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Frost, Blood and a Thousand Lakes
Representing Finnishness in Metal Lyrics

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ABSTRACT

Tutkielmassani selvitän, millaisena suomalaisuus artikuloituu viime vuosien kansainväliselle yleisölle suunnatussa, englanninkielisessä metallilyriikassa. Tutkielmani pohjaa teoreettisesti ajatukselle, että kansallista kulttuuria ja identiteettiä rakennetaan ja tuotetaan diskursiivisesti. Benedict Anderson luonnehtii valtiota kielen avulla kuviteltuna ja määriteltynä yhteisönä. Kansallinen diskurssi tuottaa yhteisöllisyyttä, se määrittelee ”meidät” erityislaatuina. Kansallisvaltio on käsitteenä historiallisesti suhteellisen uusi, ja jokainen kansakunta on kulttuurisesti hybridi. Silti diskurssin avulla kansakunnasta luodaan representaatio, joka esittää sen olleen olemassa jo määrittelemättömän kauan, ja joka esittää sen olevan kulttuurisesti homogeeninen. Stuart Hallin teorioima ”kansallinen narratiivi” on metafora, joka asettaa kaikki tiettyä kansallisuutta kuvaavat esitykset yhteyteen. Niistä syntyy kansallinen kertomus, jossa painottuvat usein toistetut kansallisuutta kuvaavat elementit, viitteet ja symboliikka. Mitä enemmän jotain kuvausta toistetaan, sitä itsestään selvempänä se alkaa näyttäytyä, ja sitä vaikeampi se on haastaa, vaikka se ei vastaisikaan totuutta. Tässä piilee diskursiivisuuden voima. Kansalliseen keskusteluun osallistuvat saattavat toistaa vallalla olevia käsityksiä jopa tiedostamattaan.

Tutkimusaineistossani suomalaisuuden elementit; symbolit ja erilaiset viittaukset artikuloituvat metallilyriikan aineksiksi. Kontekstualisointi on keskeisin tekniikkani analysoidessani lyriikoita, tästä syystä myös Deena Weinsteinin teoria metallidiskurssista on oleellinen osa teoriapohjaani. Jotkin viittaukset paljastavat monitahoisen merkityksensä vain, kun ne luetaan asetettuna metallidiskurssin ja kansallisen diskurssin leikkauskenttään. Aineistokseni olen valinnut seitsemän laulun lyriikat, joista jokainen lähestyy suomalaisuutta hieman eri näkökulmasta ja eri painotuksin. Jokainen laululyriikoista muodostaa omanlaisensa kuvan suomalaisuudesta. Pohdin tutkielmassani lyriikoiden ”kertojien” positioitumista suhteessa suomalaisuuteen. Lyriikoiden suomalaisuus artikuloituu suhteessa toisiin kansallisuuksiin, mutta myös suhteessa valtion sisäiseen dynamiikkaan. Tärkeitä viitekehyksiä ovat kansallisessa diskurssissa keskeiset ja myös perinteiset: kansakunnan näkeminen perheenomaisena, valtion näkeminen kotina, kansallinen luonto ja kansallismaisema, mentaliteetti, sekä poliittinen historia. Lopuksi pohdin vaikutteita, jotka näyttävät kumpuavan kansallislaulugenrestä; tutkimusaineistoni metallilyriikoilla ja *Maamme*-laululla on yllