed by the scholar. The review ended up with the praise of this "new gift for Finnish historical literature" and with a wish that it might create a new interest in the period in question and also bring in new archival sources still hiding in the closets of the nation.

The next year the historian E.G. Palmén wrote two articles about the former Professor of History, Zacharias Topelius's scholarly publications and fictional works in the same *Valvoja* periodical. In these articles Palmén contrasted the positivist ideals of his youth to the big historical landscapes painted by Topelius, "It is perhaps humiliating for many a professional scholar that their scholarly works filled with citations and scientific notes --- do not deliver such a perfect and uplifting image of the period as *Fältskärens berättelser* (*The Tales of the Old Medic*)."²⁶³

These historians, although belonging to the next generation, were writing about the ideals of the history-writing according to the Snellmanian standards from the 1850's. However, whereas Snellman had taken the models for national history-writing mainly from the contemporary French and English historians with their literary eloquence and the novelistic attention to detail, Grotenfelt and Palmén saw in the flourishing domestic historical fiction, not only the point of comparison for the scholarly writing, but also the narrative model for making the past alive and understandable.²⁶⁴ In the context of the present study it is interesting to see how closely the two broad categories of historical writing – academic research and the historical novel and play – collaborated in the creation of the national past in the nineteenth century.²⁶⁵ Influences were

²⁶² About *Fänrik Ståhls Söngar* (*The Tales of Ensign Ståhl*), see Klinge 2004, 418–474.

²⁶³ Quoted in Klinge 2010, 306–307. See also Klinge 1998, 418–419.

²⁶⁴ At the beginning of the twentieth century the historian Gunnar Palmén/Suolahti (1876–1933) also defined the historical short story as the best way to historical knowledge. Klinge 2010, 321–322.

²⁶⁵ Literary scholar Mari Hatavara has also observed that history-writing in the nineteenth century Finland was closer to the fictive literature than it is nowadays. Hatavara 2007, 71. See also Ihonen 1992, 73–74. Ann Rigney has pointed out that the influence of the novel on history-writing is not restricted to the Romantic Period alone. Interestingly, for example the Nobel Prize in literature was given to the historian Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) in 1902. Briggs 2004, 466; Rigney 2001, 94–95.

continuously transferred from non-fiction to fiction and the other way round forming a common field of the historical culture.

The main novelty of the Rankean method had been the insistence on studying the past from its own premises, on its own terms, not with a moralizing (or, indeed, ironic) perspective so typical for the Enlightenment historians.²⁶⁶ Ranke also contrasted the way he thought history should be written with the traditional rhetoric of history-writing. Traditionally the skill of historians had been their ability to reach the mind of their audience by the persuasive force of their literary forms in which the past became alive: historiography was oriented to the practical needs of its audience and it was guided by the principle of addressing it. For Ranke rhetoric was a mere linguistic trick, using language for strategic purposes, instead of a research-oriented approach and the adjoining language expressing the 'naked truth'.²⁶⁷

Nevertheless, Ranke was not as narrow-minded as later historians for whom the literary form of presenting the results is of no deep concern. For him the aspirations of the history-writing remained literary, and writing history was shaping results into an acceptable story. There was a division between principles of research, that is the realm of scientific, modern methodological rationality, and principles of writing, which was the realm of literature and of artistic or poetic operations. Historical scholarship was a combination of intellectual and poetical forces, a third element thus constituted.²⁶⁸

In other words, all the earlier trends and methods of history-writing – classical monumentalization, early modern antiquarianism and philological source criticism and the Enlightenment literary eloquence – still existed side by side in the nineteenth century but were also slowly changing, especially with the professionalization of the craft. By the end of the century history-writing – a

²⁶⁶ White 1973, 39, 54–59; Gossman 1990, 2, 228; Anthony Grafton has observed that the footnotes of the historians' texts flourished in the eighteenth century, when they served both to comment ironically on the narrative in the text and to support its veracity. Grafton 1997, 229.

²⁶⁷ Rüsen 1990, 191–192; see also Iggers 1983, 8–9, 17, 67; Ranke was not the first to criticize the 'art of using language': already Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) had argued that a speaker's persuasiveness should depend, not on the rhetorical construction of trustworthiness or *ethos*, but on the integrity of evidence. The philosopher and philologist Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) overturned again the distinction between literal and figurative language emphasized by Enlightenment rhetoricians, which had paved the way for the imagined cultivation of a 'plain' language. For Nietzsche all language was fundamentally figurative and duplicitous. Richards 2008, 73, 133–134.

²⁶⁸ Rüsen 1990, 192–195; see also Grafton 1997, 68.

genre influenced by the old traditions and new methodological insights – had slowly been removed from the field of literature and moralistic teaching to that of research and science practiced to a large extent by professionals. However, it continuously had close connections to other forms of historical writing, and the act of narrating itself remained relatively unchangeable even if its theoretical basis did not.²⁶⁹

In the Finnish context the language-based political divisions with their respective metanarratives, representational and epistemological requirements, narrative means and, to a certain extent, also the aforementioned thematic interests united the scholarly history-writing and the historical novel.²⁷⁰ Historical novels could, for example, have prefaces, frame stories and footnotes, which were seen to enhance the plausibility of the narrative²⁷¹ and the scholarly history-writing could glide into the area of more literary narrative means, as will be demonstrated in the present study. The plot structure of Finland as a territorial and social border region was popular and the question of the role and meaning of Sweden and Russia in the long-term development of the Finnish nation was touched upon in most pieces of historical writing.²⁷²

Several of the Finnish historical novelists were also trained historians²⁷³, which brought the two approaches of the past into an even closer collaboration. In addition, it seems that these historians saw it as part of their profession to read and review historical novels, and, consequently, reviews on novels appeared side by side with scholarly articles in periodicals and journals.²⁷⁴ The

²⁶⁹ Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz have pointed out that academic history-writing pushed other forms of historical writing to the margins at different times in different regions of Europe in the course of the nineteenth century. The professionalization and the subsequent scientification of history was an asynchronic process. Berger and Lorenz 2008, 10; see also Carrard 1995, 108–126 and especially 124–125.

²⁷⁰ In addition, the historical play contributed importantly to the historical consciousness and recycled the same themes, and influenced the narrative means of historical novel, too. Hatavara 2007, 115.

²⁷¹ Hatavara 2007, 93.

²⁷² See Syväoja for the Finnish historical novel in this respect. Syväoja 1998, 139–152.

²⁷³ Historians Zacharias Topelius, Yrjö Koskinen, Rafaël Hertzberg, Petrus Nordmann, Santeri Ingman/Ivalo and Eirik Hornborg were also novelists, and there were other novelists who were skilled amateur historians, too. Syväoja 1998, 86. About Santeri Ingman/Ivalo's dissertations from 1894 and his contemporary historical novels with an extensive source basis, see Klinge 2010, 293.

²⁷⁴ As mentioned above, Yrjö Koskinen reviewed Z. Topelius's historical novels. In addition, for example the historian Kustavi Grotenfelt reviewed Betty Elfving's historical novels in *Valvoja* in 1887 and 1903; the historian E.G.Palmén reviewed Jalmari Finne in *Uusi Suometar* 1913; the

unique novelistic means to legitimize the fictive representations were appreciated but at the same time the rhetorical requirements of good scholarly and fictive historical writing were intriguingly similar in the reviews from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

The reviewers of historical novels discussed four rough categories consisting of scholarly, political and aesthetic questions: the level of accuracy of the factual information delivered in the novel; interpretative/metanarrative questions (most importantly whether the events described belonged to the specifically Finnish history, or to Swedish history); which trend – romanticism or realism – best suited to address the topic in question, and whether a novelist can also be a historian and what is the relationship between aesthetics and fact-based narration.²⁷⁵ The answers to these questions varied but what the reviews had in common was the emphasis on the connection between the historical novel and the research: it was important that the novel relied on the image of the past delivered by research, and, consequently, the novelists' skill to make use of the latest archival discoveries of historians were positively noticed.²⁷⁶

In other words, historical scholarship with its solid foundation in the sources and its source critical methods was not enough, when the past was being written for a nation, not even if it possessed the literary eloquence of French historians. Historical novels and plays were needed to bring the past alive within the framework set by historians. In addition, historical fiction was part of the programme of appropriating the European literary genres and thus becoming a culturally cultivated nation²⁷⁷, and a way to reach a wider reading public, or in the case of the theatre, the audience, consisting of different social classes.

historian Gunnar Suolahti reviewed Santeri Ivalo's detailed historical novels in *Uusi Suometar* 1914; Aspelin-Haapkyllä reviewed Ivalo in *Aika* in 1909 and 1911 and Oravala in *Aika* in 1916. Syväoja 1998, 132–135, 246 (footnote 26), 247 (footnotes 55, 58, 59, 60, 64).

²⁷⁵ See also Syväoja 1998, 202.

²⁷⁶ Syväoja 1998, 209; see for example Kustavi Grotenfelt's review on Betty Elfving's *Vuosisatain perintö*. *Valvoja* 1.7.1903 (no 7–8). The same 'accuracy expectation' was a problem the Finnish Theatre Company faced too when staging plays depicting the past: they should give an accurate picture of the period in question, which in practice must have meant that only mythological, usually Kalevalaic, costumes could be freely recycled from one play to the next. The national past was a time-consuming business for the novelist, and a costly business for the theatre. See for example Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom 9.9.1880. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collection 46; see also Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom 21.6.1899. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collection 45.

²⁷⁷ Lyytikäinen 1999, 149.

However, this did not mean that the chain of influences ran one-way only from scholarship to fiction, as is also demonstrated above. Historians went to the archives but they also looked into other cultural domains including that of the novel when selecting their topics and the narrative means to tell their stories.²⁷⁸ In addition, sometimes the theme was first made relevant by a novelist or a playwright, which, however, invested them with a special responsibility: Yrjö Koskinen pointed out that Zacharias Topelius should work more diligently in the archive when preparing his historical novels, since he was the first to approach many a topic and thus had the responsibility to handle them with accuracy.²⁷⁹

When the results of the historical scholarship began to accumulate by the end of the nineteenth century, the attitude towards the historical novel seems to have started to change and at the beginning of the twentieth century the two genres began to grow further apart. Whereas in 1875 Koskinen had emphasized that a novelist writing historical fiction should not invent characters but bring those forgotten in the past alive²⁸⁰, Aspelin-Haapkylä praised novelist Juhani Aho for inventing all the characters in his historical novel *Panu* from 1898.²⁸¹ However, in this period of consolidating genre borders the possible and indeed accepted choices for historians and novelists alike were many.²⁸² Some of the historical novels started to resemble detailed scholarly history-writing and were appreciated for that and some of them were praised for their literary eloquence. The end-products of scholarly history-writing were discussed in terms of their plausibility, which was often connected to the literary quality of the piece of writing in question. The same “Scylla and Charybdis” “of the totality of the artistic creation and the vivid, accurate representation of the times past”²⁸³ tormented both novelists and historians.

²⁷⁸ See also Rigney 2001, 95.

²⁷⁹ Syväoja 1998, 202, 213.

²⁸⁰ Syväoja 1998, 213.

²⁸¹ *Valvoja* 1.3.1898 (no 3).

²⁸² Creative conglomerations of scholarship and imagination, that is of scholarly history-writing and fictional or fictionalized historical stories, were still popular in the first decades of the twentieth century. See for example Juhani Aho's *Kuvia ja kuvitelmiä Suomen historiasta* (*Pictures and Imaginations of the Finnish History*) from 1915 and Aarno Karimo's *Kumpujen yöstä* (*From the Darkness of the Tombs*), published 1929–1933.

²⁸³ Historian Kustavi Grotenfelt on the latest historical novel by Betty Elfvig. *Valvoja* 1.7.1903 (no 7–8); see also Syväoja 1998, 213–214.

All in all the nineteenth century scholarly history-writing, so often reduced to academic endeavours informed by 'scientific' methods, appears as a multifarious enterprise, where the older strand of history-writing, emphasizing more its literariness and the artistic side of the process, existed side by side with the new 'scientific' science, with its own apparatus for verifying the results. The doors of the Academia were beginning to close but fiction and non-fiction collaborated closely and seemed to be auxiliary ways of understanding the past and delivering a plausible image of it, when Aspelin-Haapkylä wrote the Theatre History. Raising a textual monument in the period of accelerating change demanded distinct narrative means, and the closeness of the older, literary tradition of history-writing and the modern archival-based national science provided the narrator of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* with a varying representational matrix he explored to create a coherent, plausible story. In the following chapters the concrete means to achieve this will be discussed.

3 THE IDEAL STORY-LINE AND ITS DIFFICULTIES

The concrete proportions of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History were discussed in the previous chapter, in connection with the wider field of the culture of historical writing especially in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Next the basic outline of its emplotment will be followed: the past of the National Theatre of Finland as Aspelin-Haapkylä wanted to convey it. This will be done by taking into consideration both the paratexts (the titles and the headings)²⁸⁴ and the turning points and milestones in the story-line. These are the most visible means of guiding the reader through the story. However, the past occasionally resisted the author-historian's representation of it, and this resistance will be approached by discussing the contrasts between the headings and the content of the volumes. The past resisting history-writing²⁸⁵ is a theme developed throughout the entire close reading of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*, and I will be returning to it in the subsequent chapters, too.

Titles and Subtitles: First Interpretations

Aspelin-Haapkylä chose a concise and yet ambivalent title for his study: *The History of the Finnish Theatre (Suomalaisen Teatterin historia)*. There are two seemingly simple claims at the level of the title: this is a piece of history-writing and it deals with a phenomenon called the Finnish theatre.

Two conclusions follow from these simple claims even before the reader opens the history. Firstly, that the reader is about to engage him/herself in the historiographical contract which means that s/he is given a scholarly representation of real events. Secondly, that this truthful, historical

²⁸⁴ The literary scholar Gérard Genette emphasized that the fringes of any text should be taken seriously too, since the concrete textual space an author compiles does not only consist of the body text, the actual narrative. The texts on the margins of a text, that is, the paratexts (topics and subtopics, introductions, prefaces, forewords, epilogues, conclusions, bibliographies, footnotes, reviews, interviews of the author) establish the text as an entity and guide the reception of it evoking a desired reading of the text in question. Genette further divides the paratexts into for example epitexts (messages located outside the book), peritexts (paratexts within the book), prior paratexts (for example announcements before the publishing) and original paratexts (appearing at the same time with the text). Genette 1997, 1–5.

²⁸⁵ Rigney 2001, 63–98, and especially 63–64.

representation deals with the Finnish-language theatre. However, the reader might ask whether we are dealing here with a general, geographically-defined phenomenon 'Finnish theatre' or the actual existing theatre company established in 1872 the name of which is simply the same in Finnish: *Suomalainen teatteri* - The Finnish Theatre. The answer is promptly given at the beginning of his history: the focus is in the actual Finnish Theatre Company²⁸⁶, the one that later was to become the Finnish National Theatre.²⁸⁷ In spite of this delimitation of the subject-matter, the borders of it are discussed throughout the History.²⁸⁸ This also leads into continuous definitions and re-definitions of the terms 'Finnish' and 'Finnishness'.

The division of the history into four volumes and the subtopics of these volumes provide the reader with the first view on the story-line of the history of the Finnish-language theatre, indicating the author-historian's interpretation of the formative phases in it:

- I) The Prehistory of the Theatre and its Establishment
- II) The First Years of the Drama Department and the Finnish Opera (1872–1879)
- III) The High Season of the Finnish Theatre (1879–1893)
- IV) Bergbom's final years: The National Theatre.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, volumes II–III are the most extensive ones and they also contain the largest amount of direct source citations. In addition, the narrator also glues these two volumes together by beginning and ending them with the same textual image of the troupes standing

²⁸⁶ As mentioned above, the name of the theatre company established in 1872 was *Suomalainen teatteri*, i.e. *The Finnish Theatre* in Finnish. However, Finnish theatre historians prefer the English translation Finnish Theatre Company when they refer to the actual theatre. In my dissertation I use the general term 'Finnish theatre' when dealing with the Finnish-language theatre on a more general level and the 'Finnish Theatre Company' when dealing with the actual, existing group. In addition, due to Aspelin-Haapkylä's delimitation of his subject-matter, I have decided to refer to his History as *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*.

²⁸⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä I (1906), 2.

²⁸⁸ There are several sentences where the narrator informs the reader that the following description "deserves" or "must" be included in the History although it does not shed light on the theatre company as such, or that he is not following a possible story-line, since it does not belong to the history of the theatre. See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 96; 1907 (II), 21–22, 29; 1910 (IV), 2–3 (footnote 2).

around the central figure of the story, Kaarlo Bergbom.²⁸⁹ They are the representation of the 'Bergbomian theatre' at the heart of the author-historian's attention. The first and the fourth volumes can respectively be seen as a general introduction to and a conclusion of this core-narrative, as the subtopics also indicate.

The chapters in the first volume have thematic headings: Before 1869; The Literary Prerequisites; Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom; *Lea* and The Finnish Society; Kaarlo Bergbom abroad 1871; The Establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company in 1872. In the later volumes the headings only point to the chronological division of the study, that is to the season the chapter in question deals with: the second volume starts with the chapter 'Season One: 1872–1873' and ends with 'Season Seven: 1878–1879'. In other words, the division of the story into chapters with distinctive titles within each volume does not emplot the narrative after the first volume. This is probably also why the reader is not given a table of contents to start with.

What the author-historian has compiled, however, is a list of keywords – or topic indicators – for each chapter, placed at the beginning of each volume. These topic indicators run in the page headers, too. Thus the reader is able to follow Aspelin-Haapkylä's idea of the main events quite accurately even without browsing through the whole study. Although the lists of topic-indicators are not indices, as we know them (alphabetic lists at the end of a book), they mean that Aspelin-Haapkylä's text could be accessed in many ways like a dictionary.²⁹⁰ However, their purpose could also be turned the other way around, claiming that they reveal the author-historian's hypothesis of the themes the readers might be especially interested in. If so, they are the first indicator of the continuous juggling act between showing and telling, between the mimesis, that is presenting a faithful replica of the world, and the narrativized syntheses or summaries of it.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 1 and Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 487.

²⁹⁰ Ann Rigney has made the same observation about Alexis Monteil's ten-volume *History of the French* (1828–1844). Rigney 2001, 81.

²⁹¹ Cobley 2001, 59, 64–65.

The Story-line and its Turns

The work of the historian centres on the temporal turn from 'real time' as it is culturally understood, and 'narrated history time' which is manufactured for purposes of explanation and meaning creation. Though normally conceived in terms of centuries, decades, years, seasons and days, real time is also perceived to be both cyclical (weeks, seasons) and linear (lives, dictatorships). The historian is dealing with both of these temporal aspects in the narrative when making all that constituted the past to connect as parts of his/her story-space.²⁹²

The 'time signature' of different epochs and genres of history-writing is different. The classical history-writing is often defined as circular: the present is returned to the past examples. The national histories use the future-oriented structure of the linear progress, and histories dealing with empires or dynasties are often stories of linear decline.²⁹³ However, it has also been observed that presenting the time signatures like this is over-simplifying the issue: any piece of history-writing, be it classical, medieval or modern, could also be regarded as a three-dimensional enterprise consisting of efforts to exemplify, entertain and share the results of 'proper' historical research. Most cases of history-writing entail all these elements, but the time signature is different depending on where in this triangle the historical author chooses to put the emphasis: if the exemplary aspect is all-important, then the past tends to look like the present; if entertainment is sought for, then the past would be colourful and strange, and in the case of hard-core scholarship the result would entail events in chronological order (for example progressing or declining) garnished with a wide variety of details.²⁹⁴

There seem to be two different factors at work here influencing the end-result of history-writing: the idea of distance to the past (if it is the same as the present or radically different), and the different approaches to temporality (change) as an organizing principle in a narrative²⁹⁵. Different historians

²⁹² Munslow 2007, 51. Munslow is drawing on Dilthey and Ricoeur in his analysis of the connection between 'real time' and 'narrative/story time'.

²⁹³ Lorenz 2008, 28-29.

²⁹⁴ Mortensen 1994, 66-70.

²⁹⁵ History-writing always has a temporal aspect, which means that every historian has to develop an understanding of her/his relationship to the past: whether it is a foreign land or if we

combine these differently depending on the research paradigms, personal preferences, the uses the past is put to and the time-model offered by the textual landscape around them: nineteenth century national histories written in the Grand Duchy of Finland were mainly organized according to the strict chronology due to the idea of the empty national past that could be charted and staked out with the indefatigable efforts of historians²⁹⁶, but also because it was the model the historians learned when reading other historians; however, the more experimental narrative models of some French historians seem not have been adapted as such.

Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is a good example of the complex temporal relations active even within one piece of history-writing. He writes within the paradigm of national history-writing and uses change – 'development' as he has it – through time as the main explanatory model thus organizing his narrative in a strictly chronological fashion with few thematic exceptions. In other words, it is a linear, future-oriented story. However, there is a strong exemplary strand too, pointing to a circular understanding of time: the past, and especially the central heroes of Aspelin-Haapkylä's story, serve as examples for the contemporary mores and behaviour. At the same time this similarity between the past and the present creates the inbuilt anachronism in the History: the past is straightforwardly judged by the present knowledge, through the hindsighted wisdom of the author-historian, a tendency strengthened by the closeness of the events discussed.

In addition the chronological narrative tempo also entails a cyclical element: the narrative takes the form of a chain of seasonal cycles beginning almost always in a similar fashion (the summer time activities of the troupe and the leaders) and ending with the summary of the economical situation and the

can understand it quite straightforwardly. This, naturally, is related to the real temporal distance between the historian and the past under scrutiny. However, on the level of the narrative it is naturally possible to ignore time as the primary organizing principle, and for example construct the story-line around themes. See Munslow 2007, 51.

²⁹⁶ This is also evident when one pays attention to how historians (defined widely) discussed their profession. For example, Aspelin-Haapkylä compiles self-evidently a list of topics for national biographers that would, little by little, fill the vacuum, "One could point out, that both Lauri Stenbäck and G. A. Wallin have already got theirs [their biographies], but the great men in the field of science, J. J. Nervander and M. A. Castrén, are still waiting for theirs. In the next generation it is Yrjö Koskinen whose biography would be the most important and the foremost one, when it comes to understanding the nationalistic activities of the previous century." Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: "Kirjamaailmasta. IX. Z. Topeliuksen elämäkerta." *Uusi Suometar* 30.12.1905.

repertoire of the season in question. This is the secure rhythm of the narrative tempo of the Theatre History. The reader does not get an explanation for Aspelin-Haapkylä's choice to narrate chronologically.²⁹⁷ The only reference to the story structure is in the epilogue, where the author-historian states that he has "told the establishment of the theatre and its different stages and the lives of him [Bergbom] and his sister – the creators and leaders of the art institution – until their deaths. All of it as simply and truthfully as possible."²⁹⁸ It seems that for Aspelin-Haapkylä the 'simple' chronological organization of the information meant writing about the past events 'as they had been'.

The Beginning: The Prehistorical Chain of Events

There are three major themes the narrator addresses in the first volume, as already the thematic headings introduced above indicate, and the analysis of the narrative tempo of the first volume confirms.

Firstly, there is the biographical strand including a summary of the family background and a synthesis of the nationalistic aspirations of the future leaders of the theatre, siblings Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom. We are introduced to the young, premature genius, Kaarlo Bergbom, deeply interested in theatre and literature, burning with patriotic feelings and recounting later that "he had never been young".²⁹⁹ Emphasizing the childhood speciality is not an uncommon literary topos in biographies of great men³⁰⁰, and the narrator makes good use of it. In the course of the 1860's Bergbom became the "leader through the mercy of the Lord"³⁰¹ and gathered the troupes around him. The establishment of the Finnish-language theatre is explained mainly as a consequence of the "maturation" of its leader, and the fulfillment of his destiny as the "future leader" of the National Theatre. Bergbom's "development" was directly aimed at the

²⁹⁷ Chris Lorenz has pointed out that national historians have not, to any significant extent, reflected on the temporal structure of their histories. Lorenz 2008, 29.

²⁹⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 290–291.

²⁹⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 62.

³⁰⁰ Eide 1999, 134.

³⁰¹ 'Chief' or 'leader' ('päällikkö' in Finnish) is the word that introduces Kaarlo Bergbom to the story-line. The idea of God's mercy behind Bergbom is repeated twice, so that the divine interference could not be doubted. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 45, 60.

theatre, although this destiny of his remained a secret until the revelation of it to those around him.³⁰² However,

“he developed a firm basis that was founded on his own observations and studies. Standing on this ground he could trust the success of his enterprise and encourage those around him, who, reciprocally, absolutely relied on his knowledge and judgement.”³⁰³

In other words, right at the beginning of the first volume it becomes clear that one is also reading a collective biography of Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom, although the actual word – biography – only appears later.³⁰⁴ The narrator thus reveals his understanding of history as a development triggered by a chain of great men, Kaarlo Bergbom being among the most prominent ones, when it came to the Finnish history. They – geniuses– are the driving force in history. The narrator also discusses and defines this ‘geniusness’ and especially its national variant (the enthusiast, indefatigable, innovative proponent of domestic literature and dramatic art) all through his work.³⁰⁵

Part of the authorial retrospection is the knowledge that Kaarlo Bergbom remained in his position for over 30 years. The road to the National Theatre can thus be defined from the beginning as the “Bergbomian theatre”. As a counterfactual exercise it is interesting to ponder, for example, how Aspelin-Haapkylä would have constructed his story-line if Bergbom had retired after the first five years. The theatres often had relatively short periods under a single director, and in these cases the histories of those theatres are often episodically arranged around periods of different directors, or changes in the financial or other administrative arrangements.³⁰⁶ Kaarlo Bergbom is such a strong protagonist in the Theatre History – especially in volumes I, III and IV– that it is difficult to imagine it without the figure of Bergbom. Even when the narrator

³⁰² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 60.

³⁰³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 242.

³⁰⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 96.

³⁰⁵ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 96, 220–221, 242; 1907 (II), 2, 461; 1909 (III), 111, 113, 115–116, 122, 125, 201, 331–332, 388, 417; 1910 (IV), 4, 21, 39–40 (footnote), 182, 185, 211, 221–222, 236.

³⁰⁶ See for example Blanc 1899 and for a more modern theatre history Engberg 1995.

discusses the theatre company on a more general level, it is always Bergbom who has the initiative. It is true that he surely stood for continuity, but on the other hand, so did the Board of Directors. Through the recurrent formulations of “Bergbom and his troupe left for---“ and “Bergbom’s theatre”³⁰⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä contributed decisively to seeing the theatre through the eyes of Kaarlo Bergbom and making him the symbol of the whole enterprise.

The second major theme of the first volume is a description of a Finnish-language performance of Aleksis Kivi’s play *Lea* in May 1869, which, according to contemporaries and also Aspelin-Haapkylä, was the turning point in the development of the Finnish-language stage. I will return to this theme later with a detailed close reading of it (see Chapter 4). May it suffice here to say that this May performance has become one of the paradigmatic moments in the history of the Finnish theatre repeated over and over again. Aspelin-Haapkylä’s representation of it did the solid groundwork for the future interest and interpretations.

The third theme in the first volume means returning back to Bergbom. It is the description of his journey to German-speaking Europe and Italy in 1871. The journey was an important phase in the intellectual development of the young Bergbom and thus a self-evident part of his biography, but why is this kind of foreign tour one of the key moments in the story-line slowly approaching the national theatre of Finland? Here we must look into the narrator’s way of building up his narrative, constructing its decisive moments and tying up the loose ends of the story-line.

In order to make the history of the Finnish-language stage a logical entity and thus a convincing story, the narrator needed to consolidate the picture of the central agents of his story and to establish the turning points of his story-line, the representation of which received the heaviest narrative investment. Sometimes the narrator labels the events or episodes as ‘milestones’ or ‘range poles’, often he only emphasizes the ‘first-timeness’ of an event: the first time Shakespeare was staged, the first original historical play, the first Verdi opera. These are all milestones in his story-line.

³⁰⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 160; 1909 (III), 115–116, 201, 228, 332, 363, 476; 1910 (IV), 21, 71, 94.

However, for the sake of the story logics, it was imperative in order for the next step to take place to glue together the milestones and turning points by constructing passages or gateways between them. These gateways or passages were also used to build up the suspense or tension in the story-line, feeding the expectations of the reader that something significant was about to happen, which also focused the reader's attention on the actual turning-point. This is also the role of Bergbom's journey to the continent.

Thus the story-line of the first volume, after first describing the cultural and linguistic situation of the Grand Duchy of Finland in the early nineteenth century and introducing the Bergboms, could be presented like this:

- a gateway: a “historical dinner”, where the performance of *Lea* was decided upon, 12th November 1868³⁰⁸
- a milestone: the performance of *Lea*, 10th May 1869, “Henceforward it was felt that the Finnish-language theatre was closer than ever but that there still was a long way to go before it became real. We must now follow the progression step by step.”³⁰⁹
- a gateway: the establishment of the so-called Finnish Society that organized Finnish-language drama evenings, “an introduction to the national theatre”³¹⁰
- a milestone: the performance of Verdi's opera *Preciosa* by the Finnish Society, 12th May 1870, “yet another courageous step towards the goal of all the efforts”³¹¹
- a gateway: Kaarlo Bergbom's tournee to Europe, “the last passage of waiting”, from where the fully developed leader of the national theatre later arrived home.³¹²

The chapter dealing with Bergbom's journey ends in a single sentence building up the suspense, “Bergbom returned to Helsinki at the beginning of

³⁰⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 125.

³⁰⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 135–138, 141.

³¹⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 149.

³¹¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 165.

³¹² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 193. In the previous page the year 1871 is described as “the hopeless period of hibernation” implying the eventual waking up with the establishment of the theatre company. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 192.

October.” This is directly followed by the heading on the same page “The Establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company in 1872”.³¹³

What we observe here is an omniscient narrator looking back at the past and constructing the gateways and turning points from his ultimate knowledge of the end result. What we also have is a narrator who determinedly leads the story forward and constructs a strong, solid emplotment of a chain of correlated events. It is perhaps easier to turn the subject-matter of the first volume into a narrative with an in-built tension than the theatrical life the further volumes deal with, at least in the manner it is represented in the Theatre History. However, it also seems that the narrator is especially attentive in pointing out the gateways and the turning points in the first part of the History.

Part of the problem of writing backwards from the new National Theatre standing in the middle of Helsinki from 1902 onwards, were the constant plans the Finnish-nationalists in the nineteenth century had for building their theatre either as a department of the Swedish-language New Theatre or, after the Finnish Theatre Company had been established and had drifted into serious economical troubles, to merge the two theatres together.³¹⁴ Kaarlo Bergbom had briefly even been a member of the Board of Directors of the Swedish-language New Theatre, which the narrator simply, pejoratively disregards as an “episode” stating that the Swedish-language Bergbom had entered “a foreign environment”.³¹⁵ The plans for having a bilingual theatre are referred to as

³¹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 242

³¹⁴ About the early plans in the 1860’s see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 143–145; about the fusion plans in the mid-1870’s see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 327–350, and about their renewal later, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 44–46. The representation of the negotiations between the theatres in the early 1880’s is characteristic for Aspelin-Haapkylä’s narrative: the body text emphasizes the strict, hostile opinions of the Swedish-nationalists by relying on the newspaper discussions, and the decisive meeting, where for example Kaarlo Bergbom spoke for the amalgamation of the theatres, is only briefly described in the footnote (see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 45). It seems that those close to the Finnish-language theatre, with some practical knowledge, saw that the fusion was the only sensible solution. Regardless of this, the language-based nationalism and the public opinion were so powerful that the linguistic pragmatism was defeated. Perhaps this is one of the episodes that did not really fit the story-line of the Theatre History: that Kaarlo Bergbom was also a linguistic pragmatic and it was not very farfetched that in Helsinki there might have been two theatres instead of three: the Swedish-Finnish theatre and the Russian theatre. For the multilingual theatre situation in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the late nineteenth century, see also p. 110 in the present study.

³¹⁵ In a way he had, since the troupe performing at the theatre came from Sweden. However, the Board was in the hands of the Swedish-language Finns. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 142, 145.

“illusions”³¹⁶ and the narrator authoritatively, with a hint of irony, demonstrates the impossibility of such schemes,

“In the light of the later experience one can say, that the collaboration --- would have most assuredly benefitted those of us who want to maintain the Swedish culture, not those who are for the Finnish culture. The previous ones would now have a domestic scene, which they do not yet have; but the Finnish department would scarcely have developed as quickly beside the Swedish one as it has done as an independent and free institution.”³¹⁷

What is striking in the first volume is the absence of a political contextualization of the establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company. As mentioned above, the Finnish-language stage is depicted as the result of maturation of its talented leader. The unbalanced (as the narrator would have it) theatrical situation of the capital of the Grand Duchy with a Swedish-language theatre and a Russian theatre is emphasized but the Finnish-nationalistic agenda behind the theatre company is not discussed. Perhaps the reason for this is that the first professional Finnish-language theatre performance – Aleksis Kivi’s *Lea* in May 1869 – was just one event in a long chain of public activities the Finnish-nationalists launched when they had lost their most prominent political spokesperson and their footing in the Senate with the resignation of Senator J.V. Snellman in 1868.³¹⁸ On the other hand, the period of Yrjö Koskinen’s seizure of the political power – part of which was the establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company – is the national past in its prime for the narrator, before the

³¹⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 12, 142. An “illusion” is also Bergbom’s aim to get a scientific career. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 193.

³¹⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 144–145.

³¹⁸ Other current activities were the slightly earlier establishment of a Finnish literary periodical *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti* (*Monthly Literary Magazine*) in 1866 (also discussing political issues), a Finnish newspaper *Uusi Suometar* (*The New Suometar*) in 1869 and its Swedish-language equivalent *Morgonbladet* (*The Morning Paper*) in 1871. Important public events were also the publication of Yrjö Koskinen’s abovementioned Finnish-language study *Oppikirja Suomen kansan historiasta* (*The Textbook on the History of the Finnish People*) in 1869 and the subsequent debate, the different fundraisings for the Finnish-language schools and institutions at the beginning of the 1870’s and the establishment of the Society for Public Education (Kansanvalistusseura) in 1874. Liikanen 1995, 147, 155, 162, 166, 279–281; Jalava 2006, 310–311.

fragmentation of the Finnish-nationalists and the growing demands of the lower classes stained the field of politics from the 1880's onwards.³¹⁹

The narrator needed to deliver an image of the inevitability and the apolitical nature of the Finnish-language stage by constructing a strong causal narrative relying on biographical and cultural arguments. The "silent" and "unnoticed" accumulation of preconditions made it possible to fulfil "hopes and dreams", so that in the end it would have been "absolutely unnatural" had the theatre not been established.³²⁰ According to Aspelin-Haapkylä's and his generation's nationalistic metanarrative, the success of the Finnish-language culture, symbolized by the establishment of the Finnish-language stage as an independent institution, could not have been a coincidence, a whim of a moment or a matter of just seizing the day. It had to be an end result of an inevitable development and determined work towards it.

The Maturation: The Rise and Fall of the Finnish-Language Opera

When the Finnish-language stage was established in 1872 there was a firm belief in its success and glorious future. How could it be otherwise; a nation on its way towards cultural maturity needed central indigenous cultural institutions, among which stood the vernacular theatre. As the Diet started its session in the spring of 1872 the Finnish-nationalists launched a public discussion about the theatre situation in the capital of the Grand Duchy.³²¹ The theatrical life in Finland at that point was at least trilingual: the main theatre (The New Theatre) was occupied by a group coming from Sweden, the Russian Theatre had opened its doors in 1868³²² and the Finnish-nationalists had set up amateur Finnish-language opera and theatre performances from the 1850's

³¹⁹ For the strong, continuous image the Finnish-nationalists had of party politics "staining" the national idyll, see also Tepora 2011, 33, 229.

³²⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 36, 45.

³²¹ Kaarlo Bergbom's writings from this period have been published as a separate source publication, edited by Aspelin-Haapkylä: *Kaarlo Bergbomin Kirjoitukset I: Näytelmät ja Kertomukset*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 1907 and *Kaarlo Bergbomin Kirjoitukset II: Tutkimukset ja Arvostelut*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 1908.

³²² For the Russian Theatre in Helsinki, see Byckling 2009.

onwards. In addition, touring groups from the neighbouring countries and German-speaking Europe were occasionally performing around the country.³²³

The Finnish Theatre Company, or to be more precise, its Drama Department, was established as the end result of the abovementioned newspaper writings dealing with the deficiencies of the domestic cultural life. However, it was the Finnish-language opera, established in 1873 as the second department of the Finnish Theatre Company that demonstrated the social status of the Finnish-language stage.³²⁴ Opera singers were artists according to both the contemporary newspaper critiques and Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History. The opera stayed mainly in Helsinki, although it visited, for example Viipuri in eastern Finland and the former capital Turku on the western coast, whereas the Drama Department mainly toured around rural Finland.

The starting point of the second volume of the Theatre History is May 1872 when the Finnish Theatre Company was declared to exist by Party Leader Yrjö Koskinen, although the state support for the enterprise was still under negotiation.³²⁵ In other words, in the second part the narrator moves from the field of preparing the 'prehistorical' ground to the field of a history of an institution. One of the central theses of Aspelin-Haapkylä in all his writings is the role the 'national art' plays in nationness, in the fulfilment of a nation, and that this art, given a chance, thus develops reflecting the simultaneous development of a nation on its way to maturity. Accordingly, the narrator of the Theatre History emphasizes that the depiction of the repertoire demonstrates the national meaning of the Finnish Theatre Company and its artistic and thus also national development,³²⁶ thus justifying the whole narrative structure of the study.

Consequently the story-line in volumes II–IV revolves around the repertoire. The premieres or other significant performances of certain plays are the milestones around which the densest narrative is woven. However, the narrator does not analyse the repertoire as an entity. His story progresses from

³²³ Sven Hirn has published a detailed study of the touring companies before 1870. Hirn 1999, *passim*. For the situation after 1870, see Seppälä 2010, 15–24.

³²⁴ Suutela 2001a, 81.

³²⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 278; Seppälä 2010, 32.

³²⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 56

one season to the next and from one performance to another. This is the event-based general tempo of the narrative: the recording of the activities of both the departments and the tours the Drama Department did around the country and sometimes all the way to St. Petersburg.

The depiction of the Drama Department in the second volume is at the same time summarizing and galloping away,

”In July the theatre gave only 9 performances, but in August 14 and in September 13 – all in all 36 performances. New pieces in the repertoire were *Yö ja Päivä* (*Night and Day*), a little idyllic piece by Kivi [the premier of which took place] on 23rd of July, *Kassan avain* (*Die Kassenschlüssel*), one act comedy by Benedix on 13th August, Erckmann-Chatrian’s three-act play *Puolan juutalainen* (*Le juif polonais*) translated by B.F. Salonen on 17th September and Kivi’s *Nummisuutarit* (*The Cobblers on the Heath*) on 24th September.”³²⁷

This kind of narrative does not analyse or interpret. It is a minimally-narrated narrative³²⁸, almost a non-narrative, a mere sequence of events. It could as well be represented as a list of bullet-points.³²⁹ The repertoire of the Drama Department consisted mainly of light comedies and melodramas, which did not suit the author-historian’s ideals of the repertoire the national theatre should be staging. This is one of the reasons for the summary and yet the precise treatment of it. It also reflects one of the central characteristics of the Theatre History: it is a recording and a compilation of sources for future historians to use. The story-space of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* is a mosaic of annalistic note-taking and narrativized parts.

However, the narrator is occasionally slowing down the tempo of his narrative even in the case of the Drama Department in the second part of his History. This happens when he discusses the performances of the more prominent plays (the original historical plays, the few acts of Shakespeare that

³²⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 191.

³²⁸ Chatman 1978, 147.

³²⁹ ”Extensive but catalogue-kind” is also the characterization of the Theatre History in the small biography of Aspelin-Haapkylä in the collection of the Finnish aesthetical writings. Riikonen 2005, 106.

were staged) according to his aesthetic definitions. In these instances the narrator changes to the narrativizing mode otherwise almost solely reserved for the Finnish-language opera in the second volume: he is re-staging the performances, and especially the responses of the audience, in his text.

The grand theme of the second volume is the Finnish Opera, established in 1873 and closed down in 1879. All the performances of the Opera are treated with enthusiastic descriptions of singing, acting, staging and the reactions of the audience; we get a chain of national operatic events and victories. As the phenomenon is not dealt with thematically, that is for example in one chapter, but chronologically throughout the second volume, it sets the atmosphere of the whole narrative.

There is, however, also a more sinister counterstory woven into the representation of the Finnish-language opera from the beginning. Emilie Bergbom, sister to Kaarlo Bergbom, who was in charge of the wardrobe and other practical matters, was anticipating the financial and other troubles brought by the opera already in 1873,

“---Emilie, with her clear-sighted judgement and anticipation of the future, wrote to her sister³³⁰, ‘I cannot rejoice for it. I am afraid to have the two departments side by side. The Drama Department will naturally be shadowed by the Opera which will hinder its development’.”³³¹

If the Finnish-language opera had thrived or even survived, Emilie Bergbom’s worries in the beginning of it might have been represented in a different light: as timorousness or perhaps a feminine lack of confidence.³³² Knowing the end result, it is depicted as a sensible analysis of the situation. Thus is the abolition of the Finnish Opera written all along, side by side with its success, as the inevitable destiny of it.³³³ Aspelin-Haapkylä’s contemporaries

³³⁰ Augusta af Heurlin, née Bergbom (1847–1918). My addition.

³³¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 28.

³³² The narrator of the Theatre History presents the female gender in terms of fluctuation and unpredictability, except in the case of Emilie Bergbom and some opera singers. See for example my discussion of the treatment of the playwright Minna Canth and the prima donna Ida Aalberg in Chapter 4.

³³³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 118, 289–290, 298, 326–327, 355, 378, 411, 414, 450.

naturally knew that the Opera lasted only six years, but it does not come as a surprise for later readers either.

At the end of chapter five, dealing with the season 1876–1877, the narrator refers to the new ‘guarantee company’ that was established after the economically disastrous first five years. He cites at length a letter he had received from a Finnish-nationalistic journalist August Hagman back then, describing the situation in dark colours.³³⁴ The narrator concludes,

“This shows how low-spirited the atmosphere was, when the only thing that was considered was the present situation. However, there was an awareness that the destination was proper and grand, and that all the work was done and hardships faced for the future of the people, not to further one’s own benefits, and that gave new confidence – in the end it was not only a question of surviving but seizing new victories. It is true that the Finnish Opera soon died, but it died honourably, and at an appropriate moment. It was almost as if it wilfully yielded to the Drama Department, which at that moment stepped out matured for unexpected artistic tasks.”³³⁵

This idea of the opera preparing the ground for the dramatic art and then having the sense to step aside at the right moment when the Drama Department started to flourish is repeated at the end of the volume, when the general meaning of the Finnish-language opera is analysed. The obvious rivalry between the two departments and also the inferiority the personnel of the Drama Department felt is downplayed in the narrative.³³⁶

It has been observed that the meaning of the past does not lie in some absolute significance of a single event but in how that event is fitted into an appropriate narrative. Often events are said to be ‘crucial’, ‘pivotal’, ‘determining’

³³⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 353–354. The narrator gives the reader a further explanation for the atmosphere of the letter in the footnote, “--- perhaps it should be mentioned that the author of the letter was downcast because of personal matters too at the time being.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 353 (footnote).

³³⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 354–355.

³³⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II) 474–475. About the rivalry and envy between the departments, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 326–327 and Oskar Vilho’s letter to Kaarlo Bergbom 22.5.1877. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collection 53.

or 'central'. However, they only become so when they become parts of a story of a particular kind.³³⁷ Knowing the end result – the opening of the National Theatre of Finland, not the National Opera in 1902 – emplots the narrative and makes the abolishment of the Opera Department a crucial episode in the story-line of the Theatre History.

However, it was important for the narrator to establish the closure of the Opera as a positive end-result of, yet another, inevitable process, although the Opera almost ruined the whole Finnish Theatre Company, which was saved by the leaders of the theatre who took on the debts of the first five years after which a new support company free of debts was established in 1877. Hence the constant references to the ultimate destiny of the Opera. In Aspelin-Haapkylä's interpretation the Finnish-nationalists did perhaps make a miscalculation (although the word is never used in the Theatre History) when establishing it, but it was a lucky mistake, or rather, it was an unavoidable step on the ladder towards cultural maturity and the high season of the Finnish-language drama. Only through the trial of the Opera did the success of the dramatic art (dealt with in the third volume) become possible.

Connections and Time-relations of the Story-Line

The analysis of the meaning of the Opera Department and the metaphor of the 'lovely sunset promising a beautiful dawn'³³⁸ at the end of the second volume bridges the way to the next period. The narrator also prepares the way for the third volume all through the second part by pointing out milestones connected to the Drama Department and its gathering of strength and resources. One of these is the performances of the theatre company in the small inland town of Hämeenlinna in southern Finland, in November–December 1874, "a visit more peculiar than others since the actress who later became so famous, Ida Aalberg, joined the troupe".³³⁹ The development of the "tomorrow's tragedienne" – "whose grandeur no one naturally foresaw"³⁴⁰ is then followed with hindsight.

³³⁷ White 1973, 7; Munslow 2007, 38.

³³⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 476.

³³⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 155.

³⁴⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 157, 192.

Temporal relations are central to historical thinking and practice, although historians, by and large, still tend to ignore the question of tense and timing in what they do.³⁴¹ So far I have been discussing the temporal relations of the story-line of Aspelin-Haapkylä's History mainly in relation to its narrative tempo and its chronological structuring, and by referring to the heterodiegetic, omniscient narrator, who is looking at the past from his vantage point of the present. However, each episode or event narrated can also be scrutinized in relation to those preceding and following it by asking how the temporal locations of situations and events in the story have been organized.³⁴² In addition, events can also take place simultaneously in a historical text.

In other words, as became apparent above, the narrator of the Theatre History is not only placing events one after another in their chronological order, thus creating a narrative where the story and the telling of it have the same order. He is also moving horizontally on his narrative thus establishing relations between events and agents, "The Opera continued performing after the New Year, but perhaps we should turn to the Drama Department, which we left when it travelled from Jämsä to *Hämeenlinna*."³⁴³ He is also constantly narrating ahead of or backward from the events he is discussing. This way of building relations between different parts of the story by 'anachronous' sequences is one of the narrative tools used to create meaning in history-writing and it can be discussed as a question of order.³⁴⁴

The literary scholar Gérard Genette has developed an elaborate system of differentiating different kinds of anachronisms, distinguishing between the "distance" of an anachronism (the span of time from now backward or forward to the inception of the anachronism) and its "amplitude" (the duration of the anachronical event itself).³⁴⁵ However, it suffices here to distinguish between the

³⁴¹ Munslow 2007, 51.

³⁴² Munslow is relying on Susan Fleischman's *Tense and Narrativity: From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction* (1990). Munslow 2007, 51.

³⁴³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 292. Italics Aspelin-Haapkylä.

³⁴⁴ Munslow 2007, 55.

³⁴⁵ Genette 1980, 35–85. The literary scholar Seymour Chatman has compiled a useful summary of Genette's categories. Chatman 1978, 65. See also Neumann and Nünning 2008, 70–71. Chatman is interested in fictive narratives only. However, it has been pointed out by several historiographical narratologists, and also some literary scholars, that the appropriation of time in history-writing and fiction bear striking similarities. Munslow 2007, 51–55, drawing on Paul Ricoeur.

‘figure of analepsis’, that is retrospection or narrating backwards in time (flashback in the cinematic language), and the ‘figure of prolepsis’, that is anticipating or narrating ahead of events (flashforward).³⁴⁶ The retrospective vantage point and the analepses and prolepses are naturally interrelated, since the authoring of any story-sequence demands the knowledge of the end result.

The abovementioned examples introducing the actress Ida Aalberg (1857–1915) to the story-space by anticipating her future success by using prolepses, flashforwards, are very typical examples of this tense- and time-related way of playing with the temporal relations within the story-space. The narrator uses anachronisms constantly—mostly analepses, but also prolepses—and especially so in the third volume. However, this is done not only in order to build relations and tie the different parts of the story-line together, but also to prove his point of the development of the theatre company to the stage where the label ‘national’ can be attached to its name without hesitation: the narrator is relating new premieres to the previous “stages” in “development”, comparing and building up his argument about the advancement of the theatre company. With these constant temporal leaps in the story-flow he is also able to construct a vague understanding of the repertoire as an entity, without providing it with a specific thematic entry.

The High Season or the Disintegrating Theatre

The third volume of the Theatre History is a confusing reading experience: according to Aspelin-Haapkylä’s story-line the epoch it depicts was “the high season” of the domestic dramatic art, and, according to the later research, the Finnish Theatre Company became the most important theatre in Helsinki, and consequently in the whole country, during the 1880’s.³⁴⁷ The first premonitions of this success were already there at the end of the period covered by the second part of the Theatre History, when the Drama Department staged

³⁴⁶ Genette reserves the term ‘anachrony’ to designate all forms of discordance between the two temporal orders of story and narrative. Genette 1980, 40. See also Rigney and her use of the same terms in analysing the narrative of the French revolution. Rigney 1990, 65–70.

³⁴⁷ The subtopic for this volume is *The High Season of the Finnish Theatre (1879–1893)*; Seppälä 2010, 35.

Molière's play *Saituri (The Miser)*, which, according to the narrator, opened its classical repertoire.³⁴⁸ The argument of the progress of the domestic dramatic art was further developed in the discussion of the Opera Department's closure referred to above. The second volume ended with the setting sun promising a new dawn; the third part begins with a metaphor of the ripening fruits of the national art on the verge of being picked.³⁴⁹

At the beginning of the volume the story-line is coherent and answers the interpretation offered by the author-historian on the title page. It adopts the pattern of the previous volume and is thus constructed around the repertoire. The reader follows the Finnish Theatre Company working its way through Björnstjerne Björnson, Ibsen, Shakespeare, Goethe and central Finnish playwrights. This is the positive story-line, that of the gradual development of national dramatic art. The premieres are again the milestones, and also the places where the current of the narrative slows down. The year 1888 is proudly declared the milestone in the history of the theatre due to the many indigenous premieres.³⁵⁰

However, when the story approaches the mid-1880's the narrator is clearly struggling with his story-line. There are several episodes and incidents that do not fit the elevated and idealized picture of the life of the national art institution. The narrative becomes more fragmented and is filled with sinister statements and disguised hints at the internal disagreements at the theatre and at more critical voices surrounding its performances.

There were serious disputes between Bergbom(s) and the staff of the theatre, which resulted in several resignations. The staff rebelled under the class-based authority of the Finnish-nationalists, and in several cases the narrator reluctantly comments on the disputes, since they were familiar to the public outside the theatre, generating an occasional newspaper polemic.³⁵¹ The general explanation is ingratitude,

“These words [he is annotating a long letter quotation] probably refer to the performances of *Kovan Onnen Lapsia (Children of Hard*

³⁴⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 463.

³⁴⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 29.

³⁵⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 290.

³⁵¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 126–127, 271–274, 329–332, 346, 448.

Times)³⁵² and the inner squabbles at the theatre at the time, whereby it became apparent how little the actors and actresses knew how to appreciate the leader they had.”³⁵³

One of the most important discourses in the Theatre History is that of the national unity and, in a reverse form the loss of it, which cause most of the troubles of the later period, “(t)he development had taken a turn --- that weakened the sense of communality and solidarity, which, in the 1870’s, had brought about so much”.³⁵⁴

By writing about the Finnish-language theatre, Aspelin-Haapkylä is also writing his intellectual autobiography, part of which is the abovementioned emphasis on the meaning of the cultural roots and the cultural capital of the nation. In his language-based nationalism the Swedish-speaking intelligentsia of the Grand Duchy of Finland, holding onto its right to the Swedish-language and thus to the political, economical and cultural standing, was the natural enemy. What the author of the Theatre History had difficulty dealing with, looking through the social and political turmoil at the beginning of the twentieth century, was the fragmentation of the Finnish-nationalistic party in the 1880’s into competing groups and parties and the rise of the civic society with its own institutions, and especially the activation of the lower classes, soon escaping the direct control of the upper-class authority.³⁵⁵ The narrative structure of the Theatre History reflects this: it seems to be falling apart hand in hand with the representation of the advancing national disintegration.

Consequently, the narrator’s approach to the lower classes is troubled all through the Theatre History. A good example is the representation of the premiere of the historical play *Eerikki Puke, Korsholman herra* (*Eerikki Puke, the Master of Korsholma*) in the third volume. The play was written by Gustaf von Numers (1848–1913), now a forgotten author, who nevertheless was one of the main Finnish playwrights in the nineteenth century, compiling comedies and historical plays in Swedish (translated into Finnish) for the Finnish Theatre

³⁵² A play by Minna Canth, performed for the first time in 1888.

³⁵³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 448 (footnote).

³⁵⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 236; other references to the lost solidarity 1907 (II), 460–461; 1909 (III), 292; 1910 (IV), 119, 123–124, 184.

³⁵⁵ Haapala 2004b, 212–213; Pulma 2004, 179–181.

Company in the 1880's and the 1890's. Numers's play, staged seven times at the Arkadia Theatre ³⁵⁶ in the spring of 1888, was inspired by Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson's famous peasant uprising in Sweden in 1434. Aspelin-Haapkylä had written a very positive review about it in the periodical *Valvoja* in 1888.³⁵⁷ In his Theatre History, written 20 years later, the narrator is citing this *Valvoja*-review, although without a reference, to describe the impact the play and its staging had made. However, he adjusts the earlier interpretation of the political message of the play to respond to the writing context, thus partly rewriting the review.

In the Theatre History the narrator explains the success of the play by referring to its central theme, which was encapsulated in the phrase in the play, "The farmer – the master – together!" The narrator looks back and sees a nation in its ideal state, "it [the play] was streaming with the democratic spirit typical for our age (please note: before socialism!)".³⁵⁸ In other words, in 1909 the narrator defines his ideal society (and his ideal democracy) as a place in the past, where the educated classes were leading the obedient masses. The review from 1888, on the other hand, had been looking forward to an ideal society by commenting on the current political situation, "I am talking about the democratic spirit --- that is far from being realised in our society yet."³⁵⁹ The lack of democracy Aspelin-Haapkylä was referring to in 1888 could be interpreted as a reference both to the lack of solidarity within the Finnish Party back then and the still-existing political power of the Swedish-language population. The pessimistic present of 1888 becomes an idealized past at the beginning of the next century; the following phases in the narrative of the Theatre History are characterized by a sense of lost unity.

The period covered by the third volume stretches over the abovementioned milestone year of 1888, which in a way would have formed the logical ending for the third part, until the season of 1892–1893, which was a record year for the theatre: two thirds of the repertoire consisted of original,

³⁵⁶ The Arkadia Theatre was the theatre building where the Finnish Theatre Company performed.

³⁵⁷ *Valvoja* 1.2.1888 (no 2)

³⁵⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 297.

³⁵⁹ *Valvoja* 1.2.1888 (no 2)

Finnish plays.³⁶⁰ However, when it comes to the biography of Kaarlo Bergbom, the period is again more problematic, “In reality the year 1892 brought on torments and trials of the kind he had hardly ever experienced before – at least not simultaneously.”³⁶¹

Furthermore, the last two seasons/chapters of the third volume form an anticlimax for the whole story-line, even though the narrator’s positive interpretation of the development of the Finnish Theatre Company until the 1890’s is strategically located at the end of the volume.³⁶² The narrator voluminously (dedicating all in all 50 pages for the subject) accounts the antagonisms between Kaarlo Bergbom and his two most important playwrights, the previously-mentioned Gustaf von Numers and Minna Canth (1844–1897)³⁶³, and although the narrative tempo follows the row of single performances, the narrative investment on the disagreements within the theatre in terms of pages and polemical speeches is much higher than in the analysis of the repertoire. The high season turns out to be a season of disputes, quarrels and economic troubles and hence starts the apology for Kaarlo Bergbom, the mode that characterizes the rest of the history.

This is probably also the reason why the biography genre is much more prominent in the third volume than in the previous one. This is partly due to the space dominated to discussing Numers’s and Canth’s decision to leave the theatre, the representation of which revolves around Bergbom in the Theatre History. One of the great themes that runs through the History but accelerates in the third volume is the narrator’s demonstration of Bergbom’s decisive influence on the playwrights.³⁶⁴ For the narrator of the Theatre History it was impossible that the playwrights could have created their dramatic worlds without the help and guidance of the “wonderfully capable and brilliant”³⁶⁵ Bergbom; when Bergbom’s judgement clearly went astray (when he, for example, tried to suggest

³⁶⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 486–487. Also the topic indicator “The best record” refers to this. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), VII.

³⁶¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 417.

³⁶² About this strategically important place in a narrative, see for example Rigney 1990, 87; Rigney 1992, 271.

³⁶³ About Numers Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 404–413, 426–436; about Minna Canth Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 444–451, 454–473.

³⁶⁴ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 73, 106–107, 109–110, 112–113, 162, 202, 204–205, 210, 283–286, 295–296, 301, 303, 338, 355–358, 361, 380–381, 404–413, 477, 481.

³⁶⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 68; see also 1909 (III), 331, 340.

romantic-historical themes dealing with the war of 1808–1809 à la Runeberg to Minna Canth, who wrote realistic contemporary drama) there was a quick defensive movement from the narrator's side.³⁶⁶

Looking into the way Bergbom and the playwrights worked together and how Bergbom influenced the creation of the domestic drama canon in the nineteenth century would be a theatre historical study of its own. Of interest here is the force with which the narrator is building his case; it is not enough to declare once that Bergbom worked closely with the playwrights writing for the Finnish theatre: it has to be repeated over and over again.

However, the disputes within the theatre offer also a more positive motif for the narrator: they are used to build the idealistic character of Kaarlo Bergbom almost as the Phoenix rising, uniting and inspiring his troops and leading them to yet another victory.³⁶⁷ In that sense they are good material for the story-line, building all along on the juxtaposition between the recurring hardships and the endurance in defeating them on the part of the Bergboms in particular and of the Finnish-nationalists close to the Theatre Company in general.

The Ending: National Theatre and a Double Funeral

Part of the apologetic discourse is the argument that only those who have been 'there' or 'inside' can understand the reality of the Finnish Theatre Company, an argument that surfaces in the middle of the third volume, “--- demands that were theoretically relatively justified but outsiders could not estimate how difficult and impossible it was to answer them.”³⁶⁸ This kind of argument denying the possibility of counter-arguments, reflects firstly the author-historian's own growing involvement in the matters of the theatre from

³⁶⁶ "Thus, someone might claim that Bergbom did not understand the nature of Minna Canth. It must be noted that he did not personally know the author of *Murtovarkaus* (*The Burglary*) yet, but relied only on her first play." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 113.

³⁶⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 414; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 331–332.

³⁶⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 260; see also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 273; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 195.

1890 onwards, when he was selected to the Board of Directors³⁶⁹, and secondly the ever growing criticism the Finnish Theatre Company and especially its leaders faced from the young generation of theatre goers, connected also to the decisive division of the Finnish Party during the accelerating Russification at the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁷⁰ Consequently in the fourth volume a more pronouncedly overt narrator replaces the seemingly covert one, telling the story of the last years of the Bergbomian theatre, answering the criticism and commenting directly on the current political situation.

Here we face the same problems of emplotment the narrator was struggling with in the third volume of the History. The picture of the Bergbomian heritage, so important for the future of the National Theatre in Aspelin-Haapkylä's view³⁷¹, is challenged by the criticism towards Bergbom, which became louder and louder during the 1890's and at the beginning of the new century, not only from the actors but from young theatre critics and playwrights. In the end the narrator had to dedicate several pages to dealing with it.³⁷² However, luckily there was, again, a positive counterstory of the construction and opening of the new National Theatre, which balanced the story-line.

On the whole the narration in the fourth volume is less detailed, marching speedily through one season after another in the 1890's and until the opening of the new theatre building, slowing down and pausing much more seldom than in the previous volumes.³⁷³ In addition, one third of the chapters/seasons is often dedicated to describing the summer time activities of the Bergbom siblings; the emphasis has now shifted away from the repertoire to the biography genre, as the previous volume anticipated.

Aspelin-Haapkylä had hinted at this more general narrative tactic already in the preface of his study: "It is natural for different reasons that the representation will get more concise when we are approaching the present---

³⁶⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 363. He was elected the Vice President of the Board in 1903 and the President in 1905. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 208, 253.

³⁷⁰ See pp. 68–69 in the present study.

³⁷¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 292–300.

³⁷² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 217–221.

³⁷³ In the fourth volume the approximate number of pages dedicated to a single season is 22 whereas in volume two it is 68. For further details, see p. 75 in the present study.

“.³⁷⁴ In the context of the fourth volume, and its hurried narration, the pauses or stretches in the current of the narration receive even more attention. The representation of the construction works of the new premises of the Finnish Theatre Company is the most significant of these pauses. After all, the result was the renaming of the company³⁷⁵ and, consequently, the grand opening festivities of the National Theatre in 1902.

This is perhaps where the story should have ended. After the Finnish-language theatre began to perform in its new premises, the criticism towards the theatre and its traditions peaked in 1902–1904 and created an extensive newspaper polemic, pointing to the Finnish-nationalists’ “sacrificial smoke” surrounding the theatre³⁷⁶ disguising its failures, and to the “ancien régime” running it, “après nous le déluge” as its main precept³⁷⁷. During this troubled period Bergbom travelled to Italy for his summer break in 1903, fell seriously ill and returned to Finland only the next winter. He did return to the theatre for one more season although he never completely recovered. Although the narrator pauses to describe the veneration of the Bergboms in their farewell-performance at the theatre in April 1905³⁷⁸, it is the ending of the actual narrative, an almost-double-funeral, that dictates the tone. It is the final outcome of the most important substory of the constant alternation between hardship and endurance, namely the death of the Bergbom siblings.

The theatre defeated the Bergboms, which is very obvious when one reads their letters. According to the narrator’s more dramatic wording, there was nothing left for them except to die after their retirement.³⁷⁹ In fact one cannot escape the feeling that it was fortunate for the story-line that they only had few months left after their retirement: Emilie Bergbom died in September 1905 and Kaarlo Bergbom in January 1906.³⁸⁰ The narrator builds a great deal of the narrative tension of his Theatre History on this omniscience of his and his

³⁷⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), I.

³⁷⁵ According to the Theatre History, the renaming of the theatre troupe “did not occur through any official statement but it happened, so to say, spontaneously---.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 147–148.

³⁷⁶ The narrator is actually referring to this “mocking” formulation. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 219.

³⁷⁷ Otto Manninen in *Valvoja* 1.4.1904 (no 4).

³⁷⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 266–268.

³⁷⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 272.

³⁸⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 277, 284; Suutela 2001b&c.

readers'; they knew the end result, and the narrative is anachronistic in structure as the narrator makes proleptic references to the ultimate faith of the Bergboms all through his story.³⁸¹ All the events and episodes in the Theatre History foreshadow the end result, the funerals with the graveyard speeches enclosed as obituaries.

In other words, the storyline beneath the surface is that of a Paradise Lost, of decline and disappointment. The fourth volume – the last years of the 1890's and the beginning of the twentieth century – forms an anticlimax in the story-line in spite of the offered thematization. Despite all the efforts the narrator makes to keep his story-space together, there are two story-lines or emplotments in the History of the Finnish Theatre Company that overrule each other: the ideal emplotment of the linear development of the national dramatic art, symbolized by the new grand premises of the National Theatre, and the linear decline of national unity and solidarity, symbolized by the gravestones of the heroes from the Golden Age of the past.

³⁸¹ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 142, 308; 1910 (IV), 199, 221, 257.

4 THE KEY EPISODES

In the previous chapter I discussed the overall, ideal story-line of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*, including some of the resistance the content, especially in the third and fourth volumes, presented to it. In this chapter I will ask what the story-line looks like, if we accept the idea that those figures, events and episodes that are described and represented in a detailed way, with a variety of narrative means, are the keys to its interpretation.³⁸² In other words, the episodes I will discuss in this chapter are the accentuated places in the narrative, the still waters in its current. They are not necessarily those the narrator is labelling or constructing as turning points or important events. Consequently, certain criteria have been adopted for recognizing these places amongst the Theatre History's almost 1600 pages.

The concepts used for analysing the narrative tempo presented in the introduction form the backbone of the selection: the representation of the key episodes receive relatively more attention and thus a more detailed description than the bulk of the narrative, and thus they form scenes, stretches or pauses in it. Consequently these episodes, or substories, often entail some or all of the following attributes³⁸³:

- Emotional language pointing to the narrator's explicit presence and subjective engagement (emotional expressions, exclamation marks, rhetorical questions, metaphorical language, religious motifs etc.)
- Changes in verb tenses, especially the change from the past to the present tense in the descriptive parts (the present is often used in the analytical sentences)
- Gliding to the literary and/or fictional field.

³⁸² Rigney 1990, 77.

³⁸³ Phillip Carrard has used a slightly similar set of attributes in his analysis of the presence of enunciator in the texts of the historians of the French Annales School. He refers, among other things, to "the intrusions of the 'emotional subject'" and value-laden vocabulary ('subjectivemes'). Carrard 1995, 109–116.

Some of these key episodes are merely short breaks, perhaps only a page or two, in the middle of the general chronological forward-movement in the story of the Finnish-language stage. Sometimes they are more thematical, extending over several chapters. However, in all the cases they are more pronouncedly narrativized sequences than their surroundings.

The main themes, or to phrase it differently, the narrative knots in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History can be placed into three rough groups. The representations of certain premieres form the first group of key episodes, starting with the mythical moment of the Finnish-language theatre: the performance of Aleksis Kivi's play *Lea* in May 1869. By discussing the premieres the narrator is defining the key plays in the early repertoire of the national theatre, thus seizing at establishing the canon of the Finnish-language dramatic art according to his aesthetic preferences. He is also, and more importantly, defining the ideal theatrical event and the ideal audience attending those occasions. In other words, the episodes discussed under the rubric of the first subchapter can all be seen as embodiments of the idealistic expectations the Finnish-language stage and the national community around it was invested with. Thus they have both aesthetical and social dimensions.

The second of these groups centres mainly on the figure of Kaarlo Bergbom and the circle closest to him. The image of Bergbom and his faithful followers is established by depicting Bergbom in different scenes or situations and by using his own voice. It is accentuated by introducing more sinister figures, those whose faith in the national quest was not quite strong enough. These also include depictions of the most prominent Finnish playwrights in the late nineteenth century, the previously mentioned Gustaf von Numers and Minna Canth, the prima donna of the Finnish-language theatre, Ida Aalberg, and the voices criticizing the theatre and its leaders at the beginning of the twentieth century. One can claim that by discussing these figures the narrator is also depicting the shattering illusions of the Old Finns, caused by what they perceived as a disintegrating national unity from the 1890's onwards. The last episode of this group, namely the representation of the performances of two historical plays by Zacharias Topelius from the 1880's and the 1890's, can be seen as a textual

attempt to restore the lost unity by recreating the ideal past that existed before the national community was broken by party politics and individual aspirations.

The last entity consists mainly of episodes dealing with the premises: insignificant as that sounds, they have an important part in constructing the discourse for the underdog Finnish-nationalists symbolized by their theatre, and the connected idea of linear progress of this theatre valiantly defeating obstacles set in its way.

Theatrical Events and their Ideal Audience

The repertoire of the Finnish Theatre Company is not analysed in the Theatre History. The reader is merely provided with a list of premieres at the end of each chapter, and an appendix with an alphabetical list of the plays performed between 1872 and 1905.³⁸⁴ In addition, most of the premieres are briefly described in the body text: some with few sentences, some with a whole paragraph. However, some of the performances receive a detailed description including the reviews. In what follows, not all of these longer representations will be discussed, but only those that meet the requirements listed at the beginning of the chapter, and can thus be constituted as key performances in the story-line.

“A Play Fallen from Heaven”

One of the turning points in the first volume is the abovementioned representation of Aleksis Kivi's play *Lea* in May 1869 at the New Theatre. As pointed out previously, this evening has paradigmatic dimensions in the history of the Finnish-language theatre, mainly due to its real dramatic qualities. A group of young Finnish-nationalists were planning a Finnish-language theatre performance and decided to stage the new play by the young dramatic talent, Aleksis Kivi. It was not the first Finnish-language theatrical experiment, since the students had been performing in Finnish before with young men playing the female parts. However, the success of the play depended on the leading female

³⁸⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 323–352.

character, an ingénue, and it was crucial to find an actress who could do it satisfactorily in the Finnish language. Kaarlo Bergbom, who participated in the preparations, knew the star actress of the New Theatre, a Swede Hedvig Charlotte Raa. She did not know any Finnish at all but agreed to participate and learnt the part by heart with the aid of a literal Swedish translation.³⁸⁵ In other words, an actress who did not understand or speak Finnish starred in the first serious Finnish-language performance.

It is an intriguing episode. However, the representation of it in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History has decisively contributed to its popularity and influenced the later representations. It all starts *in medias res*, "On November 12th 1868 a group of ten young students from the Ostrobothnian Nation sat in the corner room in Kleinhé's restaurant. --- all filled with patriotic enthusiasm and young joyfulness."³⁸⁶ The planning of the vernacular performance started but it was not easy to find a suitable play. Then Kivi's manuscript appeared like "a play fallen from Heaven"³⁸⁷, and the young Finnish-nationalists were able to begin rehearsals, after convincing Charlotte Raa on her ability in performing in it.

The play is a small one-act problem play set in the exotic setting of Jericho. The main protagonists are Sakeus, a rich and greedy member of the Sadducee sect of Judaism and his pious daughter Lea. She is supposed to marry a wealthy but likewise greedy Joas. In the meanwhile she meets Jesus and converts to the new faith. Accordingly her father converts too, donating all his riches away. Joas is no longer interested in marrying the now poor Lea, and she ends up with her true love, the poor but honourable Aram, who also becomes a Christian.³⁸⁸ The popularity of the play has been explained by referring to the similarity between the linguistic conversion of the Finnish-nationalists and the Christian conversion depicted in *Lea*.³⁸⁹

The performance of 1869 itself consisted of three parts: besides *Lea* a small piece by Topelius and the second act of F. von Flotow's opera *Martha* were performed.³⁹⁰ *Lea* was given in the middle of these and it was, according to the

³⁸⁵ Hedvig Charlotte Raa-Winterhjelm, nee Forsman (1838–1907). Rossi 2006.

³⁸⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 125.

³⁸⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 126.

³⁸⁸ Kivi 1984. See also Suutela 2005, 27–28.

³⁸⁹ Suutela 2005, 28.

³⁹⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 130; Suutela 2005, 26–32.

narrator, “like a pearl in its case”.³⁹¹ We see the backstage, where the actress is on the verge of fainting but is supported by her arms by two women. When it is time to enter the stage Raa “felt as if a higher power had taken away her burden, and as she was removing the veil from her face during her first line she felt that she was availed.”³⁹² In addition, the narration changes from the past to the present tense when Raa enters the stage, and the punchline is repeated, “But then, at the same time as Joas gets up from his knees, Lea steps in, steps in lightly and yet securely---.”³⁹³ After the performance of *Lea* “it was felt that the Finnish-language theatre was closer than ever, but still there was a journey ahead before it became real.”³⁹⁴

The reactions of the audience receive much attention. On 10th May the theatre was “swarming with an excited audience”, which was “restlessly waiting ---almost in agonizing tension” and, when it became clear that Raa was able to manage her part, “serenity” settled over everyone.³⁹⁵ At the same time the audience was “elated” and it “surrendered” to the performance. After the performance “people were holding each others’ hands, bursting out with overflowing, heartfelt emotions. Those present have not forgotten it.”³⁹⁶ The representation is full of religious metaphors and reads like an exalted experience of religious conversion. The story-line from the original scruples through the dawning hope to the ultimate relief reinforces this effect. It is a collective experience uniting the actors and the audience, connecting them to the later readers of the History, too. The appreciative audience is the focal point of representation also when it comes to the Finnish-language opera.

The Finnish Opera as a Continuous Performance

The life span of the Finnish Opera (1873–1879) is represented chronologically from one season to the next, side by side with the Drama Department. However, due to their formulaic representation, the depictions of

³⁹¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 135.

³⁹² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 138.

³⁹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 136.

³⁹⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 141.

³⁹⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 135–137.

³⁹⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 137.

the opera performances form a continuous event merely fragmented between different chapters. It does not really matter which of the performances the narrator is discussing: the emphasis is on the long, detailed descriptions of the positive reactions from the audience's side. This is partly due to the self-evident nature of the operatic canon: there was no need to explain why staging Verdi was the highlight of the repertoire, nor write about the plots of the operas. In contrast to the opera, the Finnish-language literary (including dramatic) canon was in the process of being defined, which partly explains the narrative investment in describing the subject-matter of certain plays: the narrator uses his authorial voice to contribute to the formation of the literary canon (and to exclude certain plays from it) by discussing them in a detailed manner in the Theatre History.

The Finnish Opera was established to allure the elite of the capital of the Grand Duchy to the performances while the Drama Department was touring the countryside learning how to act.³⁹⁷ Although it failed—since the Finnish-nationalists were not able to maintain it after the first six years despite different plans to save it—in the Theatre History it nevertheless succeeded in fulfilling its task. As described in the previous chapter, the Opera is depicted in the Theatre History as an inevitable step on the ladder of the national art, preparing the ground for the Drama Department. According to the elevated words in the concluding chapter of the second volume,

“The audience surrendered to the enchantment of this young branch of art with limitless enthusiasm and unspeakable pleasure, since it brought together patriotism and a feeling of uniqueness with enlightening and inspiring artistic pleasure so that they were inseparable. Every Finnish-nationalist who experienced that might testify that the Opera lifted his self-esteem and the spirits and gave strength to all the aspirations.”³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ The Finnish Opera was indeed defined as an “exhibition” (‘näyttelyesine’ in Finnish) in the Theatre History. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 257.

³⁹⁸ In the same connection the narrator emphasizes that the opera artists “ennobled” the Finnish language, not only as a language of singing but also as a language of acting. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 474.

The representations of the operatic performances emphasize the “electrical interaction” between the audience and the stage thus stressing the uniqueness of the patriotic experience. The theatre echoed with applause and bouquets were thrown onto the stage. In addition, an important theme, especially in the second part of the History, is accounting the gifts the opera singers received.³⁹⁹ The footnote on page 242 reveals that “according to a private letter the number of bouquets was 176!” and later we learn that “the singer was the object of renewed honoraria. This time she received expensive gifts, namely two rings with precious stones. --- Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom gave her a bouquet of roses with a memorial sentence, ‘Remember us with love’.”⁴⁰⁰ Details are used to bring authentic colour to the presentation and to make it more realistic.⁴⁰¹ However, some of these details seem to be there merely for the sake of recording: to save the memory of them as a symbol of the national enthusiasm for the later generations.

The skills of the singers are also described since they were, although not trained by Bergbom, still offspring of the cultural life of the young nation. However, it is the audience that is performing the nation, and to be more precise, the national unity in the appreciation of art in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s representation. The audience of the Finnish Opera in the 1870’s is the ideal audience in the Theatre History. Later on, when the Drama Department successfully staged one or another play, the narrator compares the audience’s reactions to those created by the Finnish-language opera in the 1870’s.⁴⁰² In other words, the Finnish Opera is the key experience of the national cultural life for the narrator of the Theatre History, the ultimate achievement of the Finnish Theatre Company, and consequently the ultimate point of reference for all the later experiences at the theatre.

³⁹⁹ Accounts of storms of applause and gifts, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 111, 231, 233–234, 239, 243, 265, 267, 270, 282, 290, 300, 309, 322–323, 370, 384–385, 391–394, 405–409, 431–432, 434–437, 443, 447, 449–450, 452–453.

⁴⁰⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 242 (footnote), 436.

⁴⁰¹ About the role of details in a historian’s narrative, see Rigney 2001, 65. See also Garritzen 2011, 182.

⁴⁰² See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 35, 85.

The Enlightened Audience of Ibsen

The performance of Henrik Ibsen's *Noora (A Doll's House)* in Helsinki in February 1880 is conveniently placed at the beginning of the third volume, fulfilling the narrator's prediction of the rise of the Drama Department in the last pages of the second part of the History, and answering to the expectations created by the subtitle of the third volume (The High Season of the Finnish Theatre).

The representation of the premiere forms a metadiegetic story within the story-space. There is a beginning building up suspense, "We are now facing an event that became the high point of the enthusiastic activities of the season"⁴⁰³, and an analytical closure, which does not happen very often in the Theatre History, "We have widely discussed *Noora*, but this episode in the history of the theatre demonstrates interestingly, how the stage can contribute to the cultural life and how the Finnish Theatre Company had risen to take that place."⁴⁰⁴

The suspense had been built up ever since the ending of the second volume, where the parts played by Ida Aalberg, who around the time of the performance of *Noora* was well on her way to become the prima donna of the theatre and thus the one the audience came to see, receive the main part of the attention dedicated to the Drama Department. The narrative follows the pattern observable in other representations too: it relies on the newspaper reviews and depicts the audience excitedly waiting for the performance to start.⁴⁰⁵

The representations of Ibsen's *Noora (A Doll's House)* and certain plays by Shakespeare come closest to the representation of the aforementioned operatic events in the second volume. These plays are so well known that the narrator does not explain their content but concentrates on the atmosphere and the general meaning of the event. The excitement created by Ibsen's play is compared to the performances of the Finnish Opera, but its description does not reach the poetic dimensions of the operatic events. At the centre of the representation is the voice of the narrator, enlightening the audience about the differences between naturalism and realism and reflecting on the meaning of

⁴⁰³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 34.

⁴⁰⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 39.

⁴⁰⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 34–35, 36–37.

Noora (A Doll's House) by describing the discussions and polemics the play and its performances generated in Helsinki.⁴⁰⁶ Depicting the public response to the play in question is the part of cultural history any theatre historian would address; however, in the case of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* it was also important to emphasize the advanced nature of the enterprise and its leaders, so severely criticized for their backwardness at the beginning of the century.

In other words, the Finnish Theatre Company is the hero of the story by staging the play and thus awakening the public to the general question of individual freedom, and to the specific question of women's liberation.⁴⁰⁷ The public discussion about these issues was a sign of the vivid national cultural life. However, these discussions were to be conducted in the safe bourgeois setting, and they were to deal preferably with plays taking place in the same kind of setting (as Ibsen's play does, unlike Minna Canth's *Kovan Onnen Lapsia / Children of Hard Times*). The narrator's world view did not accommodate the Finnish realistic drama of the later 1880's depicting the lower classes, their estrangement from and distrust of the elite, questioning implicitly the class-based society as a whole: this can be seen both in his discussion of those playwrights and the performances of their plays.

The Foreign Admiration

If the public discussions were in the leading role in the representation of Ibsen's *Noora*, the tears shed by Hungarian actors and actresses take that part in the account of Ida Aalberg's study trip to Dresden, Munich and Vienna and her guest performance in Hungary in the autumn of 1880. It is yet another metadiegetic story starting with a justification for including it in the story-space building up the suspense, "Ida Aalberg's second journey abroad became so eventful and important, that it must be recounted in a relatively detailed

⁴⁰⁶ A footnote tells us also, that the author-historian himself had contributed to the contemporary public discussion under a pseudonym. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 37–39; the footnote on page 38.

⁴⁰⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 39.

manner”⁴⁰⁸ and ends with the words, “Thus ended Ida Aalberg’s jubilant journey to Hungary---“, supplemented by an analysis of its meaning for Aalberg’s dramatic art and national cultural life.⁴⁰⁹

The narrator is providing Aalberg’s performance in Hungary with dramatic tension, “a foreign actress speaking an unknown language, in the middle of Hungarian theatre artists, playing a Hungarian peasant girl!”⁴¹⁰ He points to the rumours circling around Budapest about Aalberg’s talents, describes the crying actresses in the rehearsals and tells that “even Tamássy-Göndör⁴¹¹ got tears in his eyes”. The audience was sceptical about the attempt. And then came “a complete, surprising victory”.⁴¹²

To prove his point, the narrator cites reviews published in Hungarian newspapers, and continues for yet another two pages describing the Hungarian excitement and exaltation that “grew and grew”. He also employs a seemingly modest narrative tactic of telling by refusing to tell, “We are not going to add more source quotations nor are we going to tell you about the marvelous parties and the speeches that were held in honour of ‘The Northern Star’.”⁴¹³

For the narrator these performances were “daring” but not because of, in our eyes, their strange, polyglot setting. It was not uncommon that the star actors and actresses guest-performed abroad in their native language.⁴¹⁴ In the nineteenth-century theatre the idea of a performance as a consistent universe created by the director and performed by the ensemble was only slowly surfacing. Until then it was the achievements of individual artists that the audience came to admire, and a successful performance broke constantly in so-called line applause and famous scenes were repeated according to the demands of the audience.⁴¹⁵ However, it is underlined in the Theatre History that it was the Finnish Theatre Company, and thus mainly Kaarlo Bergbom, who was behind

⁴⁰⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 53.

⁴⁰⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 59–60.

⁴¹⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 55–56.

⁴¹¹ One of the Hungarian actors

⁴¹² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 56.

⁴¹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 58–59.

⁴¹⁴ For example the English actress Sarah Bernhardt, the Italian actor Ernesto Rossi, and the German Meininger Troupe all visited Sweden in the late nineteenth century and used their native languages. Sauter 2004, 37.

⁴¹⁵ Sauter 2004, 40–41.

this kind of individual accomplishment; the Hungarian success was not Aalberg's personal achievement.⁴¹⁶

Aalberg's performances in Hungary were also taken as a measurement of the development of the indigenous dramatic art in Finland. Even if Finland could not contribute to European drama literature and thus be significant in the general history of European art⁴¹⁷, it could at least educate artists that could perform outside the borders of the Grand Duchy. Hence the enthusiastic reporting of the tears shed in Hungary in the Theatre History.

Ida Aalberg's performance in Finnish in a foreign context is described in the Theatre History once more. She visited Stockholm, Sweden, in 1885, and the depiction of this performance follows the same emotionally appealing pattern as the Hungarian one: the tears in eyes of the director of the Royal Theatre, and "the victory was complete!" However, Aalberg's performance in Stockholm has an extra twist of the former patria of Sweden receiving an actress from Finland: the reader is informed of the "persistent intrigues" against the performance and of the "almost 'Mephistophelean' sneering politeness" with which the actress was treated when the theatre director heard that she was going to perform in the Finnish language.⁴¹⁸ In other words, the narrator uses this passage to describe the former colonial relationship between Sweden and Finland, garnishing his account with the motif of the Swedish contempt used also in the historical fiction from the period.⁴¹⁹ It is also a reminder of the domestic antagonism between the Swedish and the Finnish languages, so topical for the beginning of the twentieth century, too.

Shakespeare and the Ideal Audience

If Ibsen's *Noora* with Aalberg in the leading role provided the narrator with the perfect start for the volume titled 'The High Season of the Finnish Theatre', the representation of the premiere of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in

⁴¹⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 60.

⁴¹⁷ The author-historian points out in his epilogue that this would have too grand a dream for the young Finnish theatrical tradition. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 291.

⁴¹⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 224.

⁴¹⁹ Syväoja 1998, 140–141.

Helsinki in May 1881 ties the second and the third volumes more strongly together by returning to the theme of the ideal audience. The premiere had been "looked forward to for a long time", "the excited audience followed the performance --- and its enthusiasm grew and grew excelling finally a jubilee."⁴²⁰ The responses are compared to the "tempests" of ovation created by the Finnish Opera. The cited reviews, which are integrated into the narrative⁴²¹, give us a detailed description of the congratulatory telegrams and gifts Aalberg, who played the female lead, received, including the most significant acknowledgement at least in the eyes of the narrator, the "first laurel wreath she was given in Finland".⁴²²

The depiction of *Romeo and Juliet* in the Theatre History is not long: one and a half pages illustrated with a full-size picture of the leading pair. However, it has a rare intensity that only some other 'foreign' representations of the Drama Department have in volume three, namely Shakespeare's plays *King Lear* (premiere in the spring of 1886) and *Julius Caesar* (premiere in the autumn of 1889).⁴²³

The description of *Julius Caesar* starts, again, with rumours circling around the preparations and the audience filling the theatre "from the floor to the ceiling". The excited audience follows the acting scene after scene, their enthusiastic interest gets warmer and warmer and finally it bursts out in fascinated and inspired cries and applause. The breathless account of the folk scene at the Forum Romanum resembles a verbal painting depicting a storming sea and indicates that for once the theatre had succeeded in staging crowd scenes with amateur assistants satisfactorily. Or, to be more precise, it was Bergbom who had succeeded, "It was almost as if Bergbom's creative artistic spirit had temporarily set the [scene] assistants on fire."⁴²⁴

In his representation of the event the narrator is relying on two published reviews without source indications: one written by the author-historian himself,

⁴²⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 83.

⁴²¹ The narrator employed two techniques in his source citations: they either form separate textual entities with a smaller font, or are presented as parts of the body text, usually without citation marks and thus integrated into the narrative. I will discuss the source basis of the Theatre History closer in Chapter 6.

⁴²² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 85.

⁴²³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 243–247, 348–350.

⁴²⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 349.

published in the *Valvoja* periodical and another one published in the *Uusi Suometar* newspaper.⁴²⁵ However, neither the description of the audience becoming more and more excited nor the stormy sea of people gathering at the Forum derives from the reviews. In other words, adding them to the narrative must have served a specific purpose in the narrative economy of the Theatre History.

It seems that the representations of the most important premieres follow the pattern observable here: we learn about rumours circulating in the town, the reactions of the audience and its rising enthusiasm, the applause and other acknowledgements the actors received. The depiction of the reactions of the audience places *Julius Caesar* in this category, too. The ideal audience is in focus again and this is what the cultural life of a nation should be: staging classical plays for a grateful, enthusiastic audience, sitting properly in its place, greeting the prima donnas and not forgetting the genius director, either. The unity of the experience has the central place.

Heroes and Villains of the Story

In Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History the Finnish-language theatre is Kaarlo Bergbom, and Kaarlo Bergbom is the Finnish-language theatre. The attributes (genius, talented etc.) attached to Bergbom and repeated in the course of the story contribute to the creation of the desired image of the leader of the Finnish Theatre Company, but other narrative means were needed to consolidate the image and to convince the readers of the exceptional qualities of the main protagonist of the story. An important method is gliding from the area of verifiable historical information (for example details of Bergbom's studies and travels) to that of subjective experience: to the representation where the reader can reach the voices of the protagonists, see their movements, hear their steps on the cobble stones.

A significant type of these kinds of tailor-made scenes is the dialogues the narrator lets his characters perform in the middle of the body text. Yet another are the *tableaux vivants* he arranges in certain moments of the narrative. A

⁴²⁵ *Valvoja* 1.12.1889; *Uusi Suometar* 14.11.1889.

further way to allure the reader is to organize more indeterminate ‘textual performances’, trials or interviews, where the opponent(s) of the protagonist are investigated and tried in a very one-sided trial of history. This is how the necessary narrative tension in the story-line is created: by sketching sets of dialectical pairs in the form of heroes and their counterparts.

Pombal and the Jesuits and Other Dialogues

“(W)e are now entering an interesting episode in the biography of Bergbom, which deserves a detailed representation, especially as we can mostly use his own words”, declares the narrator at the outset of the long description of the preparations of Kaarlo Bergbom’s early historical play *Pombal and the Jesuits*, which depicts the conspiracy against the Portuguese king José Emanuel in 1785 and the following expulsion of the Jesuits written in the mid-1860’s.⁴²⁶ The episode is part of the long biographical chapter dealing with the siblings Bergbom in the first volume of the History, and it demonstrates how the precocious Bergbom was deeply involved in the world of the theatre already back then, on his way to his not yet revealed destiny. The narrator cites a long letter excerpt where Bergbom explains the plan of his play as “an example of the mental maturity of the author.”⁴²⁷

Pombal’s journey to the stage of the New Theatre is followed by using varying representational means: we see Bergbom walking to meet the theatre director Åhman with the “manuscript under his arm”⁴²⁸, we get an account of Bergbom reworking his text, all in the present tense, “In January Bergbom makes changes to his play, wipes away scenes, adjusts it according to the advice given by Åhman”⁴²⁹. After this there is a long quotation from Bergbom’s letter to his friend Otto Florell describing the emotions and feelings attached to the play. The episode ends with a dialogue between Bergbom and his other good friend Emil Nervander, “–Would you really like to see my play? asked Bergbom. –Of course I

⁴²⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 96; about the preparations and rehearsals of *Pombal*, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 96–106.

⁴²⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 76.

⁴²⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 96.

⁴²⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 100.

do, you know that, answered the other. –Well, I know one way, said Bergbom thoughtfully. ---“⁴³⁰

This is not the only place where the narrative is garnished with dialogues and soliloquies or with alternating voices so that the reader does not always know whose words s/he is reading.⁴³¹ A further example is the depiction of the season 1875–1876 in the second volume. The narrator becomes very emotional: he describes the language-based political division emblematic for the whole century, which in the world of the theatre, at that point, meant two competing operas performing in Helsinki, the Finnish-language one (or better: the polyglot since, for example, the Austrian tenor sang mostly in German or Italian) and the recently established Swedish Opera. According to the narrator, the circles around the Finnish-language theatre interpreted the opening of the competing enterprise in terms of political harassment and “unjust competition”.⁴³²

In the space of the five pages dedicated to the theme of the competing opera companies one picks up several emotives. The wordings are revealing: The Swedish Opera performed “frivolous” operettas and the members of its board were “unscrupulous” in their national “frenzy”.⁴³³ Exclamation marks abound. As a conclusion the narrator represents the exemplary, imaginative thoughts or the speech of a “naïve” (Swedish-language) nationalist in quotation marks. The Nationalist refers to the Finnish-language enterprise, “Previously I was happy to support the theatre, but now, as this or that has happened (things that do not even have anything to do with the theatre), I am withdrawing all my support from the theatre nor am I going to attend the performances!”⁴³⁴

The narrator does not prepare the reader for his crossing over to a more literary means of narrating. The representation is further complicated by the parenthesis⁴³⁵ the narrator has added in the middle of the invented speech act (“things that do not even have anything to do with the theatre”). In a way the

⁴³⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 106.

⁴³¹ See for example the dialogue between the actor Oskar Gröneqvist and Fredrik Cygnaeus and, later, between Gröneqvist and his Swedish colleague. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 16–17. See also 1910 (IV), 290, 301.

⁴³² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 250–255.

⁴³³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 251–253.

⁴³⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 255.

⁴³⁵ In rhetoric the term *parenthesis* or *interpositio* is used to refer to remarks inserted in the middle of a sentence in order to modify the original assertion or to complicate it. Richards 2008, 181.

narrator is having a dialogue with his own creation, the imaginary nationalist on the wrong side of the linguistic border.

There are no references to the sources. This and the corresponding patches in the Theatre History could be based on correspondence or oral material (for example interviews) collected from those who still remembered the first stages of the theatre at the beginning of the twentieth century, or perhaps the autodiegetic narrator occasionally relies on his own experiences. Historians do not footnote every piece of information they deliver; as long as an event is probable according to one or another cultural code, it is not always necessary for a historian to indicate his/her sources.⁴³⁶ In other words, these dialogues may be a part of the oral tradition connected to the theatre, stories maintained alive within the national enthusiastic theatrical community. In this case they would be congruent with the readers' world-view and the narrator would be certain that they would not create resistance and questioning.

However, the whole question of tracking the sources and discussing the possible reality-basis of these dialogues is not relevant for my argument here. I am interested in the manner the narrator chose to weave his sources into a narrative. In other words, when it comes to these dialogues, the main point is that the narrator chose to represent them in a very literary manner, and that they are not the only recourse to this kind of representation in the Theatre History.

He also utilizes a narrative style which comes close to the so-called free indirect discourse, which Genette almost exclusively reserves for fiction, since it gives "direct access to the characters' subjectivity".⁴³⁷ According to literary theorists, free indirect discourse is a literary device blurring the boundaries between the character and the narrator. It combines the narrator's voice with that of a character: the words of the latter are partly quoted, but without any quotation marks to distinguish his/her voice, with the result that an illusion of unmediated access to the character's thoughts is created.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ Rigney 1990, 32.

⁴³⁷ Genette 1991, 65–66. According to Rimmon-Kenan, free indirect discourse marks literariness, since it figures more frequently and centrally in literature than in other forms of discourse. Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 116.

⁴³⁸ Rimmon-Kenan 2002 (1983)a, 110–116; see also Genette 1991, 65–66 and Cobley 2001, 85–86.

Accessing ‘characters’ subjectivity’ is probably much more common in history-writing than Genette thought⁴³⁹, and so might be the use of free indirect discourse too, although the idea of ‘blurred’ ways of narrating do not exactly fit the ideals of historical discourse. Let us take an example from Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History. In the first volume the narrator presents the negotiations between Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom in the winter of 1871–1872, just before the establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company in the late spring of 1872. According to him, Bergbom was at that point considering his future, unable to finish his second doctoral thesis, almost accepting a post as a teacher in the Gymnasium. We hear Bergbom’s voice but in an indirect manner, “Bergbom had once said that he would not give up without a fight.” The narrator narrates the sequence further, “This explains why he, after discussing their future plans with Emilie, decided to leave pedagogy and other job possibilities aside and took up his theatre plans again, more vigorously than before.” And then we either hear the narrator’s opinion or we get direct access to the original thoughts of Bergbom, “After all, the establishment of the Finnish stage was a great national task, for which both of them could work. It was a task they could accomplish, with mutual aid and encouragement.”⁴⁴⁰

The narrator uses a further adaptation of the blurred boundaries in presenting the subjective thoughts of his protagonists when in the first volume he describes the plans and visions of the actor, later the tour director of the Finnish Theatre Company, Oskar Gröneqvist (later Vilho, 1840–1883) before his return from the theatre school in Stockholm to Helsinki. First he gives the floor to Gröneqvist, “However, he did not plan to stay in Stockholm, not for one moment. On the contrary, his thoughts were working in this direction: ---.“After this we get Gröneqvist’s thoughts in the first singular in the body text, expressed like a direct quotation but without quotation marks, “The theatre school has to be opened in Helsinki the next fall, and it is possible that I can act as a teacher already then. --- When I step on the stage in Helsinki for first time, I will use the Finnish language!” However, between the thought processes quoted here, there is a longer piece of reasoning presented in more general terms, almost as a

⁴³⁹ Cobley 2001, 179–182; Ann Rigney has pointed out that free indirect discourse was used, for example, in Jules Michelet’s *Witch* from 1862. Rigney 2001, 90.

⁴⁴⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 247.

manifesto, “The national theatre in Finland must be established without delay, and the Finnish language must be the dominant language of that theatre”. The last thought of the sequence is represented again in the first singular, but this time as a direct quotation, in quotation marks, “When I perform in Helsinki for the first time, it will take place in the Finnish language!”⁴⁴¹

The reader does not know whose voice is actually expressing the demands and aspirations in the middle of the first person singular lines of the last example: is it the narrator speaking, or perhaps Gröneqvist or even Bergbom? Regardless of the answer, the polyphonic nature of the narrative is the focal point here. It is the first volume of the History where this kind of boundary-blurring, but emotionally engaging narrative means are most strikingly being used. Thus, it seems to provide the narrator with a convincing way to present the reasonings of the central characters of the Theatre History at the outset of it all, as a paradigmatic model for national behaviour and attitudes⁴⁴². These means might also point to the intertextual field of historical culture, and the closeness of the different genres textualizing the past. Dialogues were typical for the nineteenth century historical novel, imitating drama literature⁴⁴³, and the narrator perhaps borrowed them to increase the narrativity of certain episodes in the Theatre History, thus enhancing the effect of these pauses or stretches in his narrative.

Kaarlo Bergbom and his Followers

As mentioned above, the narrator connects the second and the third volume of the History—the most important volumes when it comes to his argument of the development of the Finnish-language stage—with the image of Kaarlo Bergbom.⁴⁴⁴ Bergbom is represented throughout the History almost as a Messianic figure, leading his troupes forward across the barren desert of intrigues and suspicion. However, the beginning of the second volume rises above other characterizations of Bergbom. The first volume had ended with the

⁴⁴¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 17.

⁴⁴² See also Rigney 1992, 270.

⁴⁴³ Hatavara 2007, 115.

⁴⁴⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 1 and Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 487.

establishment of the theatre. The second volume starts with the sentence, "Thus, The Finnish Theatre Company existed." After this declaration the narrator continues, "--- in mid-June a group ready to work stood around Bergbom. And they set to work—that is, to rehearse—right away; no breaks were asked nor given. Thus, the Finnish Theatre Company existed."⁴⁴⁵

The scene is arranged like a textual *tableau vivant*. These 'staged paintings'⁴⁴⁶ were popular all over Europe especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, and for example in Norway the famous playwright Henrik Ibsen not only helped to stage them but wrote poetry for them, too. In short, the aim of a *tableau vivant* was to make reality look like art.⁴⁴⁷ In history-writing this kind of aestheticized scenic arrangements of reality function both as signifying and as rhetorical constructs that can be used, for example, to produce an effect of attraction and sympathy or of repulsion and alienation.⁴⁴⁸

In the Theatre History the *tableau vivant* with Bergbom as the central character marks the entrance to the story-space. It is a strong textual painting: Kaarlo Bergbom standing, surrounded by his followers, the motto "The Finnish Theatre Company exists" around the scene. This is the real starting point for the narrative, with Kaarlo Bergbom in the middle of it all. In its visuality it is connected to the depiction of the performance of *Lea* (discussed above) but its shortness (one paragraph) and thus simplicity makes it even more effective. The reader becomes the observer of the past, which is set in a frame in front of his/her eyes.⁴⁴⁹

Some events and episodes possess inherent dramatic qualities thus lending themselves easily to vivid depiction. Some are considered so important that they are invested with such. There are two reasons for this: the wish to entertain by lively description and the need to convince and persuade the reader

⁴⁴⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 1.

⁴⁴⁶ Originally a *tableau vivant* was a theatrical performance of a well-known painting. See for example Moi 1998, 122.

⁴⁴⁷ Moi points to the development of the visual technologies in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries as the reason for the popularity of *tableaux vivants*. The development of spectacles and technologies (panoramas and dioramas) that attempted to maximize the illusion of reality, made the spectator feel as if s/he was truly present at the scene depicted. This created a counterpart, the development of new kinds of performance art (such as attitudes and *tableaux vivants*), which aimed to make reality look like art. Moi 1998, 120, 123.

⁴⁴⁸ Rigney 1990, 79.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

not only by arguments based on sources but also through appealing to the emotions. The beginning of the second volume is neither an event nor an episode: it is an effective, emotionally engaging beginning scene arranged by the narrator.

The end of volume three returns to the idea of Bergbom as the central figure around whom the theatrical community gathered, although not with such a concrete and compact textual image, and with a reversed strategy: the narrator points to those who had left the group around Bergbom chasing their own dreams⁴⁵⁰, thus repeating one of the main oppositions used by the Finnish-nationalists, namely that of the faithful ones and the deserters. The *tableau vivant* at the beginning of the second volume is an optimistic arrangement; the ending of volume three, set in the period of the recently launched administrative and military Russification and written when the next wave of it had started, in the middle of the domestic political troubles, has a more pessimistic tone: it refers to the lost community of the original Finnish-nationalists that still existed in 1872.

Kaarlo Bergbom in Paris

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Kaarlo Bergbom's European journey was an important 'gateway' in establishing the turning points of the prehistory of the Finnish-language theatre in the first volume. Bergbom is a relatively unnoticed figure in the second volume, which concentrates on the Finnish-language opera and the reactions it created among the audience, and records the touring life of the Drama Department, in which Bergbom mostly did not participate. Thus Bergbom had to be reintroduced to the story-space at the end of the second volume, before the last two parts of the History, where the story-line revolves around him. This is done, again, by describing Bergbom's foreign travels, this time to Paris.

The reader is provided with an 11-page metadiegetic story depicting Kaarlo Bergbom's Parisian journey in the summer of 1878. We enter the biography genre again, with a very detailed, one might even say banal,

⁴⁵⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 487.

representation of Bergbom in Paris. In the framework of the Theatre History one wonders why some of the details are necessary, “He was terribly overcharged in his hotel and it was not much better in the private apartment he then took near the boulevards where the theatres were located. After that he moved to the third place that was even further away, comforting himself that he was a good walker.”⁴⁵¹

It is this constant fluctuation between the almost technical representation of the repertoire of the theatre (with some exceptions) and empathetic, detailed narrative dealing with the Bergboms that strikes the reader in other parts of the History, too. When it comes to the Bergboms it seems that there is not much authorial selection involved; everything, that especially Kaarlo Bergbom did, is interesting and valuable in itself.⁴⁵² The Bergbomian trip to Paris is built mainly on Bergbom’s own voice and consists of seven pages of direct quotations or summaries of the letters Bergbom sent to his sister. The point of these quotations is to demonstrate how deeply involved the absent theatre director was in the affairs of the theatre, “Thus ends the narrative of Bergbom’s first visit to Paris. It indisputably demonstrates how entirely and absolutely devoted he was to his life’s work. ‘I have always considered my duty to be present all the time’ was his motto from the beginning to the end.”⁴⁵³

The Bergboms did devote their lives to the cause of the Finnish-language theatre. On the other hand they also had to work for a living: although they came from the old civil servant family, the siblings had been left with practically nothing when their father, Senator J.E. Bergbom, died in 1869.⁴⁵⁴ This practical background for their decades’ work at the theatre is not discussed in the Theatre History; it was a patriotic choice, a sacrifice done for the patria and its culture. The exemplary activity of their constant work is emphasized all through the History by direct letter quotations (as in the case of Bergbom’s trip to Paris) showing what kind of practical matters they were dealing with and how the constant financial crisis of the theatre affected their private lives, too.

⁴⁵¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 415.

⁴⁵² A point also made by one of the reviewers of the Theatre History. See p. 257 in the present study.

⁴⁵³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 425.

⁴⁵⁴ Savolainen 2001.

In addition, the presentation of frequent events in the Theatre History builds up the idea of the constant work. There are several ways of expressing frequency⁴⁵⁵, but what mostly concerns history-writing is the category of iteration, which points to a single discursive representation of several story moments: “Every day of the week I went to bed early...”, instead of saying, “On Monday I went to bed early, on Tuesday I went to bed early” or expressions such as ‘again and again’.⁴⁵⁶ Their main task is to accelerate the narrative, but the repetition or reiteration of certain events or themes can also provide an informative frame or background for singulative events and construct significant patterns or similarities among diverse incidents in the story.⁴⁵⁷

On the whole, the Theatre History can be characterized as a kind of iterative narrative: it is constructed around seasons, each of which forms one chapter, and, consequently, the narrator repeats the basic structure of the theatrical season year after year: the playwright Aleksis Kivi’s festivity performance every New Year’s Day, the performances dedicated to Topelius and Runeberg each January and February et cetera.⁴⁵⁸ In these cases the patterns establish an idea of a cultural canon of a nation by repeating the names of the central heroes and the dates of their anniversaries. Reiteration is also one of the narrative devices used to build up the qualities of the characters in the story: the narrator emphasizes the vocation of the personnel of the Finnish Theatre Company by pointing out that “(t)hey practiced through the whole summer, tirelessly, every day, every holiday---The troupe did not disperse for the holiday even now but continued its persistent work---.”⁴⁵⁹ However, even more consistently reiteration is used, again, to denote the workload of the Bergboms. We encounter several incidents in the pages describing Bergbom’s trip to Paris

⁴⁵⁵ Frequency refers to the relation between the number of times an event appears in the story and the number of times it is narrated; to temporal iteration and compression in relation to the singularity of events. Neumann and Nünning distinguish three subcategories of frequency: there is the singulative narration where something that has happened once is told once; the repetitive narration where what happened once is told several times (for example from different points of view) and the iterative narration, where what happened several times is told once. Neumann and Nünning 2008, 75–76. See also Genette 1980, 113–155.

⁴⁵⁶ Genette 1980, 113–117; Chatman 1978, 78; Neumann and Nünning 2008, 76.

⁴⁵⁷ Genette 1980, 116–117; Genette 1991, 64; Rigney 1990, 81.

⁴⁵⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 18, 92, 99, 166, 446; 1909 (III), 29, 31–32, 72, 74, 78, 106, 171, 172, 202, 214, 333, 335–336, 353–354, 382–383, 479, 481; 1910 (IV), 21, 38, 64–65, 78, 99, 102, 130–131, 139, 142–143, 178, 209, 244, 264.

⁴⁵⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 5, 50.

alone, not to mention the other parts of the History, “One almost faints when one thinks of all the things the siblings had to consider and make decisions about during these weeks. New letters and telegrams arrived every day---“.⁴⁶⁰ In other words, these kinds of sentences are used in the course of the whole narrative to build up a critical mass of explanation⁴⁶¹ in favour of the representation of the Bergbom siblings resolutely working for their cause.

The Unfaithful Prima Donna

In the mid-1880’s the younger generation of theatre critics started to question the way the Finnish-language theatre was led and organized. Naturally singular performances had been criticized also previously in the newspaper reviews, but often the conclusion was that the theatre was still at the stage of apprenticeship and thus one should be moderate in one’s expectations. Now, however, it was demanded that some results should come out of the investments and these requirements are also referred to in the Theatre History,

“The abovementioned reviewer ended his short review of the performances in the autumn with two cries, ‘Theatre school! – Without it we do not get anywhere. And first of all, bring Ida Aalberg home!’ It was the first time a member of the younger generation made those demands, almost commands, that later became so common – demands that were theoretically relatively justified---.”⁴⁶²

The representation of the issue in the Theatre History is not an analysis of the “demands” and the circumstances that led to them. It is a long and partisan answer to the critic, the Young-Finnish literary historian Werner Söderhjelm, over 20 years later. The narrator does not analyse the review as an event in its own historical context, but approaches Söderhjelm’s requests as a beginning of,

⁴⁶⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 210–211. See also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 197, 414, 421–422.

⁴⁶¹ Munslow 2007, 57–58.

⁴⁶² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 259–260; the review was published in *Valvoja* 1.12.1886 (no 12).

and thus also through, the later theatre criticism expressed by the Young Finns, escalating at the beginning of the twentieth century.

He is repeating words (“---those demands, almost commands, that later became so common – demands that were---”) and posing rhetorical questions to persuade the reader to take his side in the old debate (“Where would the teachers had been found had it been economically possible to establish a theatre school?”⁴⁶³). However, it is the second demand – “bring Ida Aalberg home!” – that is at the centre of the discussion in the History.

Ida Aalberg had joined the theatre in 1874, and her first bigger success took place during the season of 1877–1878.⁴⁶⁴ She resigned from the Finnish Theatre Company already in 1883, although the narrator is not very explicit about that⁴⁶⁵, after which she occasionally guest-performed at the theatre. Aalberg was an extremely popular actress, the first prima donna of the Finnish-language theatre, and the audience streamed in to see her. No wonder that the Bergbom siblings discuss Ida Aalberg constantly in their letters in the late 1870’s and in the 1880’s⁴⁶⁶: the repertoire that was constructed around her, her travels and illnesses, her possible plans to marry, gossips circling around her comings and goings. The letters are very explicit in their formulations,

“Those were the external hardships, the inner ones have been even more difficult. First it pleased Ida Aalberg to stay in the countryside until the end of September so that we could not rehearse a single play we had been planning for her; finally she had the grace to see that the timing was proper to come here ---

⁴⁶³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 260.

⁴⁶⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 382.

⁴⁶⁵ Ida Aalberg left the theatre in 1883 and moved to Denmark, from where she returned to Finland in 1887. Interestingly there is no reference to Aalberg’s resignation on the level of the topic indicators or in the text. Aalberg just suddenly starts to “guest-perform” at the theatre. When it comes to other actors – for example Adolf Lindfors who resigned in 1892 – there is promptly a topic indicator. See Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), VI; about Aalberg, see Suutela 2005, 100–101.

⁴⁶⁶ There are approximately 120 entries for Aalberg in the letters of the Bergbom siblings between 1877 and 1903. The discussion is at its densest during the late 1870’s and the early 1880’s. In addition, Emilie Bergbom wrote about Aalberg straightforwardly to her friend Betty Elfving.

Ida Aalberg's 'illness' seems to be over so that we can luckily rely on her."⁴⁶⁷

These directly expressed frustrations and suspicions are never quoted in the Theatre History. But the narrator's choice of words reveal how he struggles with his representation of Aalberg, barely hiding his dislike of her, which nevertheless surfaces at critical moments.⁴⁶⁸

The narrator had already referred to Aalberg's travels earlier in the third volume,

"---obeying her compelling desire to perform in front of the foreign public she had agreed to guest at the Kasino Theatre in Copenhagen from the beginning of the autumn season. Thus she left for a new trip without informing [the directors] about her return date."⁴⁶⁹

Now this picture is further developed by an actress "seduced by the desire" to get to the wider world.⁴⁷⁰ In other words, the answer to Söderhjelm's demand was to emphasize that the Bergboms definitely had nothing to do with her absence, "It was not in Kaarlo Bergbom's power to get Ida Aalberg back home. The letters exchanged between the Bergbom siblings prove this abundantly."⁴⁷¹

As a conclusion for his discussion of the critique towards the theatre, the narrator asks rhetorically, "Only a correct understanding of the value and meaning of the national art compared to the momentary glory of the foreign environment could have changed her [Aalberg's] opinion, but can our divided nationhood instil that understanding in its daughters?"⁴⁷² The first part of the reflection refers directly to Aalberg, but the question, placed in the present tense, brings the issue to the present moment. Hence, again, it is not the Bergboms, but the inner quarrels of the nation that brought about the misfortune of losing the

⁴⁶⁷ Emilie Bergbom to Betty Elfving 12.10.1879. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collection 49.

⁴⁶⁸ Compare with the remark in Aspelin-Haapkylä's diaries about the next director of the National Theatre, and the possibility to establish a Finnish-language opera again at the beginning of the twentieth century, "By all means! It would mean a certain destruction of the Finnish Theatre Company [sic] to leave it in the care of Ida Aalberg, and in addition with an opera! – Why don't they turn to the Swedish Theatre with their insane fantasies?" Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 16.10.1906. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 490.

⁴⁶⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 231.

⁴⁷⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 260.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 260–261.

prima donna of the theatre. The domestic politics of the twentieth century are referred to as a further proof of the argument.

The narrator returns to the theme of greediness for foreign admiration as a contrast to the national goals later in the third volume of the Theatre History when discussing the playwright Minna Canth, who also betrayed the national aspirations of the theatre. But first there is the case of “an underdeveloped artist” who could not understand the compelling force of national unity and the need to sacrifice personal aspirations in the service of that, namely Gustaf von Numers.

Gustaf von Numers in Court

The representation of the relationship between Kaarlo Bergbom and the playwright Gustaf von Numers is a textual performance conducted by the narrator. Numers is first interrogated and then tried in the court of historiography. The sources are called upon as evidence. Through the sources the representation is also anchored exceptionally firmly into the past reality and established as a truthful account of the episode.⁴⁷³

The disagreement between Numers and Bergbom concerned the authorship and, also using the modern term, the copyright of Numers’s historical plays *Eerikki Puke*, *Korsholman herra* (*Eerikki Puke, the Master of Korsholma*) and *Tuukkalan tappelu* (*The Tuukkala Quarrel*), the comedy *Kuopion takana* (*Behind Kuopio*) and the Kalevala-inspired historical tragedy *Elinan surma* (*The Killing of Elina*). They were all written in the 1880’s and the 1890’s and formed the core of the indigenous historical repertoire of the Finnish Theatre Company. Numers authored the plays aided and guided by Bergbom. The aim of the narrator is to demonstrate that even though Numers might have had the initiative, it was Bergbom who was the mastermind behind the plays and contributed decisively to their final form.

Numers is introduced to the story-space by emphasizing colourfully the sketchy nature of his aforementioned play *Eerikki Puke* and thus Bergbom’s

⁴⁷³ Ann Rigney contrasts the relationship of modern historiography to its source-basis and the earlier approaches to the sources by citing Collingwood: the document hitherto called ‘an authority’ acquired a new status, properly described by calling it ‘a source’. According to Rigney, the new critical engagement with sources can best be described as an ‘interrogate-and-dismiss’ procedure. Rigney 2001, 122.

contribution to the early forms of the play in the autumn and winter of 1887–1888, before any controversies had risen,

“Dealing with Numers’s scribbles as an immature sketch he [Bergbom] made detailed suggestions for changes. --- The *Eerikki Puke* we know from the stage and also as a printed play was thus born. However, it is impossible to decide who contributed most, since the manuscripts have been lost, and most of the advice was delivered orally --- and – on top of everything – it was Niilo Sala who translated the play into fluent Finnish, which version is the only one left for us to judge! However, Numers’s letters prove that every word of this account is true, although Bergbom gave all the credit to Numers.”⁴⁷⁴

The narrator uses his retrospective gaze and sees the co-working of *Eerikki Puke* as the beginning of the future problems. It is only later, when the narrator discusses the spring of 1889 and Numers’s comedy *Kuopion takana*, that the direction of the writing is revealed, “A disagreement was born later concerning the role Bergbom and Numers had in the creation of their plays. We will come back to this later.”⁴⁷⁵ The story reaches the period of the disagreement only much later (in the story-space of the History), in the context of the season of 1891–1892. At this point the depiction of Numers’s playwriting, stretching over several chapters, has already been established as a single, formulaic event by constant proleptic and analeptic references. The image thus delivered is that of an inadequate playwright requiring support from the theatre director.

Numers himself does not have much of a say in all this. The narrator has one of his few source-critical insights and suspects the reliability of Numers’s letters when it comes to the subject-matter at hand, “The first phase of the squabble is less important and we are not dealing with it. Especially, as the only sources we have are Numers’s letters and they are, as is natural, one-sided, and do not give us any information about the contents of the letters Bergbom

⁴⁷⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 295–296.

⁴⁷⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 357.

sent.”⁴⁷⁶ The method of making Bergbom the publicly humiliated hero of the story—the “experienced writer and poet” who created side by side with the person who took all the credit⁴⁷⁷—is to interrogate those sources that the narrator regarded usable. These sources are “pieces of evidence”, the narrator “proves” things and when Numers answers, he “confesses”.⁴⁷⁸ All in all, the narrator is building a case against Numers: documenting the letters used exceptionally carefully⁴⁷⁹, thus demonstrating his control of the subject-matter and heightening the realism of his representation by accounting details that do not seem to be important for the story-line.⁴⁸⁰

The rhetoric used in this chain of events is assertive and persuasive. The verbs the narrator uses are authoritative: episodes “demand” closer attention, he emphasizes that “it is important to turn one’s attention to---“ and has the ultimate judgement: “we will restrict ourselves to the most important matters”.⁴⁸¹ Numers’s writings are “immature scribbles”⁴⁸² and “far from being irreproachable”⁴⁸³ and his historical plays do “not have any foundation whatsoever”⁴⁸⁴, a serious claim in the period where the authors of historical fiction were supposed to follow closely the historians’ interpretations, as has been discussed earlier. Numers himself was “a man of vivid imagination”, and had he been “a more advanced artist”, he would have been able to appreciate how decisively Bergbom contributed to the plays.⁴⁸⁵

This very strong rhetorical apparatus can partly point to the fact that there were only few facts to build on. Bergbom’s letters to Numers had not been available (“It is our responsibility to mention that we have in vain asked Numers

⁴⁷⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 426.

⁴⁷⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 436.

⁴⁷⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 357.

⁴⁷⁹ The datings of the cited letters are usually not mentioned in the Theatre History. Not so in Numers’s case. Look, for example, the citations of Numers’s letters in the autumn of 1887. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 296.

⁴⁸⁰ “Ms Aili Nissinen has receipted 80 mk for the translation of the 3rd Act and Mrs Anni Levander seems to have translated the 1st and the 2nd Acts (translations of three plays have been combined in the receipt). It is probably Sala who then finalised the translation.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 356 (footnote 1).

⁴⁸¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 404–405.

⁴⁸² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 295.

⁴⁸³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 339.

⁴⁸⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 338.

⁴⁸⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 436.

to give us the letters Bergbom sent to him.”⁴⁸⁶) and even when the narrator can compare the early sketches of the plays described volubly in Numers’s letters and the printed (and staged) versions of the same, the question of authorship seems to remain uncertain, “We do not know what this version was like, and what changes Bergbom suggested to it; however it is certain that he [Bergbom] contributed to making it stageable, since the letters from the end of the year of 1888 show that it had been totally rewritten---.”⁴⁸⁷

The disagreement about the question of the authorship was also made public and discussed in the newspapers, and the letter exchange dealing with the issue between Bergbom and Numers continued for years as the presentation divided over several chapters in the Theatre History demonstrates. Would it have been discussed so extensively in the Theatre History, if it had remained a private quarrel only? Numers was, after all, one of the fissures in the lacquered depiction of the ideal family of the theatre.

All in all, the final conviction of Numers as “an underdeveloped artist”, when compared to Bergbom, does not come as a surprise. However, Aspelin-Haapkylä had known Numers in his youth and gives him the benefit of the doubt in the Theatre History, “We find this explanation [Numers being an ‘underdeveloped artist’] good, since it makes it possible to see the direct, honest, chivalrous side of Numers, the side we have always known to exist.”⁴⁸⁸ Minna Canth, the other playwright extensively discussed in the third volume, is less fortunate.

Minna Canth’s Uncontrollable Passion

In one of the reviews of the third volume of the History the critic points out that even before Aspelin-Haapkylä’s work, the public opinion had taken Kaarlo Bergbom’s side in his “case” with Gustaf von Numers. However, when it came to the relationship between the playwright Minna Canth and Bergbom, the Theatre History shed new light on the dispute and made Bergbom’s actions

⁴⁸⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 296 (footnote).

⁴⁸⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 338.

⁴⁸⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 436.

understandable and acceptable.⁴⁸⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä was probably aware of the interest this part of the History created in the readers and composed it accordingly.⁴⁹⁰

The topic indicator for Bergbom's and Numers's disagreement and their extensive letter polemic about the question of authorship is "The case between Bergbom and Numers". When the playwright and novelist Minna Canth, after writing five plays for the Finnish Theatre Company, turned to the Swedish-language New Theatre, the topic indicator is "The thing regarding Minna Canth". There are no disagreements, quarrels or betrayals on the paratextual level, which might be just an attempt to represent the events neutrally.⁴⁹¹ However, the image of the ideal world of the theatre the narrator aimed at transmitting could also explain it. Once more the actual narrative disagrees with the labels – the headings of the volumes, the topic indicators – attached to it.

Minna Canth was a realist novelist and a playwright taking an active part in the public discussions and polemics through her oeuvre but also through the many newspaper writings from her town of residence in northeastern Finland, Kuopio. She belonged to the Young Finnish party, was a socialist, defended Darwinism, women's rights and the so-called absolute sexual moral. Before her first plays she had already published a collection *Short Stories and Tales* (*Novelleja ja kertomuksia*) in the late 1870's.⁴⁹²

Minna Canth's plays are dealt with chronologically in the Theatre History, and thus their representation, as was the case with Numers too, is divided between several chapters starting with the season of 1881–1882, when Canth's *Murtovarkaus* (*The Burglary*) was successfully staged in Helsinki. However, in Canth's case the narrator is without exception also depicting the writing process of her plays and thus Canth draws even more attention than Numers. Again, Bergbom's role in the creation of Canth's plays is emphasized, and Canth is also

⁴⁸⁹ Karjala, 12.12.1909.

⁴⁹⁰ The author-historian had, for example, been testing his views on Canth by discussing them with the novelist Juhani Aho in January 1909. The characterizations of Canth in Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary are straightforward: she is, among other things, "unreliable", "morally loose" and "a gossip". Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 30.1.1909. Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 491.

⁴⁹¹ For example in the manuscript of the Theatre History the first chapter of the first volume, depicting the 'prehistory' of the Finnish-language stage, had been titled "Obstructions and Revolts" – and was later changed to a more neutral "Before 1869". The manuscript of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* 1906 (I). Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, B 119.

⁴⁹² Krogerus 1997 (2009).

presumed to be an exemplary case of the relationship between Bergbom and “his” playwrights, “However, the history of the play starts before performing it, and we have to survey it, especially since we can thus see for the first time how Bergbom treated and advised new playwrights.”⁴⁹³

First the narrator discusses Canth’s first three plays (the abovementioned *Murtovarkaus/The Burglary* from 1882, *Roinilan talossa/In The House of Roinila* from 1883 and *Työmiehen vaimo/The Worker’s Wife* from 1885⁴⁹⁴). Canth’s gratitude to Bergbom is emphasized, as are the fees she received from the theatre for the rights of her plays and the prizes she was awarded. The reader is thus informed about the financial benefits Canth got from playwriting.⁴⁹⁵ The most extensive discussion concerns the play *Työmiehen vaimo (The Worker’s Wife)*: the changes advised by Bergbom are described in detail in the body text, followed by quotations of Canth’s letters to Bergbom from August 1883 to January 1885, which illustrate the process of playwriting and Canth’s occasional doubts about it.⁴⁹⁶

The representation of Canth and the theatre (or to be more precise, Canth and Bergbom) is one of the very few places where the narrator uses a footnote to point to the research literature he was using, namely the women’s movement activist Lucina Hagman’s biography from 1906 (I)⁴⁹⁷. It seems that the author-historian had not harboured benevolent feelings about the study in question, “It is a pity that the representation in question is partially more a continuation of a polemic than an objective description”.⁴⁹⁸ Accordingly, the Theatre History gives advice about how Canth’s life should be dealt with in the future and what the result should look like,

“There are two equally interesting sides in the task: one is her literary and other public activities, the other an understanding

⁴⁹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 106; see also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 129–130, 202, 205, 284–285, 379–381.

⁴⁹⁴ The years the plays were first staged. The publication years are 1883, 1885 and 1885 respectively. Hirvonen 1993, 110.

⁴⁹⁵ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 146–147, 213 (footnote); 1910 (IV), 61 (footnote).

⁴⁹⁶ The whole representation of *Työmiehen vaimo (Worker’s Wife)*, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 202–214. The letter quotations from Canth to Bergbom, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 202–204 and 205–210.

⁴⁹⁷ The second part was published in 1911. Ollila 1998. I will be discussing Aspelin-Haapkylä’s sources more extensively in Chapter 6.

⁴⁹⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 212 (footnote).

analysis of her character. The completion of the latter will, no doubt, lead to the conclusion that her restless, energetic, passionate nature was a crucial prerequisite for her stormy appearance that so stirred our standing waters, but it also allured her to sudden actions that perhaps, in the end, mostly hurt herself. From our point of view, we are convinced that the genius 'Mistress of Kuopio' – whose shortcomings and mistakes are probably mainly a consequence of the small circumstances and the narrow-minded environment in which she spent her life – will once get a more pronounced place in the cultural history of our country than one can at the moment foresee."⁴⁹⁹

After thus constituting the image of Canth, the narrator starts to prepare the final stage seven years later. There is a topic indicator in the chapter dealing with the season of 1885–1886, "Minna Canth on the War Path"⁵⁰⁰, describing Canth's participation in the newspaper polemic concerning women's rights. The narrator writes, patronizing Canth by using her first name, "The development had begun and in the end Minna's mind became so bitter and confused that she could not make a distinction between friends and enemies."⁵⁰¹ After this we get a depiction of Canth in her "nervous state of mind", delivering "passionate bursts" in her letters.⁵⁰² This is all done in order to build up the next stage in the inevitable development, namely Canth's realistic play *Kovan Onnen Lapsia* (*Children of Hard Times*), withdrawn after the premiere in 1888, which in the interpretation the Theatre History offers led to Canth's "resignation" in 1892, passionate, nervous and above all unpredictable as she was.⁵⁰³

The play *Kovan Onnen Lapsia* (*Children of Hard Times*) was performed only once in November 1888, and the next day, according to the History, the

⁴⁹⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 87.

⁵⁰⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), IV, 241.

⁵⁰¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 241. It is important for the narrator of the Theatre History to construct an image of Canth as the one creating antagonisms and trouble. Thence also the aforementioned topic heading, "Minna Canth on the War Path", which in the manuscript is still in the form "Minna Canth and her Opponents". The manuscript of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* 1909 (III). Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, B 119.

⁵⁰² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 255, 269, 302.

⁵⁰³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 329.

Board of Directors decided to remove the play from the repertoire.⁵⁰⁴ The main Finnish-nationalistic newspaper, *Uusi Suometar*, had been hesitantly positive in its review, however reserving itself the chance to reconsider its opinion after seeing the play again.⁵⁰⁵ Two days after the performance the Old-Finnish, conservative newspaper, *Finland*, apparently unaware of the Board's decision or just wanting to express its disapproval, published an unfavourable reply to the play and the Director of the Theatre, and declared that in the name of morality and good taste Canth's play should never again "stain" the repertoire of the Finnish Theatre Company.⁵⁰⁶ The episode caused a headache for the narrator: so far Kaarlo Bergbom's decisive role in the oeuvre of Minna Canth had been strongly emphasized, now his main preoccupation was to show that Bergbom had been too busy to help and guide Canth in the case of *Kovan Onnen Lapsia* (*Children of Hard Times*). However, at the same time the narrator takes care to point out that Bergbom as a theatre director had actually opposed the withdrawal, thus defending his playwright.⁵⁰⁷

The play did not confine itself to describing the poor, unhappy destinies of the lower classes seeking an ultimate atonement between them and the upper segments of society. Instead, it represented some of its characters as rebellious, active types with socialist opinions and thus it had to be denounced and demolished by the conservative powers. However, it was not enough that it disappeared silently from the repertoire as usually happened to those plays that could not attract enough audience. The omniscient narrator explains the strong reactions from his vantage point in 1909 to the readers that had experienced the activization of the lower classes, "In Topra-Heikki's mouth it was heard for the first time – and one could claim, anticipating the reality! – those kinds of accusations, curses and threats towards those well-off that one nowadays frequently sees in socialist newspapers. Thus they, today, have almost no effect whatsoever, but back then they had the sound of revolutionary bugles."⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 322.

⁵⁰⁵ *Uusi Suometar* 9.11.1888 (no 263).

⁵⁰⁶ *Finland* 10.11.1888

⁵⁰⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 318–319, 322, 327.

⁵⁰⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 321.

The narrator reveals his own opinions of the play reticently. He writes about the “hasty reviewer who late at night got his story together” when quoting *Uusi Suometar*’s abovementioned hesitantly benevolent review, and describes “the repulsive influence” of some of the scenes which had turned the theatre experience into “torture”.⁵⁰⁹ The emphasis is on the theatrical experience, not on the play itself as a literary product. However, the author-historian himself had reviewed Canth’s play negatively in the periodical *Valvoja* writing, among other things, about the task of dramatic art to “cure, guide and elevate” by lifting itself above the everyday experience.⁵¹⁰ The characterization of Canth’s next play, *Papin perhe* (*The Priest’s Family*), emphasizes these elevated ideals, too, “(I)t gave warmth, as only a depiction of domestic surroundings can give, and it dealt with the current issues profoundly without that bitter ridicule that wounds and drives the conciliatoriness away.”⁵¹¹ The aim and effect of Canth’s realist play was exactly the opposite.

In the Finnish literary field, realism (as a term denoting a literary period) broke through in the 1880’s. The ideas of the French critic and historian Hippolyte Taine (especially his *Philosophie de l’art* from 1865) and liberalistic thinkers such as Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill spread also to Finland and found resonance in the writers observing the more mobile, more industrial society which, however, lagged behind in social reforms. In spite of this, the older idealistic aesthetics was not superseded by realism in Finland, and thus there were at least two differing expectations in regard to literature: idealistic-romantic and realistic. The Finnish realism was strongly influenced by the determinism of naturalism: unlike in Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House*, in the Finnish realistic novels and plays the female protagonists are mostly passive and unable to break free from the social boundaries of their lives.⁵¹²

As a literary critic Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä appreciated realism as a product of the modern society and as a literary, artistic reflection of it. However, his main question was “how literature and its criticism can serve the good” and the answer was by taking the nation and its “common moral values” as the

⁵⁰⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 321.

⁵¹⁰ *Valvoja* 1.12.1888 (no 12)

⁵¹¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 383.

⁵¹² Lappalainen 1999, 9–12.

starting point and by paying attention both to the aesthetics and the ethics of the work under scrutiny. In other words, the revolutionary tendencies of the realistic novel or play, possibly threatening the established social order, did not serve the nation and were thus of questionable value.⁵¹³

Compared to the representation of the operatic performances or canonical plays (especially Shakespeare and the “original” Finnish historical plays), the reactions Canth’s play provoked in the press are discussed very briefly in the Theatre History, “(W)e don’t have enough space to deal with the reviews”.⁵¹⁴ Perhaps Aspelin-Haapkylä, as a former member of the Board, was hesitant to reveal the influence the public opinion and the domestic politics had on the issues of the theatre. Only later and merely within a source quotation, not as part of the body text, the narrator first lets Bergbom explain the political constellations and then, in a citation from Canth’s letter presented in a smaller font, reveals that the theatre might have lost its state support had it continued staging the play.⁵¹⁵ Indeed, this kind of political steering of the theatre is not a theme eagerly discussed in the Theatre History.⁵¹⁶

The next main entry when it comes to Minna Canth has a topic indicator “The resignation of Minna Canth”, continuing a couple of pages later as “The thing concerning Minna Canth”. Minna Canth had decided to write her latest play (*Sylvii*) for the New Theatre at the beginning of the 1890’s, which was a huge shock for the Bergboms. The main reason for this was that her previous drama, *Papin perhe* (*The Priest’s Family*), was staged only nine times and the ultra-conservative Finnish-nationalist Agathon Meurman had, again, colourfully expressed his discontent in the newspaper, *Finland*. In addition, Canth had

⁵¹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 2005 (1901), 115–116. According to Toril Moi, “(i)dealists did not object to realism; they objected to realism that did not subscribe to idealist aesthetics.” This kind of realism came increasingly to be called naturalism. Moi 2006, 67. Mari Hatavara has argued that ‘idealistic realism’ was the most prominent aesthetic position in nineteenth century Finland. The ultimate atonement turned the plot of a realistic novel or play into an idealistic one. This is what Aspelin-Haapkylä was also looking for in the oeuvre of realistic playwrights. Hatavara 2007, 42, 60–61. Tellervo Krogerus has defined Aspelin-Haapkylä’s approach to literature as ‘national idealism’. Krogerus 1992, 80–81. I will be returning to Aspelin-Haapkylä’s idealism in the last chapter of my study.

⁵¹⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 323. However, only the local newspaper, *Tampereen Sanomat*, reacted negatively against the play’s withdrawal wishing that it would appear in print regardless of the reactions of the “hysterical gentlemen of Helsinki”. *Tampereen Sanomat* 14.11.1888 (no 135).

⁵¹⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 455–457, 463.

⁵¹⁶ Suutela 2001a, 73.

wanted to cooperate with the Swedish Theatre already when *Papin perhe* (*The Priest's Family*) was staged, since she (rightly) thought that through the contacts of that theatre her plays might reach the stages of other Scandinavian countries, too.⁵¹⁷ For the Old-Finnish-nationalists such plans of crossing the tightly guarded language borders were betraying their cause, and as stern as the narrator is in regard to Canth, he does not tell these details, but refers only to the fate of *Kovan Onnen Lapsia* (*Children of Hard Times*) two years earlier⁵¹⁸; it was the “thing” that led to Canth’s “resignation”.

The representation depicting Canth’s decision to write for the Swedish Theatre is constructed around long letter quotations, first between Kaarlo Bergbom, who was abroad when the piece of news reached him, and his sister, then between Bergbom and Canth.⁵¹⁹ By using introductory lines, or tags, between the letter quotations the narrator builds up a confrontation between a masculine, reasonable respondent who “tries to avoid disputations and also everything that is not strictly concerned with the matter at hand”⁵²⁰ and a slightly hysterical female playwright, whose letters are “nearly three sheets long and contain, besides the matter-of-fact discussion, plenty of useless arguments.”⁵²¹ At the same time he refers to Kaarlo Bergbom’s – should one say – explosive, theatrical personality but represents it as “sensitive” and “tender”, “standing above the banal emotions of hatred and revenge” and compares Minna Canth’s conduct to that of children, “It has been said that women and children are cruel.”⁵²²

After dealing with Canth’s decision to write for the New Theatre, Canth’s play *Sylvi* performed at the New Theatre is mentioned briefly: its success was “almost like a demonstration”. However, the discussion of Canth ends with the observation that Canth never had her plays performed in other Scandinavian

⁵¹⁷ Tanskanen 2010, 84.

⁵¹⁸ In his diaries Aspelin-Haapkylä uses the word “rikos”, “crime”, when it comes to Canth’s decision to write for the Swedish Theatre. Aspelin-Haapkylä’s diary 30.1.1909. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä’s archive, SKS Kia, A 492. For the description for the reason for Canth’s decision in the Theatre History, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 444.

⁵¹⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 445–446, 447–449, 450–451, 454–461, 461–467.

⁵²⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 464.

⁵²¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 462.

⁵²² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 445.

countries. The last sentence dealing with Canth in the third volume is almost triumphant, “Thus her hopes were totally disappointed.”⁵²³

Later on, in the fourth volume, even the representation of Minna Canth’s death in 1897 and the funeral is turned back to the figure of Bergbom standing by her grave,

“It is a pity that we do not have any lines expressing Kaarlo Bergbom’s sentiments at Minna Canth’s grave. However, we have an intuition that his sorrow was more modest than it would have been, had he not experienced the sorrow Minna’s ‘resignation’ five years previously had caused him. --- In any case Minna Canth’s passing meant that one of the richest pages of Bergbom’s life had turned.”⁵²⁴

In other words, whereas Gustaf von Numers got a patronizing reprimand (“misguided Numers”⁵²⁵), Minna Canth was a target of an entire textual slaughter, “The hatred for the ‘old leaders’ [the Old Finns] had swollen into an uncontrollable passion in Minna Canth”.⁵²⁶ Canth betrayed the hero of the Theatre History and came to symbolize all the “Young Finns, Swedish-speaking population and other liberals”.⁵²⁷ The rhetoric of the Finnish-nationalists at the beginning of the twentieth century emphasized national self-control and the surrender of individual desires as the best remedies for the sharp domestic political divisions caused by Russification⁵²⁸; in that framework Canth’s inability to restrain her emotions and her yearning for foreign admiration (the vice the actress Ida Aalberg also perpetrated) were serious weaknesses indeed. Thus depicted, she is also a part of the narrator’s collection of counter-heroes or villains: those who did not really understand the national cause and the ideal

⁵²³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 472, 473.

⁵²⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 86–87.

⁵²⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 471.

⁵²⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 467.

⁵²⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 468.

⁵²⁸ Juha Ala has been studying the emotional language of newspaper writings from the beginning of the century and points out that Russia was often depicted as a brutal rapist violating the innocent maiden of Finland. Russia was the den of unchastity and consequently chastity, self-control and purity were Finnish characteristics. Ala 1999, 151–161, and especially 159.

society that the theatre could have been in the ideal state of affairs, and who made the hero of the story shine ever brighter.

The Savaged and Lacerated Theatre

As discussed in the previous chapter of the present study, the last two chapters of the third volume and the entire fourth volume, in spite of the narrative investment in the opening festivities of the National Theatre, form an unintended anticlimax for the national story-line. After the culmination point – the Bergbomian “high season” – at the beginning of the 1890’s the elderly leaders of the theatre were simply trying to keep things running in the midst of the political trouble and criticism of the theatre. The new, expensive premises demanded for example a total renewal of the scenic backdrops and thus proved to be yet another financial obstacle.⁵²⁹ The new theatre house also created higher expectations for the quality of the performances and consequently caused a new wave of criticism of the leaders and the Board.

After the elaborate depiction of the opening festivities of the National Theatre, the narrator introduces the establishment of the new incorporate company behind the enterprise, followed by a description of Bergboms’ holiday in Germany, the repertoire for the autumn and spring of 1902–1903 and the aforementioned economic troubles. Turning the page, the next topic indicator informs the reader that s/he is entering the period of “Other oppressive circumstances”.⁵³⁰

The somewhat obscure expression “other oppressive circumstances” refers to the most serious criticism the theatre had so far faced. The criticism arose both from within the theatre and outside of it in 1903–1904: both reviewers and actors demanded a modernization of the theatre more pronouncedly than ever before, especially when it came to direction and acting. According to the Young-Finnish newspaper, *Päivälehti* the actors had taken the initiative when the Board of Directors had not reacted to their demands, and

⁵²⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 214–217; Emilie Bergbom to Betty Elfving 15.12.1901. The Archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, letter collection 49.

⁵³⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 215–217, 219–222.

threatened to resign.⁵³¹ The discussant in *Päivälehti*, the Young-Finnish poet, novelist and playwright Eino Leino, was appalled by the arrogance the Board had displayed and pointed out the possibility that the Board should resign instead of the actors and mentioned Aspelin-Haapkylä especially, “What would be the consequence if Mr. Professor himself, or the whole Board, would resign, no one in these circles [the Old-Finnish] dares to even think about. No doubt it would be the end of the world.”⁵³²

It was not only the heritage of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s hero that was offended during these discussions; it was Aspelin-Haapkylä personally, as the President of the Board of Directors. Consequently, the depiction of this troubled period in the fourth volume of the Theatre History is also a belated six-page answer to the critique.⁵³³ The representation starts by a shift of attention from the directors of the theatre to the general political situation in the Grand Duchy: the narrator refers once more to the national lack of unity caused by the Russification Period and discusses the period in question with the term coined by the author-historian himself in his diaries: “The Cursed Years” [kirovuodet]. After this the main points of criticism are answered one by one: the economical troubles that prevented the proper language and acting training of the newcomers and the lack of audience which caused the narrowness of the repertoire.⁵³⁴

The form of the answer reveals how deeply Aspelin-Haapkylä felt the critique six–seven years later. The narrator poses rhetorical questions guiding the attention of the reader, for example, “And the repertoire then! What theatre was able to perform all the meritorious plays?”⁵³⁵ The representation streams colourful language (“contaminate”, “malicious”, “blatant”; the theatre being “savaged and lacerated” by the critique) and there are plenty of exclamation marks pointing to the unreasonable claims of the critics, revealing the subjectivity of the answer.⁵³⁶ In addition, there is another dialogue-like

⁵³¹ Seppälä 2010a, 43.

⁵³² *Päivälehti* 15.3.1904.

⁵³³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 217–222.

⁵³⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 219–221.

⁵³⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 220.

⁵³⁶ A very similar paragraph can be found in the second volume, when the narrator is describing the troubles the theatre and consequently the Bergbom siblings had run into in the mid-1870’s, “(E)very day brought new worries. --- What about those troublesome strifes, when fits of illness forced them to change the programme and alter the plans! What about those oppressive financial

question/answer session: the narrator admits that Bergbom was getting old, but informs the reader that there was a stock answer when the leader himself tried to suggest retirement,

”No, it is impossible, how can we entrust the theatre to this or that person – you must still endure!’ Although it was realised that the successor of Bergbom could have neither his knowledge, nor his experience nor his self-sacrifice, he had however set such high requirements for the director, that it was impossible to find a new one from among the younger generation.”⁵³⁷

The narrator never mentions the fact that the actors actually had taken the initiative and had threatened the Board with mass resignations, and he does not explicate the fervent nature of the newspaper discussion. It is only the rhetoric of the sequence that signals that there is more to the story than the narrator wants to admit – that the National Theatre was without functioning direction⁵³⁸, and for a short while it seemed that it would also be left with no actors.

The Arrival of Topelius

Besides Shakespeare, the performances that receive most attention and thus form pauses in the general tempo of the narrative are the abovementioned realistic folkplays – as they were mostly called – by Minna Canth and “original” historical plays depicting the Finnish past, many of which dealt with those periods of revolts and wars discussed in Chapter 2. However, the most important of these historical plays in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s History are Zacharias Topelius’s plays *Regina von Emmeritz*, first performed at the Arkadia in May 1882, and

matters, when the whole enterprise seemed to be heading towards bankruptcy and ruin!” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 211.

⁵³⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 222.

⁵³⁸ Kaarlo Bergbom had just returned from Italy where he had fallen ill the previous year and never recovered completely. His replacement, Jalmari Finne resigned due to these problems. See for example *Päivälehti* 15.3.1904.

Kyypron prinsessa (*The Princess of Cyprus*⁵³⁹), the Finnish-language premiere of which took place in January 1897.⁵⁴⁰ For Aspelin-Haapkylä, Topelius, although writing in Swedish, was the ideal national novelist and playwright: the former professor of History at the Alexander University in Helsinki came from the right class and stood for the older branch of cultural nationalism, before party politics broke the community asunder.

Regina von Emmeritz was written already in 1852 and it is set in the imaginary castle of Emmeritz in Franken during the Thirty Years War. The protagonists are the Countess of Emmeritz and Gustav II Adolf, King of Sweden. The first version emphasizes the love story between these two, the later reworking by Topelius the conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism, a usable antagonism in the Russification Period, when Finland was emphasizing also its religious particularity within the Russian Orthodox Empire.⁵⁴¹

The representation of the episode begins again with the voice of Emilie Bergbom. There is a long letter quotation dealing with various matters concerning the Theatre Company at length, and in the middle there are some words about the play under rehearsal,

“After Easter we will have *Romeo and Juliet* and then *Regina von Emmeritz*. It will again demand a lot of trouble and effort but there is nothing to do about that. Topelius has been extremely unsatisfied with the careless way the New Theatre has staged the play, and when cautious Topelius says that to us and others, he naturally implies that we must do it differently.”⁵⁴²

The same idea of hard work demanded to stage the play and its success as a matter of honour both for the Theatre and for Topelius himself is repeated on the next page in the body text. After this the narrator quotes at length a letter by Topelius directing the staging and the interpretation of the leading parts.⁵⁴³ Only

⁵³⁹ The whole name of the play in Swedish is *Princessan af Cypern, sagospel i fyra akter, efter motiver i Kalevala* (*The Princess of Cyprus, a fairy tale in four acts, based on the motifs of Kalevela*).

⁵⁴⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 118–126; 1910 (IV), 78–81.

⁵⁴¹ Klinge 1998, 303–309; see also Zacharias Topelius’s *Skrifter* [On-line].

⁵⁴² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 117.

⁵⁴³ It is only Topelius who can give directions to Bergbom in the Theatre History. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 117, 119–121.

after these pauses, showing how the theatre respected the national poet (in contrast to the New Theatre) there is a long, vivid, emotional description of the performance, “Especially the conquering of the castle was organized impressively. The thumping of cannons created anxiety and horror inside the castle. Soldiers were rushing back and forth, wounded and dead were carried over the stage, monks and nuns were escorted by Hieronymus carrying a big cross, the tunes of the Catholic mass where echoing over the tumult----”.⁵⁴⁴

The premiere and the following performances were widely acknowledged and reviewed in the contemporary newspapers.⁵⁴⁵ The narrator does not give the source reference for his representation but the characterizations of the actors and actresses in the Theatre History are partly based on the review in the *Morgonbladet* of the 11th May 1882; apart from that the newspapers do not contain the colourfulness or the distinctively emotional tone of the depiction in the Theatre History. However, in this case the central sources can easily be recognized: the representation is based on two reviews of *Regina von Emmeritz* in the *Valvoja* periodical, the first one published on 1st July 1882 (no 13–14) and the second one after the festivity performance celebrating Topelius’s 70-year birthday on 1st February 1888 (no 2).

In other words, the long, vivid account of the impact of the play and its staging is a compilation of descriptions of two different performances taking place six years apart. It is a textual performance that never took place on the stage. The representation of *Regina von Emmeritz* in the Theatre History demonstrates the elevated artistic level that can be achieved only by honouring the wishes of the ideal national playwright Topelius, who presents the generation of national workers before the nation took the path of disagreement and disintegration. But it is also the narrator’s attempt at restoring the lost national unity by rewriting the past. He creates an ideal theatrical event that is written almost with a novelistic freedom if not to invent, then at least to combine facts in order to create a scene that is more impressive than the reality itself.

⁵⁴⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 121; the description of the performance Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 121–123.

⁵⁴⁵ *Uusi Suometar* 5.5.1882 (no 103), *Morgonbladet* 5.5.1882 (no 103), *Hufvudstadsbladet* 7.5.1882 (no 105A), *Uusi Suometar* 8.5.1882 (no 105), *Morgonbladet* 8.5.1882 (no 105), *Morgonbladet* 11.5.1882 (no 108), *Uusi Suometar* 11.5.1882 (no 108), *Uusi Suometar* 15.5.1882 (no 111), *Hufvudstadsbladet* 17.5.1882 (no 113A).

The representational method of merging different reviews into one ideal performance and the vivacity of the whole representation both point to the significance of the Swedish past with its stately heroes for Aspelin-Haapkylä's generation.⁵⁴⁶ Accordingly, in the fourth volume the narrator refers to the performance of *Regina* at the Arkadia Theatre during the tricentenary celebrations of the Swedish king Gustav Adolf in 1894, "The play --- created, as always, patriotic feeling and burning enthusiasm in the audience. – In this way our theatre participated in the veneration of the great memory."⁵⁴⁷

Topelius is discussed again slightly later in the fourth volume, in connection with the premiere of the abovementioned *Kyypron prinsessa* (*The Princess of Cyprus*) that took place in January 1897.⁵⁴⁸ The light musical piece was written by Topelius and composed by Fredrick Pacius and it had been first performed in Helsinki at the opening festivities of the New Theatre in 1860. The play blends Finnish and classical mythological themes: Lemminkäinen, the wanton adventurer from the *Kalevala*, ends up in Cyprus, abducts Princess Chryseis and takes her to Finland, where she becomes one of the central female figures in the *Kalevala*, Kyllikki. She naturally falls in love with her abductor and the next year, when the Cypriots arrive to take her back, she does not want to return but conciliates the Finns and her countrymen. The libretto contains long praises of the noble Finnish landscapes.⁵⁴⁹

This kind of blending of classical mythology to that of the newborn European nations was popular in the early nineteenth century: for example C. W. Böttiger's short play *Asarne i Delphi* from 1844 (*The Asas in Delphi*) and an

⁵⁴⁶ The discussions between Aspelin-Haapkylä and the historian J. R. Danielson-Kalmari before the aforementioned centenary celebrations of the birth of J. V. Snellman in 1906, when over 25 000 Swedish surnames were translated into Finnish ones, reflect well the intermediate position of Aspelin-Haapkylä's generation of Finnish-nationalists between their Swedish-language cultural heritage and the demands of the new Finnish-language national culture. According to Matti Klinge, Aspelin-Haapkylä and Danielson-Kalmari conducted only a "half translation" when they kept their Swedish patronymics. Aspelin-Haapkylä's diaries tell that he had been reasoning with Danielson-Kalmari about the issue ("It is an important topic but it is not easy to change one's name when one grows older"). For Aspelin-Haapkylä and Danielson-Kalmari the solution was that "we will merge a Finnish name with the Swedish one --- thus we will retain our patronymics which we have honourably carried but will also take a step towards the Finnish people." Aspelin-Haapkylä's diaries 10.2.1906 and 8.4.1906. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive. SKS Kia, A 490; Klinge 1989, 861–862.

⁵⁴⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 37.

⁵⁴⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 78-81.

⁵⁴⁹ Fewster 2006, 138; Klinge 1998, 254.

operetta *Orphée aux enfers* (*Orpheus in the Underworld*) by Jacques Offenbach from 1858 were playing with the comic outcome of blending classical and modern themes.⁵⁵⁰ However, Topelius's play was not very popular to start with: after the premiere in 1860 it was (sometimes only partially) staged once during the season of 1866–1867 and twice during the season of 1876–1877 at the New Theatre. When the Finnish Theatre Company picked it up and had it translated it was staged altogether 27 times between the spring of 1897 and the spring of 1898.⁵⁵¹

Topelius's poetical musical piece presented the accepted kind of patriotism, depicting the far-away mythical past and the heroes of the Finnish nation in a light, conciliatory manner.⁵⁵² The reception of the play was benevolent, and the narrator stresses again the unifying, elevated atmosphere not only of the premiere but of the whole theatrical event, "*Kyypron prinsessa* (*The Princess of Cyprus*) was performed nine times in a row and later on six times (altogether 15 times) for full houses. The number of performances is the best proof of the constant delightfulness and atmosphericness, and of the occasional dazzlement, of the totality [of the play]."⁵⁵³

In other words, after the realism and the naturalism of the 1880's, the Finnish Theatre Company had taken on a dramatized fairy tale, echoing the early nineteenth century interest in the Kalevalaic mythology. In the 1860's Topelius's *Kyypron prinsessa* (*The Princess of Cyprus*) had been the first to return to these mythological Finnish heroes; after Topelius's play there had been attempts to dramatize Kalevalaic themes in almost every decade⁵⁵⁴, but the theme became really topical only in the 1890's with the wider European interest in the

⁵⁵⁰ Klinge 1998, 254.

⁵⁵¹ See Fewster 2006, 456 (appendix 3) and 476 (appendix 4).

⁵⁵² Topelius's play can be compared, for example, to Betty Elfving's historical play *Sprengtportenin oppilaat* (*The Followers of Sprengtporten*), the performance of which had been prevented by censorship at the beginning of the 1890's. The play depicts the so-called Anjala Conspiracy in the late 1780's and the Finnish Theatre Company was specifically asked not to stage Elfving's play although the leader of the theatre, Kaarlo Bergbom, had made his routine self-censuring and changed those political commentaries that could be interpreted in the contemporary context ("forever slave under the foreign power") to the more specific eighteenth century outfit ("forever slave under the Swedish rule"). In addition, all the mentions of, for example, France and the United States were removed from the manuscript, and the negative characterizations of the Russians softened. The Manuscript Collection of the Finnish National Theatre, SKS Kia.

⁵⁵³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 80.

⁵⁵⁴ Aleksis Kivi's play *Kullervo* from 1864, Antti Almberg's unpublished libretto *Aino* from 1874.

mythical, the exotic and the peripheral, and at the outset of the pressure of Russification.⁵⁵⁵ In other words, the staging of Topelius' old play was part of a sequel of premiers depicting the ancient Finnish past.

However, the narrator does not analyse Topelius's play in the framework of the Kalevalaic repertoire of the Theatre, or the Kalevalaic themes surfacing in the field of art and literature in the 1890's or the Finnish ethnographic interest in the areas where the poems of the Kalevala had been collected almost 80 years earlier (the so-called Karelianism⁵⁵⁶). For him *Kyypron prinsessa* (*The Princess of Cyprus*) is simply part of Kaarlo Bergbom's "patriotic repertoire" consisting of all the "original" plays of the Finnish playwrights, and its detailed representation in the History is a symbol of Bergbom's respect for the cultural heritage of the nation. However, there is also, and more importantly, an implicit message in all the details of the representation: the core of the depiction is the "arrival" of Topelius's play: written in Swedish it had now "returned home" in its Finnish version.⁵⁵⁷ The Finnish stage knew how to stage Topelius the right way, in contrast to the "foreign", Swedish-language stage of the capital.

The same argument had surfaced also in connection with Topelius's *Regina von Emmeritz*: the representation of the ideal performance of Topelius's play, with an introduction that emphasizes the role the Finnish Theatre Company had in staging it as Topelius wanted, in other words, correctly⁵⁵⁸, is part of the process of establishing the real National Theatre of Finland, and claiming the

⁵⁵⁵ In Finland, several plays and operas depicting the Kalevalaic past were written and staged, among others J. H. Erkko's play *Aino* and Karl Müller-Berghaus's opera *Die Kalewainen in Pochjola* (both from 1892), J.H.Erkko's play *Kullervo* (1895), J.H.Erkko's play *Pohjolan häät* (1901), Eino Leino's Kalevala-inspired poems and plays from the turn of the century (*Tuonelan joutsen* 1898, *Sota valosta* 1900, plays in the Naamioita -series from 1905–1907). For Finnish (and Scandinavian) artists turning to their own exotic background, see for example Konttinen 2001, 141–158; for a more general background of the so-called Karelianism and the Swedish equivalent, see Sihvo 2003 (1973), 324–327.

⁵⁵⁶ See for example Lyytikäinen 1999, 152; Sihvo 2003 (1973), 266–324, 327–333. Aspelin-Haapkylä himself did not participate in the tours to the eastern parts of the Grand Duchy or the northwestern corners of the Russian empire, but encouraged young artists' and scientists' travels there to study from an ethnographic point of view the authentic life of the people who had produced the poems of the Kalevala. Sihvo 2003 (1973), 214, 235.

⁵⁵⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 79.

⁵⁵⁸ Compare also to the description of the performance of *Regina* in May 1882, the 10th anniversary of the Finnish Theatre Company, "And now! Now happened the miracle that *Regina von Emmeritz*, the former staging of which at the New Theatre Bergbom had criticized as amateurish, was performed in the Finnish language so perfectly that the old poet himself confessed that he had seen his creation on the stage for the very first time. It was a real cultural victory, which deserves a permanent position in our cultural history." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 125.

originally Swedish-language cultural heritage, so important for Aspelin-Haapkylä's generation, the property of the Finnish-nationalists.

The main bulk of the national dramatic canon of the nineteenth century had been written in Swedish (the popular, well-known Swedish-language drama literature by Z. Topelius, J. L. Runeberg, F. Berndtson and J. J. Wecksell), and also the Finnish Theatre Company relied on translations of these originally Swedish-language plays. However, the names of the plays in the Theatre History are always in Finnish⁵⁵⁹, which is striking, especially when the narrator is describing their early Swedish-language amateur performances. The reader has to pay particular attention when reconstructing the actual linguistic setting depicted in the Theatre History.

In other words, the oeuvre of the Swedish-language Finnish writers is appropriated, and the status of the texts as translations is glossed over in the Theatre History.⁵⁶⁰ The prehistory and the repertoire of the Finnish-language theatre is thus reconstructed as much more Finnish-language than they actually were. This is further emphasized by the form and content of the statistical information at the end of each chapter: the actual number of performances is not spelled out, and the Finnish plays are emphasized in Italics. A negligent reader easily gets an impression that the original Finnish plays dominated the programme.⁵⁶¹

Both the appropriation of the repertoire in the pages of the History and the representation of Topelius's historical plays arriving home reflect Aspelin-Haapkylä's view on the language situation within the Grand Duchy at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was continuously and consistently experienced in colonial terms.

The opposition between own and foreign is introduced already at the beginning of the first volume. The narrator describes the opening festivities of the new stone theatre erected in the centre of the town in 1866, accordingly

⁵⁵⁹ So are the quotations from the mainly Swedish-language correspondence, too.

⁵⁶⁰ This can be compared for example to the appropriation of J.L. Runeberg's Swedish-language classicist oeuvre in their Finnish translations, see Lyytikäinen 1999, 145.

⁵⁶¹ Hanna Suutela has observed that, for example, during the first five years of the Finnish Theatre Company its repertoire was emblematically entertaining and international, and that all through the 1880's the theatre was criticized for too light a programme – in contrast to Aspelin-Haapkylä's emphases. Suutela 2005, 33–34, 101.

called The New Theatre and rented by a Swedish troupe and asks, “Has this ‘New Theatre’ – the one that even today bears this name, when not referred to in the simpler and more appropriate way as the ‘Swedish Theatre’ – promoted the birth of the Finnish-language dramatic art?”⁵⁶² The answer is soon to follow, “In other words, the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki – although titled as a ‘national institution’ – remained constantly Swedish-Swedish, and within its walls the Swedish-dialect used in Finland has remained as scarce as the Finnish language itself.”⁵⁶³

What we are dealing with here is a post-colonial discussion, the constant definition of Finland through and against Sweden: firstly, the former patria and the former superpower to the west of the Finnish/Russian borders, secondly, the existing cultural heritage of the Swedish era, and thirdly, the minority language of the Grand Duchy which nevertheless had long dominated fields of culture, education and politics. In this discussion the narrator addresses multilayered questions of national culture and transnational influences, cultural indebtedness and the consequent possibility of cultural inferiority.

It has been suggested that in order to better understand how the imperialism⁵⁶⁴ of the nineteenth century has affected the political, economical and cultural situations and thinking all around the world, the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries should be labeled as the period of the imperialistic world policy. Consequently, in order to see beyond the limits of the “exoticized colonialism” in Asia, Africa and South America and to better understand the far-reaching consequences of this period, the end-results

⁵⁶² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 19.

⁵⁶³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 20.

⁵⁶⁴ The conceptual problems of defining ‘imperialism’ and ‘colonialism’ are extensive. The beginning of ‘colonialism’ is traced back to the fifteenth century and the exploration and conquest of the African continent by the Portuguese; however, the term ‘imperialism’ was coined in the nineteenth century, when the activity of acquiring new colonies got a new, more aggressive, conscious and calculating base. See Rantanen & Ruuska 2009, 33. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, among others, points to the great difficulty of consistently distinguishing between the two terms. Imperialism is defined there as “the creation and maintenance of an unequal economical, cultural and territorial relationship usually between states and often in the form of an empire. ... a primarily western concept.” Colonialism then is “a practice of domination which involves the subjugation of one people to another.” The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy [on-line.] [quoted in 12 January 2011]

of imperialism – the annexed areas – should be conceptualized as colonies also in the European continent.⁵⁶⁵

On the other hand, it has been claimed that colonialism does not explain the situation within the multinational empires of Europe. In Europe the new annexes, of for example Russia, were usually economically and politically more developed than the metropole in the nineteenth century, and the breaking up of the empire immediately affected the situation in these areas. However, the uneven power-political relations shaped the political thinking of both dominant and dominated groups also within the European empires, just as they did in the far-away colonies.⁵⁶⁶

Imperialism and colonialism were thus not necessarily opposite powers to nationalism and the nation-state apparatus: the new nation-states emerged often from the old multi-national conglomerations, where they had learnt to define their existence in terms of the interaction between the metropole and the border areas. In addition, imperialistic ideas sometimes continued to define the relationships within the body politic of new nation-states. It has been suggested, for example, that ‘the rhetoric of the will of the people’⁵⁶⁷ defining the relationship between the political and the cultural elite in Finland and the urban and agrarian working classes, has its roots in imperialism and colonialism, and that the attitude of the elite towards ‘the people’ should be defined as a form of inner colonialism.⁵⁶⁸

For the narrator of the Theatre History the New Theatre occupied by theatre groups coming from Sweden stood for the continuing cultural dominance of an alien, non-Finnish power in the heart of Helsinki, and thus symbolized the former colonial relationship between Sweden and Finland. During the nineteenth century, the nature of this relationship had given spark to several waves of disputes about the Finnish cultural ‘indebtedness’ to Sweden. The discussants were either emphasizing the significance of the Swedish time for the development of the Finnish culture (Z. Topelius) or arguing that the medieval

⁵⁶⁵ Rantanen & Ruuska 2009, 33–35.

⁵⁶⁶ Rantanen & Ruuska 2009, 34–37.

⁵⁶⁷ See my discussion about Yrjö Koskinen in Chapter 2.

⁵⁶⁸ Rantanen & Ruuska 2009, 36; Ruuska 2009, 78.

Swedish 'conquest' had destroyed the original Finnish freedom (J.V. Snellman, Yrjö Koskinen).⁵⁶⁹

According to the formulations of the Theatre History, Aspelin-Haapkylä shared the view of the latter group, although he also picked up certain great men from the Swedish history to serve as points of identification for the Finns, too, such as the abovementioned Swedish king Gustav Adolf.⁵⁷⁰ On the other hand, emphasizing the celebration of Gustav Adolf at the Arkadia Theatre could also reflect the polarization of the language quarrels after the parliamentary reform. The Swedish-nationalists started to celebrate The Swedish Day (Svenska dagen) in 1908 on the anniversary of Gustav Adolf's death.⁵⁷¹ Stressing the patriotic nature of the tricentenary celebrations of the aforementioned king at the Finnish Theatre is yet another way of appropriating the past of the Swedish-nationalists.

However, as Aspelin-Haapkylä well knew, the recruitment of the troupes performing at the New Theatre was in the hands of the Board of Directors of the theatre. The aforementioned criticism was also aimed at them, as well as at the audience of the theatre tolerating the Swedish-Swedish accent on the stage. In addition, the narrator participated in the Europe-wide phenomenon of defining one's nation (or ethnic group) by relating it to its "Others": the New Theatre, its staff and audience are defined pejoratively throughout the History: the audience, for example, belonged to the "class of masters" and to the "polished society" and the repertoire it favoured was "frivolous" or "cheap".⁵⁷² The rules of comparison imply that their antonyms should be applied to the Finnish Theatre Company.

⁵⁶⁹ A good summary of the theme can be found in Engman 2009, 262–272.

⁵⁷⁰ Here Aspelin-Haapkylä seems to be following the professor, poet and playwright Fredrick Cygnaeus, who in 1863 wrote about the Finns as "the people who were meant to be reigned over by the great Gustav Adolf and Gustav III". Quoted in Engman 2009, 266.

⁵⁷¹ Häggman 2012, 173.

⁵⁷² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 38, 47 (footnote), 251, 412. See also the discussion of the play *Pombal and the Jesuits* in this chapter. In the first volume Aspelin-Haapkylä is also referring to the "arbitrariness" of the Swedish Theatre and the need to "free" the Finnish-nationalists from it. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 176. Although the "Other" is mainly a domestic one in the Theatre History, these definitions can be connected to "the relational character" of collective identity, as Chris Lorenz has it: for instance, the discourse on German national identity in the early nineteenth century was conducted by opposing characteristics of the Germans to the characteristics of the French and Slavs. Joep Leersen has pointed out the new kind of "temperamental blueprint" attached to different nationalities in the nineteenth century: the Enlightenment anthropology had been universal, but became now concerned with the differences among human societies. Lorenz 2008, 25; Leersen 2008, 79. The stage was one of the central places to display national stereotypes: according to Frank Peeters, foreigners and especially the French were systematically portrayed as people of questionable character:

And here we come back to the question of the inner colonialism. Even though the Finnish language gained a foothold with accelerating speed, the Finnish-speaking intelligentsia of Aspelin-Haapkylä's generation still defined its existence in terms of the domination of the foreign – Swedish – language at the beginning of the twentieth century. Despite the actual political pressure, the Russian language and culture never presented such an immediate threat to the Finnish national identity. The main antagonism in the Theatre History is that between the New Theatre and the Finnish Theatre Company reflecting and symbolizing the linguistic division of the Finnish cultural and political life both at the time of the writing and during the period depicted. The third theatre in the capital, the Russian Imperial Theatre, does not play much of a role in the narrative.

Towards a Bright Future

There are several binary oppositions around which the emplotment of the story of the Finnish-language stage revolves. One of these is that of the old, shabby, wooden Arkadia Theatre, where the Finnish Theatre Company performed from 1872 to 1902, and the modern New Theatre used by a Swedish troupe. The other one is the difference between the Arkadia and the new national-romantic stone theatre erected for the Finnish Theatre Company beside the main railway station in Helsinki at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Arkadia Theatre is at the same time a very concrete symbol of the underdog position of the Finnish-language theatre and the modest foundation from which the national dramatic art stemmed from, making its progress more tangible.

In addition, depicting the premises offers the narrator a defined space, almost like a stage in a theatre, where the reader can observe the protagonists moving around, taking positions in different kinds of scenic arrangements and *tableaux vivants* in a surrounding most of the readers could immediately recognize and picture. Describing concrete movement seems to be one of the

bluffers, bankrupts on the run, immoral dowry hunters, seducers et cetera in Belgian theatres in the nineteenth century. Peeters 2004, 88–89.

ways to create emotionally engaging narrativizations of the national past in *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*. However, describing interiors might not only be an effective way to build a scene but also a reflection of the politically and culturally troubled period Aspelin-Haapkylä is both writing about and writing from within: the narrative emphasizes the walls, the borders of a defined area where the Finnish-nationalists were moving around in their celebrations and daily activities, enclosing them in the safety of the like-minded.

The “Troublesome Fuss” or the Underdog Theatre

According to the Finnish-nationalistic plans of the 1860’s, the Finnish-language theatre or opera would have formed one department of the so-far Swedish language New Theatre, the other one being either a Swedish-language drama department or opera. However, when these plans failed, the recently established Finnish Theatre Company first rented an old, wooden Arkadia Theatre in what was then the fringes of the city centre (where the House of Parliament is nowadays situated), and then bought it in 1875.⁵⁷³

In December 1881 a “troublesome fuss”⁵⁷⁴ took place at the theatre. The representation of this episode starts again *in medias res*, using the letter written by Emilie Bergbom to her friend Betty Elfving, “On Tuesday 20th December Emilie Bergbom wrote to Ms Elfving, ‘The whole autumn has gone so very well --- but now an accident has struck us like a bomb---’.”⁵⁷⁵ After this the narrator gives a detailed account of the fire inspection of the wooden theatre, the result of which was an order to close the theatre down until a new inspection was organized in late January 1882.⁵⁷⁶

There were several devastating fires in gas-lit theatres in European cities in the nineteenth century, and the narrator is actually pointing to the one in Vienna in December 1881 as the ultimate cause for the inspection.⁵⁷⁷ However, the episode mainly demonstrates the underdog position of the Finnish-language

⁵⁷³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 182–185.

⁵⁷⁴ The narrator uses the Finnish word “jupakka” which could also be translated as a squabble or altercation. However, the word fuss best describes the understating nature of the choice of word. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 102.

⁵⁷⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 101.

⁵⁷⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 102–105.

⁵⁷⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 102.

theatre in the Swedish-speaking capital of the Grand Duchy, at the mercy of the ruthless machinations of its opponents. The narrator uses words such as “fuss”, points out that the inspection “stole” the theatre of a month’s working time, the ban to use the premises was not “reasonable” and, in addition, the “officious” municipal authorities and the New Theatre, that had received an application from the Finnish Theatre Company to perform there while the Arkadia was closed, “mobilized their whole machinery” to prevent the theatre from acting. The exclamation marks abound again.⁵⁷⁸

As a result the Finnish-nationalists started to talk about a place where they could live independently, “without being scared for one reason or another.”⁵⁷⁹ The first hints at the ending of the story-line, the building of the National Theatre, are thus delivered at the beginning of the third volume. However, while the theatre was still on the way there, it was constantly defined by emphasizing its diminutive dimensions: as small, vulnerable, young. Using terms pointing to the size and age is yet another way of creating contrasts: small and young but still achieving constant artistic victories, especially when compared to the Swedish-language main theatre of the capital.

However, the most concrete contrast in the story-line is the change from the shabby, wooden Arkadia in the margins of the town to the bright and shiny stone theatre in the heart of the capital, a contrast that underlines the story-line of the long struggle in unfair conditions and the ultimate elevation.

In the Corridors of the New Premises

The building of the National Theatre is represented as the beautiful achievement of 30-years’ hard work and as a symbol of the victorious national dramatic art in the fourth volume. Thus it also receives an extremely detailed treatment of 22 pages including all the phases of the site negotiations, the different committees dealing with finances and construction contracts, the construction work itself, the festivities for laying the foundation stone “in the

⁵⁷⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 102–104.

⁵⁷⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 104.

bright light of the morning sun under the blue skies with the spring verdancy of the Kaisaniemi Park in the background.”⁵⁸⁰

It has been argued, that in verbal narrative, as opposed to cinematic narrative, the description of the setting is always optional.⁵⁸¹ However, precisely because it is optional, the fact of describing it (in a detailed manner) creates a connection between the setting and the event, a connection that endows both these elements with significance. The narrator inscribes in the historical scene the attitude the reader is presumed to adopt towards the historical event being enacted⁵⁸²: in the case of the Theatre History the spring of the national theatrical art after the long, bitter winter. Accordingly, the intended climax of the fourth volume – the description of the opening festivities of the National Theatre – again takes place on a “fresh, beautiful day in the springtime”.⁵⁸³

The opening line of the story of the inauguration of the National Theatre is an indirect reference to the *Kalevala*: the festivities took place on 9th April (1902), which was the centenary of the birth of Elias Lönnrot, the compiler of the *Kalevela*⁵⁸⁴, thus constituting the day as belonging to the chain of great national events. The 10-page description of this single day is a condensation of all the central elements of monument building and narrativization of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History.

It all starts as a piece of drama: four days before the opening festivities the fire inspectors viewed the theatre building and compiled a long list of defects. In the Theatre History the inspection and subsequent requirements are represented as an intention to hinder the opening of the theatre. There is an emblematic villain – one of the inspectors who had always stood against the Finnish-language theatre, as we are told in a footnote – returning from the inspection, rubbing his hands, uttering, “Now we really have made sure that the

⁵⁸⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 162. About the construction works Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 148–170.

⁵⁸¹ Seymour Chatman has made this observation by comparing verbal and cinematic story-spaces. According to him, the reader “sees” in his/her reading mind’s eye only what is named; verbal narratives can be completely ‘nonscenic’ whereas the movies have difficulty evoking this kind of nonplace. Chatman 1978, 106.

⁵⁸² Chatman 1978, 106; Genette 1980, 215–216; Rigney 1990, 76–77.

⁵⁸³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 187.

⁵⁸⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 183.

opening festivities cannot take place on the intended day!”⁵⁸⁵ However, the Finnish-nationalists set to the task of answering the requirements “with desperate courage --- and, striving day and night, the impossible became possible.”⁵⁸⁶ The clearance was received at 7 pm on Tuesday night and the opening gala took place on Wednesday afternoon and evening.

After this the narrator encloses the programmes of the opening performances, including the names of the actors and actresses, thus recording the official part of the festivities. Then he turns to the Bergbom siblings whom we see in their new office at the theatre having coffee with the staff.⁵⁸⁷ The representation continues with the description of the audience wandering in and admiring the “roomy, comfortable corridors” and the colours of the interiors and enjoying the “warm, cosy atmosphere of the house --- It was magnificently spacious and yet not too big – it was ‘neither too big nor too small’ as the saying goes---”⁵⁸⁸ followed by the description of the actual performances and their enthusiastic reception. As a closure we see Kaarlo Bergbom entering the soirée after the performances almost as Moses crossing the Red Sea, “---the audience divided up to form an open corridor for the creator of the National Theatre and greeted him rejoicingly, waving their handkerchiefs.”⁵⁸⁹

Striking in the representation of the opening festivities are the multiple references to moving around and admiring and sensing the spaciousness of the new premises.⁵⁹⁰ The depiction of these sensations is certainly based on the concrete experiences of those present, including the author-historian himself; however, they can also be seen as a symbol of the widening horizons of the national dramatic art. On the whole, this kind of depiction of changing the place and entering something new marks an entrance to the new world, where the old theatre building soon became a fading memory. The reader also witnesses almost biblically phrased scenes on the corridors, “where two or more came together – two or more of those who had participated in the 30-year-battle,

⁵⁸⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 183–184.

⁵⁸⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 184.

⁵⁸⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 186–188.

⁵⁸⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 189.

⁵⁸⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 192.

⁵⁹⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 188–191.

wherein the national stage had won a permanent bedrock and a dignified home – there the hearts were beating and the eyes triumphantly shining.”⁵⁹¹

The narrator describes both the official and the unofficial sides of the event. He saves events and documents from oblivion by incorporating them into his narrative; he records the feeling of the patriotic atmosphere by painting a vivid image of the meandering crowds in the theatre seeing and sensing the premises. He also aims at consolidating the memory of the day by pronouncedly literary means: we see hands being maliciously rubbed together in the desire to prevent the evident from happening and, in the end, the people moving around the new building with “beating hearts” and “shiny eyes”.

The powerful picture of the moving crowds is used again in the fourth volume, when the narrator describes the farewell party organized for the Bergbom siblings at the National Theatre. The story-line in the last volume centers mainly on the difficulties the theatre faced: the ever-growing critical voices demanding a new director to replace the elderly Bergboms, a new repertoire, better actors, and also the pressure of the continuing financial troubles, as previously described. The emotional representation of the party balances this pessimistic tone. The reader gets an impression of a highly personal account, an autobiographical reminiscence, “It felt as if the impressions of the changing ideas and moods of the artistic work of the past decades had risen up from the recesses of souls, risen up renewed.”⁵⁹²

At the heart of the narrator’s representation of the festivities is the juxtaposition between the continuous movement of the procession of actors, actresses and other staff of the theatre across the scene towards the seated, waiting Bergboms. It is yet another textual painting, or rather a silent, fairy-tale-like pantomime, and the narrator emphasizes the magical, mysterious atmosphere of the event,

“The characters [of the plays] Bergbom had shown to the audience appeared one after another almost as if waved in by a magic wand from behind the props – whence the figures and phenomena of the stage always emerge as if coming from the mysterious,

⁵⁹¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 189–190.

⁵⁹² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 268.

inexhaustible supply of the universe. --- and they headed towards the hoary siblings sitting amongst the spring time roses, and they honoured them, one by one, by bowing gratefully.”⁵⁹³

To make sure that every reader could interpret the meaning of the scene correctly, and to complete the magical impression the narrator is citing four verses of the 41st poem of the *Kalevala* depicting the magician Väinämöinen playing his zither (kantele), every human being and creature gathering by his feet crying.⁵⁹⁴ Indeed, the *Kalevala* glues the two important events of the last volume together: a reference to its compiler Elias Lönnrot starts the account of the opening of the National Theatre, and a citation from the *Kalevala* ends the representation of the ‘Bergbomian era’. In the last poem of the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen departs from his lands, predicting that one day his people will need him again. He disappears, but leaves his instrument and the songs for his people.⁵⁹⁵ The representation offered in the Theatre History implies that Bergbom’s resignation should be seen as a parallel story to this.

A Tribute to the Bergboms

There are several substories and paragraphs in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History in which very literary means of representation have been used, and which consequently glide almost into the sphere of novelistic writing, as has been demonstrated in this chapter. In the last pages⁵⁹⁶ of the long concluding chapter of the fourth volume we enter an area of very literary history-writing, almost like an essayistic sketch of the Bergboms. It is a very dynamic description of the siblings in their everyday tasks, leaving their home early in the morning, Kaarlo Bergbom wearing a soft black felt hat, his hands folded behind his back; the author-historian records the inside of the demolished Arkadia Theatre describing the stage during the rehearsals and the office where the meetings of the Board were held and contributes once more to his characterizations of the

⁵⁹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 267–268.

⁵⁹⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 268.

⁵⁹⁵ Järvinen 2010, 31.

⁵⁹⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 290–309.

Bergbom siblings. Verbs denoting movement dominate the description again: the Bergboms are “dashing”, “hustling”, “withdrawing” to negotiate, “jumping”, “inspecting”, “forwarding bills”, “talking”, “consoling”, “advising” et cetera.⁵⁹⁷

The depiction of the Bergbom siblings is placed in the epilogue, outside the scholarly narrative itself, which might imply that it is Aspelin-Haapkylä’s own contribution to the remembrances or folklore about the theatre. However, in its description of the interior (the Arkadia Theatre) and persons occupying it with their activities the concluding chapter is also linked to the representation of the opening festivities of the National Theatre, and also to the tribute the personnel paid to the Bergboms on their retirement. In other words, these places form the core story-line of the final volume of the History, its ideal emplotment, all denoting a new beginning and pointing to the future. However, they also emphatically point to the past: to the need to remember and value all the efforts and all the work done by the previous generations, who, in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s understanding of history, act as important examples for the present and for the future. This is also how the Theatre History ends, in the figure of Kaarlo Bergbom, “This is how he became the man who, even in these times of extreme hardships, can act as an example for us all.”⁵⁹⁸

Historical Representation and its Fictions

In the main story-line of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History the underdog theatre – like the rightful heir – rises slowly to its ultimate destiny and is crowned as the National Theatre of Finland. The significant themes discussed above are illustrations of this story-line. They shape decisively the reading experience and thus the memory of the history of the Finnish-language stage, due to the narrator’s narrative investment in them.

The narrative investment is not only a question of space; more important are the emotional expressions (wordings, exclamation marks, rhetorical questions and such), textual paintings or arranged scenes, binary oppositions. Polyphonic scenes (dialogues, free indirect speech) picture the Finnish-

⁵⁹⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 306–308.

⁵⁹⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 309.

nationalistic community and its mental landscape, and endorse the narrator's interpretations. Verbs denoting active agency (people streaming in the corridors, persons rubbing hands together) and the changes in verb tenses bring the past feelings and elevations, discussions and disputes into the present tying these two temporal dimensions together and making the emotions attached to them topical again.

The places where the reader pays attention to the choices of words or labels, and especially to the possibility to phrase them differently – whether the narrator is referring to a “thing” or to a “quarrel”, for example – are politically and culturally loaded moments in the story-line, crucial for its interpretation. In Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History these episodes are often used to construct the image of a community of national workers and to compare them with their opponents. In that sense they can be understood as typifying and exemplifying scenes; they enable the readers to typify a particular political situation they are facing by seeing it in terms of the binary oppositions the narrator has created.⁵⁹⁹ In addition, the discourse of national unity is applied to create a picture of the ideal national community so crucial for any national accomplishment or, on the more general level, national development in Aspelin-Haapkylä's metanarrative. In the spirit of the aforementioned J.V. Snellman: the true nationalist sacrifices his or her personal aspirations and concentrates on the common good defined by the upper class authorities.

However, the past offered resistance to Aspelin-Haapkylä's interpretation of it in certain places. The adversaries in the emplotment – the socialists, the Young Finns, the Swedish-speaking population and other liberals⁶⁰⁰ – were indeed necessary to depict the ideal Finnish-nationalistic community, but their real historical voices, when breaking through the tight surface of the narrative, also create the tension of the twin plot of idealistic representation of the past and the reality of the past events: the linear development of the national dramatic art and the accumulating criticism of it, which gives the story-line the flavour of the gradual decline.

⁵⁹⁹ Ann Rigney has suggested a similar reading of Aesop's story *The Fox and Her Fleas*. Rigney 1992b, 269–270.

⁶⁰⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 297, 468.

An important ingredient in the above-discussed key episodes is the audience's response. On the whole, it is impossible to trace how the audience and the individual spectators experienced the performances with a haphazard exception. What we do have are reviews that often also refer to the reactions of the audience and register the acknowledgements the actors and actresses received. The representation in the Theatre History builds on these reviews – some of which the author-historian himself had written. However, there are occasions, such as the premiere of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, where the representation of the atmosphere in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is more abundant and specific than the one in the newspapers. This might imply that the narrator is relying on his own memories. However, instead of pondering which performances Aspelin-Haapkylä might have attended or which performances really drove the audience to ecstatic response, one should ask in which occasions the narrator stresses the atmosphere of the performance and the participation from the audience's side. The responses are described with particular enthusiasm when it comes to Kivi's *Lea*, Topelius's *Regina von Emmeritz* and *Kyypron prinsessa (The Princess of Cypren)*, the opera performances and the plays by Shakespeare. These are the uniting performances, where the ideal dramatic art and the national community come together. The performance by the audience is as important as what happens on the stage, and this approbative participation from the side of the audience is occasionally depicted with strikingly strong colours.

Furthermore, what is common to many of the key episodes is their high level of narrativity, or, sometimes their strong imaginary character. But how should we define them: by discussing the 'literary' quality of the Theatre History or by going even further, claiming that the narrator glides into the territory of fiction in certain points of his narrative?

According to Ann Rigney, connecting the term 'fiction' to history-writing is often seen as the first step towards abandoning the very *raison d'être* of professional history practice and consequently many historians have preferred to keep the conceptual border between factual history-writing and

imagination/fiction closed.⁶⁰¹ However, as she points out, there are at least four different ways to use the word fiction:

- That which is constructed (from Latin: *ingere*) → fictive (adj.)
- That which is invented, not real → fictitious, imaginary (adj.)
- A particular attitude to information whereby invention/make-believe is seen as legitimate → fictional (adj.)
- In the sense of novel and the novelistic, i.e. the literary genre.⁶⁰²

Bearing these differences in mind, one could argue that the challenging concept of fiction could be used as a tool to understand the meaning of the kind of episodes discussed above, denoting authorial invention and imagination in the middle of the narrative that otherwise obeys the representational rules of scholarly history-writing. Indeed, for the kind of historiography Rigney is studying, that is the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century French and English history-writing (referred to briefly in Chapter 2 of the present study), the third point in the list is relevant. It can also be applied to the piece of historiography I am looking into in this study.

The adjective ‘fictional’ can be used to point to the specific assertions or a group of them *at variance with fact* in the historical narration. However, this does not mean that they are strictly speaking ‘imaginary’. Historians using this narrative method admit that they have imagined particular thoughts or speeches but they are nevertheless fashioned on the basis of evidence, and, more importantly, presented as something which could in theory be proved or disproved if more evidence were to become available. Indeed, the fact that historians actually have recourse to this “as if” of hypotheses is again symptomatic of the fact that, unlike novelists who can make assertions at will, they are not free to design the world they represent.⁶⁰³

Rigney’s examples come from the French historian Augustin Thierry’s aforementioned study *Narratives of the Merovingian Era* (1840). She discusses the invented speeches Thierry has compiled for his study – for example the

⁶⁰¹ Rigney 2001, 5–6.

⁶⁰² Rigney 2001, 5–6.

⁶⁰³ Rigney 1996, 32, 39–41.

speech delivered by King Chilperic to his wife after the nuptial night. However, where the novelist transfers information at will and without acknowledgement in the text, Thierry does so openly and circumspectly. It is a reasoned and unresolvable hypothesis about an actual, but no longer knowable, event ("this is probably what did happen"). Rigney also points out that in putting invented words into the mouth of Chilperic, Thierry in effect fell back on the older convention that allowed for invented dialogue in historiographical texts.⁶⁰⁴

Aspelin-Haapkylä is writing within the same convention of tailor-made and, if we use the distinctions from above, fictional scenes. However, the narrator of the Theatre History is not, like Thierry, marking those places where he is entering the hypothetical, invention/make-believe areas of reasoning. In this sense it is possible to refer to those places not only as fictional but also as fictive, regardless of their possible roots in the real world of the past. And, consequently, these episodes in the story-line are the places of uttermost plausibility, because of their close similitude to fictional literature, where the reader is supposed to be absorbed, abandon the criticism and believe in the story.⁶⁰⁵

We could perhaps also use a further distinction between true-to-actuality and true-to-meaning in order to understand Aspelin-Haapkylä's narrative better. In 'true-to-actuality' representation it is believed that all the particularities recounted are true to what is known of the past. In 'true-to-meaning' representation the underlying interpretation of what happened is considered true.⁶⁰⁶

What distinguishes these two is above all the nature of the authority on which they are based: 'true-to-actuality' claims fidelity to historical sources, 'true-to-meaning' claims to have insight into the underlying configuration of past events, and their authority is based to a lesser degree on evidence and much more on confidence in the understanding and learning of the interpreter. In modern historiography the emphasis has been laid on fidelity to evidence and exhaustive and methodic research as a precondition of interpretive validity; in

⁶⁰⁴ Rigney 2001, 87.

⁶⁰⁵ Pikkanen 2010, 219.

⁶⁰⁶ Rigney 2001, 26. Rigney is referring to Nancy Partner.

earlier periods the emphasis was more on usable interpretations of the past that rang true.⁶⁰⁷

Aspelin-Haapkylä was writing at the intersection of different traditions of history-writing. He declared both in his preface and in the concluding part that he had told the history of the Finnish Theatre Company “correctly, simply and according to the events themselves”.⁶⁰⁸ Consequently, the narrator used scholarly conventions and an extensive source apparatus⁶⁰⁹ to claim ‘true-to-actuality’. The reception mostly praised the picture Aspelin-Haapkylä had created⁶¹⁰, and did not oppose the literary narrative means used in the Theatre History. In other words, the narrator was also constructing a world that was ‘true-to-meaning’: where his understanding of the underlying meaning of the events and episodes and their connections was the mould or the template into which the narrative substance was poured and whence it came out in the right shape, and the residue⁶¹¹ (for example sources considered not important or containing claims that did not fit the picture) was left aside.

⁶⁰⁷ Rigney 2001, 26.

⁶⁰⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), II; 1910 (IV), 291.

⁶⁰⁹ I will discuss this theme in Chapter 6.

⁶¹⁰ The reception will be discussed in Chapter 7.

⁶¹¹ Rigney 2001, 100.

5 THE VOCABULARY OF NATIONALISM

The period between 1809 and 1863 in the Grand Duchy of Finland was for a long time referred to as 'the night of the state' [valtiöyö] by the Finnish historians. This points to the fact that the Diet was not summoned after the 'Diet'⁶¹² in Porvoo in 1809, where the Finnish estates gave their oath of loyalty to the new emperor, the Russian Tsar, who, in return, confirmed their rights. The next time the Tsar agreed to summon the Diet was in 1863. However, calling this period 'the night of the state' is conceptually connecting two distinct events taking place in drastically different political situations and making them a chain.⁶¹³ This is just one example of how historians may create meaningful relationships by selecting and synthesizing masses of material with the help of collogatory concepts such as the abovementioned 'night of the state', by deciding whether an engagement constituted a 'skirmish' or a 'battle', and by illustrating large-scale social phenomena with specific examples of behaviour or attitude.⁶¹⁴

The key episodes of Aspelin-Haapkylä's story-line were examined in the previous pages. Some obvious choices the narrator had made about the vocabulary and the grammatical and rhetorical figures of speech and thought were discussed in connection with these episodes. In what follows I will further explore the smaller units of his narrative: rhetorical figures⁶¹⁵, expressions, motifs and some of the literary topoi.

Rhetorical language is often simply defined as the use of persuasive means to convince the audience or the readers.⁶¹⁶ The narrator of the Theatre

⁶¹² Osmo Jussila has pointed out that what happened in Porvoo in 1809 was more a medieval tradition of 'Huldigung' or 'hyllning' than a Diet. However, in the 1860's it was important to emphasize that it had been a proper Diet and thus a direct continuation of the Swedish political system with its legislative basis. Jussila 2004a, 73; Jussila 2004b, 17–18.

⁶¹³ Jussila 2004a, 14.

⁶¹⁴ Rigney 2001, 25.

⁶¹⁵ 'Figure' is a generic term for all figurative language, both for linguistic effects which affect meaning and for those that are used for emphasis or ornament. Figures of speech involve a change in the structure of a sentence or group of words. Figures of speech can be either grammatical or rhetorical (for example the doubling of words or sentences; describing a vice as a virtue, or vice versa). Figures of thought are concerned with the conception rather than the presentation of a thought (for example irony, rhetorical questions). Richards 2008, 181–182.

⁶¹⁶ Richards 2008, 3.

History also uses certain metaphors, expressions and motifs repeatedly all through the History, both to construct connections between different events and characters thus binding the story-line together, and to persuade the reader of his interpretation of the history of the Finnish-language stage. These repeated words and figures can be collected under the rubric 'the vocabulary of nationalism': if the topic indicators at the outset of each volume create a dictionary-kind of effect⁶¹⁷, then the recurring words and motifs form a national vocabulary, a set of words and metaphors, attributes and models of behaviour any national institution and each nationalist should fill. And if one continues the word play, the grammar of nationalism is the metanarrative behind Aspelin-Haapkylä's narrative, stemming mainly from J.V. Snellman, whose definitions of Finnishness were discussed above, and all the later redefinitions of the Snellmanian nationness.

The known literary commonplaces (clichés) are an important part of any historian's vocabulary. Historians also experiment with their own literary means of verbal expression in the creation of their specific narratives. This is also the case of the Theatre History: the narrator partly uses an old reservoir of images drawn from the literary traditions from the period, and partly utilizes metaphors specifically suited for discussing the theatre as the ideal national community.

One of the well-known clichés, the literary commonplace of the long standing, 'the ship of state'⁶¹⁸, was widely used in the Finnish newspapers at the beginning of the twentieth century: the Finnish nation was depicted as a family trying to steer its small ship ashore amidst a raging eastern storm.⁶¹⁹ The same cliché also appears in the Theatre History, although it is not the state, but the Finnish-language theatre that is navigating the high seas,

"The theatre sailed headwind again. One could still sense the waves of last year's dearth, the usual audience visited the theatre lazily, and the repertoire did not attract strangers. In addition,

⁶¹⁷ See p. 101 in the present study.

⁶¹⁸ See also Ann Rigney on the use of this cliché in the histories of the French Revolution. Rigney 1990, 44–46.

⁶¹⁹ Ala 1999, 152.

there was the competition from the Ida Aalberg tournee performing at the Aleksanteri Theatre.”⁶²⁰

‘The ship of theatre’ is surrounded by the rolling sea of natural phenomena the director could not influence (deaths, famines, social unrest), an indifferent, “lukewarm” audience⁶²¹ and competition from other theatres and troupes. A ship struggling to get ahead is a strong metaphor, creating also an image of the captain and the crew of the vessel, steering resolutely towards their destination, even when they are not specifically explicated.⁶²² Significantly this concrete, engaging and easily understood metaphor appears at the beginning of the fourth volume, when the narrator sets to describe the period when the conditions became very difficult for the theatre, its director and its Board.

Yet another literary commonplace or a standard literary topos used in the Theatre History is the deathbed scene. First we see Emilie Bergbom by her mother’s bed in the first volume, and then the actress Ida Aalberg by Emilie Bergbom’s bed in the hospital in the last volume.⁶²³ The deathbed scene sends binding messages to posterity, and can be combined with another literary topos to increase its effect, for example that of the glorious, fallen hero⁶²⁴; a topos also used in the case of the Bergboms, in spite of their achievements. The voice from the deathbed, coming almost from beyond the grave, has its compelling authority, but in the Theatre History the dying person is less significant than the one summoned to attend her. Both Emilie Bergbom and Ida Aalberg are made to make promises: Emilie Bergbom was to abandon “her dearest dream to become a poet” which anticipates the number of sacrifices she was about to make for the national cause, whereas Ida Aalberg, who had left the theatre in the 1880’s, is didactically reminded that she was Finnish and should work for her people, not for herself.

⁶²⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 15. There are synecdochical references to the same metaphor (the strong winds surrounding the theatre) also earlier, see for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 175, 198.

⁶²¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 243.

⁶²² Rigney asks, in relation to the metaphor of ‘the ship of state’ in the French histories of the revolution, “Who stands at the helm in the different circumstances? --- Who should stand at the helm? --- Who is on board? --- What are the forces which help it towards its destination?” Rigney 1990, 45–46.

⁶²³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 50; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 276.

⁶²⁴ Rigney 1990, 20–21.

Many metaphors used in literature and also in history-writing stem from a range of natural phenomena.⁶²⁵ Their messages are recognizable and easy to interpret, and Aspelin-Haapkylä also illustrates and makes concrete his narrative by referring to nature: the period before Kaarlo Bergbom arrived home and the Finnish Theatre Company was established is "the hopeless period of hibernation"⁶²⁶ and its opposite season is the aforementioned "spring of the national art"⁶²⁷ when the new premises of the National Theatre were opened. In addition, the abolition of the Finnish Opera is not a failure but a "sunset" and the subsequent period in the life of the Drama Department a "dawn".⁶²⁸ After the dawn the Finnish-nationalists began to enjoy the "fruits"⁶²⁹ of their nationalist work.

Besides the abovementioned commonplaces and metaphors, the main ingredients of the vocabulary of nationalism in the Theatre History are metaphors denoting the theatre as a pioneering family cultivating the ready but deprived terrain of the nation, thus building a steady home for the national art, the rhetoric of sacrifice and other religious motifs, and phrases emphasizing the authentic, peculiar character of the theatre life in the Grand Duchy of Finland, which in reality relied strongly on the transnational theatre culture.

The Home of the National Art

Part of the emplotment emphasizing the inevitability of the establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company, and consequently of the National Theatre, is the description of the Bergbom siblings at the beginning of the 1870's before the Finnish Theatre Company was established. Kaarlo Bergbom's academic career did not seem to be moving in the right direction, and Emilie Bergbom, who had mothered her smaller siblings after the early death of their mother, was seeking a way to earn a living after the youngest of the siblings, Augusta, married in 1871.⁶³⁰ The narrator encloses their uncertainty in the face of the future in the

⁶²⁵ Rigney 1990, 44.

⁶²⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 192.

⁶²⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 162, 187.

⁶²⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 476.

⁶²⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 29.

⁶³⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 122–124; Sainio 2001.

same sentence, moving horizontally on the narrative, and hinting at the solution from his omniscient vantage point, "We are leaving Emilie Bergbom to the state we described, the painfulness of which she had to endure yet another year, unaware of her future task, and we turn to Kaarlo to see how his occupation and hopes also stood on the shaking ground abroad."⁶³¹

However, the trembling terrain beneath Kaarlo Bergbom's feet was soon turned to solid ground, "(H)e acquired a firm basis, building on his independent observations and studies, and standing on that basis he could trust in the success of his enterprise and encourage his surroundings---."⁶³² Bergbom was not a professional theatre director to start with, which might be one of the reasons for the economical troubles the theatre company very quickly ran into. However, in Aspelin-Haapkylä's metanarrative and the story-line it influenced he was the bedrock on which to establish the Finnish-language theatre. As mentioned previously, in the Theatre History it was Bergbom's maturation which brought the theatre about, not the political margins which the Finnish-nationalists had been driven into.

After the shaky marshes had been turned into firm ground, the first actors and actresses – the trailblazers, as they are called – set to their work, and the Finnish-language theatre began to "cultivate" the spiritual ground of the nation and "shed the seeds" of the national culture.⁶³³ The metaphor of the pioneers taming the wilderness is strong, reflecting the experiences of Aspelin-Haapkylä and his generation of Finnish-nationalists – those who conducted the linguistic conversion – who seized at creating a Finnish-language equivalent to the Swedish-language high culture, and the subsequent double relationship they developed with rural Finland surrounding the capital and the small coastal and inland towns, where the university-educated intelligentsia mainly dwelled.⁶³⁴ Their nationalism had been born in urban surroundings (at the universities and cultural societies) but their national sentiments and images had a firm rural basis, created by novelists, poets and artists depicting the national landscapes

⁶³¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 234–235.

⁶³² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 242.

⁶³³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 2, 7, 135, 473.

⁶³⁴ Kai Häggman has noted the same fascination about the agriculture-related metaphors in the public speeches of the Finnish-nationalists. Häggman 2012, 188.

and national characters, and reinforced by concrete personal experiences of the 'authentic', that is rural Finland.⁶³⁵

However, the geographical, cultural and even the linguistic distance between the urban elite and the rural population made the countryside the exotic 'Other', penetrable by the forces of civilization. The Finnish-language population occupying rural Finland was the 'authentic people' the Finnish-nationalists appealed to in their rhetoric in the nineteenth century, but at the same time they could not remain as they were: they had to be civilized and educated into nationness, in order to create a culturally and linguistically coherent nation within the borders of the Grand Duchy. As mentioned previously, this process of cultivation would also, ideally, keep them stable in their social positions and prevent the social unrest from spreading to Finland.

The depiction of the Drama Department touring the countryside in the Theatre History reflects well this complicated relationship: on the one hand its rural surroundings become idealized, and the harsh reality so vividly depicted in the tour director Oskar Vilho's (Gröneqvist)⁶³⁶ letters is mainly without references, on the other hand the narrator emphasizes the gratefulness and also the childlike amazement expressed by the peasant audience attending the performances.⁶³⁷

The representation of the united front of the early settlers of the national, that is the Finnish-language, cultural landscape is further elaborated by terms denoting engagements or marriages when actors about to join the theatre are described.⁶³⁸ The actors married the nation when they joined the theatre; consequently, when the narrator describes their contemplations of leaving it – for example when the actress Hilda Heerman got engaged to be married in 1875

⁶³⁵ For example hiking around rural Finland admiring the landscapes and authentic people (although the reality was often different from the expectations) or settling there for some months trying to learn the language, as for example, Kaarlo Bergbom did. About Bergbom's trips, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 72–74, 84–87.

⁶³⁶ See for example Oskar Vilho to Kaarlo Bergbom 12.9.1874, 15.5.1877, 16.9.1877, 20.10.1878. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collection 53.

⁶³⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 61–62, 75, 429, 443.

⁶³⁸ The opera singers Emmy Strömer and L. N. Achté both "accepted the proposal" to join the theatre, and the father of a promising actress refused the offer by the tour director Vilho. It seems as if the theatre was making offers of marriage, which were either accepted or declined. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 26, 195.

– he refers to “an abduction” or “a robbery”.⁶³⁹ In addition, the artists and audience “surrendered” themselves⁶⁴⁰ to the theatre, and the actors are repeatedly defined in terms of their “faithfulness”⁶⁴¹ (or sometimes the lack of it) to the national cause.

The emphasis on loyalty can indeed be connected to the intimate relationship and be seen as an expression of the Snellmanian ideals of self-sacrifice, but loyalty can also be understood as a soldierly quality reflecting the Runebergian idealism of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s generation: in the heroic ballads of Runeberg depicting the Finnish War of 1808–1809, the construction of the Finnish nation was based on the trinity of valorousness, faithfulness and honour, and the Finnish soldiers possessed the virtues of the ancient Greeks.⁶⁴² There are battle-related metaphors in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s, *Theatre History*, too⁶⁴³, but they are not used as often as the Finnish-nationalists did in their letters and newspaper writings.

After their battles the soldiers, or the family of the national workers, were led “to their brave home”⁶⁴⁴, to the “proud castle, protecting and sheltering the national dramatic art”⁶⁴⁵ – that is, the new National Theatre. The depiction of the ideal repertoire that would then be performed within those walls can be found in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s already quoted definition of a play by Minna Canth, “(I)t gave warmth, as only a depiction of domestic surroundings can give, and it dealt with the current issues profoundly without that bitter ridicule that wounds and drives the conciliatoriness away.”⁶⁴⁶ Depicting the theatrical community as a family gathering under the same roof reinforces the abovementioned ideal of social relations, but the expansion of the familiar experience – for example paralleling

⁶³⁹ The narrator uses the Finnish word “ryöstö”. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 153; in addition, as mentioned above, the prima donna Ida Aalberg was “seduced” to perform abroad instead of the Finnish Theatre Company. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 260.

⁶⁴⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 27, 274, 474.

⁶⁴¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 55, 102, 254 (footnote), 272, 312, 409, 439; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 92.

⁶⁴² Klinge 2004, 306–307, 422, 424; Nummi 2006, xviii.

⁶⁴³ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 19; 1909 (III), 30, 471–472; 1910 (IV), 189–190.

⁶⁴⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 167.

⁶⁴⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 135.

⁶⁴⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 383.

the home and the patria – is also an efficient pedagogical means⁶⁴⁷, and thus contributes to the didactic strand of the Theatre History.

The union between the theatre and its personnel was ideally constant and unwavering. However, occasionally the relationship between the audience and the artists could turn passionate: the young opera singer Alma Fohström "poured oil on the fire"⁶⁴⁸ when she gave an encore, and the enthusiasm "reached an explosion"⁶⁴⁹ during Ida Aalberg's performance in Numers's *Elinan Surma* (*The Murder of Elina*). The patriotic population could be affected, too: one of the fundraisings to improve the economical situation of the theatre "lit the people like a wildfire around the country".⁶⁵⁰

On the other hand, especially the opera singers were "serving" the theatre.⁶⁵¹ Their contribution is not defined in terms of an employment relationship but according to their role as servants of the national cause like, for example, in the speech held at the farewell party for Josif Navrátil, the Czech tenor of the Finnish Opera, quoted in the third volume, "a toast for the stranger, the stranger who was not a stranger anymore, since he had learnt to understand our strivings and had sacrificed all his abilities for them – not for the salary, but as a soul-mate and a friend."⁶⁵² In reality Navrátil was part of the internationally mobile group of opera singers and directors, taking positions in different opera houses around Europe⁶⁵³, and his salary was the highest in the theatre company in the last years of the 1870's.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁷ Mikkola 2006, 416, 441.

⁶⁴⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 393.

⁶⁴⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 414.

⁶⁵⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 75.

⁶⁵¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 138, 436, 453; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 48.

⁶⁵² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 407.

⁶⁵³ It was not only the repertoire that crossed the borders between different countries: for example the Danish king Fredrik IV, aiming at demonstrating that Copenhagen was a cultured capital, was pondering whether to invite a French theatre group or an Italian opera troupe to his theatre in the early eighteenth century. Later in the same century the famous German composer who had reorganized the opera in Stockholm, Johan Gottlieb Naumann, was invited to Denmark to lead the Royal Opera. During the nineteenth century national themes became more prominent in the Danish opera; however, foreign artists continued performing in the Danish theatres and Engberg refers to the 'guest workers of art' when discussing the background of the staff of the Royal Opera. Engberg 1995, 28–29, 55, 131–133, 202, 288–290.

⁶⁵⁴ A chart containing the salaries in 1877–1878 can be found in Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 358–359.

The Ironic Look

Aspelin-Haapkylä's approach to history is anything but ironic. The trope of irony has been characterized as providing a linguistic paradigm for a mode of thought which is radically self-critical with respect, not only to a given characterization of the world of experience, but also to the very effort to capture adequately the truth of things in language. It is an utterly self-conscious literary trope and it recognizes the problematic nature of language.⁶⁵⁵

The general tone of the Theatre History is serious, and the nationalistic deeds are described in an elevated manner, as has been mentioned previously. National culture and, for example, the biographies of its great men was no laughing matter – it was, to rephrase a formulation of one of the reviewers of the Theatre History, "the sap of our nation".⁶⁵⁶ Hence irony, requiring distancing and a slightly awry look at things, was not the most appropriate literary technique to apply to these stories.

However, there is an ironic strand in the Theatre History: the narrator uses irony – pretending not to know what one already knows, saying the opposite to what one means, inspiring second thoughts about the nature of the thing characterized⁶⁵⁷ – as a literary technique to turn the opponents of the Finnish Theatre Company, especially the Swedish Theatre, its Board and personnel and the Swedish-nationalists to pseudo-nationalists and pseudo-artists.

In the first volume the narrator describes the establishment of the short-lived theatre school at the Swedish Theatre. The school existed between 1865 and 1869 and provided new actors and actresses with formal training.⁶⁵⁸ The Finnish-nationalists empathically backed the enterprise since Finnish was part of the language training the actors got, and, for example, Emilie Bergbom was one of the teachers of the school for a short while, giving classes in French. The school did not meet the expectations and its activities were soon reduced to be

⁶⁵⁵ White 1973, 35, 37.

⁶⁵⁶ *Uusi Suometar* 3.1.1908 (no 2).

⁶⁵⁷ Eide 1999, 82–83; Richards 2008, 182; White 1973, 37.

⁶⁵⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 26–28.

finally closed down. The narrator of the Theatre History refers to the "closure of the jumble" and makes the remark that after the reductions in the teaching the pupils were not "bothered" with the Finnish classes anymore.⁶⁵⁹ Later the narrator describes how the Swedish Theatre puts "unreasonable" conditions for the Finnish-language performances in its premises at the beginning of the 1870's by referring to the "benevolence" of the Board of the Theatre.⁶⁶⁰

In the second volume the narrator discusses the plans to merge the two state-supported theatres of the capital, the Swedish and the Finnish one, to solve the economical problems both of them were struggling with. The Finnish-nationalists supported the suggestion: it was clear that the maintenance of the Finnish-language stage was becoming harder and harder, and the fusion would also open the doors of the grand, modern New Theatre for them. The narrator sheds light on the abundant newspaper discussions, several meetings that followed the suggestion and finally the annual meeting of the joint-stock company of the Swedish Theatre, concluding ironically, "Some inexperienced persons perhaps hoped for something, when they remembered that the first clause of the company declared that its purpose was to promote *domestic* dramatic art --- but those experienced in the ways of the world were disillusioned and did not think that the issue would be solved impartially."⁶⁶¹

He also refers to the "support" the newspapers of the Swedish-nationalistic town Turku gave to the Finnish Theatre Company⁶⁶² and is amazed at the positive reaction of the Swedish-nationalist newspaper when depicting the lottery organised in order to gather money for the vernacular stage, "---and, to everyone's surprise, *Helsingfors Dagblad* itself burst into generous exhortation---"⁶⁶³. Later he triumphantly identifies the malicious inspector who tried to prevent the opening of the National Theatre but failed, "The same member of the

⁶⁵⁹ The word "jumble" is possibly a quotation from the letter by F. Cygnaeus. What matters here is that the narrator quoted those ironical words. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 142–143. My quotation marks.

⁶⁶⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 186. My quotation marks.

⁶⁶¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 346. The italics by Aspelin-Haapkylä.

⁶⁶² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 373. The quotation marks by Aspelin-Haapkylä.

⁶⁶³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 67. My italics.

peasantry who had brilliantly proved the impossibility of the Finnish Theatre Company at the Diet of 1872.”⁶⁶⁴

The ironic side-ways gaze employed by the narrator in the examples above strengthens the image Aspelin-Haapkylä wants to convey of the Swedish-nationalists. The crooked ways of irony accentuate the depiction of them as cunning and devious, and the Finnish-nationalists as their opposites: straight and honest. It is a good example of how the form of the story – here the figures of speech and thought – goes hand in hand with the content and the ideology (or the metanarrative) informing it, substantiating the emplotment of the story and thus contributing to a certain kind of interpretation of events.

The Rhetoric of Sacrifice

One of the recurrent narrative motifs of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History is the amount of sacrifices its establishment, but especially its maintenance, demanded from the community of the Finnish-nationalists and particularly from the Bergbom siblings. The History begins with the intention of the abovementioned Oskar Gröneqvist (Vilho) to sacrifice his life for the Finnish stage, the resolution of the actress Charlotte Raa to “expiate with her sacrifices the derelictions of the duties of the Swedish Theatre” and the sacrifices of Emilie Bergbom (giving up her dreams of becoming a poet and refusing a marriage proposal).⁶⁶⁵ The discourse of sacrifice accelerates further when the establishment of the Finnish Theatre Company is near,

”In other words, they were living through a period and in circumstances where every advancement in the national direction demanded the most obstinate battle, but where also the spirit of sacrifice was at its highest. --- This cultural institution, among others, could be realized through fighting only, and sustained by sacrifices. --- But little had the sacrificial spirit of the patriots

⁶⁶⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 184 (footnote).

⁶⁶⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 15, 24, 52–53. Other references to sacrifices for the national cause, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 131, 166, 170, 244–246, 280; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 2, 56, 102, 197, 353, 407, 472; Aspelin-Haapkylä III (1909), 4–5, 445; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 204.

mattered, had there not been a man who could come forward and direct the enterprise. --- However, sacrifices were still necessary, as we will shortly see.”⁶⁶⁶

Repeating the word sacrifice with its derivatives is a powerful rhetorical tool, and the reviews of the History show that it worked.⁶⁶⁷ The sacrificial spirit, the willingness to give up one’s personal aspirations, has been characterized as the core of communal solidarity and as the prerequisite of communal survival, and consequently it has been claimed that one of the specific characters of the modern nation-states is their persuasive power to make the citizens ready to sacrifice their lives in the name of the nation.⁶⁶⁸ The depiction of the sacrifices of the theatrical community can be connected both to the warrior pathos briefly mentioned earlier, and to the European-wide national rhetoric supporting the new nation-states that were born in the nineteenth century. However, especially in the situation of competing political agendas, the rhetoric of sacrifice can also serve as a tool for convincing the listeners or readers of certain arguments aiming at eliminating alternative courses of action.⁶⁶⁹ Consequently, the pronounced use of this rhetorical device can also work as a sign of a threatened political, social and cultural position of its utterer.

The rhetoric of sacrifice should also be connected to religious images or references in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s text. The religious undertone in the representation of the performance of Aleksis Kivi’s *Lea* in 1869 was discussed in the previous chapters. In addition, the narrator emphasizes the “piousness” of

⁶⁶⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 244–246.

⁶⁶⁷ See, for example, the writing in the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* in 3.1.1908, commentating the review of the second volume of the Theatre History by Juhani Aho, published in 31.12.1907 in the *Helsingin Sanomat* newspaper.

⁶⁶⁸ According to Anderson, one of the basic principles of imagining a nation is seeing a deep, horizontal comradeship as its basic feature, and this fraternity generates the will to die for a nation. In Finland the ‘national philosopher’ J.V. Snellman emphasized that the highest level of the national *Sittlichkeit* was giving one’s life for the patria. Anderson 2006 (1983), 7; Jalava 2006, 85.

⁶⁶⁹ Tuomas Tepora has recently been studying Finnish national flags, nationalism and the rhetoric of sacrifice from 1917 until 1945. There are interesting similarities to the earlier uses of sacrificial rhetoric, for example in the emphases of the relationship between the individual and the collective. Naturally the violence of the First World War and the Finnish Civil War in 1918 brought news tones to the ideas of personal sacrifice, too. Tepora 2011, 33, 223–225, 230; see also Siltala 1999, 692–693, 695.

both the personnel of the theatre and the rural audience waiting for its arrival⁶⁷⁰, Henrik Ibsen's *Noora (A Doll's House)* caused a "revival" in the audience, the above-discussed staging of Topelius's *Regina von Emmeritz* was a "miracle" and the siblings Bergbom "consecrated" their lives to the theatre.⁶⁷¹

On a more general level these religious references in the Theatre History should be read in the context of the Old-Finnish 'Christian idealistic nationalism' deriving from the nineteenth century, and especially from the teachings of J.V. Snellman, enforced by the values of the Finnish Party led by Yrjö Koskinen and Agathon Meurman.⁶⁷² In spite of the anti-religious movements from the beginning of the twentieth century, this Christian idealistic spirit was characteristic for the Finnish cultural and political field when Aspelin-Haapkylä wrote his History.⁶⁷³

The Lutheran State Church had been one of the most important features separating the Grand Duchy of Finland from the Russian Empire, and a central institution in the process of nation-building throughout the nineteenth century. The clergy acted as the intermediaries of the national ideology in the local communities, in spite of the diverse revivalist movements sweeping over the rural areas of Finland occasionally trying to challenge the status of the state church.⁶⁷⁴ In addition, the growing critique of the Old-Finnish religious and cultural conservatism from the 1880's onwards made most of the clergy even more conservative: when the liberals abandoned theological studies the positions were occupied by the Finnish-nationalists, many of them by then coming from the Finnish-language peasantry. At the Diet the majority of the

⁶⁷⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (II), 8, 59, 133, 197; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 277.

⁶⁷¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 38, 125, 449.

⁶⁷² Agathon Meurman (1826–1909) has been described as the ultra-conservative "monument of the Old-Finnishness and the uncrowned majesty of the farmers' estate". Mylly 2006, 66; Vares 2000, 36.

⁶⁷³ For example the Social Democratic Party demanded freedom of religion in its programme from the beginning of the century, and the Prometheus Society, speaking for religious tolerance and the right not to belong to any religious community, was established in 1905. The church did not survive untouched, either: the critical voices split the leading stratum of the church into three groups: the biblicalists, who continuously spoke for accommodation politics and conservatism, the idealists who in the Christian Idealistic spirit longed for the higher unity, and the younger generation of realists who accepted the fragmented nature of the new social and cultural order but also considered the Lutheran religion a 'national treasure'. Jalava 2005, 363, 372–378; Murtorinne 1964, 316–318, 323–326.

⁶⁷⁴ Most of these movements – which in the first phase were often led by women – were in due course guided back under the supervision and guidance of the state church. Sulkunen 1999, 83–92.

peasantry and the clergy formed a Christian-conservative front efficiently blocking any attempt to reform the relationship between the state and the church.⁶⁷⁵

At the outset of the Russification in the 1890's the leading church authorities joined rhetorically the Constitutionalists⁶⁷⁶ thus becoming national heroes; however, in the late 1890's, when the Russification efforts strengthened, the popularity of Old-Finnish values within the clergy and the general faith in the authorities made the estate more careful in its statements, which caused a serious drift between the church (and the Old Finns supporting its views) and the Constitutionalists. Some clergy emphasized the collective responsibility for the unfortunate political situation: it was an outcome of people's sins and their former liberal behaviour and, consequently, all the actions of the authorities should be borne as a punishment sent by God.⁶⁷⁷

In other words, the motto of the Old-Finnish-nationalistic Christianity, and Christian nationalism⁶⁷⁸, could, perhaps, have been that without Christian faith one could not believe in the nation, either. Aspelin-Haapkylä came from a family of clergy with connections to Pietism, and the Christian idealistic nationalism with its respect for the inherited values and the stable social relations was the central ingredient of his social and cultural ideals.⁶⁷⁹ Although the degree and the tone of religiousness varied within the Old-Finnish community, on the general level its members believed that their task was to

⁶⁷⁵ Thus, for example, the implementation of the new canon law from 1869, which recognized the principle of the freedom of religion, was paralyzed, since it demanded new secular laws prescribing the procedures for leaving the church. It was impossible to be a Finnish citizen and not to belong to the state church. Jalava 2005, 210; Juva 1956, 116–123, 127–132; Murtorinne 1964, 27–28. For the difficulties the radicals, who refused to baptize their children, faced at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Jalava 2005, 376–377.

⁶⁷⁶ See p. 68 in the present study.

⁶⁷⁷ Murtorinne 1964, 67–70, 175.

⁶⁷⁸ Sulkunen has described the birth of the 'civic religion' – the 'nationalistic religion' or the 'religious nationalism' during the 1890's – and emphasized the difference between the civic religion as it appeared in the United States, and the civic religions of the European protestant countries. In Europe it was based on the institution of the state church, which had acquired a new role during the birth of the civic society and the nation-state. Sulkunen 1999, 146 (footnote 128).

⁶⁷⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä had written an enthusiastic biography on one of the leaders of the revivalist movements, Lars Stenbäck (1900), and reviewed favourably Juhani Aho's historical novel *Kevät ja takatalvi* (*The Spring and the Cold Spell in It*) from 1906, which depicts idealistically the connections between the revivalist movement and the nationalism in the 1840's. The review tells about Aspelin-Haapkylä's deep Christianity and his positive approach to the revivalist movements; on the other hand, Aho was basing his novel not only on his extensive studies but also on Aspelin-Haapkylä's writings about the revivalists. Nummi 2006, xxi.

bring the Kingdom of Heaven onto the Earth through their values and their work for the nation.⁶⁸⁰

A good example of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Christian-patriarchal values and the ideal social relations they entailed is an entry in his diaries in 1905. In it Aspelin-Haapkylä describes a party organized for the servants at their summer villa in the countryside on New Year's Eve. The general strike had taken place in the very same autumn, but the party seemed to have taken place in a very traditional, patriarchal setting,

"We celebrated New Year's Eve with the servants, altogether 27 persons, including the children and us. – I read the last chapter from Ross's postil after which we sang psalm number 31 for the New Year, accompanied by Ida⁶⁸¹ on the piano. After that we served tea and gave Christmas presents to all the participants. I discussed the current situation with the men --- Our servants do not seem to know anything about the reasons for the discontent. After that we sang a couple of spiritual songs, again accompanied by the piano."⁶⁸²

In other words, the religious motifs belong to the rhetorical set of tools creating the picture of the ideal national community, which exists within the walls of the theatre, the members of which were sacrificing their personal aspirations for a higher cause. They stem from the Christian idealistic world view of the Old-Finnish-nationalists, but also accentuate the picture of the underdog Finnish-nationalistic community by drawing a parallel between it and a Christian, perhaps even revivalist community, living in the midst of persecution, experiencing miracles, devoutly working towards their future reward.⁶⁸³

⁶⁸⁰ Siltala 1999, 693; Virtanen 2002, 107.

⁶⁸¹ Ida Aspelin-Haapkylä (1852–1932), Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's wife.

⁶⁸² The diaries of Aspelin-Haapkylä 31.12.1905. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 490.

⁶⁸³ See also Ala 1999, 160, 162.

A Patriotic, Original and National Theatre

An important ingredient in the vocabulary of nationalism is a set of terms emphasizing the national originality, especially in connection with the repertoire of the theatre and especially its origins. The words the narrator recurringly uses are "patriotic", 'isänmaallinen' in Finnish (or sometimes "domestic", 'kotimainen' as its parallel term), and "original", 'alkuperäinen'.⁶⁸⁴ The patriotic programme consisted of plays written by Finnish playwrights, regardless of the original language ("On Runeberg's day a mixed programme was performed. The intention had been to make it totally patriotic---"⁶⁸⁵)⁶⁸⁶, and the original pieces were new plays by Finnish playwrights⁶⁸⁷. The highest occurrence of terms denoting originality is, quite unsurprisingly, in the third volume of the Theatre History, depicting the "high season of the Finnish theatre". The main purpose of repeating these terms is to demonstrate that the Finnish Theatre Company had created a national canonical repertoire, and this should form the core of the repertoire also in the future.⁶⁸⁸

However, the discursive repertoire of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is not the same thing as the real repertoire of the Finnish Theatre Company. In spite of the emphasis on originality, the repertoire of the theatre relied on transnational dramatic literature, moving across Europe, translated and adjusted to the particular needs of each national stage.⁶⁸⁹ Although the role of this transnational repertoire is not explored in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History – a feature it shares with many other national theatre histories⁶⁹⁰ – certain pieces

⁶⁸⁴ It seems that the same terms recurred, for example, in the Diet discussions about literature and literary prizes. See Häggman 2012, 189–190, 195–196.

⁶⁸⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 78.

⁶⁸⁶ See also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 128, 131, 194, 242, 264, 486; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 76, 83, 118, 143, 175, 179.

⁶⁸⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 153, 177, 201, 486.

⁶⁸⁸ The appeals for maintaining the Bergbomian heritage as the core of the future programme of the National Theatre is the main point of the epilogue in the Theatre History. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 291–300.

⁶⁸⁹ For example, the repertoire of the Drama Department during the first five years was mainly entertaining (except for a couple of classical dramas), and far from "original", if one uses Aspelin-Haapkylä's terms. Suutela 2005, 33–34.

⁶⁹⁰ Wilmer 2004, 19, 24–26.

of it were considered proofs of the development of the national dramatic art and discussed accordingly.⁶⁹¹

The reliance on the transnational repertoire meant that an important part of Bergbom's and the actors' European trips was to search for new plays for the theatre, "In the Dramaten in Stockholm I saw Henrik Ibsen's *De ungas förbund* which could be localized to the Finnish circumstances."⁶⁹² The verb 'localize' is interesting in this quotation. There seems to have been two opposite demands when it came to the foreign repertoire. The audience wanted to experience the "original" performance, to see the play just as it had been staged in Paris or in London.⁶⁹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä describes the efforts made to create a French atmosphere when a French play was performed, and to stage Ibsen exactly as it had been done in Norway.⁶⁹⁴ At the same time the foreign plays had to be adjusted to suit the Finnish audience: it was not only a question of translating but also 'domesticating' or 'nationalizing' the types appearing in the plays or operas. In a review of Mozart's *The Magic Flute* the reviewer writes, "Pesonen is a decent and fine Finnish Papageno, whom one could meet in a peasant wedding cheering up everyone."⁶⁹⁵

In other words, the strength of the national culture was not only to comply with influences and stage foreign plays displaying fidelity to the original, but to make them anew by nationalizing them. The representation of the repertoire in the Theatre History with the adjectives emphasizing the importance of the "patriotic" or "original" repertoire continue this national project: the transnational character of the theatre is diminished and the particularity of the national culture heightened.

⁶⁹¹ See my discussion about the key episodes, and especially the role of Shakespeare in the Theatre History, in Chapter 4.

⁶⁹² C. Edv. Törmänen to Kaarlo Bergbom 19.10.1875. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 53.

⁶⁹³ Wilmar Sauter has observed the same tendency in Sweden in the nineteenth century: much of the theatre was foreign, and foreign productions – especially operas from Paris – were directly copied and transferred to Sweden. Swedish audiences were not interested in their own directors' interpretations, but wanted to see an "original", just as good as in Paris. However, some companies did localize the foreign comedies, but on the whole the nineteenth century's great love for exotic milieux – which also explains part of the success of melodramas and operas – overcame these tendencies. Sauter 2004, 35–36.

⁶⁹⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 6, 17; Pikkanen 2010, 222.

⁶⁹⁵ Quoted in Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 435, see also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 149.

This is one of the ways to nationalize the prehistory of the National Theatre the narrator employed in his History. There is also a more precise rhetorical way of doing that: especially in the second volume the adjective "national" is repeatedly, almost demonstratively, attached to the Finnish-language opera, the Drama Department, and the art they stand for. The narrator refers, among other things, to the aversion the public in Turku expressed to the "national stage" – perhaps because it was worse to be averse to the national institution than just to the Finnish Theatre Company.⁶⁹⁶ Emphasizing the role of the Finnish Theatre Company as a national institution from the very beginning is a way to make its past more significant than it was when one considers the whole field of the dramatic practice in nineteenth century Finland, when especially the Drama Department, but occasionally also the Finnish Opera, were touring theatre groups among many others.⁶⁹⁷

Textual Acts for Coherence and Unity

The discursive, specifically narrative medium both imposes constraints on the historian and provides him/her with specific technical tools for selecting and conjoining the particular actorial figures, actions and circumstances.⁶⁹⁸ The key themes of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History discussed in the previous chapter form a chain due to their varyingly vivid representation. In addition, some of them are joined together even tighter by using the same narrative means (verbs depicting movement, enchanted audience, Kalevalaic references) or the same actorial figures. The metaphors, motifs and expressions considered in this chapter contribute to the same intent of creating significant sequences at the micro and the macro levels of the narrative, a coherent story-line and thus a lasting interpretation of the past of the Finnish-language stage.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 372–373. See also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 20, 21, 90, 92, 139, 184, 378. The Bergbom siblings did not talk about the "national theatre" in their letters, but referred to the Finnish Theatre Company (Finska teatern in Swedish), and so did most of the reviewers, except for some articles tracing the birth of the institution and its national meaning.

⁶⁹⁷ Seppälä 2010, 15–24.

⁶⁹⁸ Rigney 1990, 17.

⁶⁹⁹ See also Rigney 1990, 67.

The literary commonplaces both tie the narrative of the Finnish-language stage to the wider field of literature and serve as easy interpretative gates to its world. The main metaphors create a picture of the theatrical community as a pioneering family, the members of which sacrifice their personal aspirations and serve the ultimate family, the nation. The theatre is also depicted as a religious, revivalist community, working its way through the hostile environment towards salvation. Many of the metaphors the narrator uses were familiar to his readers from Zacharias Topelius's popular *Maamme kirja* (*The Book of Our Land*)⁷⁰⁰, depicting the Finnish landscapes, national characters, language, folk poetry and the past and the future of the nation, and read in schools well into the twentieth century.⁷⁰¹ In Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History (as also in *Maamme kirja*) these metaphors point to the idealistic level of the narrative: they depict things, events and individuals as they should be, not necessarily as they were. They set norms for the behaviour and emotions of a true nationalist. In other words, they are also an Old-Finnish-nationalist attempt to deal with and mend the shattering ideals of the controlled, internalized citizenship at the outset of the twentieth century.

What the study of the 'vocabulary of nationalism' reveals, besides the favourite metaphors, motifs and recurring terms used in the Theatre History, is the division of them between the volumes. References to the sacrifices demanded by the theatre accumulate in the first and second volumes; in the third volume they appear three times and in the fourth only once.⁷⁰² In the second volume there is also a condensation of ironical comments.⁷⁰³ It has already previously been observed that the first and the second volumes of the Theatre History contain the longest and most detailed chapters and are thus at the core of Aspelin-Haapkylä's story-space and, consequently, keys to his metanarrative. The distribution of metaphors and other tropes reinforces this picture.

⁷⁰⁰ The book was first published in Swedish in 1875, the first Finnish translation is from 1876.

⁷⁰¹ Mikkola 2006, 414–444, and especially 415–416.

⁷⁰² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 15, 24, 52–53, 131, 166, 170, 244–246, 280; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 2, 56, 102, 197, 353, 407, 472; Aspelin-Haapkylä III (1909), 4–5, 445; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 204.

⁷⁰³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 142–143, 186, 190, 271; 1907 (II) 2, 20, 46, 99, 102, 163, 346, 373, 374, 440, 461; 1909 (III), 67, 68, 125, 195; 1910 (IV), 184.

As demonstrated above, the ironical commentaries were used to reinforce the image of the 'crooked' Swedish-nationalists. However, in order to use irony the narrator must presuppose that the reader already knows, or is capable of recognizing, the absurdity of the characterization of the thing, and can indeed interpret his message correctly.⁷⁰⁴ In other words, ironical comments may point to the secure position of the narrator in regard to his subject matter and his audience. In what follows, I will ask what kind of elements even the securely positioned narrator rather did not include into his narrative: the story-lines the sources could have enabled him to follow but which his emplotment could not tolerate. This is done by taking into account the source-basis of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*.

⁷⁰⁴ Eide 1999, 82; White 1973, 37.

6 THE SOURCES AND THE VOICE

"Yesterday was the birthday of the Dowager Tsarina so I did not have to go to the university. Thus I stayed at home the whole day and browsed through my old notebooks. I found out that I had taken lots of notes around the time the Finnish Theatre Company was established"⁷⁰⁵, writes Aspelin-Haapkylä in November 1905. He had already started collecting letters from the relatives of the Bergbom siblings⁷⁰⁶ and, a diligent diary-keeper as he had always been, browsed his diaries and notes. Hence this metanote: a diary-note about the diary-notes, a reflection on the research process, which was about to begin.

Several paragraphs of the short preface of the first volume of the Theatre History are dedicated to the source basis⁷⁰⁷ of the study. Its reliability is carefully emphasized; Aspelin-Haapkylä points out that the Finnish Literature Society – which was a respected, Old-Finnish cultural institution⁷⁰⁸ – had taken the initiative of gathering sources for the writer to use. Aspelin-Haapkylä also expresses his gratitude to the relatives and friends of the Bergboms, who had left relevant letters at his disposal, and tells that his notebooks serve as one of the sources used in the History.⁷⁰⁹ In other words, the Theatre History is depicted as a result of a collective endeavour. At the same time Aspelin-Haapkylä is pointing, although not explicitly, to the complexities of writing history when some of the relatives and friends of his protagonists were still alive, a theme he shortly readdresses in the epilogue (I will return to this later).⁷¹⁰

Aspelin-Haapkylä also emphasizes his partiality: he had known the Bergboms and most of the people he is writing about and had participated in the life of the theatre as a theatregoer, a reviewer, a member of the Board and later

⁷⁰⁵ The diaries of Aspelin-Haapkylä 28.11.1905. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 490.

⁷⁰⁶ The diaries of Aspelin-Haapkylä 19.11.1905. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive, SKS Kia, A 490.

⁷⁰⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä uses the word 'source' to point to all kinds of information he has been using when compiling his History: both his primary (letters, newspapers) and secondary sources (research literature). Also the contemporary memoirs, be it oral or written accounts of the Bergbom siblings or the theatre, have the same status as sources.

⁷⁰⁸ For the Finnish Literature Society 1831–1892, see Sulkunen 2004, *passim*; at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Häggman 2012, 25–235.

⁷⁰⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), I–III.

⁷¹⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), II; 1910 (IV), 304.

as its chair. This partisanship is described as a positive quality in the Theatre History: the autodiegetic narrator who had “been there”⁷¹¹ could use his special knowledge as an ultimate means of interpretation and as a proof of plausibility of his story. In other words, *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* is not only a scholarly contribution mapping the past of the nation, but a memoir and an intellectual autobiography.⁷¹² It has also the appearance of a source collection and it has been long used as such.

Aspelin-Haapkylä was not the only Finnish historian to make extensive use of direct source quotations when creating a narrative about the past.⁷¹³ Although the amount of scholarly history-writing was rapidly increasing in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and the amount of published source collections diminished around the turn of the century⁷¹⁴, they were still a valued way to contribute to the national history. Accordingly, Aspelin-Haapkylä distinguished between the “first, fundamental researcher” and his followers in one of his historiographical reviews.⁷¹⁵ He points out that the first scholar tends to garnish his representation “with many excerpts from newspapers, memoirs, and from other appropriate material, which give it, at least partly, the nature of an undigested collection of material”. The role of the next historian in line is to “select and condense this material --- in order to create --- a clear, harmonious picture ---.” Aspelin-Haapkylä does not want to evaluate whose role is more important, but he does point out that the work of the first researcher – the

⁷¹¹ For this argument, see, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 260, 273; 1910 (IV), 195.

⁷¹² Explicitly this was expressed in the second part of the later *Muoto- ja muistikuvia* I–III (*Portraits and Memorials*, 1911–1912, 1914) where Aspelin-Haapkylä explains the origin of the present publication by referring to the Theatre History, “It gave me a scholarly view on the period of national enthusiasm I had participated in as a young person with all my heart. In the Theatre History I placed, more or less explicitly, those portraits [of the past], and afterwards one and another person has stepped forward asking to be remembered, too----.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1912, 215.

⁷¹³ Klinge 2010, 268. Aspelin-Haapkylä has constructed his other studies in a similar fashion: see for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1917 (1901) and 1915, 1918.

⁷¹⁴ For example when the historian Henri Biaudet was applying for a travel scholarship to the archives in Rome in 1909, one of the members of the consistory, M.G. Schybergson, pointed out that mere ‘cataloguing’ of sources was not proper scholarship and should be conducted by archivists, not scholars. There were language political reasons behind Schybergson’s opinions, too: the Swedish-nationalists were against Biaudet’s application, and the Finnish-nationalists supported it. Garritzen 2011, 150–153. See also Appendix 1, table 1.2.1.

⁷¹⁵ Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: “Valfrid Vasenius: Runeberg Suomen kansan runoilijana”, *Uusi Suometar* 7.9.1904.

source publication – will remain valuable, whereas “even the most intelligent analysis will be replaced by a new one in due course.”⁷¹⁶

In other words, Aspelin-Haapkylä defines the task of the ‘first historian’ in a very Rankean sense: his main task is to provide his followers with a set of source quotations or footnotes they can use productively.⁷¹⁷ In addition, the division of labour in the quotation above reflects well his historiographical idealism: the first scholar is not even selecting but is able to publish everything that matters from the archives; it is the next one in line who then commits the act of “selecting and condensing”.

As mentioned above, the Theatre History is also a record of theatre-related memories of those close to the Bergboms and to the theatre: in these places the History is a source in itself, since it contains stories the representation of which is not based on the contemporary correspondence but on the later reminiscences. One such description is Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom’s summer holiday in Italy in 1898.⁷¹⁸ It is built on “information and features delivered by someone who joined them”⁷¹⁹, and the narrative diverges from those patches relying on the archival sources: the description is more anecdotal and concentrates more on Kaarlo Bergbom’s personality – emphasizing, for example, his “playfulness”⁷²⁰ – than on his work. It comes close to those vividly narrated episodes, events and themes studied in the previous chapters.

In the previous pages of my study the term ‘narrator’ has been used to refer to the agent narrating the story of the Finnish-language stage forward from his omniscient vantage point. His direct participation in the story is varied: sometimes he looks at things from afar (the extradiegetic narrator), sometimes from within (the autodiegetic narrator). In this chapter the question of the narrative voice is elaborated further by concentrating on the source basis of the Theatre History. A comprehensive source apparatus was one of the most important visual signs of scholarly writing in the nineteenth century, which also

⁷¹⁶ Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: “Valfrid Vasenius: Runeberg Suomen kansan runoilijana”, *Uusi Suometar* 7.9.1904.

⁷¹⁷ For Ranke’s method of working and his passionate approach to the primary sources, see Grafton 1997, 34–61.

⁷¹⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 108–113.

⁷¹⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 108.

⁷²⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 109.

made the pieces of the historical scholarship often breathtakingly massive.⁷²¹ At least in the case of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History this kind of extensive use of sources also placed certain requirements on the narrator. In addition, source quotations were often the lodestones around which the scarce metahistorical commentaries circulated.

Consequently, in what follows the role of source quotations in bringing the narrator's voice into the text will be explored: the selection of sources, their inclusion into the narrative, the metahistorical comments about the sources and the research process and the methods of addressing the reader will be discussed. The main question is whether there is an overt or a covert narrator⁷²² present in the story, and what that might suggest about the culture of historical writing within which the History was produced. Or to rephrase it slightly, there are two main themes that will be dealt with: the 'historiographical act' of representing the past, and the selection that is an inevitable part of this process.⁷²³

The selection is also connected to the further question of the voice: who, besides the narrator, has the right to speak in the Theatre History? In addition, the representability of the past will be approached by discussing the silence the narrator adopted with regard to three exemplary episodes or themes, which are connected to the establishment of the theatre and the representation of the social relations within the theatre company. The intertextual field of scholarly history-writing influenced the narrative form of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History including his way of using and referring to his sources; in that sense the discussion is linked to the changes in the historian's craft in the nineteenth century briefly discussed in Chapter 2. However, the representation of the source material will also be approached as a mechanism of power and control the narrator is imposing on the story he is telling, and consequently, on the past.⁷²⁴

⁷²¹ For example Jacob Burckhardt was complaining that the dimensions were the only criteria for good scholarship. Garritzen 2011, 181–182.

⁷²² For a closer examination of these concepts, see p. 56 in the present study.

⁷²³ Rigney 1990, 27–28; Rigney 2001, 64, 100. These terms will be further elaborated in the course of the chapter.

⁷²⁴ For the connections between history and politics in the nineteenth century Finland, see for example Mylly 2002, *passim*. My aim is to ask how the form of history-writing can contribute to its use as a mechanism for political control.

A Narrative Saturated with Sources

In the epilogue of the Theatre History Aspelin-Haapkylä explains his choice of reproducing extensive quotations from the sources: they “render the Bergboms as they were”.⁷²⁵ Indeed, as previously demonstrated, the Theatre History is relying heavily on direct, or seemingly direct, quotations of the original sources (the Bergbomian letters, newspaper writings and reviews). The third part, which is also the longest, contains approximately 175 pages of source quotations, which amounts to 36 % of a volume of 487 pages.⁷²⁶ In some places the Theatre History resembles more an edited letter collection than a narrativized history of the vernacular stage.⁷²⁷

As the numbers above alone suggest, the narrator occasionally reproduces almost complete letter exchanges on the pages of the History letting the voices of his main characters bring the story forward.⁷²⁸ For example, Chapter XVI in the third volume, depicting the season of 1887–1888, starts with a three-and-half-page letter-dialogue between Kaarlo, who was abroad, and Emilie, who was at home in Helsinki.⁷²⁹ The narrator is re-presenting every letter, sometimes by making direct quotations, sometimes by making his own short summaries of the contents, “(Laurvig July 17). Kaarlo complains about the unpleasant weather, only two nice days. He explains widely the repertoire of the coming season.”⁷³⁰

There is a lot to draw on for a historian interested in the information provided by the correspondence. The siblings Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom were

⁷²⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 308–309.

⁷²⁶ For a more detailed treatment of the proportions of the Theatre History, see Chapter 2 in the present study.

⁷²⁷ For the main places constructed around correspondence (there are usually also authorial comments in between the letters introducing and contextualizing them), see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 55–57, 102–104, 108–113, 181–184, 195–220, 222–230; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 22–24, 198–210, 259–261, 360–365, 415–425; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 6–20, 96–102, 131–133, 142–143, 179–180, 183–189, 205–210, 215–218, 278–286, 303–305, 308–315, 317–329, 344–347, 368–375, 378–381, 388–391, 394–401, 406–410, 439–452, 462–467; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 25–27, 50–54, 58–62, 95–99, 121–126, 223–225, 236–242.

⁷²⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 278–282; see also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 199–230; 1907 (II), 198–210, 348–350, 360–364, 415–425; 1909 (III), 6–20, 205–210, 323–329, 368–375, 394–401, 454–467; 1910 (IV), 95–99, 121–126, 223–226.

⁷²⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 278–282.

⁷³⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 280.

as diligent letter writers as most of their contemporaries⁷³¹, and their letter collection contains approximately 2300 letters between the two siblings but also to and from other family members and friends, actors and actresses and other personnel of the theatre, the Board members, playwrights and the 'theatre section' of the Finnish-nationalists. Letters between Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom seem to reflect the way they ran the theatre when together: they contain negotiations of the repertoire, casting, settings, costumes; they are commentaries on reviews, actors' and actresses' individual performances, their behaviour, their successes and failures. The political situation of the Grand Duchy is widely commented on, too. It seems that when apart, they continued their daily discussions by writing letters.

If the number of direct quotations from the primary or secondary sources is typical for the Theatre History, so is their varying representation. All in all, there are three ways in which the extensive source excerpts are included in the story-space:

1. Direct, verbatim quotations, indented with a smaller font and in quotation marks. The omissions are usually pointed out with dashes.
2. 'Contractions'⁷³², that is summaries of the original sources (letters, newspaper critiques), indented with a smaller font, no quotation marks. The omissions are sometimes pointed out with dashes.
3. Direct, verbatim quotations in the body text, sometimes in quotation marks, sometimes without any signal of their status.

In other words, the entrance to the area of the primary or secondary sources (which can either have the role of taking the story forward, or presenting detailed descriptive stretches or analytical summaries when it comes to the tempo of the narrative) is clearly signalled by signs presented in the points

⁷³¹ The nineteenth century is often regarded as the high season of correspondence. It was also the period when the contents of the letters became privatized. Lahtinen et al. 2012, 18. It is quite obvious that most of the letters of the Bergbom siblings were not meant to be read aloud in the family circle.

⁷³² A term coined by Aspelin-Haapkylä, appears for the first time in Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 112. He does not usually inform the reader that s/he is entering the area of a 'contraction', this precise reference being one of the few exceptions.

1 and 2 with the indentation as the most perceivable mark. However, the direct quotations in category 1 have sometimes also been reworked⁷³³, so that what appears to be verbatim is not necessarily so. There is always selection involved when a historian displays a source quotation, but in the ‘verbatim’ quotations of the History the selection is not always marked, and it is this variance or inconsistency which makes the extensive use of the Theatre History as a source publication – which seems to have been one of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s intentions – a somewhat problematic issue.

The many ‘contractions’ demonstrate the importance invested in the wide publication of sources. The author-historian was constrained by some idea of representability, as well as by the physical limits of his four-volume study, so the second best option to publishing the primary sources as such seems to have been making summaries of them. However, there is also another feature connected to Aspelin-Haapkylä’s metanarrative as to why these summaries were so useful: one can leave out uncomfortable sentences and whole paragraphs when one summarizes. I will present some examples of this later.

Point 3 above presents a more blurred way of quoting sources, where the narrative and the quotations sometimes merge into one, and the reader cannot say (without checking the letter or the newspaper the author-historian had used) whose utterances they are. Sometimes this style of citing sources comes close to the free indirect speech discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to the dialogues and dialogue-like exchanges on the pages of the History. It blurs the boundaries between the different voices and creates a feeling of an immediate access to the past experience. For example, in the third volume the narrator refers to the opera performance by the Finnish Opera in February 1876,

“– Yesterday, says the *Morgonbladet* the next morning, The Finnish Theatre Company demonstrated abundantly and surprisingly what it can do. The significant performance made a great impression. ---

⁷³³ See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 88–89: the narrator is quoting the *Valvoja* periodical in quotation marks, but is actually summarizing the articles by first leaving sentences out without any signs (the second chapter), and then adding a dash that signals a sentence that has been left out in the last chapter of the quotation. See also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 344: the narrator quotes Kaarlo Bergbom’s letter in quotation marks but leaves sentences out without signaling the omissions.

We dare say that the audience has seldom left the theatre so moved as it did yesterday.”⁷³⁴

This quotation – in the body text, without quotation marks – was directly copied from a newspaper review written after the performance and it presents the impressions created by it mostly in the present tense, thus connecting the past and the present and making the past experience (“yesterday”) topical again. The Theatre History is encumbered with similar patches, playing with the temporal relations and blending the voice of the narrator and that of his sources.

This mosaic-like constant change between the narrative parts and the source quotations in their varying forms is a double-edged construction when it comes to the goals the author-historian had stated in the preface and in the epilogue. It does bring the authentic voice of historical persons into the narrative letting them take the story forward or describe events and other characters in the story from their focal point⁷³⁵. However, the means required to keep this kind of story-space together – authorial introductions, explanations, remarks – and the constant alteration between different representational forms draw the reader’s attention to the historiographical act, to the process of discursively representing the past events, whereby the historian places himself within the same historical world with his research subject(s) as a commentator or an introducer⁷³⁶, and as an author-historian who provides a story with a narrating voice, as his presence is referred to in the present study. In the case of the Theatre History these direct discursive interventions take place mainly in connection to the source apparatus.

⁷³⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 232. See also the description of the Drama Department arriving at Helsinki in November 1880. The narrator used a review in the *Uusi Suometar* newspaper: first the direct quotations are marked with quotation marks, and then the narrator continues in the same chapter of the body text with his summaries of the characterizations of the actors and actresses taken from the same review without any further indications that he is quoting the same source. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 68–69.

⁷³⁵This kind of change in the perspective can be defined in terms of ‘focalization’. Focalizers or perceiving subjects are the ‘psychological centres of orientation’ in fictional narratives. Focalization describes the various means of regulating, selecting, interpreting and channelling narrative information, particularly of ‘seeing’ events from somebody else’s point of view. Neumann and Nünning 2008, 31.

⁷³⁶ Drawing the attention to the historiographical act was a common nominator in the mid-nineteenth century French history-writing, too. Rigney 1990, 28.

The Historiographical Act and the Past Represented

In his preface Aspelin-Haapkylä explains that “representing the history of the theatre in the correct light” demands a very detailed representation.⁷³⁷ The research tasks are not elaborated as such in the pages of the Theatre History, but the inclusions of quotations are often justified, and in these justifications the more specific goals of the History are revealed.

The past of the Finnish stage is recorded in a detailed manner: hence the quotations that just offer more undefined “interesting information”.⁷³⁸ The narrator is interested in the responses the Finnish-language performances created: thus the excerpts describing the atmosphere of the performances and the emotions attached to the theatre.⁷³⁹ He wants to show the private sphere, the backstage⁷⁴⁰ behind the visible, “These plans, like so many other preparations, are not widely known. They hide behind the visible results, the facts that appear in public; we can find occasional information about them only in private letters.”⁷⁴¹ And last but not least: he writes the biography of the leader of the theatre, depicting not only his work but also trying to find a way inside him, “Bergbom --- makes a confession that allows us to take a look at his inner world.”⁷⁴²

Phrased like this the goals of the Theatre History sound surprisingly modern. They reflect both the strong cultural-historical tradition advocated, for example, by the famous French historians in the nineteenth century, with their interest in every-day history and social and cultural issues, and the definitions of the ideal national history by the early historians and philosophers of history in the Grand Duchy of Finland.⁷⁴³ They are also symptomatic of a more general trend of the Finnish historiography, concentrating rather on the themes we

⁷³⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), II.

⁷³⁸ See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 70; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 102; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 210, 326, 399.

⁷³⁹ See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 181; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 75, 109; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 179.

⁷⁴⁰ See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 181.

⁷⁴¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 169.

⁷⁴² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 95; see also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 222; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 90, 287.

⁷⁴³ I discussed the intertextual background of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History in Chapter 2 in the present study. Here I am referring especially to J.V. Snellman and Z. Topelius.

would define as belonging to the field of cultural history rather than as political history. Besides philosophical reasons, there were also practical explanations for this: there were very few 'Finnish' figures that could act as traditional heroes in the field of politics (politicians, kings, statesmen), and the primary sources that existed about the specific 'Finnish' past (such as taxation and legislative documents) encouraged approaches leaning towards cultural history.⁷⁴⁴

As described above, the narrator introduces the extensive source citations into the text by defining their importance with regard to his story-line. He also needs to contextualize his sources: the letters were written to deal with contemporary issues and do not include contextualizing information the latter day audience needs in order to follow the page-long citations. The narrator comments on the letters in parentheses, sometimes in the middle of the quotation and gives additional information in the footnotes. There is even an occasional cross-reference to the earlier discussion of the topic the letter is dealing with in the Theatre History, in the middle of the quotation from the primary source, as in the excerpt from Emilie Bergbom's letter to his brother in the summer of 1890, "Numers popped by a couple of days ago on his way to Karelia (see above, p. 357); he did not yet know where he was going to stay."⁷⁴⁵ The impression of the unmediated access to the voices of the main protagonists of the narrative is disturbed.

In other words, the quotations are always also surrounded by the narrator's voice, his introductions, justifications and directing remarks. These interventions play an important supplementary role by guiding the reader in the interpretation of the events as they have been, or are about to be, represented⁷⁴⁶,

"This [letter] shows us, how much thinking it demanded to organize operatic performances, and in the same letter there are a further 8–9 pages of similar explanations and plans. And that is not enough: during these days he [Kaarlo Bergbom] wrote three long letters about theatre issues to his sister. They are filled with requests and advice, not only about the leading roles, but also

⁷⁴⁴ Klinge 2010, *passim*.

⁷⁴⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 370; see also authorial commentaries in the middle of source quotations in, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 416, 431.

⁷⁴⁶ Rigney 1990, 17.

about the smallest parts, about choristers, musicians and others.”⁷⁴⁷

The reader’s attention is drawn to the historiographical act also when the retrospective narrator is reflecting on the actual process of collecting and working through the archival material that, usually, precedes the making of the narrative, or when he is commenting on and explaining the research process and his arguments on a more general level. These reflections and comments take the form of direct announcements of participation (the formulation ‘the author of this book’), the first person singular, the ‘narrating I’⁷⁴⁸ as the narrating agent or the even more frequent ‘we-narrator’ as his substitute.⁷⁴⁹ The narrator is also pronouncedly present when there are adjectives or adverbs pointing to the specific knowledge he had of the events (“It was *hurried* to the translator...”⁷⁵⁰), or, more speculatively, in the case of particularly vivid (positive or negative) descriptions, the most important of which are the key episodes considered previously.

In the Theatre History the research process is explicitly discussed in the concluding part of the last volume, where, as I have argued, it is the author-historian directly addressing the reader outside the actual narrative. However, the narrator depicts the historian by his sources on some occasions in the course of the History, too, sharing the impact of his first encounter with them. So, for example, we get a glimpse of the figure of Aspelin-Haapkylä when he is browsing through the correspondence of the Bergbom siblings from the summer of 1875,

“There we see them not in the middle of the ‘burning season’ but during their summer break, and yet so devotedly and continuously

⁷⁴⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 424.

⁷⁴⁸ A narrator is a first-person narrator if he or she is involved in the narrated story. In the first-person narrative situation, events are relayed by a ‘narrating I’, who takes part in the action in the fictional world as a character or ‘experiencing I’. Typical cases are fictional autobiographies and initiation stories. Neumann and Nünning 2008, 83–84. In the Theatre History the ‘narrating I’ is present in two places outside the preface and the epilogue, which are the usual places for direct announcements of participation in history-writing. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 295 (footnote); Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 86.

⁷⁴⁹ The ‘I-narrator’s’ presence becomes more visible when one reads these ‘we-remarks’ in the first person singular, for example, in the sentence, “We think it is our duty to announce that we have in vain asked Numers to release the letters Bergbom wrote to him.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 296 (footnote).

⁷⁵⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 130. My italics.

dealing with the issues of the theatre, and the reader understands, for his amazement, what it meant to be the director of the Finnish Theatre Company at that point and how much energy and enthusiasm it demanded.”⁷⁵¹

The ‘reader’ in this quotation is not the reader of the Theatre History, but the author-historian himself, having one of his insights. The emphasis is on the scholarly efforts and the specific understanding the primary sources can provide him with: he is presented as an inquirer constructing the narrative on the basis of the evidence he has been able to accumulate, and on the realizations they have brought⁷⁵², enhancing the plausibility of the narrative.

However, the reader⁷⁵³ is addressed, too, “For the sake of variety, and also for other reasons, let us now turn to the Drama Department, which, as our reader will remember, had moved from Helsinki to *Tampere* just before Christmas.”⁷⁵⁴ The ‘reader’ is directly addressed like this in every volume⁷⁵⁵, bridging the distance between the writing and the reading moments and creating a direct connection between the narrator and his audience. However, much more common is circumventing the direct appeal by using the first person plural (‘we’ or ‘our’) and the passive form in addressing the reader. These – expressions such as “our stage”, “our repertoire”, “our young tragedienne” and “our talented singers” – abound in the Theatre History.⁷⁵⁶ Naturally they might be just slips of the tongue revealing the close relationship the autodiegetic narrator had to the world of the theatre. However, using the first person plural could also be a

⁷⁵¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 197–198. See also “---and continuously his biographer can draw from abundant sources.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 90; “When one browses through the newspapers of that winter, one sees that the fundraising lit the people like a wildfire around the country.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 75.

⁷⁵² Carrard 1995, 114.

⁷⁵³ The literary theory distinguishes between the implied reader, the ‘narratee’ and the real reader. The implied reader is not the flesh-and-blood reader holding the book in his/her hand, but the audience presupposed by the narrative itself. The ‘narratee’ can materialize as a character in the world of the work, or can be the one addressed in the narrative in a more sublime way, or at least whose presence is felt. See, for example, Chatman 1978, 149–151; Neumann and Nünning 2008, 28, 150–151. The addressed, specified reader discussed here would be a very simple version of the ‘narratee’ in the literary theory. The real readers will be discussed in Chapter 7 in connection with the reception of the Theatre History.

⁷⁵⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 394. Italics Aspelin-Haapkylä.

⁷⁵⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 149; 1907 (II), 225; 1909 (III), 417, 425, 454 (footnote); 1910 (IV), 110 (footnote), 120.

⁷⁵⁶ See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 279; 1909 (III), 158, 358; 1910 (IV), 37, 42 (footnote), 83, 116.

conscious strategy to engage the reader in the story and the metanarrative informing it: it is not just any past that is represented in the Theatre History; it is 'our' history, occupied by 'our' heroes.

Directly expressed source criticism could be understood as a historiographical act, too. In the Theatre History there is no general metahistorical discussion about the sources and there are very few remarks that could be characterized as source criticism. However, the narrator occasionally remarks on the nature of his sources or their authors, "When Kaarlo wrote two or three letters, Emilie wrote three times as many" – "We do not have so much to tell about them [the Bergboms] since they were together again. They never wrote to outsiders as often as they did to each other."⁷⁵⁷ In addition, there are some instances when the narrator is making critical remarks about the source basis of the study: pointing to the scarce or lost correspondence⁷⁵⁸, complaining about missing official documents (mainly the minutes of the Board)⁷⁵⁹, accusing the newspapers for their reluctance to review the theatre performances⁷⁶⁰ and discussing the reliability of the information available.⁷⁶¹

The correspondence is the most widely used source in the History and most of the critical comments deal with it,

"We do not have detailed information about the private life of Bergbom from these years, neither are there letters that would let us access his thoughts and feelings."⁷⁶² – "It has been impossible to give any detailed information --- since there is no correspondence. This is why we, in many instances, know more about Assistant Director Vilho than about the actual director. However, now we have the first chance to take off the veil hiding the siblings."⁷⁶³

The narrator respects the sources, or the lack of them, but makes occasional interpretive leaps over the gaps, "We have no letters in which Kaarlo or Emilie

⁷⁵⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 160, 394; see also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 168.

⁷⁵⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 120; 1907 (II), 174–175, 197, 289, 417; 1909 (III), 12, 107 (footnote), 141, 202, 394, 426, 477 (footnote); 1910 (IV), 74, 89, 98, 108, 115, 205.

⁷⁵⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 54, 61, 249, 357; 1909 (III), 49; 1910 (IV), 61 (footnote).

⁷⁶⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 175, 373–375.

⁷⁶¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 256 (footnote), 470.

⁷⁶² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 120.

⁷⁶³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 197.

would have expressed their opinions about the issue, but even without [sources] we can understand that it oppressed them.”⁷⁶⁴ Although the narrative is built on source quotations and the “detailed information” they deliver, the narrator also fills in the gaps, thus telling a coherent story and steering it in a certain direction from its beginning to its end. There are no explicit hesitations or uncertainties in the Theatre History.

A curious type of source criticism is the self-censorship the narrator performs when confronted with certain sources. In the second volume he refers to an allegedly nasty incident that happened to an opera singer of the Finnish Opera, provoked by “a certain lady and a certain young lady (belonging to the crème de la crème of Helsinki – let their names gather dust in the notebooks) ---”.⁷⁶⁵ This is just a note in a footnote, in the fringes of the narrative, but nevertheless the narrator not only exhibits his professional expert power, but also points to the power of knowledge, and to the possibility of including the information in the actual narrative; “I know and I choose not to tell – this time,” he seems to be saying.

Most of the time the sources (or their authors) are used as witnesses thus constructing the ‘case’ of the linear development of the Finnish stage, against all odds.⁷⁶⁶ Consequently, the validity of a source is measured against the sympathy or antipathy the writer in question was known to feel towards the enterprise, “We can rely on the reviews of E. Nervander --- In his writings we find both

⁷⁶⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 289. Later the narrator explains, “Emilie’s letters from this period seem to have gone astray. That is why we miss, among others, the letter she wrote to her brother after receiving a letter from the manufacturer A. Ahlström, dated 4th July---” and continues, “Naturally was the letter in which she told [to Kaarlo] about the issue full of happiness, but there also seem to have been many unpleasant things to tell. Kaarlo’s response proves that (probably from the end of July). ---” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 417.

⁷⁶⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 435–436 (footnote). See also the indignant description of the “mockery” one of the Swedish-language student nations had shown to Väinämöinen, the hero of the *Kalevala*, by making a caricature of a painting depicting Väinämöinen, “They were showing this piece of travesty and singing a fabricated poem of which we have two versions amongst our sources – both of such a quality that one cannot even think of printing them.” Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 289 (footnote).

⁷⁶⁶ See the chapter *Heroes and Villains of the Story* in the present study, and especially pp. 151–153. It is also worth noting that the sources are in several cases referred to with verb “testify” or substantive “testimony”, see, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 13, 149, 190, 373; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 2, 296.

expertise and empathetic understanding, which deserves to be mentioned, since usually one or the other is missing.”⁷⁶⁷

Partisanship was one of the central concepts in the historiographical debates of the nineteenth century. Non-partisanship or impartiality (in the German discussions often taking the form of *Überparteilichkeit* or *Unparteilichkeit*) was proposed as an ideal of scientific history-writing by Leopold von Ranke: the only way to do justice to the actions and thoughts of the past individuals was not to moralize and judge them. The ideal of impartiality was accompanied by the idea that only historical scholarship can serve as a guide to an understanding of things human. The historical method suggested by Wilhelm von Humboldt and further developed by Ranke and the establisher of the so-called Prussian School of Historians, J.G. Droysen, proceeded from the establishment of facts through the weighing of evidence by an empirical and rational approach to sources and documents to the ultimate comprehension (*Verstehen*). Central ingredients in this comprehension were immersion, intuition and apperception. In other words, this method implies that understanding the past was regarded as a highly subjective and personal activity, so far that, for example, Ranke thought that not all individuals possessed the qualifications to study the past.⁷⁶⁸

To turn it around, the apperception of the past and the subjective engagement it entailed were not regarded as partiality or partisanship but as a tool to understand the bygone era. For these historians the *Verstehen* approach made objective knowledge of the past possible, because they believed that personal limitations (such as the national framework and other social surroundings influencing interpretations of the past) were products of an objective reality, and consequently they could be used to study such a reality. For example, J. G. Droysen wrote about ‘emasculated objectivity’, uncommitted to any standpoint and thus attaining only sterile generalities.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 92. Emil Nervander was a close friend of Kaarlo Bergbom and was closely involved in the theatre plans in the 1860’s.

⁷⁶⁸ Iggers 1983, 10, 17, 61–62, 77–79, 104, 109.

⁷⁶⁹ Iggers cites Droysen, “Of course, I shall not want to solve the great tasks of historical representation from my arbitrary subjectivity or my small and petty personality. But when I look at the past from the standpoint of my people, state, and religion, I stand high above my own ego-” Iggers 1983, 110–112. (the citation p. 112).

In the Finnish metahistorical debates partisanship divided historians, too. The aforementioned Danielson-Kalmari, who wrote a series of polemical historical studies with political goals in the 1890's, stressed partiality as an important ingredient in the historical understanding.⁷⁷⁰ On the other hand, the Swedish-nationalists accused the Finnish-nationalists of anachronistic approaches to the past brought about by their partiality. The Theatre History does not take an explicit part in this discussion, but in a couple of places the importance of an "objective" approach is stressed.

According to the narrator, the women's movement activist Lucina Hagman's biography on the playwright and novelist Minna Canth was "partially more an extended polemic than an objective description" and the epilogue of the Theatre History points out that the last years depicted in it were temporally too close for a historical research, but that "perhaps the more concise representation can meet the requirements of objectivity."⁷⁷¹ In his diaries Aspelin-Haapkylä also refers to the – quite unsurprising – negative response he received from Minna Canth's daughter after the publishing of the History, but declares that the accusation of his personal vendetta against Canth does not hurt him the least since "I sincerely know that I have been objective and truthful. --- What can I do about the letters which demonstrate that everything occurred as I depicted it."⁷⁷² In other words, Aspelin-Haapkylä is conscious of the question of objectivity and the concomitant question of partisanship. It seems that he shared the German idea of producing valid, truthful knowledge about the past through the mechanism of apperception – which, however, works only when the right persons conduct it.⁷⁷³

⁷⁷⁰ Tervonen 1991, 113–118; see also Garritzen 2011, 178.

⁷⁷¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 212; 1910 (IV), 304–305.

⁷⁷² Aspelin-Haapkylä's diary 14.1.1910. Aspelin-Haapkylä's archive. SKS Kia, A 492. See also the use of the term 'objectivity' in Aspelin-Haapkylä's review on Juhani Aho's historical novel *Kevät ja takatalvi* (*The Spring and a Cold Spell in It*), pp. 272–273 in the present study.

⁷⁷³ Elise Garritzen has suggested in her dissertation on two early twentieth century Finnish historians, that Finnish historians were mostly paralleling impartiality to objectivity at the beginning of the twentieth century, but he points out, too, that studying how historians on the whole used these terms back then would be an independent research project. Garritzen 2011, 174, 179.

The Fringes of the Narrative

In the previous pages the multiple ways in which the demands of referentiality bring an overt, visible narrator into the history-writing were discussed. However, it is not only the narrator who appears on the pages of the Theatre History. Occasionally the author-historian himself also steps into the narrative as one of the characters. From the retrospective vantage point occupied by the omniscient narrator he is “the person who was to become the author of this book.”⁷⁷⁴ Usually Aspelin-Haapkylä is referred to either as “the author”, “the writer”, by his pseudonyms (Ellei and Ernst) or by his proper name. Regardless of the form of reference, the figure of Aspelin-Haapkylä is present all through the story-line but especially from the third volume onwards. He has a role as one of the early theatre-enthusiasts (for example participating in the funeral of the playwright Aleksis Kivi)⁷⁷⁵, as a theatre reviewer⁷⁷⁶, as a writer (sharing the experiences “the humiliated author” had had with one of the publishing houses⁷⁷⁷) and translator⁷⁷⁸, as a theatre and literature expert sitting on different prize-awarding and similar boards⁷⁷⁹, as a Board member (referred to formally as “Eliel Aspelin / Aspelin-Haapkylä” on these occasions⁷⁸⁰), and finally as a deliverer of the eulogy for Kaarlo Bergbom⁷⁸¹.

In addition, there is yet another utterly authoritative, reliable layer in the sources used in the Theatre History, namely the memories accounted by the autodiegetic narrator, “It is understandable, that Emilie Bergbom did not need a social life in the common meaning of the word. Nevertheless, we who have

⁷⁷⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 276.

⁷⁷⁵ There is a list of the persons who contributed to the funeral costs, including ‘E. Aspelin’. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 36 (footnote).

⁷⁷⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä gives the years he joined the contributors of the *Morgonbladet* newspaper (“cand. of philosophy Eliel Aspelin”) and resigned from his task as its theatre reviewer (“the author”). Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 249; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 38 (footnote). Usually Aspelin-Haapkylä refers to himself as ‘the author’ when he points to his role as the writer of a review discussed in the text. See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 287 (footnote), 288 (footnote), 294 (footnote), 333 (footnote), 337 (footnote), 339 (footnote), 348 (footnote), 355, 364, 412 (footnote), 458 (footnote).

⁷⁷⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 428 (footnote).

⁷⁷⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 115, 382.

⁷⁷⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 146–147, 181.

⁷⁸⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 363; 1910 (IV), 28, 146, 208, 253. See also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 152, 155, 169, 195, 206, 214 (footnote), 270.

⁷⁸¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 284.

known her know that---"⁷⁸² or "The author remembers very clearly, that the play [*Lea*] was read at his [Kaarlo Bergbom's] place from a manuscript, not from a book."⁷⁸³ The personal memory serves as a corrective source of information enhanced by its intimacy: the autodiegetic narrator had been there and thus knew how it had been.⁷⁸⁴ The subjective memories are also used to bring additional strength to certain representations, "The joyous, familiar occasion lasted until late that night, and left endearing memories."⁷⁸⁵ – "Those who were present in these, should we say, family gatherings of the theatre, have not forgotten how the siblings [the Bergboms] made the occasions jolly."⁷⁸⁶

As the footnotes here reveal, such references to the author-historian as one of the characters are quite often placed in the footnotes of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History, except for those pointing to the official status he had as the Board member. In other words, in the whole framework of the story-space the figure of the author-historian hides in the fringes of the narrative. The scarce footnotes of the Theatre History are seldom used for source allusions, the few references to research literature being an exception.⁷⁸⁷ In the passages with long quotations of correspondence, the footnote serves as a place of annotating: of contextualizing and commenting on events, episodes and persons the letters deal with. In other words, the footnote is the area of presentist and subjective comments, or a carrier of additional information, which the narrator for some reason did not want to include in the body text.

⁷⁸² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 59.

⁷⁸³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 126 (footnote). However, the references are not always as explicit as in this example: see, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä's description of the warm applause the future opera singer Alma Fohström received after her first performance: "And no one, who remembers the small girl, dressed in white, standing on the stage of the Society House as it was back then, think it was strange. Her fine beautiful face was glowing in the middle of the golden curls---." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 173. See also Aspelin-Haapkylä's note about Kaarlo Bergbom's stumbling style of lecturing, "In the private communication one did not notice that, since usually he was fluent and interesting." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 74.

⁷⁸⁴ On the first page of the last volume the narrator points out that Kaarlo Bergbom visited his summer villa during his summer break, and later he describes their common trip to Paris and his memories of it. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 1, 170–171.

⁷⁸⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 444.

⁷⁸⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 28.

⁷⁸⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I); 1, 4, 8, 9, 29, 40, 166; 1907 (II), 69, 92; 1909 (III), 109, 130, 212, 214. In a couple of cases the source reference to the newspaper writing are given in the footnote, but this is exceptional in the whole course of the Theatre History. The same footnoting technique is used in Aspelin-Haapkylä's other contemporary studies, too, see for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1917 (1901) and 1915, 1918.

Once a modern historian writes a footnote, s/he creates a distinctively modern double construction: footnotes form a secondary story, which moves with but differs sharply from the primary one. In documenting the thoughts and research that underpin the narrative above them, footnotes prove that it is a historically contingent product, dependent on the forms of research but also on the opportunities of it; the footnote reveals the firm basis of the study in question but it may also show the weak points of the research process.⁷⁸⁸

It has not always been so. The necessity to provide the text with annotations with some kind of regulated form taking also the needs of the reader into account, rose in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, when the critical approach to the authorities of the past had already made the scholars wonder what made one account authoritative and another implausible. The answer for these suspicions was, at least partly, that protocols were needed to assure skeptical readers. Consequently rules were established for verifying or falsifying historical propositions, and a programme for composing footnotes was outlined in the late seventeenth century. In the course of the eighteenth century a long series of debates and discussions among writers, translators and printers gradually yielded something like the modern system of documentation.⁷⁸⁹

However, the footnote was long used, not only to provide proof for the historian's account, but also to guard the unity of a historian's narrative: for example, for the Enlightenment historians William Robertson and David Hume footnoting was a way of bringing erudition to support the text without cluttering the flow of narrative with documents. Edward Gibbon, the English author of the famous *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published in six volumes between 1776 and 1789, made his footnoting an idiosyncratic art form, a commentary bringing the whole intertextual field of historical scholarship alive, swarming with references to the literature of erudition. Gibbon's precise but, for

⁷⁸⁸ Grafton 1997, 23.

⁷⁸⁹ According to Anthony Grafton, the main proponents were Pierre Bayle and his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1696) where Bayle used the footnotes extensively but haphazardly and in a complex manner, often not clearly distinguishing between the narrative and the footnotes supporting it, and Bayle's contemporary Jean Le Clerc, who devised a theory of the footnote that took the reader more into account in his *Parrhasiana* (1699–1701). Le Clerc wrote about notes "expressed in good terms, in few words, and where one asserts nothing without proving it, or without at least citing some good author where one can see the assertion verified, indicating the passage in question so well that the reader can easily find it---." Quoted in Grafton 1997, 217–218. See also Grafton 1997, 191, 205–206, 214, 218–221.

a modern reader, uninformative footnoting reveals that he was writing on the borderline between two kinds of histories: erudite combination of the massive knowledge of the older scholarly tradition with the high style of the eighteenth century letters.⁷⁹⁰

Gibbon's admirer Leopold von Ranke shared the classical notion of what a history should look like, and as passionately as he approached the archives, he nevertheless suspected the footnotes of disfiguring his narratives. However, as Anthony Grafton puts it in his study about the genre in question, "the historian who had eaten from the tree of source-criticism could not regain the innocence needed to write a simple narrative."⁷⁹¹ The footnote had arrived to stay, and most of the historians around Aspelin-Haapkylä used it to refer to the research literature and the sources.⁷⁹² However, at the intersection of old and new traditions of history-writing, there was still space to use footnotes creatively, as the example of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History demonstrates.

In Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History the footnotes tell parallel stories about his subjective engagement in the theatrical life and of the political life around the theatre. There are approximately 75 entries that can be characterized as political commentaries in the History, some of them only brief remarks but some lasting for pages, and one third of these have been placed in the footnotes.⁷⁹³ In other words, the narrator of the Theatre History does not exactly avoid retrospective political commentaries in the body text, but these sharp polemical or programmatic remarks are often incorporated into the text by using someone else's voice. For example, in the fourth part of the History written in 1910, the following words of Emilie Bergbom's letter are quoted, "If only we were *one* nation, but the Swedish-nationalists are as blind and contemptuous as they have always been---."⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁹⁰ Grafton 1997, 98–99; see also Burrow 2007, 361–363.

⁷⁹¹ Grafton 1997, 67, 68 (the citation).

⁷⁹² For example Yrjö Koskinen used the footnotes to point to research literature and archival sources ever since the 1860's, as did, for example, the historian Gunnar Suolahti in his *Suomen pappilat 1700-luvulla (The Finnish Parsonages in the Eighteenth Century, 1912)*.

⁷⁹³ For the long passages, see for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 251–255, 262–263 (footnote).

⁷⁹⁴ A quotation from Emilie Bergbom's letter to Kaarlo Bergbom. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 123–124. See also the quotation from Otto Florell's letter to Ida Basilier, "If you want to be admired by the lethargic, cosmopolitan metropolis-audience --- sing in the New Theatre." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 109, and the quotation from Emilie Bergbom's letter to Betty Elfving,

This kind of utterance from the past can be read as a comment on the current political situation, but the narrator does not have to take any responsibility for it.⁷⁹⁵ In addition, as mentioned above, one third of the political discussions is conducted in the fringes of the narrative, pointing perhaps to the narrator's attempt to deliver an image of their marginal meaning in the big picture of the national art. The narrator did not dwell on the political agenda behind the establishment of the theatre and did his best to keep it outside of the pages of the Theatre History, too. However, in a footnote he could declare, "How limitless the contempt for the Finnish language at this period and on this occasion was, is demonstrated by ---."⁷⁹⁶

If the politics is (partly) hiding in the footnotes, then the research process is part of the narrative: the actual source indicators take the form of sentences such as, "According to the letter, Kaarlo Bergbom did a three-week-journey, although he had planned a longer one. We get information about the journey from three postcards."⁷⁹⁷ And since the form of this kind of source-indicator-sentences is different from one point to the next, their information-value is accordingly so. A more regulated kind of source indicator, such as the footnote, would ideally at least force the author of a piece of history-writing to give the same amount of information regarding each source.

In other words, the source reference style adopted in the Theatre History is, to say the least, varied. The narrator often gives the date of the letter he is quoting but sometimes only the month. He also very often leaves them out.⁷⁹⁸ He sometimes does not inform the reader about the recipient of the letters he quotes extensively⁷⁹⁹, probably because he feels it is obvious that, for example, Kaarlo Bergbom sent most of his letters to his sister, Emilie, from his summer trips. Most of the time he refers to the newspapers he is directly quoting but usually leaves out the date, "The acting --- created a deep and tragic impression

"---the sordid Swedish-nationalist intrigues to get Ida Aalberg to perform in Swedish." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 80.

⁷⁹⁵ Extensive source quotations can be seen both as a way to renounce or delegate authorial responsibility, as Ann Rigney has pointed out. Rigney 1990, 23, 35.

⁷⁹⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 262 (footnote).

⁷⁹⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 30.

⁷⁹⁸ This is partly a problem stemming from the sources: especially Kaarlo Bergbom regularly did not date his letters. Aspelin-Haapkylä has, however, often added them to the letters as a part of his research process.

⁷⁹⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 157–160.

(Vasenius in *Valvoja*).”⁸⁰⁰ When summaries of the newspaper articles are presented as part of the body text, the source reference is mostly left out.

However, to discuss only the varied way of representing the source indicators would mean missing the point: it is a question of delivering source references that are sufficient *enough*; the authority of the author-historian, his position in the cultural and scholarly field influences the level of information he has to deliver about his sources in his text. In Aspelin-Haapkylä’s case the reader is not supposed to go and search for the sources and check the veracity of the interpretations, but believe in the narrative he has created. However, it is not only information about the sources that has been left out of the Theatre History.

Selection and Residue

The plausibility of the narrative is not only a question of representing the past but also leaving parts of it out. The historical events that are the object of representation affect profoundly the production of the discourse about them. However, it is these same events that are sources for the difficulties endemic to the task of the history writer: the attempt to represent a multifariously accessible, ever-ramifying historical subject in an accurate and a coherent way, a subject that sometimes resists the writer’s attempt to present it in a particular manner.⁸⁰¹

Furthermore, not all past events and episodes are equally representable: the representability of a particular aspect of the past has its own history. It is not given once and for all as a property of events, but it is constituted over time according to the changing interests of historians, the expansion of research facilities, the development of new discursive forms and techniques of representation, and the changing notions of what makes an intelligible and usable work of history.⁸⁰²

However, in each ‘representable’ case the representation – making something representable – means reduction, selection and synthesization: if

⁸⁰⁰ See for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 171.

⁸⁰¹ Rigney 2001, 2, 63.

⁸⁰² Rigney 2001, 94.

everything is presented as equally significant, nothing is meaningful anymore. In other words, the problem of representing everything is not only the physical limits but also, and more fundamentally, the logic of discursive representation.⁸⁰³

As Ann Rigney summarizes it,

”The cultural function of discourse is not to reproduce the world in all its infinitely crisscrossing plenitude, but to produce meaningful statements about experience by reducing and selecting from all the information that is virtually available. Seen from this point of view, historical representation can be characterized by a chronic struggle between the obligation to stick to what is known of the past and the desire to treat relevant aspects of the past in a coherent manner: the eternal struggle between the real and the intelligible, as Roland Barthes called it.”⁸⁰⁴

Or, to phrase it differently, the past and the intertextual field of history-writing can resist a historian’s representation. The resistance can take different forms: that of fragmented evidence, of competing accounts or of the events themselves: historians can, for example, try to mitigate the significance of events that threaten to contradict their thesis or struggle with the incomprehensibility of traumatic events.⁸⁰⁵

One of the ways the narrator of *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* was managing the resistance offered by the past was to limit the voices allowed to speak on the pages of the History. It has the appearance of an extensive source publication and consequently seems to possess the encyclopaedic tendency to polyphonic representation, but in reality the narrator keeps the voices firmly in congruence with the metanarrative. Mainly, and unsurprisingly, the right to speak is granted for the Bergbom siblings. They are so present in the text that it is more than merely quoting the primary sources: the narrator is giving the Bergboms the right to bring the story forward, sometimes by quoting their letters page after page with very few authorial

⁸⁰³ Rigney 2001, 3, 63.

⁸⁰⁴ Rigney 2001, 65.

⁸⁰⁵ Rigney 2001, 63–64.

interventions.⁸⁰⁶ Besides the Bergboms, the persons whose letters are more frequently quoted are the above-discussed playwrights Minna Canth and Gustaf von Numers (the misguided ones, with the introductory lines guiding the readers' attention), the actor and tour director Oskar Vilho (Gröneqvist) and the theatre reviewer Emil Nervander.

In addition, the narrator includes quotations from letters of some benevolent theatregoers⁸⁰⁷, the playwright Aleksis Kivi⁸⁰⁸, the compiler of the national epos, the *Kalevala*, Elias Lönnrot⁸⁰⁹, the historian and novelist Zakarias Topelius⁸¹⁰, the national novelist Juhani Aho⁸¹¹, the Finnish-nationalist theatre enthusiast and member of the Board Antti Jalava⁸¹², the novelist and playwright Betty Elfvig⁸¹³, the prompter of the theatre, Miss Silén⁸¹⁴ and some other persons close to the theatre and the Bergboms⁸¹⁵. The letters the actors and actresses wrote to each other are not been cited⁸¹⁶, and the only actors whose letters to the Bergboms appear on the pages of the History are those of the opera singers Ida Basilier, Alma Fohström and Bruno Holm, the upper class actress Kaarola Avellan and the actor and tour director Niilo Sala⁸¹⁷, who was Kaarlo Bergbom's close friend. Ida Aalberg's many letters to the siblings Bergbom are not quoted: her voice gets into the narrative only through the congratulatory

⁸⁰⁶ See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 199–230; 1907 (II), 198–210, 348–350; 1909 (III), 6–20, 394–401; 1910 (IV), 95–99.

⁸⁰⁷ Otto Florell, see, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 75; a Mrs. Landell, see, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 147–148.

⁸⁰⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 129–130, 140–141.

⁸⁰⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä quotes Lönnrot's recommendation to take C.E. Törmänen into the theatre in a footnote, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 122 (footnote). See also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 5.

⁸¹⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 154–155 (footnote); Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 119–120, 216–218, 366–367; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 81. One of the quotations in the third volume has been included "as an adornment of our book." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 366.

⁸¹¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 211–212.

⁸¹² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 239–240.

⁸¹³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 20, 47.

⁸¹⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 136. Cecilia Silén was, according to Aspelin-Haapkylä, one of the favourites of the Bergboms. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 393 (footnote).

⁸¹⁵ M. Wegelius, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 185; K.F. Wahlström, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 267–268 (footnote); M. Wuori, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 276; A. Hagman, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 353–354.

⁸¹⁶ As Hanna Suutela has pointed out, it is probable that Aspelin-Haapkylä did not get the letters the actors had written to each other since they criticized the leaders of the theatre very straightforwardly in their correspondence. Suutela 2005, 114–115.

⁸¹⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 363; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 364–365. Fohström's and Basilier's letter quotations were included as 'testimonies of the amiability' of their authors; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 87; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 425; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 274–275, 443–444, 451–452.

telegram she sent to the festivities for laying the foundation stone of the National Theatre in 1902.⁸¹⁸

This is the result of the normal procedure of selecting, so integral for historical practice. As previously mentioned, the narrator occasionally complains about the lack of sources, but he also refers to the abundance of them by emphasizing the need to concentrate on the "most important ones"⁸¹⁹ implying thus his ability to make the necessary selection among the sources. However, this kind of restraining the voices allowed to speak, accompanied by the authoritative voice of the narrator incorporating the sources into the narrative, could also be a sign of the obstinate resistance the real past was offering to the discursive reproduction of it at certain points. And the events did offer resistance for the story-line of the Theatre History: the most interesting are those episodes that are specifically defined as not "deserving" any attention,

"These words refer to the troubles between the director and the actors, which, by their nature, belong to that part of the life of the theatre, which does not deserve the attention of the historian, as we already have pointed out (II, p. 134). However, in this specific case we linger over them, since we have a document from the director's hand. This document is, to be honest, a classical piece of writing----."⁸²⁰

The narrator wanted to deliver a picture of the harmonious family called the Finnish Theatre Company and used his own memories to emphasize that, as was briefly mentioned above. He also aimed at showing the "backstage" and present the emotions and feelings attached to the theatre – but only certain kinds of emotions, and a very orderly backstage. In what follows, some examples

⁸¹⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 164.

⁸¹⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 74; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 331; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 404–405, 410; Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 228.

⁸²⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 329. See also, "Little details like that do not deserve the attention of the historian of the theatre, although it would be possible to present examples of them, based on the sources---"; "We think it is unnecessary to take a closer look at the reports of the rural newspapers---"; "It is impossible and unnecessary to report closer the wave of 'articles' dealing with the issue; only some of the more illuminating ones deserve our closer look---." Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 134, 136, 331. See also Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 246.

of the 'residue' – 'the flip side of selection'⁸²¹ – created by his representation will be approached: information that did not find its way to his narrative, sources that were not quoted.

The Theatre Company Looking for Enthusiasm

The Finnish Theatre Company's Drama Department gave its first performance in October 1872 not in Helsinki, where the Company was established, but in Pori, a small provincial town on the western coast of Finland, about 300 kilometers northwest of Helsinki. According to the narrator, Pori had been selected as the place of the premiere with "rational reasoning": the population was mainly Finnish-speaking and the cultural and political quarrels about the language situation had not reached the town yet.⁸²² The narrator tells the source of his information regarding the first performance in a foot-note: it was an article by Emil Nervander in the *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1906. As mentioned above, the "reliable" Nervander had been a long-term theatre critic, and the article is depicting the earliest "wobbly" steps of the present National Theatre around the time the first volume of the Theatre History was published.⁸²³

However, in his article Nervander is much more explicit about the practical thinking behind the first performances. The Finnish Theatre Company needed a good kick-start. It did not have to be "artistic"; the theatre was looking for an enthusiastic audience and thus positive feedback for the beginners. Helsinki with competition from two big, professional theatres (the New Theatre and the Russian Theatre) seems to have been totally out of the question since Nervander does not even mention it as a possibility but points out that the Finnish Theatre Company could not have been performing in either of the two big southern towns, Turku ("too close to the fancies of Stockholm") or Viipuri ("too close to St. Petersburg with its high-quality theatrical life"). The Theatre Company was probably also in need of positive news about the enterprise to feed

⁸²¹ Yet another term coined by Ann Rigney. According to her "every historical work generates its own 'residue.'" Rigney 2001, 100, 103, 107.

⁸²² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 6–7.

⁸²³ *Helsingin Sanomat* 2.11.1906 (no 255B).

the metropolitan newspapers, although Nervander does not go this far. These were the reasons for making the grand premiere in the small rural town. And, in contrast to the constant emphasis on the national dramatic *art* in the Theatre History, Pori was the perfect place to start since "(t)he innocent infatuation for societal plays had, in a way, put aside the more serious aesthetic considerations."⁸²⁴ To put it bluntly, this was what the young Finnish-language stage needed, although the narrator leaves this detail out of the narrative.

The narrator tells us about Kaarlo Bergbom's suspicions that it will take a huge amount of work before the Drama Department was to be regarded as an "art institution" and that the repertoire was compiled "taking the resources into account" and then, a bit later in his analysis of the Drama Department in 1872–1873, he points out that the actors did not really understand what "artistic" meant but, instead, they understood the national side of their enterprise.⁸²⁵ He also summarizes the Finnish-language skills of the actors as "less than satisfactory" and admits that there was a great deal of work to be done.⁸²⁶ To summarize: the narrator does point out the practical problems of the new theatre enterprise: the lack of practice and training and the incomprehensible Finnish the mostly Swedish-language actors produced.⁸²⁷

However, the strict chronological tempo of the story-line erodes the meaning and message of these analytical summaries. In between the abovementioned conclusions we are, page after page, following the troupe around Finnish inland towns during the summer of 1873 through the newspaper reviews quoted in the History, getting mainly the positive high-lights of these writings. Just to take one example: when the Drama Department performed in Kuopio, a town in northeastern Finland, in July 1873, the narrator informs the reader that the theatre was totally full, the audience enthusiastic and even the

⁸²⁴ Nervander also points out that the occupants of Pori did not suffer from the lack of money and had a great urge to entertain themselves. *Helsingin Sanomat* 2.11.1906 (no 255B).

⁸²⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 11, 13, 21.

⁸²⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 42.

⁸²⁷ The poor language skills of the actors was a topic discussed until the beginning of the twentieth century. See, for example, Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 275–276; IV (1910), 220–221; Otto Manninen in *Valvoja* 1.4.1904 (no 4). About the language problems in the correspondence of the Bergbom siblings, see, for example, Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom "Sept. 1879", 10.11.1885, 30.8.1886, Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom 23.7.1889. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collections 45, 46.

Finnish language of the actors was fine.⁸²⁸ The tone of the local newspaper, *Tapio*, was enthusiastic but reserved: the skills of the actors, both in acting and in language, were found rather tenuous.⁸²⁹

Thus, what we encounter here is the double narrative tactic: the summaries contain the more realistic evaluations, and the chronological, event-based narration concentrates on the positive reviews and thus repeats the story of success over and over again. And when the representation relies on the latter and on the selected source citations, the idealized image prevails.

The Problem of *Lea*

The central myth of the Finnish-language theatre, the performance of Aleksis Kivi's play *Lea*, is one of the main narrative ingredients of the first volume of the History.⁸³⁰ As a consequence, the actress in the leading role of the performance, Charlotte Hedvig Raa-Winterhjelm⁸³¹, became one of the heroes of the Finnish-language nationalists. However, the mythical dimensions these two – *Lea* and Charlotte Raa – soon also became a source of resistance for the narrative of the Theatre History.

In the Theatre History the narrator describes the feelings in 1869 after Charlotte Raa had entered the stage and uttered the first lines, "Indeed, there was a slight strange tone in the pronunciation, but the words were ringing so clear and bright that the almost anxious anguishness of the audience disappeared---."⁸³² The reader gets an impression of a linguistic miracle: the Swedish-language actress faithfully producing Finnish on the stage. However, it is possible to trace Raa's language in 1869 from later, often indirect references to the event. During Raa-Winterhjelm's guest performances in Helsinki in 1880 the *Uusi Suometar* newspaper wrote,

⁸²⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 63.

⁸²⁹ *Tapio* 19.7.1873 (no 29).

⁸³⁰ See, for example, Chapter 4 in the present study.

⁸³¹ Charlotte Raa had married a Norwegian in 1874 and taken the double-name Raa-Winterhjelm. Rossi 2006.

⁸³² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1906 (I), 136.

“(T)he foreign sound has almost altogether disappeared from Winterhjelm’s language – every now and then one hears a single consonant pronounced as a double one, or the other way around, but never in an insulting way---.”⁸³³

Charlotte Raa-Winterhjelm was visiting Finland in 1880, and had joined the Drama Department, rehearsing and performing in Pori, to give guest performances. The representation starts neutrally,

“The actress had given lessons in Helsinki in the autumn, a few soirees (in Viipuri) and had also promised to perform few times in the [Finnish] theatre. Keeping that in mind two plays had been taken into the repertoire, namely Friedrich Schiller’s *Maria Stuart* and Friedrich Halm’s (Münch-Bellinghausen’s) *Ravennan miekkailija* [*The Swordsman of Ravenna*]. The previous one had been rehearsed in Pori and the actress arrived there for the premiere.”⁸³⁴

The following representation of Raa-Winterhjelm’s visit in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s History is a creative mixture of direct quotations and summaries of the newspaper articles depicting the performances.

The troupe arrived at Helsinki in early November with Raa-Winterhjelm. The representation of the episode begins with a newspaper quotation, presented as verbatim in quotation marks in the body text, underlining the meaning of the Finnish-language stage for the patriotic atmosphere of the capital⁸³⁵ and referring to the performance by Raa, “It was the main attraction of the performance.”⁸³⁶ After the quotation the narrative proceeds by depicting briefly the performances given in Helsinki and mixing mainly two newspaper reviews with some details from two others (*Uusi Suometar* 19th November and 26th

⁸³³ *Uusi Suometar* 26.11.1880.

⁸³⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 64.

⁸³⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 68. The name of the newspaper is given but not the date. The quotation is from the *Uusi Suometar* 19.11.1880.

⁸³⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 68.

November 1880; *Uusi Suometar* 3rd December 1880⁸³⁷ and *Morgonbladet* 7th December 1880) without any source indicators.

After this event-based narration there is a pause in the narrative tempo: the narrator reproduces the benevolent reviews of Halm's abovementioned play *Ravennan miekkailija* (*The Swordsman of Ravenna*) as an indented summary, again without source references. In the middle of the 'contraction' there are two sentences represented as verbatim, that is in quotation marks. The first one, "The piece is worth seeing because of Leino's performance, if for no other reason" (from the *Uusi Suometar*), is a modification of a longer sentence in the newspaper. The second one, "The image created by the actor will stay forever in our memory", is an actual verbatim quotation (as a translation) from the *Morgonbladet*. The verbatim quotations not only inform the reader about the source (although not revealing the date⁸³⁸) but also shift the focus from Raa to her colleague, the actor Benjamin Leino. In the summary there is also one addition by the narrator, in square brackets.⁸³⁹

In other words, the representation is uncommonly complex and incoherent even in the framework of the Theatre History. One of the reasons for this confusing representation seems to be that the narrator was struggling with the resistance his sources offered for his story-line. Aspelin-Haapkylä is especially guarding the central myth of the Finnish-language stage: the almost miraculous performance of Aleksis Kivi's *Lea* in May 1869 with Raa in the leading role.

It is clear from the correspondence of the siblings Bergbom that they would have done many things to avoid the guest performances by Raa-Winterhjelm. They had been pondering the prospects of her visit already in the summer of 1879. Emilie Bergbom had written to Kaarlo,

“--- I have not mentioned it directly but only hinted to some (Wahlström, Almberg among others) that she might be coming here in the autumn and this piece of news was received with

⁸³⁷ The review is in the appendix of the newspaper from 3rd December, dated 4th December 1880.

⁸³⁸ The whole summary is a compilation of these two newspaper reviews, taken from the *Uusi Suometar* 3.12.1880 and the *Morgonbladet* 7.12.1880.

⁸³⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 69.

shudders; her last visit is still so well remembered. I think we should do all we can to avoid her visit since those persons I talked to were not enthusiastic for having her. 'Her awful Finnish will be disturbing now as we are accustomed to hearing better language [on the stage]'---."⁸⁴⁰

The threat materialized although Kaarlo Bergbom was pondering how to get rid of Raa-Winterhjelm as late as September 1880, and compiled a list of 20 options if she actually turned up, "As I see it we have the following possibilities: 1) She will not act – this is the best of them all --- 18) Lea – the last resource---".⁸⁴¹ The myth had become a burden for the directors of the Finnish Theatre Company.

As had been anticipated, the performances did not go that well although one cannot see that in the Finnish-nationalistic reviews or in the Theatre History, the representation of which is constructed on those reviews. However, Kaarlo Bergbom was feeling sorry for Raa-Winterhjelm, who performed for a half empty theatre, and simultaneously, pragmatically, hoping that Ida Aalberg, the leading actress of the Finnish Theatre Company, would soon return from her European study trip, "(I)t is unjust to perform for a half empty theatre with her [Raa-Winterhjelm] when we could have a good house with Aalberg."⁸⁴²

The sad state of affairs was later, in January 1881, revealed in the periodical *Finsk Tidskrift*, in its theatre article dealing with both the Finnish- and the Swedish-language theatres of the capital.⁸⁴³ The narrator refers to this writing only briefly and contemptuously in a footnote attached to the final departure of Raa-Winterhjelm. He writes, "Only in passing will we remind you that the *Finsk Tidskrift* saw it appropriate to talk in such an insulting manner about Mrs Winterhjelm's visit in its first number of the New Year, that her husband K.A. Winterhjelm saw it necessary to defend her and the whole Finnish party in the reply he sent."⁸⁴⁴ What the *Finsk Tidskrift* is actually doing is

⁸⁴⁰ Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom 23.6.1879. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 45.

⁸⁴¹ Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom 30.9.1880; see also 17.9.1880 (the letter is dated by Aspelin-Haapkylä with a question mark). The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 46.

⁸⁴² Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom 25.10.1880. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 46.

⁸⁴³ *Finsk Tidskrift* 1.1.1881, no 1.

⁸⁴⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 71 (footnote).

pointing out the half empty theatre during Raa-Winterhjelm's performances and the rhetorical camouflage to which the Finnish-nationalistic newspapers wrapped the event.

The sentences and details the author-historian selected from his sources and the 'residue' he left behind is not surprising. The performance of *Lea* had a huge symbolic value, which also influenced the way the Finnish-nationalists received Charlotte Raa-Winterhjelm. She was the reminder, the embodiment of the mythical birth moment of the Finnish-language stage both in Aspelin-Haapkylä's History and in the discourse of the community of the Finnish-nationalists as the newspaper reviews demonstrate. The narrator does not fabricate tales or forge the sources, nor does he deliver a false picture of the activities of the Finnish-language stage at the beginning of the 1880's. He compiles a very complex representation, which fluctuates between chronological event-based narration, direct quotations from several sources, summaries of those sources and authorial remarks both in the body text and in the footnotes. The complexity of the representation hides the unsaid: the reality that resisted the discursive representation of it.

The Place of the Actors in the Theatre History

As mentioned above, the narrator tries to avoid discussing the social relations of the theatre, especially the troubles between the directors and the actors: they were not "worthy of attention".⁸⁴⁵ He, however, dedicates two and half pages to describing the crisis within the theatre troupe in the autumn of 1874. According to the letters of the tour director Oskar Vilho, the actor Edvard Himberg (ca. 1851–1885⁸⁴⁶) had not only despised the Finnish language but had been drinking and fighting in public places. Vilho wrote a long letter to Emilie Bergbom describing the incident, first repeating some lines of the discussions of the common meeting where Himberg's destiny was decided on and then concluding with his own words,

⁸⁴⁵ See page 232 in the present study.

⁸⁴⁶ According to the *Uusi Suometar* newspaper, Himberg was "approximately" 34 years old when he died in 1885. *Uusi Suometar* 29.9.1885 (no 225).

“Kallio said: he should be dismissed immediately because he disdains his mother tongue, because he has ridiculed it, because he has, through his behaviour, disgraced both the theatre and our national task. Let the Finnish theatre disappear altogether until there are real Finnish actors for it. --- This dismissal [of Himberg] is, practically, a great loss for us, but it is an even greater victory for our national cause. An actor should love and honour the people he is serving with an exceptional vigour: the dramatic art is not cosmopolitan; it is totally worthless if the national spirit does not invigorate it, if the nation’s love does not resuscitate it.”⁸⁴⁷

The narrator adopts the declamatory tone of Vilho’s letters and some of his phrases and continues by analysing the situation on a more general level, with a slightly didactic tone, “The staff came from different parts of the country, and thus their spoken language was far from uniform. The principal means to improve the situation was naturally that the actors used Finnish in their everyday communication, since the good usage of language is not solely a question of memorizing but also a question of *habit*.”⁸⁴⁸ He makes further conclusions about the nature of the national theatre and its personnel: there were those who despised the Finnish-language, and those who “loved the Finnish language as their own possession, and as their people’s possession, and also understood that the Finnish stage had a particularly glorious task in promoting the usage and cultivation of this language. Thus one can understand how disagreement in this important matter disturbed the inner life of the troupe. But the worst thing was that the discord became known outside the theatre, too--.”⁸⁴⁹

The depiction of Himberg’s dismissal is the longest passage in the Theatre History dedicated to the actors. In the context of his representation of the crisis, the narrator declares that the Finnish Theatre Company is the “microcosm

⁸⁴⁷ Oskar Vilho to Emilie Bergbom 7.9.1874. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collection 53; in the Theatre History Vilho’s letter is cited from the point where he is pondering the meaning of Himberg’s dismissal. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 136.

⁸⁴⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 134. The italics by Aspelin-Haapkylä.

⁸⁴⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 135.

reflecting the society around it”.⁸⁵⁰ Accordingly, the crisis in question is a symptom of a more generic social and cultural trouble, not only a question of the theatre and its personnel. When the problems and quarrels were the outcome of breaking the rules of the social behaviour of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s class (especially when it came to deeds that could be defined in terms of promiscuity), or reflected the troubled relationship between the actors and the Bergboms, the representation is much more economical. The autumn and winter of 1883–1884 is a good example of this.

“When Emilie wrote the abovementioned letter to Kaarlo, all the members of the ensemble, except Ida Aalberg, had gathered together, and were in a good mood. The only exception was Aspegren, whose health was poor.”⁸⁵¹ This is the description of the general atmosphere of the Finnish Theatre Company at the start of August 1883. Again it is one of the literary beginnings: there is a reference to a letter mentioned earlier, which gives us the dating, and we can almost see the troupe getting together after their summer break as Emilie Bergbom sits and writes her letter. The mood is good: we get a depiction of a happy reunion of people working closely together. However, in spite of the promising start, the autumn turned out to be difficult, especially when it came to the personnel of the theatre, “Kaarlo did not tire, but he confesses, that he had not experienced such a difficult period before.”⁸⁵²

The narrator refers to several cases of illness, which made it hard, if not impossible, to rehearse⁸⁵³; the star actress Ida Aalberg was abroad and there was the possibility that she might not return to the theatre⁸⁵⁴; young actresses joined the troupe and married after they had received the preliminary training thus leaving the theatre.⁸⁵⁵ There are several letters written by both Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom during this trouble-filled period, since first Kaarlo was on his summer trip to Copenhagen, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Munich and the bathing destinations in Norway (Emilie Bergbom directed the theatre when her brother

⁸⁵⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 136.

⁸⁵¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 163.

⁸⁵² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 167–168.

⁸⁵³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 167.

⁸⁵⁴ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 167. As mentioned previously, Ida Aalberg had left the theatre in 1883 and moved to Denmark, whence she returned to Finland in 1887. Suutela 2005, 100–101.

⁸⁵⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 178.

was away) and after the trip he traveled with the troupe in Finland and left already in May 1884 to St. Petersburg, Berlin and Paris.⁸⁵⁶

The letters tell us that one of the actors who had fallen “ill” according to the Theatre History was a heavy opium user and had caused trouble on the stage and backstage due to his strong hallucinations.⁸⁵⁷ The uncertainty of Aalberg’s return troubled the siblings, too: they tried to think of a replacement but the obvious answer, Kaarola Avellan (1853–1930), an actress of long standing, did not speak Finnish well enough and, in addition, the Bergboms complained about the almost hostile division within the theatre troupe: there were actors who favoured Avellan with her upper class background and formal education in acting, and those who gathered around Ida Aalberg.⁸⁵⁸ It also seems that the siblings were pondering when to reveal their suspicions about Aalberg to the Board of Directors that did its best to economize counting carefully the revenues and the salaries, understanding well the meaning of Aalberg to the finances of the theatre, and, consequently, perhaps blaming the Bergbom siblings for losing her.⁸⁵⁹ In the middle of all this Kaarlo Bergbom was struggling with his apparently explosive temper and Emilie Bergbom tried to calm him down pointing out that outbursts were not beneficial for Kaarlo himself or for the atmosphere within the troupe.⁸⁶⁰

Some kind of culmination point for Emilie Bergbom was achieved in the late spring of 1884 when Mrs Lundahl, another long-term actress, found herself entangled in a scandal. There seems to have been an extramarital affair and perhaps even an illegitimate child; the letters are understandably quite reserved

⁸⁵⁶ About Kaarlo Bergbom’s travels, see Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 157–160 (letter quotations and Aspelin-Haapkylä’s description), 183–189 (letter quotations).

⁸⁵⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 167; Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom 8.6.1883; Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom 9.9.1883 and 18.9.83. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 45, 46.

⁸⁵⁸ Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom 26.9.1883, 4.11.1883; Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom 3.12.1883. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collections 45, 46. See also Suutela 2005, 69–71.

⁸⁵⁹ Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom 9.9.1883; Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom “November 1883” (dating by EAH); about the Board of Directors, Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom “Måndag qväll” (dating by EAH 5.-9.9.1883). The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collections 45, 46.

⁸⁶⁰ Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom 15.9.1883 and 19.11.1883; Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom KB 20.9.1883. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collections 45, 46.

with the details. Emilie Bergbom is volubly describing the situation to Kaarlo in one her letters,

“I cannot express how painfully it has influenced me; that precisely now, when there are fundraisings for the theatre all around the country, the members of the theatre act in this shameful manner. Those who claim that the theatre is the nest of vice and lechery get going again. However, extremely unlucky all this is for the wretched human being and her four poor little kids!”⁸⁶¹

In his concluding chapter of the last volume of the History Aspelin-Haapkylä is pointing out that some of the actors he is writing about are still alive and that is the reason for their occasional “imperfect” treatment.⁸⁶² However, it seems that there are other reasons, too, for the fluctuating description of the staff of the theatre: the narrator is directly accounting the troubles caused by the abovementioned Himberg, who had already been casted as one of the counter-heroes of the story.⁸⁶³ The treatment of Ida Aalberg is more cautious but has a clearly negative undertone: the indirect rebuke she received from Emilie Bergbom at her deathbed being the last entry for her.⁸⁶⁴ In addition, Charlotte Raa-Winterhjelm had died in February 1907, well before the second volume came out. Thus it was not only the wish to avoid harming those alive that made the authorial pencil less sharp in certain cases.

There are approximately 150 entries for the personnel of the theatre within the almost 1600-page story-space of the Theatre History, most of them consisting only of few sentences or of a small paragraph. In other words, it is a recurring, although underplayed, theme in the chronological tempo of the narrative. The lower class actors are discussed as if they were moody children

⁸⁶¹ Emilie Bergbom to Kaarlo Bergbom “the second day of Pentecost” (EAH’s dating 1884). The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 45.

⁸⁶² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 304.

⁸⁶³ See other negatively coloured definitions of Himberg, for example Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 389, 460.

⁸⁶⁴ See page 190 in the present study. In his diary from the writing period of the third part of the Theatre History Aspelin-Haapkylä points out that Aalberg had not thanked him for the personal copy she had received, “She is probably not happy either, although I did my best to refrain from injuring her.” Aspelin-Haapkylä’s diary 19.12.1909. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä’s archive, SKS Kia, A 492.

needing a strong hand guiding them forward.⁸⁶⁵ The metaphor of the National Theatre as the home of the national dramatic art was discussed in the previous chapter: in the History the family members never grow up (except for the Bergbom siblings), but always – ideally – remain under the paternal guidance of their parents.

Indeed, the ideal actor, according to the direct or indirect definitions of the Theatre History, is the one who is “willing [to obey], attentive and hard-working”⁸⁶⁶, understands that there will be no raises⁸⁶⁷, appreciates “associating with their hosts [the Bergboms] and the closest friends of the art institute, listening to music and singing, enjoying the homely feeling”⁸⁶⁸ and is “inclined to acknowledge an authority”⁸⁶⁹. All in all, s/he should be “a humble, silent servant of art”.⁸⁷⁰ These definitions underline the position of the actors as servants of the national cause, which also hides the dependency of the Bergbom siblings on their acting personnel, a theme so often surfacing in their correspondence.

The narrator appreciates, as did his German colleagues in the nineteenth century, the cultured, propertied middle classes as pillars of society and thus constructs a clear distinction between the government and the governed in the social world of the theatre. Consequently, the manner in which the opera singers and the few upper class actresses of the Drama Department are discussed in the Theatre History is distinctly different from the lower class staff. In the second volume the narrator introduces the actress Kaarola Avellan to his story, “The news about Ms Avellan joining the Finnish Theatre Company was a happy piece of information for its friends, since it goes without saying that only an inherited prejudice had prevented those, who were in the possession of higher education, to join it, and it was this prejudice Ms Avellan had courageously overcome.”⁸⁷¹

Actors had started their slow rise from the social level of prostitutes and jugglers to distinguished members of society already in the eighteenth century.

⁸⁶⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 425, 454; 1909 (III), 28–29, 62, 331–332.

⁸⁶⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 62.

⁸⁶⁷ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 126–127.

⁸⁶⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II) 454; see also 1909 (III), 28–29.

⁸⁶⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 248.

⁸⁷⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 55.

⁸⁷¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 274–275. Aspelin-Haapkylä uses the word ‘sivistys’ which could be translated as education, sophistication, or just simply as culture. Besides Avellan, there was yet another actress, Emilie Stenberg, who had an upper class background. Suutela 2005, 64 (caption).

However, it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century when the actors of the old and established institutes, such as the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, Denmark, started to mingle with the noblesse and other upper echelons of society. Until that the salaries, that were better than those of ordinary workers or civil servants at the beginning of their careers, had made the stage an appealing possibility even for some upper class women. On the other hand, the social position of actors and the general prejudices against the profession prevented any real change in the social background of it.⁸⁷² However, in the course of the nineteenth century the stage became the proponent of middle class values, and the audience started to demand bourgeoisie virtues from the actors, too, affecting the image of the theatre personnel.⁸⁷³ Accordingly, the actresses of the Finnish Theatre Company were, for example, encouraged to dress plainly⁸⁷⁴, to underline their status rather as the civil servants of the nation than as its entertainers.

The image of the ideal actor is displayed in the Theatre History when the two upper class actresses resigned. Of the abovementioned Avellan the narrator writes,

*“Kaarola Avellan had also previously been thinking of retiring. This might come as a surprise for those, who have read above about the big deeds --- the actress had done. But those who participated in the life of the theatre back then know also, that she seldom received the praise she would have deserved. --- She --- never mastered the Finnish language --- which gave the reason for continuous remarks from the critics. --- But she more than anyone else influenced the development of her friends. --- In other words, Ms Avellan is one of those notable persons, whose name should always be remembered and honourably mentioned in the history of our stage. The correspondence of the Bergbom siblings testifies how much they appreciated her.”*⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷² Suutela 2005, 126–127, 128–129.

⁸⁷³ Engberg 1995, 60–61, 110, 115, 123, 161–162, 457. Especially the female ballet dancers were held socially in low esteem at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Engberg 1995, 212.

⁸⁷⁴ Suutela 2005, 49 (caption).

⁸⁷⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 273–274. The italics by Aspelin-Haapkylä.

And, some years later, when Avellan's colleague Emilie Stenberg gave her notice, "The prima donnas come and go and receive ovations that are fabulous like them, but behind all that glitter is a feeling of expectation, since we all know that these persons *demand* noisy recognition. Things are different, when a humble, silent servant of art – like Ms Stenberg – unexpectedly receives an acknowledgement. It cannot be artificial but stems from honest sympathy and thankfulness."⁸⁷⁶

It was easier for the upper class actors, with some means of their own, to approach their work at the theatre as a vocation and not so much as ordinary work, conducted from one pay-day to the next, like Aalberg and other lower class actors were probably inclined to think. Accordingly, the actors coming from the lower classes receive harsher treatment in the Theatre History than those sharing the same social background with the author-historian. The above-quoted appraisal of Stenberg should be compared to the image of Ida Aalberg constructed in the History: she was a gifted actress but "seduced" by the fame and appraisal of the secular world.⁸⁷⁷ In addition, the opera singers and the upper class actors were embodiments of the linguistic and cultural conversion into Finnishness the generation of Aspelin-Haapkylä had gone through⁸⁷⁸, and their treatment both in newspaper reviews and in the Theatre History reflects this symbolic status they were invested with.

The representation of the autumn and winter of 1883–1884 is also a good example of the use the narrator puts the summaries (the 'contractions') of the sources to. His summary of the frantic letter exchange from the autumn of 1883 is, "The siblings Bergbom discuss several new plays in their letters during these weeks."⁸⁷⁹ Later on, when the narrator is referring to Emilie Bergbom's above-quoted letter containing elaborate ponderings about the social stigma brought about by Mrs Lundahl, he only hands us her thoughts about the grants some of the actors had received, and her worry that the plays of the eighteenth century

⁸⁷⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 55. The italics by Aspelin-Haapkylä.

⁸⁷⁷ See page 150 in the present study.

⁸⁷⁸ Suutela 2005, 71–72.

⁸⁷⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 165.

Danish playwright Ludvig Holberg appear so very outdated, if they are not performed well.⁸⁸⁰

But what was the destiny of poor Mrs Lundahl in Aspelin-Haapkylä's story, the misfortunes of whom were discussed above in the voice of the Bergbom siblings? She only deserves a passing note when the narrator describes the arrival of the troupe at Turku in September 1884, "Everyone was there, except Sala and Mrs Lundahl (who had resigned)."⁸⁸¹ This is the last remark on Selma Lundahl in the History, and the narrator does not shed further light on the destiny of the actress who betrayed "the cause, the theatre, the party, the public, the comrades".⁸⁸²

The Selected Sources of the Theatre History

In this chapter Aspelin-Haapkylä's aim at presenting the past "as it was"⁸⁸³ has been contrasted to the inevitable historiographical act he was engaging in in his representation. According to the nineteenth century ideal of the perfect history, a great amount of the story-space of the Theatre History is dedicated to the transcriptions of the sources and to the summaries (the 'contractions') of them. As Aspelin-Haapkylä points out in the epilogue, the source quotations were meant to authenticate the representation and anchor it to the past reality.⁸⁸⁴

The source-reference style used in the Theatre History makes the narrator very visible in his narrative: he is an overt narrator controlling the

⁸⁸⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 185–186.

⁸⁸¹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 192.

⁸⁸² "It is certain that she cannot stay at the theatre but make it clear to her that it is not us personally who are letting her go, but the cause, the theatre, the party, the public, the comrades." Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom "Paris Sunday 7th June 1884 (Aspelin-Haapkylä's dating). Earlier Kaarlo Bergbom had written to his sister from Paris about the Lundahl case, "---try and hide it from the Board of Directors. Let her resign in peace and quiet. After that her doings are not our business any more. She has, after all, fought with us for 12 years. And so have her four children." Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom "Tuesday 7th May 1884" (Aspelin-Haapkylä's dating). The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 46.

⁸⁸³ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 308–309.

⁸⁸⁴ In fiction, dialogues presenting the voices of the characters can be understood as picturing the real world – as a mimesis – which is framed by the narrator's voice. Copley 2001, 59, 64–65. Source citations in a historian's text could be understood to have this kind of mimetic quality, too, surrounded by the voice of the narrator.

massive proportions of the Theatre History and its merciless chronological rhythm. This narrator is not telling the parallel story of the research process nor is he verifying the arguments in the footnotes but is weaving them into the narrative by introducing the quotations into it and justifying his selection of the source excerpts. He is also constantly referring to the shared understanding of the past by addressing the reader by using the cosy and yet authoritative first person plural, “We are now facing an event that became the high point of the enthusiastic activities of this season.”⁸⁸⁵

The past does not, however, passively obey the authorial narrator⁸⁸⁶. The term ‘resistance’, that has been used when discussing both the way the sources challenged the story-line of the Theatre History and the way the narrator tackled these challenges, captures well the bipolarly active nature of the process of representing the past: the sources are not just moulding clay in the hands of the author-historian but actively shape the content and the form of the representation, also by forcing the narrator of a text to create rhetorical and narrative camouflages around events and episodes that do not fit the metanarrative behind the story.

As the examples above demonstrate, one of the central myths guarded in the Theatre History is the elevated, idealistic beginning of the Finnish-language theatre, including the performance of Kivi’s *Lea* and the fame of the actress who had the leading part in it. The starting point of the Finnish-language stage had to be special. Even the first years of the Theatre Company had to be meaningful: establishing a Finnish-language stage could not mean that there was just one more theatre company touring around the Finnish countryside, performing in (sometimes) crowded, over-heated or freezing barns and attics.⁸⁸⁷ The narrative

⁸⁸⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 34.

⁸⁸⁶ The ‘authorial narrator’ is a further concept for the narrating voice developed by Franz K. Stanzel (2001). Stanzel has distinguished between “three typical narrative situations” which describe the various possibilities of structuring the mediacy of narrative. These situations are: the first-person narrative situation, the authorial narrative situation and the figural narrative situation. The authorial narrator is accredited with omniscience and omnipresence: he has the psychological privilege of insight into the internal processes of the characters, the spatial privilege of invisible and fictive omnipresence and the temporal privilege of being able to survey the entire course of narrative events. Neumann and Nünning 2008, 83–85.

⁸⁸⁷ See, for example, Oskar Vilho to Kaarlo Bergbom 12.9.1874, 15.5.1877, 16.9.1877, 20.10.1878. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom, SKS Kia, letter collection 53. When Kaarlo Bergbom starts to tour with the Company after the Opera has been closed down, he, too, complains about the varying premises the theatre company faced, too small scenes and other obstacles. See, for

means and the selection of the sources contributed decisively to the creation of the idealized picture: the chronological tempo of the event-based narration and the positive reviews that are quoted conceal the more analytical parts shedding light on the problems of the enterprise; the silence about the reality of Charlotte Raa-Winterhjelm's guest performance hides behind the voluble, mosaic-kind of representation of that autumn.

In addition, the narrator aims at delivering a much idealized picture of the inner life of the theatre troupe. This is achieved by two means. Firstly, there is only a very exclusive group of persons who are allowed a voice in the Theatre History in spite of its heavy reliance on the direct source quotations. The narrator constructs the heroes of the story around the ideals of the philosopher J.V. Snellman and the party leader Yrjö Koskinen, emphasizing the importance of the internalized nationness and the task of the elite in the nation building process. This points to the paradigmatic models acquired rather from the German Historicist School than the French history-writing in which it often was the 'people' who were the driving force of history.

Secondly, the narrator dedicates some space for those social troubles that could be explained by the society around the theatre and the vices infiltrating from it into the ideal community, but many confrontations within the theatre are just rhetorically minimized into "squabbles"⁸⁸⁸ and "intrigues and fancies"⁸⁸⁹ or are conceptualized as "revolts"⁸⁹⁰ pointing to the potent threat they may expose the social order to: a very concrete danger for Aspelin-Haapkylä's party comrades in the middle of the socially and politically troubled period at the beginning of the twentieth century. The depiction of the troupe in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is concomitant with the ideology of the theatre faction of the Finnish-nationalists in the nineteenth century: the reputation of the national enterprise was guarded and the unpleasant issues, be it troubles with the economy or with the personnel of the theatre, were not supposed to be

example, Kaarlo Bergbom to Emilie Bergbom 18.4.1891, 15.5.1891. The archive of Emilie and Kaarlo Bergbom. SKS Kia, letter collection 47.

⁸⁸⁸ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 448 (footnote).

⁸⁸⁹ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 272.

⁸⁹⁰ Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909 (III), 329; 1910 (IV), 146.

leaked to the public.⁸⁹¹ As mentioned above, the worst thing in the scandal that the actor Himberg created was “that the discord became known outside the theatre, too.”⁸⁹²

There are only few explicit references to the process of selection in the History but implicit signs abound. There are also some points when the narrator explicitly refuses to discuss events, episodes or persons the sources could nevertheless shed light on: he does not go into the details of the disagreements within the theatre nor does he tell us the names of the ladies responsible for humiliating an opera singer of the Finnish-language troupe. Where these exclusions are admitted, the narrator directly displays his privilege to control the narrative and his authorial power over the sources and the readers.

The content (the story-line) is, again, closely connected to the form of the representation including the ways of representing the sources and referring to them. Indeed, the source reference style adopted in the Theatre History reflects the author-historian’s understanding of history: the sources are not critically questioned but selected to stand for the story-line and the metanarrative. The consistent but confusing way of referring to the sources downplays the usability of the History as a source publication but, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of the narrating voice as the ultimate guide the reader has in his/her excursion to the past: the reader either has to trust the professional interpretation delivered by the extradiegetic, omniscient, overt narrator, underlined by those conventions of history-writing he has adopted or abandon it. According to the reviews most of the readers did not resist but were happy to follow the voice of this narrator.

⁸⁹¹ Even Aspelin-Haapkylä points out in the second volume, that there are no documents dealing with the finances of the theatre in the mid-1870’s – probably because the directors did not want to make the catastrophic situation known outside its walls. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 249.

⁸⁹² Aspelin-Haapkylä 1907 (II), 135.

7 THE RECEPTION

In the last chapter of the close reading of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History the frame of inquiry will be expanded: all along there have been references to the intertextual field within which the History was written; now the readers' responses to it, mainly around the time of its publication, will be approached. The responses a text creates define and redefine it and are thus a part of the paratexts around it, according to the definitions of Gérard Genette.⁸⁹³ As was already pointed out in the introduction, the reviewers were repeating direct quotations from Aspelin-Haapkylä's History in their articles, and in this sense Aspelin-Haapkylä's story-space expands or spills over the limits of its concrete space.

Genette's claim of the important role the paratexts have in the creation of a text seems to be still slightly radical within the field of literary scholarship: the public discussion is not very often approached as an influential contributor in the field of literature, and as a consequence, there is usually only a short chapter dedicated to the role of literary reviews in literary histories. This means that an important part of the interpretative process, where the messages and meanings of the text in question are discussed, transmitted, confronted and consolidated, is not taken into account. However, it has been observed that reading a text, interpreting a text and evaluating a text, all become public, social actions in criticism. It is criticism that reveals the social and historical conditions defining literary products in their contexts of publication.⁸⁹⁴

Although historians interested in the history of history-writing are more prone to take the readers' reactions into account, the above-cited definition of the role of criticism in the meaning-giving process of a single piece of history-writing is good to bear in mind. To the extent that the story told has a representational function, it is by definition not the exclusive intellectual

⁸⁹³ According to Genette, the readers' responses are usually actually epitexts, "The epitext is any paratextual element not materially appended to the text within the same volume but circulating, as it were, freely---." Genette 1997, 344.

⁸⁹⁴ Krogerus 1992, 12-13; Krogerus 2010, *passim*.

property of an autocratic writer but is open to elaboration, supplementation and correction by its readers; consequently, besides being an author, a historian is also the 'secretary of society'.⁸⁹⁵

A piece of history-writing is a representation of a (historical) phenomenon in question and also a response to the collective culture of historical writing. The reception of the work is a reaction both to the narrative itself and to the culture of historical writing, including the narrative matrices it offers for a historian. The reception either reproduces them or aims at constructing alternative narratives and cultures (naturally both can be, and often are, done simultaneously). Reviews also tell us what was required of and expected from history-writing in a certain period and shed light on the researcher/writer profile of the historian whose work is under scrutiny: what was expected from and permitted to the historian in question.

When it comes to the (Old-Finnish) national historiography Aspelin-Haapkylä presents, it is interesting to ask if the reviews adopted a critical approach to its metanarrative and the singular interpretations the narrator offers, or if they accepted them, thus acting as public extensions of Aspelin-Haapkylä's view on the history of the Finnish-language theatre and its politico-cultural meaning. In order to better understand Aspelin-Haapkylä's position on the field of history-writing, the reviews of the Theatre History have also been compared to the reviews of his other publications from the beginning of the century: the abovementioned biography on Lars Stenbäck (1900), the collection of essays *Muoto- ja muistikuvia I-III (Portraits and Memorials, 1911-1912, 1914)* and the biography on the businessman Alfred Kihlman (1915-1918).

Old-Finnish Responses

Many critics responded to Aspelin-Haapkylä's works with extensive resumés of 8-10 pages. In these writings the reviewers often reflected their own participatory role and their own input in the Finnish nationalistic movement, and also took the chance to comment on the contemporary political situation.

⁸⁹⁵ In this formulation Ann Rigney follows Balzac. Rigney 2001, 39.

The Finnish-language theatre and the Old-Finnish nationalism were discussed more than the study in question, in a reflective, almost essayistic style, which was a very typical way of writing literary and scholarly reviews at the turn of the century.⁸⁹⁶

The metaphors in history-writing, as well as in other fields of literary efforts, often stem from a range of natural phenomena and so did the metaphors used in the reviews on Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History.⁸⁹⁷ The Old-Finnish reviewers were swept off their feet by nationalistic sentiment when reading Aspelin-Haapkylä's oeuvre and the outcome of this emotional torment was a mixture of national rhetoric and metaphors and images of nature.⁸⁹⁸ For example, Maila Talvio (1871–1951), a young novelist who belonged to the circle around the literary periodical *Aika*, wrote an ecstatic, speech-like appraisal of the History. The focal point of her review is the description of the central agents behind the theatre enterprise,

"There they were standing, in the middle of a storm, poverty and ridicule; they were the selected ones, those who were guarding the light against the draft, tending and protecting their garden of flowers, gazing at the lovely, invigorating sunrise."⁸⁹⁹

Another reviewer writing to the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* emphasized the mission of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History in the same tone, also reflecting more generally on the task of national history-writing: it should evoke anger in the "minds of the noble individuals" against those who had hindered the national aspirations; history-writing was, at its best, "the sap of our national mission".⁹⁰⁰

Emblematic for the reviews is the feeling of change and regret for the paradise already lost. The past, that is the quite recent late nineteenth century, is depicted as an era of national heroes and heroic deeds that can be nostalgically

⁸⁹⁶ See also Jukka Tervonen on the reviews of the historian J.R. Danielson-Kalmari's publications. Tervonen 1991, 87.

⁸⁹⁷ Nature-related vocabulary was widely used to discuss and depict the politics of the Grand Duchy in the nineteenth century, as I already discussed in Chapter 5. The novelist Juhani Aho with his short stories was an important proponent of this kind of politico-poetic language. Häggman 2001, 115; see also Rigney 1990, 44.

⁸⁹⁸ Juha Ala has made the same observation about the general language usage in the newspapers when the Russification culminated around the turn of the century: wordings and expressions were dramatic and emotional. Ala 1999, 149.

⁸⁹⁹ Maila Talvio: Suomalaisen Teatterin historia, III osa", *Uusi Suometar* 19.12.1909 (no 294).

⁹⁰⁰ *Uusi Suometar* 3.1.1908 (no 2).

longed for at the beginning of the twentieth century. The readers of the Theatre History and other studies by Aspelin-Haapkylä from the same period were looking back into the “morning of our national awakening”⁹⁰¹, “the glorious era of the national art”⁹⁰², “the period of the individuals burning with patriotism --- those few veterans left alive”⁹⁰³, “the birth of the New Finland”⁹⁰⁴. In other words, what was found in the past, or to be more precise, in the pages of history-writing, was “the cultural period that has passed in its entirety”⁹⁰⁵, populated by the “first generation of the national revivalists”⁹⁰⁶. The values and the moral example of that time should be transferred and delivered to those who had not experienced it personally. Indeed, most of the reviews ended in elevated declarations such as, “Let it be distributed to thousands and thousands of Finnish homes, to warm and enlighten the hearts and the minds there”⁹⁰⁷, or, as the abovementioned Talvio said about the Theatre History, “Let this book become a handbook of Finnishness and a textbook of citizenship, let every Finn hear its binding and exhorting language”.⁹⁰⁸

The selective memory of the Finnish-nationalists worked well. As discussed in the previous chapters, the archival sources reveal recurring conflicts between the directors and the actors and economic troubles that continued for decades, and the Theatre History refers to some of these problems, too. In spite of this Antti Jalava (Almberg), who had also been a member of the Board of the Theatre, writes after the publication of the first volume, obviously anticipating the volumes to come,

”The enthusiasm of the Director and his colleagues invigorated the actors and actresses, too, and they were dedicated to their task with pleasure and hard work, paying no attention to the scarcity of the income. This enthusiasm spread all the way to the audience,

⁹⁰¹ “Kappale suomalaista sivistyshistoriaa. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: Suomalaisen teatterin historia. Toinen osa.” *Helsingin Sanomat* 31.12.1907 (no 302).

⁹⁰² *Uusi Suometar* 31.12.1907 (no 302).

⁹⁰³ “Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: Muoto- ja muistikuvia II”. *Helsingin Sanomat* 9.10.1912 (no 233).

⁹⁰⁴ “Alfred Kihlman Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylän kuvaamana”. *Uusi Suometar* 21.11.1915.

⁹⁰⁵ Arvio Alfred Kihlman -elämäkerrasta, *Aamulehti* 12.12.1915.

⁹⁰⁶ *Uusi Suometar* 19.12.1909 (no 294).

⁹⁰⁷ Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylän Muoto- ja Muistikuvien II osa.” *Uusi Suometar* 9.10.1912 (no 233). See also the reviews of the Theatre History in the *Helsingin Sanomat* 31.12.1907 (no 302) and the *Karjala* 12.12.1909 (no 288).

⁹⁰⁸ *Uusi Suometar* 19.12.1909 (no 294).

which, besides supporting the theatre ideologically, also supported it financially---.”⁹⁰⁹

However, *The Historical Periodical* which was established in 1903 to act as a forum for scholarly discussion and also to introduce academic history research to the general public⁹¹⁰ adopted a slightly more critical tone, “A theatre history, consisting of 1600 pages! What a peculiar phenomenon in [our] literature, where thorough historical representations of much more important fields of culture still remain to be written”.⁹¹¹ Professor Adolf V. Streng, writing in 1912, was not alone; nearly every review had mentioned the massive measures of Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History but usually in a positive tone, emphasizing the need to compile collections of sources from the national past.

In spite of all the praise and the high nationalistic rhetoric of the reviews, especially from those who had been close to the theatre circles, the reviewers also found reasons to be critical. Aspelin-Haapkylä had been criticized for the lack of clarity, and thus a more analytical, research-oriented approach had been demanded ever since the early biography on the Pietist preacher Lars Stenbäck. In the review of the biography on the businessman Alfred Kihlman the reviewer observed that the book would have benefitted greatly by a thematic approach.⁹¹² On the other hand, usually the strict chronological story-line and also the descriptive style Aspelin-Haapkylä used in his biographies and in his Theatre History were taken as self-evident modes of representation, and his very long recourses to the original sources were commonly praised. The detailed narrative contained “beneficial wholesomeness”⁹¹³ and the “understanding devotion” of the author-historian provided the reader with “the feeling of congenial safety”.⁹¹⁴

⁹⁰⁹ *Aika* no. 3, 1.2.1907

⁹¹⁰ Tuusvuori 2007, 170.

⁹¹¹ Adolf V. Streng: Suomalaisen teatterin historia. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, no. 1, 1912, 37.

⁹¹² “Alfred Kihlman Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylän kuvaamana”, *Uusi Suometar* 21.11.1915.

⁹¹³ *Helsingin Sanomat* 16.12.1906.

⁹¹⁴ “Alfred Kihlman Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylän kuvaamana”, *Uusi Suometar* 21.11.1915.

Critical Voices: Juhani Aho and Eino Leino

The abovementioned critical points were always, in the end, wrapped up in the appraisal of the author who had provided the nation with a collection of valuable sources from its past. There were, however, two central cultural figures who had a more critical approach to Aspelin-Haapkylä's interpretation⁹¹⁵: Eino Leino (1878–1926), the 'national poet', and Juhani Aho (1861–1921), the praised and awarded novelist and journalist. They both belonged to the Young Finnish Party, were close to the liberals and critical of the political means of the Old Finns in resisting the Russification efforts of the 1890's especially. Leino particularly was also criticizing the Old-Finnish dominance of the field of the national culture, and there were personal antipathies between Leino and Aspelin-Haapkylä as well.⁹¹⁶

Juhani Aho was a literary institution already at the turn of the century: he was so important that the reviewers did not obey the party discipline when writing about his works.⁹¹⁷ In spite of the literary scandals attached to him (especially the novel *Yksin*, 'Alone', describing a lonely man in Paris) he was the "true national novelist", the cultural Messiah of the nation, whom the nationalistic intelligentsia had been looking for.⁹¹⁸

In other words, it can safely be assumed that the reviews Aho wrote on Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History were the interpretative poles around which the discussion circulated and also important for Aspelin-Haapkylä himself. The relationship between the two men was amiable in spite of their political differences, and Aspelin-Haapkylä was the agent behind the retirement allowance for artistic achievements Aho received at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁹¹⁹ In the spirit of mutual understanding Aho wrote a very favourable review on the second volume of the Theatre History for the main

⁹¹⁵ On the whole, silence seems to have been the main response from those who did not accommodate the worldview of the Old Finns. For example, the Swedish-nationalistic periodical *Finsk Tidskrift* mentions the Theatre History once, in the list of the books sent to the periodical. *Finsk Tidskrift* 1.1.1911 (no 1-2).

⁹¹⁶ Häggman 2012, 203; Krogerus 1992, 151–153; Larmola 1990, 67–71; see also Aspelin-Haapkylä's short reference to Leino's new play *Sota valosta* (1900), Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 143–144.

⁹¹⁷ Krogerus 1992, 146–147.

⁹¹⁸ Häggman 2001, 125–126; Krogerus 1992, 129, 146–147.

⁹¹⁹ Häggman 2012, 215–216; Niemi 1986, 309.

(Young-Finnish) newspaper of the capital, the *Helsingin Sanomat*. The Old-Finnish camp saw Aho's writing as a small political victory, and the reviewer of the other main newspaper, the (Old-Finnish) *Uusi Suometar*, commented in his review more on Aho's review than the actual Theatre History.⁹²⁰

However, Aho's opinion of Aspelin-Haapkylä's History grew more critical in the course of the writing and publication period, which is apparent when the third volume was published in 1909.⁹²¹ Aho ends his review of the volume by thanking Aspelin-Haapkylä's for his efforts for the national culture. The beginning of the review is, however, very negative. In Aho's characterization the History is a swollen and dry collection of sources, and the reviewer reproaches it for the lack of distance and its straightforward hero-worship, "Everything Bergbom did was right; if there was a controversy he was right and everyone else wrong."⁹²²

According to Aho, who had been studying History at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki⁹²³, the main merit of the third volume was its documentation of the correspondence of the Bergboms. However, he was longing for other kinds of sources, too: explorations of the Diet discussions, oral history about the theatre. In other words, on the one hand the History was criticized for its proportions, on the other praised for its archival nature; on the one hand history-writing should be based on an ample collection of both official and private sources, on the other employ a lively narrative emphasizing anecdotal, personal history.

Aspelin-Haapkylä answered Aho's criticism, but very privately. In his archive there are his diligently kept scrapbooks into which Aspelin-Haapkylä attached Aho's critical review. In the margins of Aho's review Aspelin-Haapkylä wrote his indignant commentaries with a pencil, thus engaging himself in a very one-sided dialogue with Aho. He corrects and comments on Aho. "Wrong!" is the answer to Aho's claim that Bergbom tried to guide the playwright Minna Canth,

⁹²⁰ "Muut lehdet", *Uusi Suometar* 3.1.1908; *Helsingin Sanomat* 21.12.1907.

⁹²¹ "Bergbomit kirjeittensä valossa. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: Suomalaisen Teatterin historia. III.", *Helsingin Sanomat* 14.12.1909; however, in his final review after the last volume had been published, Aho conceded that the Theatre History was a great national deed indeed. *Helsingin Sanomat* 30.12.1910 (no 302).

⁹²² "Bergbomit kirjeittensä valossa. Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: Suomalaisen Teatterin historia. III.", *Helsingin Sanomat* 14.12.1909.

⁹²³ Aho 1951, 191–192.

who dealt with realistic themes, towards patriotic historical plays, and "Hardly that bad?" is the remark when Aho characterizes the History as a "mere collection of sources". In addition Aspelin-Haapkylä defends Kaarlo Bergbom. "But he also admired *Nummisuutarit*⁹²⁴!" he points out when Aho refers to the theatrical ideals of Bergbom resting on Schiller, Goethe and Shakespeare.⁹²⁵

Aspelin-Haapkylä did not answer Aho publicly, but perhaps the literary ending of the fourth volume can be seen as a concession for Aho's demand for more animated narrative, including the memoirs of those who had known the Bergboms. However, the marginal commentaries reveal how severely Aho's criticism affected Aspelin-Haapkylä. The Theatre History was partly his intellectual autobiography, since he was writing very personally about the branch of national art he had eagerly promoted all through his life. Perhaps it was also a double disappointment that the critical review was written by Juhani Aho. The most critical reviews of the other skeptic, Eino Leino, were not attached to the scrapbooks.

Leino reviewed the Theatre History three times in the course of the publication period.⁹²⁶ Especially the two later ones, dealing with the second and the fourth volume and published in the Young Finnish periodicals *Päivä* and *Valvoja* in 1908 and 1911, form a sharp contrast to the other writings about the History. First of all, they are very short, almost as an intended contrast to the proportions of the Theatre History. The style is more sardonic than serious. The author of the Theatre History is "equipped with rare productivity", and the explanation of the size of the History is that its pages are "filled with letters and newspaper reviews --- in general the abovementioned are useful --- even here an occasional newspaper review would have served its purpose---." According to Leino, the author is not very talented when it comes to the means of narration. However, the review in the *Päivä* ends in a declaration, "We must be grateful for this representation – the representation coloured as rosily as it is possible – of the famous past of the Finnish-language theatre."⁹²⁷

⁹²⁴ A Finnish-language rural comedy written by Aleksis Kivi.

⁹²⁵ Aspelin-Haapkylä's scrapbooks. The archive of Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, SKS Kia, 71.

⁹²⁶ *Helsingin Sanomat* 16.12.1906; the periodical *Päivä* 23.1.1908 and the periodical *Valvoja* 1.4.1911.

⁹²⁷ *Päivä* 23.1.1908

The core of Leino's criticism is, using his own words, the suffocating nationalism of the Old Finns. He acknowledges the main antagonism in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History, that is the language-based disputes between the Swedish- and the Finnish-speaking population, by pointing to the way the Swedish-speaking elite had "wronged" those using the Finnish-language in the nineteenth century. However, according to Leino, the Young Finns, that is his party, also knew another kind of suppression, namely that of the Old-Finnish interpretations of the Finnishness. Their definitions of the national culture were narrow, oppressive and old-fashioned, very far from the cosmopolitan and liberal views the Young Finns were vouching for. In his review Leino is wondering how the noon following such a bright dawn of the Finnish-nationalism can be so grey and dark. "The answer is that the dawn was Finnish, the noon Old-Finnish."⁹²⁸

All in all, according to the reviews the cult of Kaarlo Bergbom, on the creation of which Aspelin-Haapkylä decisively contributed, seems to have been widely accepted, as were also Aspelin-Haapkylä's interpretation of the meaning of the Finnish-language theatre for the national culture, his story-line (as depicted, for example, in the thematic titles of the different volumes) and the literary, sometimes fictive narrative means to persuade the readers. It seems that the novelist Aho and the poet Leino tolerated the first, more thematic part of the theatre history, but their later reviews were the critical exceptions in the newspaper publicity of the Grand Duchy, which concentrated on cherishing the memory of the national hero, Bergbom. Aho's and Leino's critical approach form a counter point to the solid front of reviewers who admired and spoke for the nationalistic history-writing.

Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä's *History of the Finnish Theatre Company* was written from the point of view of the generation that had lived through all the phases of the construction of a nation-state from the elite-directed cultural enterprise that turned into a political, party-based movement facing the rise of popular mass organizations, the birth of the 'labour question' and the challenges of the general franchise and the following re-escalating language disputes. This individual and collective experience of uncontrollable change resulted in the

⁹²⁸ *Päivä* 23.1.1908. See also Tuusvuori 2007, 188.

constant emphasis on the consensus and the role the civilized upper classes should have in defining the national culture, and to the efforts to ignore the birth of the modern, independent and individual citizen and the polyphonic civic society.

The reviewers, most of whom belonged to the next generation of the Finnish-nationalists, reflected on the experience of the older Finnish-nationalists when writing about the History, and most of them accepted it as an integral part of their own world view. And, as has been previously pointed out, Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History has remained the central interpretation of the Finnish-language stage in the nineteenth century and the lasting textual monument for the national past. When the centenary of Aspelin-Haapkylä's birth was commemorated in 1947, the memorial address characterized his oeuvre as "monumental memorials --- comparable to those shaped out of marble or copper".⁹²⁹

⁹²⁹ Muutama sivistyshistoriamme merkkipäivä (Valtioneuvos E. Aspelin-Haapkylän syntymästä sata vuotta), *Kaleva* 12.10.1947.

8 CONCLUSIONS: THE IDEAL OF HISTORY

In the previous chapters different forms of the “binding and exhorting language of a handbook of Finnishness and a textbook of citizenship”⁹³⁰, namely *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* were explored. As a conclusion of the present study I will first go back to each volume of the History and its specific narrative characteristics. After that I will address a claim made in the introduction, namely that history-writing is a strong identity discourse, by discussing the relationship between the content and the form in the constitution of meaning in history-writing and the way the form of history-writing can support an ideology of a given community. By doing this the main theme of the study – how the Finnish nation was written at the beginning of the twentieth century by writing about the Finnish-language theatre in the late nineteenth century – will be recapitulated.

The first volume of the Theatre History – *The Prehistory of the Theatre and its Establishment* – consists of chronological and thematic entities. The knots in the story-line are tightly tied together to make the prehistory of the Finnish-language stage a logical entity and thus a convincing story; the gateways and passages between different milestones or turning points in the development of the Finnish-language drama and the preconditions of the Theatre Company are carefully pointed out and the milestones vividly depicted. The representation of the performance of *Lea* constitutes an almost mythical conversion experience by different narrative means: religious rhetoric, changes in verb tenses, the subplot structure running from the original scruples through the dawning hope to the ultimate relief. It is the grand, charged beginning in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s Theatre History: suddenly there was a Finnish-language stage (although in practice only three years later). The establishment of the Theatre is depicted as the inevitable outcome of the development of the national dramatic art, but especially of the maturation of the leader of the theatre company, Kaarlo Bergbom. In Aspelin-Haapkylä’s story-line the contemporary politics had no role to play in the

⁹³⁰ *Uusi Suometar* 19.12.1909 (no 294).

establishment of the theatre and, consequently, there were no reasons to consider all the other possible turns the events could have taken.

This foundational myth – *Lea* – is reinforced and guarded all through the History. It has been proposed that a mythical narrative should be viewed as a particular discourse, activated to justify order and authority in a community facing a catastrophe.⁹³¹ Although reading the representation of *Lea* like this would perhaps be extending the definition of the mythical narrative too far, it could be argued that if a historical narrative can partly entail mythical subnarratives, then the representation of *Lea* in the Theatre History is a prototypical example: it tells about conditions prior to history (in this case, prior to the establishment of the Theatre Company), it has affective dimensions and it serves as a normative point of orientation.⁹³² On the whole, perhaps the entire first volume of the History could then be defined as a mythical narrative aiming at restoring the ideal state of the community, emphasizing morals and norms, written in the middle of the political and cultural crises of the early twentieth century, depicted almost in apocalyptic colours in Aspelin-Haapkylä's diaries.

In the first volume we also encounter many examples of dialogical scenes in the text – sometimes gliding to the area resembling free indirect speech – blurring the boundaries between the voice of the narrator and those of his characters. The narrator does not acknowledge the crossing of the borderline between assertions that have the character of factual narration and the assertions that seem to imply authorial invention. I argued that these episodes in the narrative could be understood not only as fictional but fictive. Thus, disregarding the border between non-fictive and fictive narration seems to provide the narrator with an effective representational matrix to depict the worldview of those who established the Finnish-language stage, a matrix that emphasizes the authority of the author-historian and his understanding of the true nature of the events. The dialogues are also a way to invest the first years of Finnish-language stage touring around the countryside with other theatre companies – the subject matter of the second volume – with meaning. The voices from the first volume reach over to the second one and garnish the Drama

⁹³¹ Ifversen 2010, 453–457; Ifversen follows partly Hayden White's article *Catastrophe, Communal Memory and Mythic Discourse* (2000).

⁹³² *Ibid*, 453–455.

Department of the Finnish Theatre Company with a national rhetoric that makes it more important than just a touring theatre company struggling to survive.

Furthermore, the fictive encounters and the idealistic dialogues can be understood as typifications of a certain period and its intellectual atmosphere. It is also possible to see all the descriptions of the emotions, expectations, motivations and fears of different characters in the history of the Finnish-language theatre as a collective biography, an exemplification of a true nationalist (or, sometimes an erring nationalist as its counter point) and perhaps even also as an embodiment of the body politic, and the personification of a nation. In this sense Aspelin-Haapkylä participates in the *magistra vitae*-topos, that is history as a pedagogical collection of exempla, which had dominated Western historiography from Antiquity, but uses it creatively in the high season of national history-writing. In other words, besides the story-line depicting his main protagonists, Kaarlo and Emilie Bergbom, there is also the third biographical story-line and thus a protagonist: the ideal playwright-actor-spectator who completes the trinity.

The tailor-made scenes as a central narrative means lead to one of the central points of the present study. It is argued that the scholarly history-writing and other genres within the culture of historical writing interacted closely in Europe in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, and that the period was still at an intermediate stage between different traditions of historical writing. Topics were certainly being recycled in the field of historical writing (the historical novel, play and scholarly history-writing), perhaps even narrative means, as some of the narrative characteristics of the Theatre History – for example the dialogues – and the similar requirements of ‘good’ scholarly and fictive historical writing in historical review articles imply. However, to argue for the latter point in the specific Finnish context would require comparative close readings of the late nineteenth century historical novels and scholarly history-writing. Furthermore, it seems to have been important and widely acknowledged that novelists, playwrights and historians all contributed to the creation of the national past.

The amount of sacrifices required from the establishers of the Finnish Theatre Company is emphasized both in the first and in the second volume. An

aestheticized scenic arrangement with Kaarlo Bergbom as the central figure marks the entrance to the story-space of the second volume, and hence to the history of the actual Theatre Company. On a general level the story-line and the narrative in that volume revolve around the opposition between the economical representation – almost a non-narrative – of the Drama Department and the enthusiastic descriptions of the Finnish-language opera. The formulaic representation of the operatic events dictates the tone of the volume, with the reactions of the audience in the central place. The years of the Finnish Opera are an exemplification of a truly national theatrical community: educated upper class performers, led by a genius director, greeted by an appreciative audience. The ideal audience was also, characteristically, an obedient audience; the interaction between the stage and the audience was ideally one-way communication only, with the audience as an appreciative receiver accepting the monologues of nationness the Finnish-language stage performed.⁹³³ On a more general level this kind of representation of the theatrical community implies Aspelin-Haapkylä's understanding of Finnishness not as a dialogical, negotiable quality but something firmly controlled by the leading stratum of the society.⁹³⁴

The opera had often been political dynamite in Europe, especially in the eighteenth century⁹³⁵, but in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History it is a symbolic safe haven in the middle of the revolutionary tendencies of realistic, naturalistic drama and the lower classes gathering their political strength. However, the depiction of the opera as a preparatory step for the high season of the Finnish-language drama, rather than as the ultimate outcome of the efforts of the Finnish-nationalists, was crucial for the emplotment of inevitability of the Theatre History: its bankruptcy is thus a positive event, the "beautiful sunset" of the Finnish-language operatic culture, promising a "new dawn" of the national dramatic art.

The most important binary opposition running through the entire History is very visible in the second part: the narrator takes recourse to the trope of

⁹³³ Pikkanen 2010, 231.

⁹³⁴ An interesting point of comparison is a Norwegian theatre history written in the same period, the story-line of which revolves around the active public sphere commenting, criticizing and negotiating the stage. Pikkanen 2010, *passim.*, and especially 227–232.

⁹³⁵ For example *The Marriage of Figaro* had caused a revolt in Paris in 1784. Holland & Patterson 1995, 274–277. In the Finnish context, see Lampila 2002, 380, 382–383.

irony when discussing and defining the Swedish-nationalists and the New Theatre. In the third volume these binary oppositions, that is points of contrast between the ideal and the non-ideal, are abundant. The collection of villains or counter-heroes grows rapidly, including not only the Swedish-nationalists but “unpatriotic” playwrights and actors, too, and these characters are described with an authoritative and emotionally engaging language. Although depicting misbehaviour is often used as a didactic point of comparison for a desired behaviour in the Theatre History, there is also a strong sense of lost unity intertwined in these descriptions, especially in the latter half of the third volume.

In other words, the inconsistency between the title (*The High Season of the Finnish Theatre*) and the content is as its most striking in the third part. As a counter point for the sinister story-line of the lost national unity there is the formulaic representation of certain premieres of the Drama Department, narratively connected to the operatic performances of the previous volume, and the discourse of originality when the Finnish-language drama is discussed. The volume ends in yet another scenic arrangement depicting those who left Bergbom, emphasizing the image of the director as the focal point of the narrative but also underlining the declining story-line of national integration.

The literary commonplace of ‘the ship of theatre’ at the beginning of the fourth volume depicts a theatre navigating the high seas. The seas of criticism and discontent do not calm down in the course of the volume, although there is a more positive story-line of entering a new era of national art when the National Theatre opens its doors, and the exemplary gratitude the theatrical community expressed for the Bergboms at their retirement, the national epos *Kalevala* glueing these two scenes together. Describing settings and movement is the characteristic narrative device of the fourth volume, which, it was argued, was one of the ways to create an atmosphere of a new beginning.

Aspelin-Haapkylä himself was pronouncedly present as one of the figures of the story already in the third volume. In addition, a strong audible extradiegetic and heterodiegetic narrator guides the reader throughout the narrative due to the heavy reliance on the source quotations, with the source reference and annotation style adopted in the Theatre History. This visible, overt narrator is introducing the sources into it, explaining and commenting on them

and adding cross-references to the earlier phases of his narrative. The quotations from the sources bring the voices of the Bergboms into the narrative, too; the aim of the author-historian was to “render” the Bergboms and the past of the Finnish-language stage as it had been. In spite of this the narrator is not very concerned about the integrity of the voice of the past, but sees it as his authorial right to rework it for the sake of his story-line.⁹³⁶ In addition, there is only a limited selection of persons who get to have their voice in the History: especially the lower class actors are strikingly absent. Although the notion of a historian’s presence in his/her text is a case already won (in theoretical debates at least)⁹³⁷, the level or the power of that participation in a seemingly minimally narrated text might come as a surprise.

In the fourth part an even more explicitly present, autodiegetic narrator steps into the story-space. There are also more and longer political commentaries and more references to personal memories. The volume has a strong flavour of contemporary history turning into a political pamphlet, although the author-historian had declared in the preface that the “less detailed narration” is used to ensure the “objectivity” of representation of the last volume. However, the inner conflicts of the theatre are again an area barely ventured into: the most serious conflicts between the directors and the actors have been left out of the story and the narrator only hints at the public critique towards the theatre.

The tension created by the twin plots of gradual development and decline characterizes the third and the fourth volumes. The rising and declining story-lines meet around the 1890’s. According to the narrator, the national dramatic art reached its full bloom then, with the opening festivities of the National Theatre in 1902 as the ultimate proof of this development. However, in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s interpretation of his life-story, the most difficult part in the life of Kaarlo Bergbom also began around the 1890’s. Although the hardships facing the Bergboms were mainly interpreted as symptoms of the national disintegration

⁹³⁶ Aspelin-Haapkylä may not have been very exceptional here: it has been pointed out that it was only the so-called linguistic turn later in the twentieth century that made the historians more aware of their own use of language and the language of the sources, which themselves are often complex texts. Rigney 2001, 122.

⁹³⁷ Rigney 1990, 2. Rigney is referring to Roland Barthes who claimed, among other things, that there are seldom signs of an addressee in a historian’s text.

and the funerals of the Bergbom siblings depicted as the heroic ending, there is still a pronounced feeling of disappointment and decline in the last chapters of the History. In the end the Theatre History does not look towards the bright future, but back, yearning for the Golden Era of the national past.

The general narrative pace of the Theatre History was defined as an event-based narration, as a contrast to the more pronouncedly narrativized parts of the story-line: these were the scenes, pauses or stretches found by analysing the narrative tempo and discussed in Chapter 4. This event-based narration is a chronological, constantly proceeding story constructed around premieres, performances and biographical descriptions. Repetition is part of the persuasiveness of the Theatre History, as is well depicted in the footnotes of the present study. This repetitive narration was further identified as an 'idealized event-based narration' and contrasted to the 'reality of the analytical statements': analytical remarks reveal the reality of the past but they disappear amidst the tempo of the event-based narration highlighting the successes. As pointed out in the introduction, the level of correspondence to the past is different between singular statements taken apart and singular statements chained as a narrative. This observation can be used to discuss the analytical remarks and the general event-based narration of the Theatre History, too: the latter one transcends the (literal) meaning of the sum of its individual statements and creates a picture of the victorious Finnish-language dramatic art.

The massive proportions of the Theatre History mean that the representation of the daily life of the Theatre Company is very detailed: it seems that every premiere of the Finnish Theatre Company from 1872 onwards is recorded on the pages of the History. In certain places the representation also entails seemingly insignificant details of the daily life of the theatre (Kaarlo Bergbom's hotels in Paris, the number of bouquets thrown to the stage, the names of copyists and translators et cetera). These details demonstrate the author-historian's mastery of the topic and reassert the image of the one-to-one relationship between his representation and the past. However, sometimes a detailed representation with complex means of incorporating the source quotations into the narrative can also hide the unsaid and point to the difficulties

of turning the multifaceted past into a coherent, meaningful (from his point of view) representation of it.

After thus exploring some of the most distinct narrative and rhetorical devices of the Theatre History, one is tempted to enquire whether it is possible to find a common denominator for them all: a generic quality binding them together as the narrative toolkit of the author-historian. This question is connected to those raised in the introduction, namely how the Finnish nation was written through *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*, what its form can tell us about the culture of historical writing in the Grand Duchy of Finland at the beginning of the twentieth century and how a close reading like this can help us to understand the mechanisms of national history-writing at the time also on a more general level.

First of all, the intertextuality of the culture of historical writing within which the Theatre History was produced has been referred to already, emphasizing particularly the close interaction of different textual genres dealing with the past in the process of nation building.

In addition, it was possible to discuss the ‘time signature’ of the national history-writing and especially its Old-Finnish variant through a narrativist close reading. As demonstrated above, the Theatre History has a linear progress as an organizing principle, but there is also, and more importantly in the whole framework of the History, a parallel story-line of linear decline. In this story-line even the recent past appears as the glorious past, the time of the true national heroes, that can serve as an example for us all. The national history, in Aspelin-Haapkylä’s case at least, is an exemplifying discourse and thus has a pronounced didactic task.

Accordingly, in his diary from the autumn of 1905 Aspelin-Haapkylä was considering the ways to avoid “the social democratic revolution” that seemed to be dawning with the parliamentary reform, probably reflecting well the sentiments of most of his fellow Old Finns,

“We have to continue promoting and indeed strengthening all those projects for education and sobriety that we have previously so enthusiastically accomplished, to prevent the democracy from

turning into a power that can demolish the [national] culture. This is the time to be young!”⁹³⁸

On the whole, public education was seen as one of the most important means to prevent the society from falling apart in the newspaper writings at the beginning of the twentieth century. The nation – but especially the lower classes – needed “the ABCs of nationness”⁹³⁹, or, as the aforementioned Talvio had it, “text-books of citizenship”. In other words, in a time of crisis history-writers (exemplified by the author of the Theatre History in the present study) could serve as providers of normative mythical narratives, which also functioned as guidebooks for the present and future national survival.

This leads to the second level of the time signature, namely the question of how the relationship between the present and the past is defined in terms of distance. The exemplifying ethos meant that the past was understood to be similar to the present; it was not an exotic foreign landscape but the same ‘we’ back then, which also meant that a historian could measure and judge the doings of historical persons from his own perspective and from his own set of values. A presentist tendency is common to many national histories, as was mentioned in the introduction. In Aspelin-Haapkylä’s case this is particularly obvious since he is writing about the close past and partly building on his own memories.

Indeed, partiality seems to be a quality expected from a nationalistic historian. The Theatre History was an answer to international examples of engaging, apperceptive scholarly history-writing, which inspired Z. Topelius’s and J. V. Snellman’s definitions of and pleas for the national history-writing in the Grand Duchy of Finland. They emphasized a historian’s role as a selector and synthesizer, as a narrator using warm and illustrative means, looking at the past from the specific Finnish point of view. Defining the method of history-writing accordingly demands a close engagement from a historian, although Snellman and Topelius do not explicitly point this out. Or, to turn it around, the contribution of a particular historian, his ultimate knowledge and understanding of the past and his apperceptive approach play an important role in this kind of formulation of a historian’s practice and the subsequent methodology. Thus the

⁹³⁸ The Aspelin-Haapkylä’s diary 6.11.1905. Aspelin-Haapkylä’s archive. SKS Kia, A 489.

⁹³⁹ Ala 1999, 162.

Finnish-nationalistic history-writing seems to be in clear contrast to the requirements of Lord Acton, the editor-in-chief of Cambridge Modern History, which started to appear in 1902. According to Acton, in the ideal history-writing "nobody can tell, without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford laid down his pen, --- and whether Fairbairn or Gasquet --- took it up."⁹⁴⁰

An important part of the story-line of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is the discourse of inevitability pointing to the idea that the establishment of the Finnish-language stage could not have been a whim of a moment, and that all the events between 1872 and 1902 were 'stages' on the way towards the National Theatre. At least as important is the discourse of the national unity, sometimes taking the form of mourning for the loss of it. Aspelin-Haapkylä was not alone in his appeal for unity: it echoes newspaper writings from the beginning of the century⁹⁴¹ and the argument was also used during the final proceedings of the Parliamentary Reform Bill in the Diet of Estates 1905–1906. In the latter case the discourse of unity was linked to the notion that political representation ought to be arranged so that all the adult citizens would be able to influence the composition of the nation's legislative assembly.⁹⁴² However, in Aspelin-Haapkylä's vocabulary the unity of the nation points to the ideal society where the intelligentsia is the leading stratum and the 'people' understand the benefits of this arrangement; consequently the theatre as the "society in microcosm" was constantly on the verge of being torn apart and destroyed by individual desires and ambitions.

When it comes to the subject-matter of the History, the national dramatic art, the discourse of originality and peculiarity is an important means of establishing an image of indigenous art in the transnational field of the nineteenth century theatre. There is nothing specifically exceptional in these discourses of inevitability and peculiarity in the framework of national history-writing, which often finds its expression in a particular teleology culminating and ending either in the present or in the future. In addition, national theatre histories tend to stress the national repertoire and play down the significance of

⁹⁴⁰ Burrow 2007, 453.

⁹⁴¹ Ala 1999, 152.

⁹⁴² Kurunmäki 2005, 116.

transnational influences.⁹⁴³ However, the aforementioned strong, idealistic discourse of national unity might be a specific outcome of the Old-Finnish Christian idealistic nationalism, emphasizing the authority of the elite over the people and reflecting the politically troubled writing context.

These and corresponding discourses were probably characteristic for the whole field of nationalistic historical writing, and a comparative study of them would further improve the picture of the 'vocabulary of nationalism', outlines of which were sketched in the present study. This 'vocabulary of nationalism' could, perhaps, also be discussed as a new language of authority. It has been claimed that a change – be it a revolution or, in the case of my study, a nation building process – always creates a new political vocabulary, its terms of address and reference, its metaphors, its euphemisms and the whole representation of the social world entailed in these.⁹⁴⁴ However, the vocabulary of nationalism in Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is not a result of a drastic change at the beginning of the twentieth century but an outgrowth of the nineteenth century languages of authority.

In other words, the rhetoric of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History reflects the earlier writings about the Finnish Theatre Company mainly published in newspapers.⁹⁴⁵ Although these writings were often inspired by festive occasions – such as anniversaries of the Theatre Company – they also reflect the way the national art was talked about on a more general level in the contemporary aesthetics, emphasizing in the romantic spirit the genius artists and their ideal task. However, it should perhaps be stressed here that discussing history-writing as a textual act in a social world and as a power-political tool does not mean denying either Aspelin-Haapkylä's genuine interest to know and record the past events, thus doing 'proper history', or the true idealism of the Finnish-nationalists in the nineteenth century: they aimed at developing the Finnish-language culture and believed in the blessings of this project for their nation. In other words, the varied texts quoted in the Theatre History reflect the genuine contemporary experiences of Aspelin-Haapkylä's generation of Finnish-nationalists. But they also have an intratextual task: when transferred to and

⁹⁴³ Berger and Lorenz 2010, 11; Wilmer 2004, 16–17, 25–27.

⁹⁴⁴ Bourdieu 1991, 48.

⁹⁴⁵ See for example *Morgonbladet* 20.5.1882 and *Finland* 14.4.1888 and 19.4.1888.

repeated in the pages of history-writing in a different historical context, they become parts of a story the end-result of which is at least partly known. Thus, they start to echo the meanings and connotations of the current moment and everything that happened between the moment of the original utterance and the moment of story-telling.

As I already pointed out in the introduction, I was surprised when the complicated mosaic of narrative and rhetorical means of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History, characterized so often as a catalogue of the past events, opened up during the process of close reading. What seemed to be an 'unauthored' and uncomplicated piece of history-writing – almost a mere collection of published sources – turned out to be, on a general level, a strongly narrativized and authored story-space with an overt narrator vividly narrating the key episodes, using subjective expressions, addressing the reader explicitly and implicitly and guiding him/her all the way through. However, it is difficult to compare the level of narrativity of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History to other pieces of scholarly history-writing at the beginning of the twentieth century for the lack of similar studies. But just to take one of the narrative means in the History as an example and a point of comparison: as mentioned above, the narrator does not mark those places when he enters the hypothetical, inventive, make-believe areas of reasoning, as, for example, the French historian Augustin Thierry did. In that sense, if for nothing else, the Theatre History appears as a highly narrativized text in places, and its reception tells that it was accepted and praised as such.

Aspelin-Haapkylä does not discuss his philosophy of history in the Theatre History. One has to read his reviews of other pieces of historical writing at the beginning of the century to find clues for it. He made the aforementioned difference between the 'first scholar' and his followers in his review of a biography of Runeberg (discussed in Chapter 6), emphasizing the capability of the 'first scholar' to select everything that is valuable from among the sources. In the review of Juhani Aho's historical novel *Kevät ja takatalvi* (*The Spring and the Cold Spell in It*) published in 1906, Aspelin-Haapkylä writes,

"Do we want him to create a sardonic, caustic picture, pierced by the modern spirit, of persons, whose ideals and deeds without any doubt offer many weak points for a 'modern' spectator? Or do we

prefer that he lets those persons experience their joys and sorrows as objectively as possible, without praising them or adding anything in them – that is the question. In his novel Aho has adopted the latter, let us say, the 'naïve' stance, and – that is one of the main merits of it, we think."⁹⁴⁶

In the epilogue of the Theatre History Aspelin-Haapkylä refers to the "naïve" history-writing again. He depicts a dialogue with Kaarlo Bergbom, where he, as the author of the History, had inquired whether Bergbom knew any exemplary theatre histories he could use as his models. Bergbom answered "naïvely", "Tell first how the theatre was established and then what happened next." – 'That is right', I admitted, 'that indeed is my task!'"⁹⁴⁷ It seems almost as if naïvety was the key to Aspelin-Haapkylä's understanding of history-writing, his relationship to the past and the methods of nationalistic history-writing on a more general level.

First of all, naïvety as it appears in Aspelin-Haapkylä's review on Aho's novel points to an idealistic world view: an idealism that is defined not so much in contrast to materialism but more to realism, and especially to cynicism or nihilism. There was a striking contrast between a morally uplifting idealism and world-weary realism and cynical nihilism in the nineteenth century discussions about art. The roots of this distinction lay in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century German aesthetic idealism, with Friedrich Schiller as its most important proponent.⁹⁴⁸

This binary opposition was a general way of understanding and discussing art and literature especially in the nineteenth century but also at the beginning of the twentieth century, although – it has been claimed – it is often by and large forgotten. At the heart of the idealism was, according to Toril Moi, the belief that the task of art (poetry, writing, literature, music) was to uplift its audience or reader; consequently art was supposed to be decent, well-mannered,

⁹⁴⁶ Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä: "Juhani Ahon uusi kirja II", *Uusi Suometar* 2.10.1906.

⁹⁴⁷ Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910 (IV), 290.

⁹⁴⁸ According to Toril Moi, Hegel then developed a more moralistic and conservative version of the early aesthetic idealism. Moi also emphasizes that it should not be mixed up with Romanticism, which lost its position as a powerful ideology in the later nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Moi 2006, 72–75.

simple and harmonious, thus pointing the way to the Ideal. Idealism merged aesthetics and ethics, usually including religion, too. It could coexist with a certain kind of realism, but it required idealization of, for example, women and sexuality – and if these things could not be idealized, they had to be demonized, as in Aspelin-Haapkylä's representation of the playwright Minna Canth.⁹⁴⁹

Although history-writing is perhaps included in the 'writing' of Moi's abovementioned definition of aesthetic idealism, I would like to emphasize that its Old-Finnish variant can also be approached through the idea of aesthetic idealism, or perhaps even more appropriately in the context of the present study, through idealistic aesthetics. The metanarrative behind Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History is that of the Christian idealistic nationalism, the suffocating nature of which the poet, playwright and novelist Eino Leino criticized in his review on the Theatre History. Consequently, one could claim that idealistic aesthetics is the generic narrative quality connected to the Christian idealistic nationalism, the form supporting the established political and social structure.⁹⁵⁰

Or, to rephrase it, the programme of the "naïve", or Old-Finnish Christian idealistic history-writing was to present the past in its idealized, exemplary form, avoiding "repulsive, tortuous" scenes, to adopt Aspelin-Haapkylä's characterization of Minna Canth's realistic play. The role of the historian was to be an educated guide in the search for the Ideal. This kind of history-writing should, to quote Moi on art, give concrete visions of a better world with better human beings in it.⁹⁵¹ As a theoretical foundation of history-writing, idealistic aesthetics strived to support and restore the traditional social order and in that

⁹⁴⁹ Moi 2006, 4, 68–69, 93; Juha Siltala has been referring to the "perspective of the spiritual development" of the Finnish-nationalistic movement and pointed out that it was typical for other contemporary social classes, too. Siltala 1999, 693, 705.

⁹⁵⁰ It has been pointed out that idealism was an important aesthetic principle in the mid-nineteenth century: art should depict the ideal world. Literary scholar Mari Hatavara has developed this argument further by emphasizing the difference between idealistic content and idealistic form: art should be dealing with the ideal, and, on the other hand, art itself was ideal and elevated through its canonical genres. Hatavara 2007, 56–57. However, when I refer to idealistic aesthetics as a theoretical foundation for history-writing, I point both to the idea of themes history-writing should deal with on a general level (the system of relevance), and to the decisions of a historian regarding the level of an individual text: those events, episodes, characters and periods that could and should be discussed and the narrative models adopted for discussing them.

⁹⁵¹ Moi 2006, 75. Aspelin-Haapkylä discusses the task of a literary historian in his published inaugural lecture from 1901 but the definition can also be extended to history-writing. Aspelin-Haapkylä 2005 (1901), 115.

task used patronizing, authoritative, didactic modes of speech, created normative representations of the ideal social relations in the face of the complex, unpredictable reality (the aforementioned discourse of the national unity, and the many metaphors stressing the family-like sociability of the theatrical community), and constructed the story-line around heroic upper class characters with their lower class opposites.

For the time being it is difficult to set Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History in its intertextual context due to the lack of similar studies, as has been pointed out several times in the course of the present study. Perhaps the idea of the idealistic aesthetics as the paradigmatic basis and consequently as the provider of narrative models for the Old-Finnish nationalism could be used as a heuristic tool to compare pieces of historical scholarship and other historical writing from the period. It could help to recognize similar features in them, thus enhancing our understanding of the culture of historical writing in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

The narrative means of the tightly-woven nationalistic narrative of Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History were summarized above. But it seems that in spite of its authoritarian tone, this kind of narrative is also fragile, since there are no places for hesitations or doubts: the past is firmly controlled and the narrative is intolerant of opposing views or criticism of its heroes. In Aspelin-Haapkylä's Theatre History the troubles within the theatre are discussed but only in those cases where it does not hurt the image of the heroes of the story. Idealistic aesthetics does not accommodate the normal disarray of every-day life with individual ambitions, hopes and failures, or fallible heroes or individuals without a vocation – that is, in the case of Aspelin-Haapkylä, the common actors.

When it comes to the Theatre History one could claim that all this is at least partly due to Aspelin-Haapkylä's wish to idealize and aestheticize his own past. However, I would nevertheless like to argue that the form of the Theatre History should not be disregarded simply as a quest to write a noble autobiographical account but should be taken seriously. Consequently, the combination of idealistic aesthetics and the proportions of the Theatre History could be interpreted in two opposite ways: It could be a power discourse, a manifestation of the official nationalism of a dominant group, stemming from the

secure position of the author-historian (and the community he stands for). Or, on the other hand, it could be interpreted as a symptom of the threatened position of the author-historian (and the community he stands for), as a speech act intending to stabilize the situation, aiming to save the Bergbomian heritage from ridicule and oblivion and to secure the position of its author and his party comrades.

The ancien régime of the Old-Finnish-nationalists was very much alive at the beginning of the twentieth century⁹⁵² but also seriously challenged by the new active civic society and by the Russian authorities. Perhaps it was exactly the ambiguous combination of dominance and insecurity that brought about *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company*; the content and the form of the Theatre History tell about a dominant group appropriating and monumentalizing the past in order to resist the threatening political, cultural and social crisis and to control the chaotic present.

When the Theatre History was being written between 1906 and 1910, Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä did not know which of the nationalisms and social movements would come out as winners in the troubled period. However, it was the Old-Finnish nationalism, with its traditional, 'white' values and morals that survived the Finnish independence of 1917 and the subsequent Finnish Civil War of 1918 against the socialist, 'red' aspirations. History-writing – including *The History of the Finnish Theatre Company* – was one of the cultural institutions establishing and carrying the Finnish-nationalistic idealistic definitions of Finnishness and the related morals and values. It became one of the textual, rhetorical, narrative bridges between the past and the future, between the Grand Duchy of Finland and the so-called First Republic of the 1920's.

⁹⁵² Haapala 2004a, 12; Jalava 2005, 430, 432; Siltala 1999, 694.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1:1

Figure 1.1.1. All historical writing in 1796–1917 (published items as a function of time; a total of 420 items).

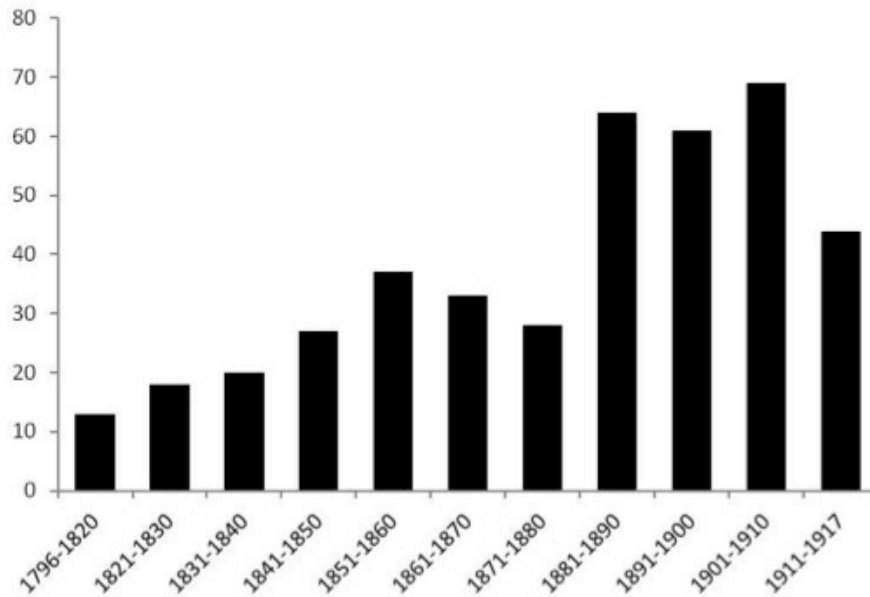


Figure 1.1.2. A comparison of academic history (258 items) and other historical writing (162 items) published in 1796–1917.

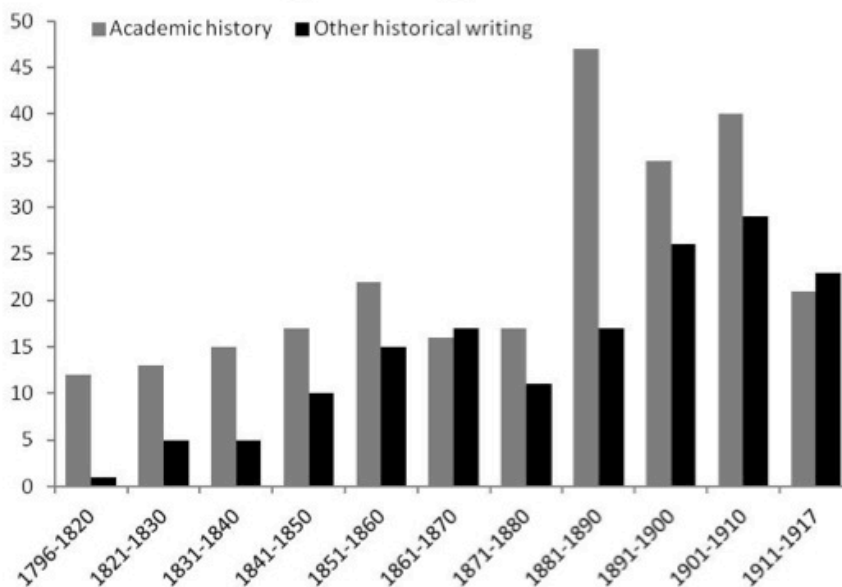


Table 1.2.1 Thematic division of academic history-writing (data in percentage; a total of 258 items).

THEMES	1796-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1917
Ancient/Middle Ages	33	38	40	41	21	19	12	15	3	5	5
Swedish Past	8	8	13	12	8	19	35	26	28	38	19
Contemporary	25	15	0	0	4	13	12	17	39	35	57
General	26	23	47	17	42	37	23	17	24	19	14
Source collections	8	8	0	18	4	6	6	17	6	3	5
1808-1809	0	8	0	6	13	0	0	2	0	0	0
The Wraths	0	0	0	6	4	0	6	4	0	0	0
The Club War	0	0	0	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	0
Anjala	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0

Table 1.2.2. Thematic division of the historical novel and play (data in percentage; a total of 162 items).

THEMES	1796-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1917
Ancient/Middle Ages	0	100	80	30	26	29	55	23	59	50	32
Swedish Past	0	0	0	10	40	6	27	29	21	24	39
The Club War	0	0	20	20	7	29	0	6	3	3	4
The Wraths	0	0	0	10	13	24	0	24	3	10	4
The Anjala Conspiracy	0	0	0	20	7	12	0	18	0	3	0
Contemporary	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	7	4
1808-1809	0	0	0	10	7	0	18	0	0	0	4
Several centuries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	13

Figure 1.3.1. The Club War (published items as a function of time).

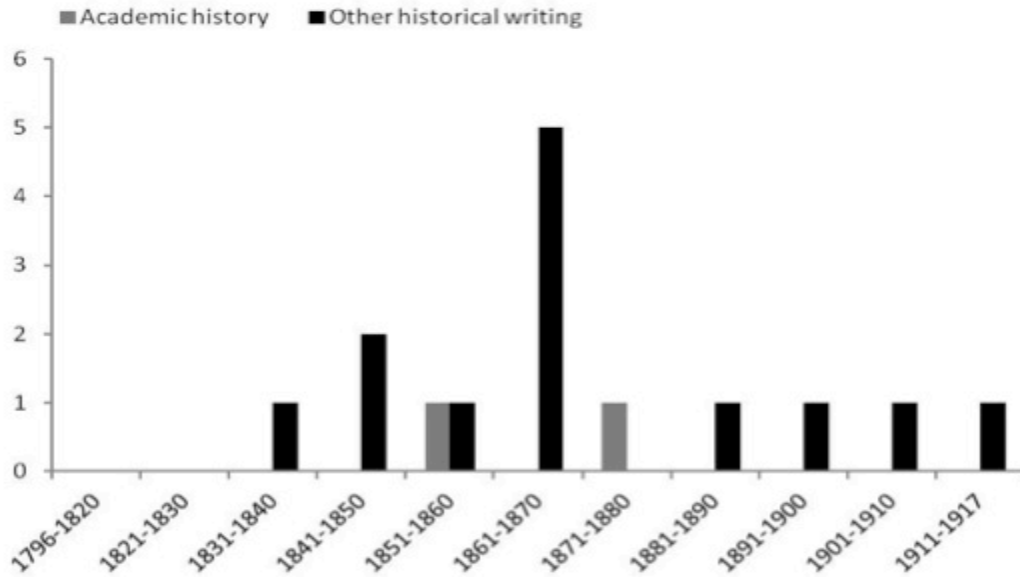


Figure 1.3.2. The Anjala Conspiracy (published items as a function of time).

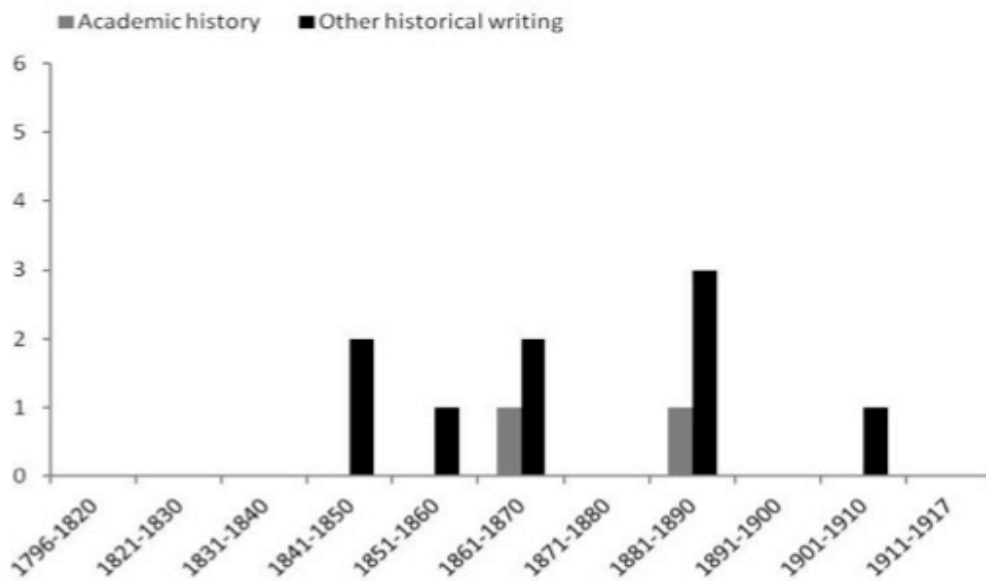
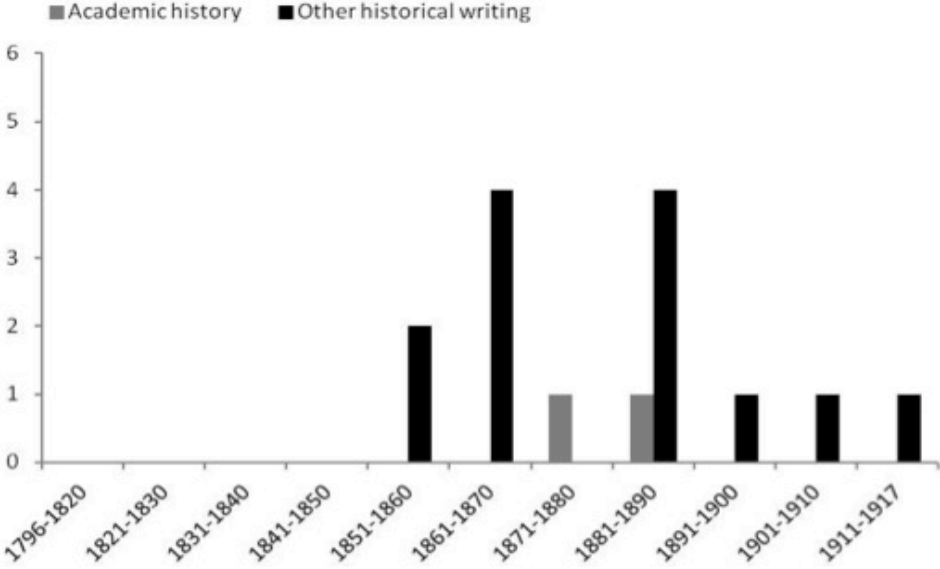


Figure 1.3.3. The Greater Wrath (published items as a function of time).



Appendix 2

The quotations referred to in the study at hand

p. 6 (footnote 6): "Suomalaisten käsikirja ja kansalaisten oppikirja"

p. 62 (footnote 141): "Näin suunniteltuna kasvaa teos ehkä laajemmaksi kuin moni on ajatellut, mutta toiselta puolen on huomattava, että teatterin toimi esiytyäkseen oikeassa valossa vaatii jotenkin seikkaperäistä kertomusta. Ainoastaan siten on tuleva selville, miten tärkeän 'lehden' Suomalainen teatteri muodostaa maamme sivistyshistoriassa."

p. 66 (footnote 151): "(h)istoria on käsittävä kaikki sivistyselämän alat; aika ennen isoavihaa saisi olla lyhyemmin esitetty, mutta 18 vsata jo laajemmin ja sitten yhä enemmän virtauksen laajenemisen mukaan."

p. 70 (footnote 169): "--- ja alituiset jobin viestit, joiden salamantapainen, kaamea valo salli mitata kansallisen sekasorron ja turmion pimennot."

p. 81 (footnote 209): "Man kan också väl icke af historien fordra den historiska romanens utförlighet rörande lefnadssätt, dragter, vapen o. s. v. Men obestridligt är, att en och annan anmärkning i dessa hänseenden ger skildringen ökad lif."

p. 97 (footnote 283): "---- antamaan meille eheätä taiteellista luomaa, vaan tahtoo sen ohessa luoda eteemme elävän, todenmukaisen kuvauksen entisistä ajoista. --- välttäessään Scyllaa joutuu Karybdin nieluun."

p. 103 (a citation in footnote 296): "Vielä voisi muistuttaa, että Lauri Stenbäck ja G. A. Wallin ovat kumpikin saaneet, mutta suurmiehet tieteen alalla, J. J. Nervander ja M. A. Castrén, vielä odottavat elämäkertansa. Lähinnä seuraavassa polvessa on Yrjö Koskinen se, jonka elämäkerta on tärkein ja kuluneen vuosisadan kansallisten rientojen tuntemiselle tarpeellisin."

p. 104 (footnote 298): "--- olen edellisessä kertonut teatterin synnyn ja vaiheet sekä sen ohella hänen ja hänen sisarensa, taidelaitoksen luojain ja johtajain, elämän heidän kuolemaansa saakka – kaikki mahdollisimman yksinkertaisesti ja tapahtumain mukaisesti."

p. 105 (footnote 303): "--- hän sai sen varman, omiin itsenäisiin havaintoihin ja tutkimuksiin perustuvan pohjan, jolla seisoen hän saattoi luottaa yrityksensä menestymiseen ja vaikuttaa rohkaisevasti ympäristöönsä, joka puolestaan ehdottomasti luotti hänen tietoihinsa ja arvostelukykyynsä."

p. 109 (footnote 317): "Myöhemmän kokemuksen nojalla saattaa kumminkin sanoa, että tarkoitettu yhteistoimi --- epäilemättä varmimmin olisi hyödyttänyt

niitä, jotka meillä tahtovat ylläpitää ruotsalaista kulttuurimuotoa, kuin suomenkielisiä. Edellisillä olisi luultavasti nyt kotimainen näyttämö, jota heillä ei vielä ole; mutta suomalainen osasto olisi tuskin ruotsalaisen yhteydessä kehittynyt yhtä ripeästi kuin itsenäisenä ja vapaana.”

p. 112 (footnote 327): ”Heinäkuulla olikin vain 9 näytäntöä, mutta elokuulla 14 ja syyskuulla 13 – yhteensä siis 36. Ohjelmistossa uusia olivat Kiven pikku idylli *Yö ja päivä* 23/7, Benedixin 1-näytöksinen huvinäytelmä *Kassan avain* 13/8, B. F. Salosen suomentama Erckmann-Chatrianin 3-näytöksinen näytelmä *Puolan juutalainen* 17/9 ja Kiven *Nummisuutarit* 24/9.”

p. 113 (footnote 331): ”--- Emilie, tarkkanäköisesti arvostellen oloja ja aavistaen mitä tulossa oli, kirjotti sisarelleen: ’En voi ollenkaan iloita siitä. Pelkään näet ottaa oopperaa puheosaston rinnalle näin varhain. Se tulee tietysti asettamaan draamallisen näyttämön kokonaan varjoon ja tukehduuttamaan sen kehitystä.’”

p. 114 (footnote 335): ”Näin alakuloisia oltiin, kun ei muuta nähty kuin hetken todellisuutta, mutta kohta elpyi taas tietoisuus siitä, että päämäärä oli oikea ja suuri, että työ ja vaiva tarkoitti kansan tulevaisuutta eikä omaa etua, ja se antoi uutta luottamusta – lopulta ei ainoastaan pysytty hengissä, vaan riennettiin eteenpäin uusia voittoja kohti. Totta on että jonkun ajan päästä ooppera kuoli, mutta se kuoli kunnialla ja niin sopivalla hetkellä, että oli kuin se olisi varta vasten väistynyt puheosaston tieltä, joka silloin näyttäytyi varttuneeksi odottamattomiin taiteellisiin tekoihin.”

p. 116 (footnote 343): ”Joskaan vuodenvaihde ei vaikuttanut muutosta lauluosaston toiminnassa, lienee kuitenkin sopivata taasen palata puheosastoon, jonka jätimme silloin kun se Jämsästä matkusti *Hämeenlinnaan*.”

p. 118–119 (footnote 353): ”Nämä sanat tarkottanevat ’Kovan onnen lasten’ aikoja ja teatterissa tapahtuneita sisällisiä rettelöitä, joissa seurueen jäsenet näyttäytyivät kovin vähän ymmärtävän panna arvoa johtajaan, joka heillä oli.”

p. 119 (footnote 354): ”mutta kehitys oli alkanut suuntaan --- kumminkin olivat omansa heikontamaan sitä yhteistuntoa ja -henkeä, joka 1870-luvulla oli saanut suuria --- aikaan.”

p. 120 (footnote 358): ”---- edelleen kuohui siinä meidän ajalle (huomaa, ennen sosialismia!) otollinen kansanvaltainen henki----”

p. 120 (footnote 359): ”Minä tarkoitan sitä demokratista, kansanvaltaista henkeä --- meidänkään oloissa ei läheskään ole vielä toteutettu.”

p. 121 (footnote 361): ”Todellisuudessa kävi niin, että vuosi 1892 tuotti Kaarlo Bergbomille kärsimyksiä ja koettelemuksia, jommoisia hän tuskin koskaan ennen oli kokenut – ei ainakaan koskaan yhteen aikaan.”

p. 122 (footnote 368): "--- vaatimuksia, jotka olivat teoreettisesti varsin oikeutettuja, mutta joiden toteuttamisen hankaluutta ja mahdottomuutta ulkopuolella olevat eivät kyenneet arvostelemaan."

p. 123-124 (footnote 374): "On kyllä eri syistä luonnollista, että esitys on supistettava mitä lähemmäs omaa aikaa tullaan----."

p. 129 (footnote 386): "Marraskuun 12 p. 1868 istui Kleinehn kulmahuoneessa päivällispöydän ympärillä noin kymmenkunta pohjalaista ylioppilasta --- kaikki täynnä isänmaallista innostusta ja nuorta iloa."

p. 130 (footnote 392): "oli kuin korkeampi voima olisi pyyhkäissyt pois taakan ja ottaessaan hunnun kasvoiltaan lausuakaan ensimmäiset sanat hän tunsu itsensä autetuksi."

p. 130 (footnote 393): "Mutta silloin, samassa kun Joas nousee polviltaan, Lea astuu sisään, astuu keveästi ja varmasti---."

p. 130 (footnote 394): "Tästä lähtien elettiin siinä tunnossa, että suomalainen teatteri oli lähempänä kuin ennen, mutta vielä oli taival kuljettavana ennen kuin se nähtiin totena."

p. 130 (footnote 396): "Semmoisetkin, jotka muutoin tuskin tervehtivät toisiaan, puristivat toistensa käsiä kilvan purkaessaan tulvillaan olevain sydäntensä tunteita. Mukana olleet eivät ole sitä unohtaneet."

p. 131 (footnote 398): "Juuri se että kansallistunto, tunto kotimaisesta, tunto omasta suli yhteen mieltä keventävän ja huojentavan taidenautinnon kanssa, niin ettei näitä tunteita voitu toisistaan erottaa, selittää sen rajattoman innostuksen, sen sanomattoman mielihyvän, millä antauduttiin tämän nuoren taiteen lumouksen valtaan. Että se samassa kohotti itsetuntoa sekä herätti intoa ja virkisti voimia mille alalle harrastus suuntautuikin, sen todistaneen jokainen siihen aikaan elänyt suomenmielinen."

p. 132 (footnote 400): "--- laulajatar yhä uudistettujen kunnianosotusten esineenä. Tälläkin kertaa hän sai kalliita lahjoja, nimittäin kaksi hohtokivisormusta --- Kaarlo ja Emilie Bergbom antoivat ihanan ruusukimpun, jonka nauhoihin oli painettu: 'Muista meitä rakkaudella'."

p. 133 (footnote 403): "Nyt on edessämme tapahtuma, joka muodostui tämän näytäntökauden innostuneen riennon huippukohdaksi."

p. 133 (footnote 404): "Olemme laajasti puhuneet Noorasta, mutta tämä kohta teatterimme historiassa osottaa mieltäkiinnittävällä tavalla, kuinka näyttämö vaikuttaa tekijänä kulttuurielämässä ja kuinka Suomalainen teatteri oli kohonnut sille kannalle, että se pystyi siihen."

p. 134–135 (footnote 408): "Ida Aalbergin toinen ulkomaanmatka muodostui niin vaiherikkaaksi ja merkilliseksi, että siitä on kerrottava verraten seikkaperäisesti."

p. 135 (footnote 409): "Siihen päättyi Ida Aalbergin riemuretki Unkarissa----."

p. 135 (footnote 410): "--- tuntematonta kieltä puhuva vieras näyttelijätär keskellä unkarilaisia näyttämötaiteilijoita, esittämässä unkarilaista talonpoikaistyttöä!"

p. 135 (footnote 413): "Emme kuitenkaan lisää otteitamme, yhtä vähän kuin kerromme loistavista kemuista ja puheista, joita pidettiin 'Pohjan tähden' kunniaksi."

p. 137 (footnote 424): "Oli kuin Bergbomin luova taitelijahenki hetkeksi olisi tulistuttanut avustajajoukot."

p. 139 (footnote 426): "---- olemme saapuneet mieltäkiinnittävään episodiin Bergbomin elämäkerrassa, joka ansaitsee tulla seikkaperäisesti esitetyksi, varsinkin kun enimmäkseen voimme käyttää hänen omia sanojaan."

p. 139–140 (footnote 430): "-- Tahtoisitko todella oikein mielelläsi nähdä kappaleeni? kysyi Bergbom. -- Tietysti, ymmärräthän sen, vastasi toinen. -- No, kyllä tiedän yhden keinon, sanoi Bergbom miettiväisesti ---."

p. 140 (footnote 434): "' Ennen mielelläni, mutta kun se tai se seikka (jolla ei ole mitään tekemistä suomalaisen teatterin kanssa) on tapahtunut, niin en minä anna avustusta – enkä edes mene sitä katsomaan!'"

p. 142 (footnote 440): "Mutta olihan Bergbom lausunut, että hän ei aikonut taistelutta alistua. Se selittää meille miksi hän, kotonaan kahden kesken Emilien kanssa neuvotellessaan heidän kummankin tulevaisuudesta, vielä päätti jättää pedagogiset ja muut virat sikseen ja ryhtyi uudestaan ja entistä rohkeammin teatterisuunnitelmiinsa. Olihan suomalaisen näyttämön luominen suuri kansallinen tehtävä, jossa heille molemmille olisi riittävästi työtä, työtä, johon he pystyisivät ja jota suorittaessa he voivat toimia yhdessä, avustaen ja rohkaisten toisiansa."

p. 142–143 (footnote 441): "Kumminkaan hän ei hetkeäkään ajatellut tulevaisuutta Ruotsissa. Päinvastoin hänen tuumansa kävivät tähän suuntaan: Teatterikoulu Helsingissä on jo ensi syksynä avattava, ja silloin kykenen ehkä jo hoitamaan aliopettajan virkaa. Kansallisteatteri Suomessa on viipymättä perustettava, ja siinä on suomi ehdottomasti oleva pääkielenä. --- 'Kun ensi kerran esiinnyn näyttämöllä Helsingissä, on se tapahtuva suomenkielellä!'"

p. 144 (footnote 445): "Suomalainen teatteri oli siis olemassa. --- jo kesäkuun keskivaiheilla seisoj Kaarlo Bergbomin ympärillä joukko valmiina työhön. Ja työhön – se on harjotuksiin – ryhdyttiinkin kohta; kesälomaa ei pyydetty eikä annettu. Suomalainen teatteri oli siis olemassa."

p. 146 (footnote 451): "Hotellissa häntä nyljettiin kauheasti eikä käynyt paljoa paremmin siinä yksityisessä asunnossa, jonka hän, teatterien tähden, ensiksi otti lähellä bulevardea; sitten hän muutti kolmanteen etäisempään paikkaan, lohduttaen itseään sillä että oli hyvä jalkamies."

p. 146 (footnote 453): "Tähän päättyy kertomus Bergbomin ensimmäisestä Parisinmatkasta, joka niin erinomaisesti todistaa, kuinka hän oli kokonaan ja ehdottomasti antautunut elämäntehtäväänsä. 'Olen pitänyt kunnianani aina olla paikallani' pysyi alusta loppuun saakka hänen tunnuslauseenaan."

p. 147 (footnote 459): "Bergbom harjottelee väsymättömästi nuorta suomalaista teatterijoukkoaan, joka päivä, arki ja pyhä, harjotellaan! --- Tosin seurue ei nytkään hajaantunut lomalle, vaan jatkoi yhtämittaen työtänsä---."

p. 148 (footnote 460): "Melkein pyörryttää, kun ajattelee mitä kaikkea sisaruksilla tällä viiden viikon ajalla oli mietittävänä ja ratkaistavana. Joka päivä tuli milloin miltäkin suunnalta kirjeitä ja sähkösanomia----"

p. 148 (footnote 462): "Juuri mainittu arvostelija päättää lyhyen arvostelunsa syksyn näytännöistä kahdella huudahduksella: 'Teatterikoulu! – ilman sitä ei päästä mihinkään. Ja ensiksikin Ida Aalberg kotiin!' – Oli ensi kerran kun nuoremman polven edustaja melkein käskyn muodossa kohdisti Suomalaiseen teatteriin semmoisia vaatimuksia, jotka myöhemmin kävivät niin tavallisiksi, – vaatimuksia, jotka olivat teoreettisesti varsin oikeutettuja----."

p. 149 (footnote 463): "Jollei teatterin horjuva taloudellinen asema olisikaan tehnyt teatterikoulun perustamista arveluttavaksi, niin mistä olisi opettajat otettu?"

p. 149–150 (footnote 467): "Detta äro yttre motgångar – de inre ha varit ännu svårare. Först behagade Ida Aalberg stanna på landet till slutet af septembr så att vi ej kunde repetera ett enda af de många stycken som för hösten voro beräknade för henne; ändtligen var hon så nådig och ansåg tiden lämplig att komma hit --- Ida Aalbergs 'sjukdom' tyckes vara öfverenskommen, så att vi lyckligtvis kunna räkna på henne ---."

p. 150 (footnote 469): "--- noudattaen vastustamatonta halua esiintyä ulkomaalaisen yleisön edessä, oli sitoutunut syyskauden alusta vierailemaan Kööpenhaminan Kasinoteatterissa. Hän lähti siis uudelle matkalle, ilmoittamatta milloin hän aikoi palata."

p. 150 (footnote 472): "Ainoastaan oikea käsitys kansallisen taiteen arvosta ja merkityksestä, verrattuna siihen hetkelliseen loistoon mikä vieraassa kansassa on saavutettavissa, olisi voinut vaikuttaa toiseen suuntaan, mutta onkohan meidän hajanainen kansamme omansa juurruttamaan semmoista käsitystä tyttäriinsä?"

p. 152 (footnote 474): "Käsitellen kyhäelmää epäkypsänä luonnoksena hän teki seikkaperäisiä muutosehdotuksia --- Näin syntyi se Eerikki Puke, joka tunnetaan näyttämöltä esitetynä ja painettunakin. Mahdotonta on kuitenkin määrätä toisen tai toisen osaa, sillä käsikirjoitukset ovat hävinneet, ja Bergbom antoi suureksi osaksi neuvonsa suullisessa keskustelussa --- ja - kaiken päätteeksi - kun ruotsinkielinen alkuteos oli valmis, loi Niilo Sala siitä sen sujuvan suomennoksen, joka nyt yksistään on arvosteltavanamme! Että tämä kertomus on sanasta sanaan tosi, vaikka Bergbom puolestaan luovutti kaiken kunnian Numersille, sen todistaa jälkimäisen kirjeet."

p. 152-153 (footnote 476): "Mitä muutoin kinastuksen ensi jaksoon kuuluu, jätämme sen vähemmän tärkeänä sikseen, varsinkin kun meillä ei ole muita lähteitä kuin Numersin kirjeet. Ne ovat, niinkuin luonnollista on, yksipuolisia, eivätkä anna tietoa siitä mitä Bergbomin kirjeet hänelle sisälsivät."

p. 153-154 (footnote 486): "Katsomme velvollisuudeksemme mainita, että olemme Numersilta turhaan pyytäneet käytettäväksemme Bergbomin kirjeet hänelle."

p. 154 (footnote 487): "Millainen tämä laitos oli ja mitä muutoksia Bergbom siihen ehdotti, sitä emme tiedä; mutta tietysti hän oli osallinen tämänkin teoksen muodostamisessa näyttämökelpoiseksi, sillä kirjeistä 1888 v:n lopulta näkyy, että näytelmä silloin oli uudestaan kirjoitettu----."

p. 154 (footnote 488): "Tämä selitys on meistä ainoa otollinen, sillä se tekee mahdolliseksi edelleenkin tunnustaa Numersin siksi suoraksi, rehelliseksi, ritarilliseksi luonteeksi, jona olemme hänet aina tunteneet."

p. 156 (footnote 493): "Tämän näytelmän oma historia alkaa kumminkin jo aikoja ennen näyttöä, ja siihen on katsaus luotava varsinkin kun me siten ensi kerran saamme nähdä, kuinka Bergbom kohteli ja neuvoi vasta-alkavia draamakirjailijoita."

p. 156 (footnote 498): "Paha vain että esitys paikoittain on enemmän jatkettua polemiikkaa kuin objektivista selostusta."

p. 156-157 (footnote 499): "--- tehtävässä on kaksi yhtä mielenkiintoista puolta: toinen hänen kirjailija- ja muu julkinen toimintansa, toinen hänen luonnonlaatunsa ymmärtävä analysoiminen. Jälkimäisen suoritus on epäilemättä johtava siihen päätelmään, että hänen levoton, tarmokas, intohimoinen luontonsa oli välttämätön edellytys sille myrskyntapaiselle esiintymiselle, millä hän kuohutti seisahtuvia vesiämme, mutta että se myöskin vietti hänet äkillisiin tekoihin, joista hän myöhemmin ehkä itse syvimmin kärsi. Omasta puolestamme olkoon lopuksi vielä julkilausuttu se vakaumus, että nerokkaalle 'Kuopion rouvalle' - jonka puutteet ja erehdykset arvattavasti lähinnä johtuivat niistä pienistä oloista, siitä ahtaasta ympäristöstä, missä hän kaiken aikansa eli - kerran myönnetään kunniakkaampi sija sivistyshistoriassamme kuin vielä oikein arvataankaan."

p. 158 (footnote 508): "Topra-Heikin suusta taasen kuultiin ensi kerran – ja, saattaa väittää, ennen kuin todellisuudessa! – sentapaisia syytöksiä, kirouksia ja uhkauksia varakkaita kohtaan, jotka nykyään ovat jokapäiväisiä sosialistilehdissä ja sentähden melkein tehottomiksi muuttuneet, mutta jotka silloin rämähtivät kuin vallankumouksen torventoitotukset."

p. 159 (footnote 511): "--- se lämmitti, niin kuin vain kotimaisten olojen sattuva kuvaus saattaa lämmittää, ja että se syvästi kosketteli ajan kysymyksiä, käyttämättä tuota katkeraa ivaa, joka repii haavoja ja karkottaa sovinnollisuuden."

p. 161 (footnote 520): "--- hän tahtoi välttää väittelyä ja ylipäättään kaikkea, joka ei koskenut pääasia---

p. 161 (footnote 521): "--- se on kolmatta arkkia pitkä ja sisältää asiallisen tiedon ohella paljon turhaa väittelyä."

p. 161 (footnote 522): "On sanottu, että naiset ja lapset ovat julmia."

p. 162 (footnote 523): "Näin hänen toiveensa täydellisesti pettivät."

p. 162 (footnote 524): "Vahinko ettei ole säilynyt ainoatakaan riviä, jossa Kaarlo Bergbom olisi ilmaissut tunteensa Minna Canthin haudalla. Kumminkin aavistamme, että hänen surunsa oli tynyempi kuin se olisi ollut, jollei hän ennen olisi läpikäynyt sitä surua, jonka Minnan 'luopuminen' viisi vuotta ennen aiheutti. --- Kaikissa tapauksissa Minna Canthin poismeno tiesi, että yksi Bergbomin elämänhistorian sisältörikkaimpia lehtiä oli täytynyt."

p. 164 (footnote 532): "Mikä mahdollinen seuraus itsensä hra professorin taikka koko johtokunnan luopumisesta olisi, sitä ei näissä piireissä liene uskallettu ajatellakaan. Arvattavasti olisi se maailman loppu."

p. 164 (footnote 535): "Entä ohjelmisto! Mikä on se teatteri, jolta ei monta ansiokasta näytelmää jää esittämättä?"

p. 165 (footnote 537): "'Ei, se on mahdotonta, kuinka voisi uskoa teatterin sille tai sille – sinunhan täytyy vielä kestää!' Vaikka ymmärrettiin, ettei seuraajalta saataisikaan pyytää Bergbomin tietoja, eikä hänen kokemustaan, eikä hänen uhrautuvaisuuttaan, oli hän kuitenkin saanut ystävänsä asettamaan semmoisia vaatimuksia teatterin johtajaan, ettei nuoremmissa huomattu ketään mahdollista."

p. 166 (footnote 542): "Kohta pääsiäisen jälkeen otamme Romeon ja Julian ja sitte Regina von Emmeritzin. Se on jälleen vaativa paljon vaivaa ja ponnistuksia, mutta ei auta. Topelius on ollut kauhean tyytymätön hutiloimiseen, millä Ruotsalainen teatteri on antanut näytelmän, ja kun hän, varovainen kun on, sanoo sen meille ja muille, niin tarkoittaa hän tietysti että meidän on esittäminen kappale toisin."

p. 167 (footnote 544): "Varsinkin oli linnan valloituskohtaus vaikuttavasti järjestetty. Kun kanuunain jyske alkoi, syntyi linnan sisällä hädän ja kauhun elämä. Sotilaita riensi edestakaisin, haavottuneita ja kuolleita kannettiin yli näyttämön, munkit ja nunnat kulkivat juhlasaatossa Hieronymus etupäässä suurta ristiä kantaen, yli hälinän soivat katolisen messun säveleet----

p. 168 (footnote 547): "Itse näytelmä ---- herätti niinkuin ainakin isänmaallisen tunnelman ja hehkuvan innostuksen yleisössä. – Näin otti teatterimme tehokkaasti osaa suuren muiston kunnioittamiseen----

p. 169 (footnote 553): "Miten miellyttävä, joskus melkein häikäisevä, mutta aina tunnelmallinen kokonaisuuden vaikutus oli, todistaa parhaiten se, että Kyypron prinsessa näyteltiin yhtä mittaa 9 ja myöhemmin 6 (siis yhteensä 15) kertaa täysille huoneille."

p. 172 (footnote 562): "Tämä 'Uusi teatteri' – se sama, josta vieläkin käytetään tätä nimeä, milloin ei sitä yksinkertaisesti ja asianmukaisemmin sanota 'ruotsalaiseksi teatteriksi' – onko se sitten enemmän kuin edellinen edistänyt suomenkielisen näyttämötaiteen syntyä?"

p. 172 (footnote 563): "Toisin sanoen ruotsalainen teatteri Helsingissä on, huolimatta siitä että sitä sanotaan 'kansalliseksi laitokseksi', koko ajan pysynyt ruotsalais-ruotsalaisena, jossa kotimainen ruotsalainen murre on tuskin vähemmän outoa kuin suomenkielinen."

p. 176 (footnote 575): "Koko syksy on kaikki sujunut niin tavattoman hyvin ja rauhallisesti --- mutta nyt on sen sijaan onnettomuus iskenyt meihin niinkuin pommi."

p. 178–179 (footnote 585): "'Kyllä me nyt olemme järjestäneet asiat niin, ettei avajaisista tule mitään ainakaan määrättynä päivänä!'"

p. 179 (footnote 586): "Epätoivoisella rohkeudella ryhdyttiin kuitenkin toimeen -- ja tuli, yöt ja päivät ponnistaen, mahdoton mahdolliseksi."

p. 179 (footnote 588): "----lämmin, kodikas tunnelma --- Se oli juhlallisen avara, mutta ei sentään liian suuri – ei ollut 'suuren suuri eikä pienen pieni', kansan sanontatapaa käyttäöksemme---."

p. 179 (footnote 589): " --- ja koko yleisö avaten hänelle vapaan käytävän salin perälle riemuhuudoin ja liehuvin liinoin tervehti häntä suomalaisen näyttämön, Kansallisteatterin luojana."

p. 179–180 (footnote 591): "--- missä toisensa tapasi kaksi tai useampi niistä, jotka olivat olleet mukana 30-vuotisessa taistelussa, jolla kansalliselle näyttämölle oli pysyvä perustus ja arvonmukainen koti valloitettu, siinä sydämet sykkivät ja silmät säteilivät voitonriemusta."

p. 180 (footnote 592): "Oli kuin olisivat sillä hetkellä menneiden vuosikymmenien taiteellisen työn vaikutelmat vaihtelevine aatteineen ja tunnelmineen nousseet sielujen kätköistä, nousseet ylös ja uudistuneet."

p. 180–181 (footnote 593): "Kulissien takaa – josta näyttämön hahmot ja ilmiöt, niinkuin mistäkin salaperäisestä kaikkeuden tyhjentyvästä varastosta aina ilmestyvät – esiintyi ikään kuin taikasauvalla palautettuna toinen toisensa perästä niitä henkilöitä, jotka Bergbom aikoinaan oli yleisölleen näyttänyt. --- ja ne suuntasivat askeleensa näyttämön yli harmaantuneita sisaruksia kohti, missä nämä istuivat keväisten ruusujen kehyksissä, kukin vuoroonsa kunnioittaakseen heitä kiitollisella kumarruksella."

p. 182 (footnote 598): "Näin hän tuli siksi mieheksi, jona hän näin kansamme äärimmäisten koettelemusten aikoinakin meille kaikille esikuvaksi kelpaa."

p. 189–190 (footnote 620): "Teatteri purjehti jälleen vastatuulella. Edellisen vuoden kadon jälkimainingit olivat vielä tuntuissa, tavallinen yleisö oli hidas käymään teatterissa, eikä tällä ollut mitään erinomaisempaa tarjottavana, joka olisi vetänyt vieraita aineksia. Lisäksi tuli moniviikkoinen kilpailu Aleksanterin teatterissa näyttelevän Ida Aalberg-turneen puolesta."

p. 192 (footnote 631): "Jättäen Emilie Bergbomin kuvaamallemme kannalle, jonka tuskallisuutta hänen, epätietoisena tulevaisesta tehtävästään, vielä täytyi kärsiä kokonainen vuosi, palaamme takaisin Kaarloon, nähdäksemme kuinka hänenkin toimensa ja toivonsa ulkomailla seisoivat hyllyvällä pohjalla."

p. 192 (footnote 632): "--- hän sai sen varman, omiin itsenäisiin havaintoihin ja tutkimuksiin perustuvan pohjan, jolla seisoen hän saattoi luottaa yrityksensä menestymiseen ja vaikuttaa rohkaisevasti ympäristöönsä---"

p. 194 (footnote 646): "--- se lämmitti, niin kuin vain kotimaisten olojen satuttava kuvaus saattaa lämmittää, ja että se syvästi kosketteli ajan kysymyksiä, käyttämättä tuota katkeraa ivaa, joka repii haavoja ja karkottaa sovinnollisuuden."

p. 195 (footnote 652): "--- vieraan maljan, vieraan, jota ei enää vieraana pidetty, sillä hän oli oppinut ymmärtämään meidän harrastuksiamme ja oli niiden hyväksi uhrannut parhaat voimansa – ei palkan edestä, vaan hengenheimolaisena ja ystävänä."

p. 196 (footnote 656): "elonnestettä kansallisen asiamme sydänjuurille"

p. 197 (footnote 661): "Jotkut kokemattomat ehkä toivoivat jotakin, kun muistelivat että yhtiön ensi §:ssä sanotaan sen tarkoituksena olevan etupäässä edistää *kotimaista* näyttämötaidetta --- mutta maailman menoon perehtyneemmät eivät antautuneet turhaan luuloon, että asia ratkaistaisiin puolueettomasti."

p. 197 (footnote 663): " – ja, mikä oli kummista kummin, itse H.D:kin ratkesi jalomieliseen kehotushuutoon---"

p. 197–198 (footnote 664): "Sama mies, joka valtiopäivillä 1872, talollissäädyn jäsenenä, oli loistavasti todistanut Suomalaisen teatterin mahdollisuuden."

p. 198 (footnote 665): "--- uhrautuvasti oli sovittava mitä ruotsalainen teatteri rikkoi laiminlyöden velvollisuutensa---"

p. 198–199 (footnote 666): "Elettiin siis aikana ja oloissa, joissa joka edistyksenaskel kansalliseen suuntaan vaati mitä sitkeintä taistelua, mutta joissa myöskin uhrautuvaisuuden henki oli voimakas ja tahdon tarmo korkeimmilleen jännitetty. --- Tämäkin sivistyslaitos oli siis yksistään taistelulla saatavissa ja uhrauksilla kannatettavissa --- Mutta vähän olisi kansallismielisten uhrautuvaisuuskin merkinnyt, jollei olisi ollut tiedossa mies, joka kykeni astumaan yrityksen johtoon. ---- Pian saamme nähdä, ettei sitenkään päästy uhrauksista."

p. 202 (footnote 682): "Vietetty uuden vuoden aatto alustalaisten kanssa, lapset ja talonväki yhteensä 27 henkeä. – Minä luin viimeisen kappaleen Roosin hartauskirjasta, jonka jälkeen veisattiin uuden vuoden virsi no 31 Idan säestäessä pianolla. Sitten tarjottiin teetä, jaettiin kaikille joululahjoja. Minä keskustelin miesten kanssa ajan tapauksista --- Meidän alustalaisemme ei kuitenkaan näytä tietävän mitään tyytymättömyyden aiheesta. Sitten laulettiin pari hengellistä laulua myöskin pianon säestyksellä."

p. 204 (footnote 692): "---Tukholman Dramall. teat. näin Henrik Ibsen'in 'De ungas förbund', joka ehkä sopisi suomalaisiin oloihin lokaliseerata.---"

p. 204 (footnote 695): "Pesonen on kelpo ja oiva suomalainen Papageno, jonka luulee kohdanneensa joissakin talonpoikaishäissä kaikkien ilona ja riemuna."

p. 208 (footnote 705): "Eilen leskikeisarinnan syntymäpäivänä, kun ei tarvinnut yliopistoon mennä, olin koko päivän kotona. Katselin vanhoja muistiinpanokirjojani ja huomasin että olen merkinnyt paljo m.m. suomalaiseen [sic] teatterin syntyajoilta."

p. 209 (a citation in footnote 712): "Toinen aivan erikoinen syy on 'Suomalaisen teatterin historian' kirjoittaminen. Se näet sai minut tutkijanakin syventymään siihen isänmaallisen innostuksen kuohuttamaan aikakauteen, jonka telmeessä minäkin nuorena koko sydämelläni olin mukana. Teatterin historiaan minä milloin avonaisemmin, milloin kätkeytymin jo sovitin melkoisen varaston noita kuvia, ja jälestäpäin on toinen ystävän hahmo toisensa perästä astunut eteeni vaatien, etten häntäkään unohtaisi."

p. 209–210 (footnote 716): " --- paljon otteita sanomalehdistä, muistelmia ja asiallisia tietoja, jotka antavat sille osaksi sulattamattoman aineskokoelman luonteen---" – "--- seuloa ja sulattaa tätä aineistoa --- luoda elämäkerta

kirkkaaksi, sopusuhtaiseksi kuvaksi---" – "---jota vastoin älykkäinkin analyysi aikaa voittaen on väistyvä uuden tieltä."

p. 210 (footnote 719): "---on yksi mukana ollut käytettäväksemme antanut muutamia tietoja ja piirteitä."

p. 212 (footnote 730): "(Laurvig 16/7). Kaarlo valittaa epäsuotuisia ilmoja, ainoastaan kaksi kaunista päivää. Hän tekee laajasti selkoa alkavan näytäntökauden ohjelmistosta."

p. 214–215 (footnote 734): "-- Eilen, sanotaan Morgonbladetissa seuraavana aamuna, näytti Suomalainen ooppera runsaassa ja hämmästyttävässä määrässä mitä se voi aikaansaada. Näytäntö oli suuri merkitykseltään ja vaikutukseltaan. -- - Uskallamme sanoa, että yleisö harvoin on mennyt teatterista semmoisen tunnelman vallassa kuin eilen."

p. 216 (footnote 741): "Nämä niinkuin muutkin sentapaiset suunnittelut ja valmistelut ovat vaillinaisesti tunnetut. Ne kätkeytyvät luonnollisesti niiden tulosten taakse, jotka tosiasioina ovat esiintyneet julkisuudessa; ainoastaan yksityisissä kirjeissä tavataan niistä satunnaisia tietoja."

p. 216 (footnote 742): "Bergbom --- tekee samalla itsetunnustuksen, joka sallii meidän luoda katseen hänen sisäänsä."

p. 217 (footnote 745): "Numbers kävi joku päivä sitten luonani matkalla Karjalaan (kts. ylemp. s. 357); hän ei vielä tiennyt minne hän asettuisi."

p. 217–218 (footnote 747): "Tästä huomaa kuinka paljon miettimistä oopperanäytäntöjen järjestäminen vaati, ja samassa kirjeessä on vielä 8–9 sivua samantapaista selvittelyä ja suunnittelua. Eikä siinä kyllin: näinä päivinä hän kirjoitti sisarelleen näistä ja muista teatteriasioista kolme pitkää kirjettä. Ne ovat täynnä määräyksiä ja neuvoja ei ainoastaan päärooleista, vaan pienimmistä sivuosistakin, kööri laulajista, soittokunnan jäsenistä y.m."

p. 218–219 (footnote 751): "Siinä me näemme heidät tosin ei 'palavan sesongin-' vaan loma-aikana, mutta kuitenkin niin hartaasti ja yhtämittaa ajamassa teatterin asioita, että lukija hämmästyen käsittää, mitä Suomalaisen teatterin johtajatoimi tällä aikaa merkitsi ja mitä tarmoa ja innostusta se kysyi."

p. 219 (footnote 754): "Vaihtelun vuoksi ja muutoinkin on kertomuksen nyt käännyttävä puheosastoon, joka, niinkuin lukijamme muistaneet, vähän ennen joulua muutti Helsingistä *Tampereelle*."

p. 220 (footnote 757): "Sillä aikaa kun Kaarlo kirjoittaa kaksi tai kolme kirjettä, kirjoittaa Emilie kolme kertaa niin monta. --- Syystä kun he olivat yhdessä, on meillä taas vähemmän kerrottavaa heistä, sillä eivät he koskaan kirjoittaneet vieraille niin usein kuin toisilleen."

p. 220 (footnote 762): "Bergbomin yksityisestä elämästä näinä vuosina meillä ei ole seikkaperäisiä tietoja eikä tältä ajalta ole olemassa kirjeitä, jotka antaisivat meidän luoda silmäyksiä hänen ajatus- ja tunnemaailmaansa."

p. 220 (footnote 763): "Mahdotonta on ollut antaa siitä seikkaperäistä tietoa, syystä kun --- mitään kirjeenvaihtoa ole syntynyt. --- Sentähden me tositeossa monelta ajalta tiedämme enemmän alijohtajasta, Vilhosta, kuin varsinaisesta johtajasta. Nyt tarjoutuu meille kumminkin ensi kerran tilaisuus nostaa se verho, joka on kätkenyt sisarukset silmistämme."

p. 220–221 (footnote 764): "Ei ole säilynyt ainoatakaan kirjettä, jossa Kaarlo tai Emilie olisivat lausuneet sanan tämän tapauksen johdosta, mutta sitä ilmankin voimme ymmärtää, että se painoi heidän mieltänsä."

p. 221 (footnote 765): "--- erään rouvan ja neiden (Helsingin parasta 'kermaa' – nimet jääkööt muistiinpanoihin tomuttumaan) laatiman kirjeen ---."

(a citation in footnote 765): "Tämä irvikuvaa näyteltiin laulaessa tilapäistä runosepustusta, josta ainestemme joukossa on kaksi toisintoa – kumpanenkin sitä laatua ettei painattamista voi ajatellekaan."

p. 221–222 (footnote 767): "---- voimme nojata E. Nervanderin arvosteluihin --- Hänen kirjoituksissaan kohtaamme sekä asiantuntemusta että myötätuntoista ymmärtämystä, mikä ansaitsee sitä enemmän mainitsemista kuin tavallista oli että toista tai toista puuttui."

p. 223 (footnote 771): "Paha vai että esitys paikoittain on enemmän jatkettua polemiikkaa kuin objektivista selostusta." – "----toivoen supistamalla esitystäni voivani tyydyttää objektivisuuden vaatimuksia."

p. 223 (footnote 772): "Syytös ei ollenkaan loukkaa minua, sillä tiedän vilpittömästi harrastaneeni objektivisuutta, totuutta. --- minkä minä sille voin kuin kirjeet näyttävät sen semmoiseksi."

p. 224–225 (footnote 782): "Ymmärrettävää on, että Emilie Bergbom ei kaivannut seuraelämää tavallisessa merkityksessä. Me, jotka olemme tunteneet hänet, tiedämme kuitenkin---."

p. 225 (footnote 783): "Tek. muistaa varsin hyvin, että kappale hänen luonaan luettiin käsikirjoituksesta (eikä painetusta vihosta)."

p. 225 (footnote 785): "Iloinen, tuttavallinen yhdessäolo kesti myöhäiseen yöhön ja jätti jälkeensä herttaisia muistoja."

p. 225 (footnote 786): "Tällaisissa, sanoisimmeko, teatterin perhekutsuissa läsnäolleet eivät ole unohtaneet, kuinka sisarukset yhteistoimin osasivat tehdä yhdessäolon hupaiseksi."

p. 227 (footnote 794): "Kunpa me vain olisimme *yksi* kansa, mutta kyllä ruotsinmieliset ovat yhtä sokeita ja ylimielisiä kuin ne aina ovat olleet---."

(citations in the footnote 794): "Jos tahdot ihastuttaa veltostunutta, kosmopoliittista pääkaupunki-yleisöämme --- niin laula Uudessa teatterissa." – "--- halpamaisesta svekomaanisesta vehkeilystä saada Ida Aalberg näyttelämään ruotsinkielellä---".

p. 228 (footnote 796): "Kuinka ääretön suomenkielen halveksiminen tähän aikaan ja tässä tilaisuudessa oli, näkee siitä ----."

p. 228 (footnote 797): "Vaikka matka, kirjeestä päättäen, oli aiottu pitemmäksi, ei se todellisuudessa kestänyt kuin noin kolme viikkoa. Tietoja siitä saamme kolmesta postikortista."

p. 232 (footnote 820): "Sanat viittavaat rettelöihin johtajan ja näyttelijäin välillä, jotka laadultaan kuuluivat siihen osaan teatterin elämää, joka, niinkuin ennen olemme lausuneet (II, s. 134), ei ansaitse historioitsijan huomiota. Että me kumminkin tällä kertaa hetken viivähdämme niissä, johtuu siitä että meillä on Bergbomin kädestä lähtenyt asiakirja, joka on suoraan sanoen klassilliseksi arvosteltava---."

p. 235 (footnote 832): "Olihan siinä hieman outoa sävyä lausumistavassa, mutta sanat soivat kuitenkin selvinä ja heleinä, niin että katsojain milt'ei tuskallinen jännitys siinä tuokiossa laukesi---."

p. 236 (footnote 833): "--- vieras sointukin on melkein kokonaan kadonnut; silloin tällöin kuulee jonkun yksinäisen konsonantin kaksinkertaisena tai päinvastoin, mutta ei koskaan niin, että se loukkaisi----."

p. 236 (footnote 834): "Syksyllä hän oli antanut tunteja Helsingissä ja jonkun iltaman (Viipurissa) sekä lupautunut esiintymään muutamia kertoja teatterissakin. Sitä varten oli valittu kaksi ohjelmistolle uutta kappaletta, nimittäin Schillerin Maria Stuart ja Halmin Ravennan miekkailija. Edellinen oli jo Porissa valmistettu, ja sen ensi-illaksi rva Winterhjelm tuli sinne."

p. 236 (footnote 836): "Pääviesitys lähti rva Winterhjelm esityksestä----"

p. 237 (footnote 839): "Kappaletta kannatti käydä katsomasa yksistään Leion tähden" – "näyttelijän luoma kuva syöpyi häviämättömästi muistiin."

p. 237–238 (footnote 840): "--- sedan dess har jag, ej direkte, talat derom med flere (Wahlström, Alberg mm) utan endast antydningssvis nämnt om att hon måhända kommer hit i höst på besök och det var riktigt med bafvan som denna notis emottags; hennes sista härvaro lefver i så friskt minne. Jag tror att vi böra göra allt för att undvika detta, ty de representanter af publiken, som jag hörde voro ingalunda lifvade af att hon skulle uppträda hos oss. 'Hennes dåliga finska stör nu då man blifvit van vid bättre'---."

p. 238 (footnote 841): " Jag ser följande möjligheter 1) Ingenting – det bästa; --- 18) Lea – sista ressursen---."

p. 238 (footnote 842): "--- men orätt är det åter att spela för tomma hus med henne, då vi kunna hafva goda med Aalberg."

p. 238 (footnote 844): "Ainoastaan ohimennen muistutamme tässä, että Finsk Tidskrift katsoi sopivaksi uuden vuoden ensi numerossa niin loukkaavasti puhua rva Winterhjelmin vierailusta, että hänen miehensä K. A. Winterhjelm katsoi syytä olevan lähettämässään kirjoituksessa puolustaa häntä ja myöskin suomalaista puoluetta."

p. 240 (footnote 847): "Kallio lausui: hän eroitettakoon paikalla, koska hän halveksii omaa äidinkieltänsä, koska hän on sitä pilkannut, koska hän on käyttöksensä kautta kylläksi häväissyt ei ainoastaan teateria vaan koko kansallisuutemme asiaa. Suomalainen teateri hävitkään perin juurineen kunnes siihen saadaan oikeita suomalaisia näytteliöitä. --- Tämä eroittaminen on meille, käytännölliseltä kannalta katsoen hyvinkin suuri vahinko, mutta vielä suurempi on voittomme kansalliselta kannalta. Etenkin näytteliän pitäisi kaikesta sydämmestään rakastaman ja kunnioittaman sitä kansaa, jonka palveluksessa hän on; sillä näytelmätaide ei ole kosmopolitillinen; se on ihan arvoton, jos ei kansallinen henki sitä elähytä, kansan rakkaus sitä virvoita."

p. 240 (footnote 848): "Seurueen jäsenet kun olivat kotoisin eri osista maata ja enimmäkseen perusteellisempaa koulusivistystä vailla, on luonnollista että heidän puhekielensä oli kaikkea muuta kuin yhdenmukaista. Pääkeino tämän asianlaidan parantamiseksi oli tietysti se että näyttelijät puhuivat keskenään suomea, sillä hyvä kielenkäyttö ei suinkaan riipu yksistään ulkoalukemisesta taikka tiedoista vaan *tottumuksesta*."

p. 240 (footnote 849): "--- rakastivat suomenkieltä omana ja oman kansansa kielenä ja lisäksi oivalsivat, että suomalaisella näyttämöllä oli erikoinen kunniakas tehtävä tämän kielen käytännön ja viljelyksen edistämässä, niin ymmärtää miten erimielisyys näin tärkeissä asioissa oli omansa häiritsemään seurueen sisällistä elämää. Kaikkein pahinta oli kumminkin että eripuraisuus tuli sen ulkopuolellakin tunnetuksi---."

p. 241 (footnote 851): "Kun Emilie kirjoitti yllämainitun kirjeen Kaarlolle, olivat kaikki seurueen jäsenet, paitse Ida Aalberg, koolla ja hyvällä tuulella. Poikkeuksen teki vain Aspegren, jonka terveys oli huono."

p. 241 (footnote 852): "Kaarlo ei tosin uupunut, mutta hän tunnustaa, että hän tuskin on kokenut vaikeampia aikoja."

p. 243 (footnote 861): "Jag kan ej säga huru smärtsamt den berört mig; just nu, då man öfver hela landet ställer till insamlingar för teatern, så uppföra sig teatern medlemmar på detta vanhederliga sätt. De som säga att teatern är ett tillhåll för last och otukt få ju fullt vatten på sin qvarn. Djupt olycklig är dock den arma menniskan med sina stackars 4 små barn!"

p. 244 (footnote 871): "Tieto nti Avellanin tulosta Suomalaiseen teatteriin oli ilosanoma sen ystäville, sillä sanomattakin ymmärtää että ainoastaan vanha

perinnäinen ennakkoluulo oli estänyt korkeamman sivistyksen omistaneita liittymästä siihen, ja tämän ennakkoluulon oli nti Avellan rohkeasti voittanut.”

p. 245 (footnote 875): ”Mitä *Kaarola Avellaniin* tulee, oli hän jo ennenkin ajatellut erota teatterista. Tämä on kenties outoa sille, joka edellisestä tietää kuinka suuria tehtäviä --- näyttelijätär oli suorittanut. Mutta silloin mukana elänyt tietää myöskin, että nti Avellanin osaksi tullut tunnustus harvoin oli ansion mukainen. -- hän --- ei koskaan oppinut täydellisesti ääntämään suomen kieltä --- joka antoi aiheita alituisiin muistutuksiin kritiikin puolelta. --- joka enemmän kuin kukaan muu on vaikuttanut toveriensa kehitykseen. --- Nti Avellan on siten yksi niitä merkkihenkilöitä, joiden nimi aina on muistettava ja kunnialla mainittava näyttämömme historiassa.”

p. 246 (footnote 876): ”Kun primadonnat tulevat ja menevät, ovat kunnianosotukset heidän mukaisensa, loistavat, mutta loiston takana on usein varta vasten tilattua, sillä tiedetäänhän että asianomaiset *vaativat* meluavaa tunnustusta. Toista on kun vaatimaton, hiljainen taiteen palvelijatar, niinkuin nyt nt Stenberg, saa odottamattoman suuren tunnustuksen, siinä ei voi olla mitään teennäistä, vaan lähtee se vilpittömästi myötätunnosta ja kiitollisuudesta.”

p. 246 (footnote 879): ”Bergbom-sisarusten kirjeenvaihdossa on näinä viikkoina puhetta monesta uudesta näytelmästä.”

s. 247 (footnote 881): ”Paitse Salaa ja rva Lundahlia (joka oli eronnut) olivat kaikki saapuvilla---.”

p. 248 (footnote 885): ”Nyt on edessämme tapahtuma, joka muodostui tämän näytäntökauden innostuneen riennon huippukohdaksi.”

p. 253 (footnote 899): ”Ja siinä seisoo keskellä myrskyä, köyhyyttä, pilkkaa ja ivaa pieni joukko valioväkeä varjellen valoansa viimoilta, suojellen, hoidellen kukkatarhaansa ja nähden päänsä päällä ihanan, eloa antavan aamunkoiton---.”

p. 253 (footnote 900): ”elonestettä kansallisen asiamme sydänjuurille”

p. 253 (footnote 901): ”kansallisen elämämme heräämisaika”

p. 254 (footnote 902): ”kansallissuomalaisen taiteen loistoaika”

p. 254 (footnote 903): ”hehkuvan isänmaanrakkauden elähdyttämäin yksilöjen aika --- sen harvat elossa olevat veteraanit”

p. 254 (footnote 904): ”uuden Suomen syntyminen”

p. 254 (footnote 905): ”kokonainen mennyt kulttuuri-kausi”

p. 254 (footnote 906): ”herätyksen ensi polvi”

p. 254 (footnote 907): "Levitköön se tuhansiin suomalaisiin koteihin lämmittämään sydämiä ja kohottamaan mieliä."

p. 254 (footnote 908): "Tulkoon tästä teoksesta suomalaisten käsikirja ja kansalaisten oppikirja, kuulkoon jokaisen suomalaisen korva sen velvoittavaa, kehottavaa kieltä."

p. 254–255 (footnote 909): "Johtajan ja hänen työtoveriansa innostus elähytti näyttelijäkuntaakin, jonka jäsenet mielihalulla ja uutteruudella, niukasta toimentulostaan välittämättä, antautuivat tehtävänsä, ja levisi vielä yleisöönkin, joka aatteellisen harrastuksen ohessa antoi teatterille sitä aineellistakin kannatusta."

p. 255 (footnote 911): "Teatterin historia, jopa 1,600 sivun laajuinen! Todellakin outo ilmiö kirjallisuudessa, josta vielä puuttuu perusteellisia historiallisia esityksiä monelta muulta tärkeämmältäkin kulttuurityön alalta."

p. 255 (footnote 913): "hyväatekevää tukevuutta"

p. 255 (footnote 914): "ymmärtämyksellistä antaumusta" – "mieluisen turvallisuuden tunteen."

p. 258 (footnote 927): "harvinaisella tuotteliaisuudella varustettu" – "Tekijä on täyttänyt suuren osan siitä kirjeillä ja silloisilla sanomalehtiarvosteluilla. --- Edellisiä vastaan ei yleensä ole mitään muistuttamista --- Myöskin jotkut otteet sanomalehtiarvosteluista voisivat siellä täällä olla paikallaan---." – "on meidän oltava kiitollisia prof. Aspelin-Haapkyllälle, että hän esittämällä ja mahdollisimman kauneissa väreissä esittämällä sen mainehikasta entisyyttä." – "Vastaus: aamu oli suomalainen, sen jatko suomettarelainen."

p. 260 (footnote 929): "monumenttaalisiin --- kuin marmoriin hakattuihin tai vaskeen valettuihin muistomerkkeihin."

p. 268–269 (footnote 938): "Että taasen kansanvalta ei kehity kulttuuriatuhoavaksi vallaksi, siitä on huolta pidettävä niin että täydellä tarmolla jatketaan, laajennetaan ja kehitetään niitä sivistysharrastuksia raittiuden, kaikenlaisen opetuksen asioita, joita maassamme on ennenkin innolla ajettu. Nyt kannattaisi olla nuori!"

p. 272–273 (footnote 946): " Pyydetäänkö häneltä nykyajan syövyttävän hengen läpituokemaa, ivallisesti nauravaa kuvausta ihmisistä, jotka ihanteineen ja rientoineen epäilemättä tarjoavat 'modernille' tarkastajalle paljo heikkoja kohtia, vai katsotaanko suotavammaksi, että hän mahdollisen objektiivisesti, kiittämättä ja laittamatta, antaa noiden ihmisten elää ilojaan ja surujaan, - siinä kysymys. Aho on romaanissaan asettunut jälkimäiselle, sanottakoon 'naivistiselle, kannalle, ja – siinä on mielestämme yksi sen pääansioista."

p. 273 (footnote 947): ”--- naivisti hän lisäsi: 'Kerro ensiksi kuinka teatteri perustettiin ja sitte kuinka sen jälkeen kävi.' – 'Aivan oikein', minä myönsin, 'siinähan se tehtävä on!'”

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Finnish Summary

Ihanteellista menneisyyttä luomassa: narratologinen lähiluku Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylän Suomalaisen teatterin historiasta I-IV (1906–1910)

Väitöskirjatyöni keskeisenä kysymyksenä on se, miten suomalaista kansakuntaa kirjoitettiin 1900-luvun alussa – suurien sosiaalisten, poliittisten ja kulttuuristen muutosten keskellä – kuvaamalla suomenkielisen teatterin historiaa 1800-luvun loppupuolella. Yleisemmällä tasolla tutkimuksessa siis tarkastellaan historiankirjoituksen (niin akateemisten tekstien kuin populaarien historiaesitysten) roolia ja merkitystä kansakunnan ja kansakuntaisuuden rakentamisessa. Historiankirjoitus nähdään sekä tapana tuottaa tietoa menneisyydestä että sosiaalisena tekona, yhteisön jäseniä yhdistämään pyrkivänä tapana esittää menneisyyttä. Tutkimuksen painopiste on representaatioiden muodossa (form): se, miten menneisyyttä esitetään on yhtä tärkeä kysymys kuin se, mitä tutkitaan, eli kysymys siitä, mikä menneisyys (aikakaudet, tapahtumat, henkilöt) tehdään merkitykselliseksi. Tutkimus keskittyy Aspelin-Haapkylän Teatterihistorian kerronnallisiin ja retorisiin valintoihin: siihen, miten suomenkielisen teatterin historia on juonellistettu, millaisten käännekohtien varassa sen tarinalinja on ja miten lukijan huomio kiinnitetään näihin solmukohtiin. Tosin sanoen, tutkimuksessa kysytään millaisia kirjallisia muotoja poliittinen ideologia voi ja pyrkii kulloinkin ottamaan.

Analysoin tutkimuksessani ns. historiallisen narratologian pohjalta kehitetyin käsittein professori Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylän (1847–1917) Suomalaisen teatterin historiaa, jäljempänä Teatterihistoria, jonka neljä osaa (yhteensä noin 1600 sivua) julkaistiin vuosina 1906–1910. Teatterihistoria kuvaa nykyisen Kansallisteatterin historiaa: sen ”esihistoriaa” 1800-luvun alkupuolella ja puolivälissä (I-osa), suomenkielisen oopperan kautta (1870-luku;

II-osa), suomenkielisen teatterin "nousukautta" (1880- ja 1890-luvut; III-osa) ja nykyisen Kansallisteatterin rakentamista ja teatteriseurueen uudelleennimeämistä 1900-luvun alussa (IV-osa). Kerronta etenee tasaisen kronologisesti (ensimmäisessä osassa myös osin temaattisesti) ja on rakennettu näytäntökausien varaan. Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistoria on näennäisesti tarkka lähdejulkaisunomainen teos (esimerkiksi kolmannessa osassa lähdelainauksia on noin 36 % sivumäärästä), ja sitä käytetäänkin edelleen keskeisenä lähdeteoksena suomenkielisen teatterin historian tutkimuksessa, vaikka muun muassa sen lähdepohjan ongelmiin ja tulkintojen poliittisuuteen onkin viitattu. Se on siis paradigmaattinen esitys suomalaisen teatterin vaiheista, ja sen esittämät tulkinnat ovat suuresti vaikuttaneet myöhempään teatteria koskeviin käsityksiin.

Tutkimuksen tekstilähtöinen näkökulma pohjaa niinsanotun narratiivisen käänteen pääasiassa 1970-luvulla aloittamiin teoreettisiin keskusteluihin. Narratiivinen käänne vaikutti niin kirjallisuudentutkimuksen kuin historianfilosofiankin kentillä ja tutkimuksen johdannossa käydään lyhyesti läpi molempien tieteenalojen teoreettista keskustelua. Näissä keskusteluissa historiantutkijoiden yleinen epistemologinen ongelma menneisyyden ja siitä jäljelle jääneiden lähteiden tai jälkien suhteesta ("Kuinka paljon voimme tietää menneisyydestä?") ohitetaan ja sen sijaan kysytään, miltä menneisyyden tutkiminen näyttää jos sitä lähestytään tekstilähtöisesti. Ei siis kysytä sitä, mistä tutkijat kirjoittavat, vaan sitä, miten menneisyydestä ylipäättään kussakin tilanteessa kirjoitetaan. Samalla pohdinnan kohteeksi nousee se, mitä kirjalliset historiaesitykset kertovat kulloisestakin historiakulttuurista, mikä puolestaan valottaa yleisemmin historiankirjoituksen (tässä tapauksessa erityisesti 1900-luvun alun kansallisen historiankirjoituksen) mekanismeja. Lisäksi tämän oppihistoriallisen katsauksen päätarkoituksena on myös selvittää termien kerronta ja kertomus (narration, narrative) erilaisia käyttötapoja niin kirjallisuuden- kuin historiatutkimuksessakin ja pohjustaa niiden käyttämistä Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistorian analyysissä.

Yleisen tason metodologiana tutkimuksen johdannossa viitataan kulttuurintutkijoiden kehittämään läheltä lukemisen (close reading) tapaan. Aspelin-Haapkyllän massiivisen Teatterihistorian läheltä lukeminen vaati

systemaattisen lukutavan löytämistä. Kirjallisuudentutkijoiden Gérard Genetten ja Seymour Chatmanin jo 1970- ja 1980-luvuilla kehittämä kerronnan temmon analyysi osoittautui toimivaksi työkaluksi pienin muutoksin. Etsimällä taukoja (pause), yhteenvetoja (summary), hidastuksia (stretch) ja kohtauksia (scenes) löydettiin kertomuksen avainkohdat. Lisäksi huomiota kiinnitetään termiin ellipsi, joka kirjallisuudentutkimuksessa viittaa kertomuksessa esiintyviin aukkoihin. Termi ei historiankirjoituksen tutkimuksessa ole sellaisenaan käyttökelpoinen, sillä historiankirjoittaja harvoin rakentaa kertomuksensa jännitteen tietoisten aukkojen varaan. Sanomatta jätetyt seikat ovat kuitenkin historiapolitisesti merkityksellisiä (vaikka ne voivat kertoa myös lähdepohjan ongelmista) ja niitä tutkimuksessa lähestytään tutkimalla kerronnan ja sen takana olevan lähdepohjan eroavaisuuksia; niitä seikkoja, joista oltaisiin voitu kertoa, mutta jotka jätettiin tarinalinjan ulkopuolelle. Kerronnan temmon analyysia ei kuitenkaan tutkimuksessa esitetä sellaisenaan, sillä se oli metodi, jolla suomenkielisen teatterin historiaa kuvaavan esityksen merkittävimmät tapahtumat löydettiin. Tutkimuksen pääosa rakentuu näitä tapahtumia kuvaavien esitysten ja kielen analysoinnin ympärille, eli niiden lähiluvun varaan.

Yllämainittujen kerronnan tempoa kuvaavien käsitteiden lisäksi Teatterihistorian varsinaisessa analyysissä toistuvat käsitteet tekijä-historioitsija (author-historian) ja kertoja (narrator). Ensiksi mainittua käytetään tutkimuksessa korostamaan ajatusta historioitsijasta tekijänä, joka tietoisesti pyrkii rakentamaan esityksestään koherenttia, loogista ja vakuuttavaa kokonaisuutta. Kertoja-termin käyttö puolestaan pitää tutkimuksen tekstikeskeisenä kautta linjan: tutkimuksessa ei pyritä kirjoittamaan Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylän henkilöhistoriaa lukemalla erästä hänen tutkimustaan vaan analysoimaan yhtä hänen teksteistään aikakautensa historiakulttuuria edustavana tapaustutkimuksena ja sen sivuilla esiintyvää kertojaa, jonka takaa kuultaa toki koko ajan tekijä-historioitsijan hahmo. Kertoja-termin ja erilaisten kertojapositionien (näkyvä, peitetty kertoja) analyysin kautta päästään käsittelemään sitä, kuinka voimakkaasti tai heikosti kerrottua kansallinen historiankirjoitus 1900-luvun alun mullistuksien keskellä oli. Toisin sanoen käyttämällä kirjallisuudentutkijoiden kehittämiä käsitteitä historiankirjoituksen

analysoimisessa voidaan paitsi käydä teoreettisia keskusteluja historiankirjoituksen luonteesta mutta myös tehdä hyvin konkreettista historiankirjoituksen historiaa koskevaa tutkimusta.

Tekstilähtöisestä otteesta huolimatta Teatterihistoria asetetaan myös kirjoittamiskontekstiinsa. Tutkimuksen toinen luku (Nineteenth Century Historical Culture and the History of the Finnish Theatre Company) esittelee niin sen poliittisen, sosiaalisen kuin kulttuurisenkin taustan. Suurlakon jälkeinen, yhteiskunnallisia kiistoja (muuan muassa kieli- ja luokkakysymykset, liberaalit kulttuurivirtaukset) kärjistänyt poliittinen, kulttuurinen ja sosiaalinen ilmapiiri esitetään Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistorian kerronnallisten valintojen merkittävänä lähtökohtana. Toisaalta teosta selitetään 1900-luvulta periytyvien historiankirjoituksen akateemisten traditioiden sekä fiktiivisen ja non-fiktiivisen menneisyyttä koskevan kirjoittamisen niin ”muodollisen” (form) kuin temaattisen läheisyyden tuloksena.

Samassa yhteydessä esitetään myös yleisluontoinen kuva siitä, mitä menneisyyttä 1900-luvun ja 2000-luvun alun historioitsijat, kirjailijat ja näytelmäkirjailijat käsittelivät teoksissaan. Materiaali on ensimmäisiä fiktiivisiä ja non-fiktiivisiä menneisyyttä koskevia tekstejä vertaileva esitys Suomessa ja sen aineisto on koottu aikakautta koskevista yleisesityksistä. Tulokset esitetään liitteessä 1 (diagrammit 1.1.1., 1.1.2., 1.3.1., 1.3.2., 1.3.3. ja taulukot 1.2.1. ja 1.2.2.). Esitys on luonnollisesti tässä vaiheessa vain suunta-antava, mutta sen kautta on kuitenkin mahdollista esittää kuva siitä, mitä menneisyyttä pidettiin merkityksellisenä eri vuosikymmeninä vuosien 1797 ja 1917 välillä, ja siitä miten Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistoria tuohon kenttään asettuu.

Suomalaisen teatterin historian varsinainen narratologinen analyysi alkaa luvussa kolme (The Ideal Story-line and its Difficulties), jossa käydään läpi Teatterihistorian tarinalinja sellaisena kuin kertoja on sen halunnut esittää. Samalla tartutaan erääseen tutkimuksen läpikulkevista teemoista, tekijä-historioitsijan tarinalinjan ja menneen todellisuuden (lähteiden) välisiin ristiriitoihin ja siihen miten nämä näkyvät kerronnan tasolla. Luvussa analysoidaan muun muassa Teatterihistorian eri osien otsikoiden ja niiden sisällön ja tarinalinjan välistä ristiriitaa, kansallisen historiankirjoituksen suhdetta aikaan yleisemmällä tasolla sekä ajallisia suhteita yksittäisen

kertomusjakson sisällä (proleptiset ja analeptiset viittaukset rakentamassa teleologisia jatkumojä ja kokonaisuuksia). Luvussa esitetään että Teatterihistoriassa oli kaksi vastakkaista tarinalinjaa: kansallisen teatterin (väistämätöntä) menestystä kuvaava nouseva tarinalinja ja ihanteellisen menneisyyden rappeutumista ja menettämistä kuvaava laskeva tarinalinja, jotka kohtaavat 1890-luvun alun kuvauksissa. Tutkimuksen keskeinen hypoteesi siitä, että Teatterihistorian kuvaama aikakausi toimi ihanteellisena, esimerkillisenä menneisyytenä 1900-luvun alun vanhasuomalaiselle ryhmälle, nousee esille.

Neljäs luku (The Key Episodes) esittelee Teatterihistorian avaintapahtumat: intensiivisesti kuvatut jaksot, joista kerrottaessa kerronta hidastuu tai paikoin pysähtyy. Tapahtumat on jaoteltu kolmeen ryhmään: teatteriesitykset ja niiden ihanneyleisö, tarinan sankarit ja antisankarit sekä teatteritilat sosiaalisen toiminnan näyttämöinä. Avaintapahtumat kuvastavat Aspelin-Haapkyllän Historian keskeisiä tavoitteita ja kerronnallisia keinoja ja ovat merkittävässä asemassa lukijoiden vakuuttamisessa esitettyjen tulkintojen uskottavuudesta: kuten sanottu, päämääränä oli luoda kuva ihannemenneisyydestä, jossa esimerkillinen teatteri (eli yleensä suomenkielinen ooppera) esitti ylevää ohjelmistoa sosiaalisesti paikallaan pysyvälle yleisölle kunnioittaen samalla teatteria sankarillisesti johtavaa Kaarlo Bergbomia. Ihanne-esitysten tarkka kuvaus oli myös tapa vaikuttaa muotoutumassa olleeseen suomenkielisen kirjallisuuden kaanoniin.

Avaintapahtumien kerronnan muodot vaihtelevat suuresti: lähes myyttinen kuvaus Aleksis Kiven Lean ensi-esityksestä 1869 on emotionaalisesti ladattu uskonnollinen herätyskokemus, useissa episodissa käytetään dialogeja ja vapaata epäsuoraa kerrontaa lähelle liukuvaa esitystapaa, aikamuodot vaihtelevat preesensin ja imperfektin välillä, sanasto on emotionaalisesti ladattua, kerronta formulaista, toisteista. Kerronta rakentuu myös usein keskeisesti vastakkaisten parien varaan: esimerkiksi epäisänmaalliset näytelmäkirjailijat Gustav von Numers and Minna Canth esitetään Kaarlo Bergbomin erityislaatuisuutta ja oikeanlaista isänmaallisuutta korostavina antisankareina ja suomalaisen teatterin ja ruotsinkielisen Uuden teatterin tilojen kontrasti viittaa suoraan suomenkielisen kulttuurin alisteiseen asemaan ja toisaalta sen sitä näkyvämpään voittokulkuun.

Analysoimalla avainesityksiä ja niiden kerrontaa päästään myös pohtimaan fiktion ja non-fiktion välistä suhdetta. Kuten edellä todettiin, nämä menneisyyttä esittävän kirjoittamisen lajit olivat akateemisen historiankirjoituksen käytänteiden vakiintumisvaiheessa ja kansallisvaltioiden rakentamisprosesseissa läheisessä yhteistyössä: historiantutkijat kirjoittivat ja arvioivat historiallisia romaaneja (ja päinvastoin) ja käyttivät laajaa kerronnan skaalaa luodessaan uskottavia kokonaisesityksiä menneisyydestä. Ann Rigneyn mukaan liukuminen verifioitavissa olevan tiedon puolelta ”mahdollisesti todellisuusvastaavaan” kuvaukseen (jolla ei siis kuitenkaan ollut lähde pohjaa) kuitenkin yleensä aina ilmoitettiin lukijalle 1800-luvun historiankirjoituksessa. Teatterihistoriassa ei näin tehdä: lukijaa ei valmistella kuvitteellisiin dialogeihin ja henkilöiden mentaalisen mielenmaiseman kuvauksiin. Luvun neljä yhteenvedossa käsitelläänkin käsitteiden fiktio ja fiktiivinen erilaisia merkitystasoja ja niiden käyttökelpoisuutta Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistorian edustaman kansallisen historiankirjoituksen analyysissä ottamalla mukaan käsitepari true-to-actuality (todellisuusvastaavuus) ja true-to-meaning (merkitysvastaavuus): pelkkä todellisuusvastaavuus ei tehnyt Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistoriasta uskottavaa esitystä; ne episodit, jotka liukuvat fiktiivisen esittämisen kentälle, ovat Teatterihistorian vakuuttavuuden ja tulkinnan kannalta keskeisiä, sillä ne kuvastivat tekijä-historioitsijan kykyä ymmärtää kuvattua aikakautta sekä sen luonnetta ja merkitystä kokonaisuutena.

Luvussa viisi (The Vocabulary of Nationalism) pureudutaan Suomalaisen teatterin historian retoriikkaan vielä edellistä lukua tarkemmin: tarkastelun kohteeksi otetaan keskeiset kielikuvat, kirjalliset motiivit ja topokset (kuten esimerkiksi kuolinvuodekohtaukset ja metaforat teatterista teatteri kotina ja avioliittona). Luvussa käsitellään Teatterihistorian uskonnollista retoriikkaa, ironiaa kirjallisena tyylinä, jolla luodaan vastakkainasettelua svekomaanien ja fennomaanien välille sekä ”alkuperäisyyden” diskurssia, jolla kansainvälisestä teatterielämästä luotiin paljon todellisuutta kansallisempi kuva.

Luku kuusi (The Sources and the Voice) palaa kysymykseen Teatterihistorian luonteesta lähdejulkaisunomaisena teoksena ja ottaa myös sen tekijän historiakäsityksen pohdittavaksi. Luvussa kysytään, minkälaisia tavoitteita tekijä-historioitsija on tutkimukselleen asettanut ja miten

historiankirjoitukseen väistämättä liittyvä lähdeapparaatti vaikuttaa näiden tavoitteiden toteutumiseen ja toteutumatta jäämiseen. Lähdelainauskäytäntöjä tarkastellaan kerronnan ja äänen näkökulmasta kysymällä muun muassa ketkä teatterikentän toimijoista saavat äänensä Teatterihistoriassa kuuluville.

Luvun alussa esitellään Aspelin-Haapkyllän erityinen lähdelainaustapa. Hän esittää suoria lainauksia alkuperäislähteistä erillisissä sisennetyissä ja pienemmällä kirjasimella esitetyissä kappaleissa. Näissä lainauksissa pois jätetyt kohdat ilmaistaan yleensä ajatusviivalla (mutta ei aina). Toiseksi hän laatii tiivistelmiä ("supistelmia") lähteistään. Nämä tiivistelmät esitetään yleensä erillisissä sisennetyissä ja pienemmällä kirjasimella esitetyissä kappaleissa. Kolmanneksi hän esittää suoria lainauksia alkuperäislähteistä osana leipätekstiä. Joskus nämä lainaukset ovat lainausmerkeissä, mutta paikoin lukijalle ei anneta merkkiä liukumisesta lähdelainauksen puolelle. Lähdeviittaukset on yleensä kirjoitettu osaksi leipätekstiä; alaviitteet on varattu lähinnä poliittisille kommenteille ja muille subjektiivisille huomautuksille. Teatterihistoriassa käytetty vaihteleva lähdelainaustapa ja erityisesti "lähdesupistelmien" varaan rakentuva analyysi ja argumentointi tekee siitä erityisen ongelmallisen lähdeoteoksen. Toisaalta historianpoliittisesti erityisesti supistelmat toimivat oivana tapana esittää halutunkaltaista menneisyyttä.

Hyvin laajasti alkuperäislähteitä siteeraava teos esittäytyy "totena" esityksenä menneisyydestä ja pyrkii vastaamaan Aspelin-Haapkyllän esipuheessa ja epilogissa asettamiin tavoitteisiin kertoa suomenkielisen teatterin menneisyydestä "niin yksinkertaisesti ja tapahtumien mukaisesti" kuin mahdollista. Toisaalta kerronnan kannalta laajat lähdelainaukset tuovat tekstiin hyvin näkyvän kertoja-position: lähteet ja niiden laatimiskonteksti pitää esitellä ja niiden mukaanottoa perustella. Paikoin kertojan ääni rikkoo lähdelainauksen, lähdettä saatetaan selittää esimerkiksi suluissa. Toisin sanoen Teatterihistorian rakentuminen jatkuvien lähdelainauksien varaan antaa vaikutelman siitä, että menneisyyden toimijoiden ääni hallitsee kerrontaa ja tekijä-historioitsijan tehtäväksi jää lähinnä kirjata nämä äänet. Todellisuudessa mittava lähdeapparaatti tuo mukaan vahvan ja paikoin hyvin näkyvän kertojan, joka myös muokkaa menneisyyden toimijoiden ääntä tarinalinjan tarpeita vastaaviksi.

Merkityksen tuottaminen merkitsee myös valikoimista. Jokaisen valikoiman toinen puoli on sakka tai tähteet (residue): ne lähteet, jotka jäävät tutkimusprosessissa yli. Luvun kuusi lopussa tarkastelun kohteeksi otetaan kolme suomalaisen teatterin alkuvuosien tapahtumaa, joiden kautta eritellään sitä, mitä teatterin menneisyydestä olisi lähteiden varassa voinut kertoa ja sitä, mitä siitä lopulta kerrottiin. Lähdepohjan ja lähdeviittaussapparaatin analyysin keskiössä on siis kysymys siitä, kuinka tiiviisti tai vahvasti kerrottua ja kontrolloitua kansallinen menneisyys 1900-luvun alussa oli.

Luvussa seitsemän (The Reception) esitellään lyhyesti Suomalaisen teatterin historian vastaanotto 1900-luvun alussa. Aspelin-Haapkyllän tulkinnat ja Historian esitystapa hyväksyttiin yleisesti, ja kritiikit toimivat tekijä-historioitsijan argumenttien jatkeena. Teatterihistorian tarinalinja ja kerronta siis tiikkuvat tekstikokonaisuuden ulkopuolelle. Kriittisinä ääninä esitellään Juhani Ahon ja Eino Leinin kirjoitukset.

Yhteenveto (The Ideal of History) kokoaa yhteen lukujen edellä lyhyesti esitellyt temaattiset analyysit. Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistorian lähiluku osoittaa, että sen ensimmäisessä ja toisessa osassa kuvattu menneisyys on Aspelin-Haapkyllän ja ehkä jopa laajemmin häntä ympäröivän vanhasuomalaisen ryhmän lähes myyttiset mittasuhteet saavuttava ihannemenneisyys: aika ja paikka, jolloin yhteiskuntaluokkien väliset sosiaaliset suhteet olivat paikoillaan ja arvot vastasivat heidän kristillisidealista maailmankuvaansa. Kaiken kaikkiaan Suomalaisen teatterin historian kerronta on vahvaa, tiivistä ja tiukasti kertojan ja sitä kautta tekijä-historioitsijan hallussa. Tämä hallittu menneisyys on kuitenkin yllättävän hauras kokonaisuus: se sietää hyvin harvoja soraääniä ja pyrkii peittämään kiillotettuun pintaan väistämättä syntyvät halkeamat. Tosin sanoen Teatterihistorian muodolle ja sisällölle on kaksi tulkintamahdollisuutta: se voidaan nähdä joko poliittisesti ja kulttuurisesti vahvoilla olevan sosiaalisen ryhmän rakentamana tekstuaalisena monumenttina tai puolustusasemissa olevan yhteisön yrityksenä vaikuttaa nykyisyyteen kirjoittamalla menneestä. Tutkimuksen lopuksi pohditaan Eliel Aspelin-Haapkyllän Teatterihistorian ja laajemmin vanhasuomalaisen kansallisen historiankirjoituksen lajioinaisuuksia ja esitetään ajatus ”idealisticesta estetiikasta” niitä yhdistävänä tekijänä.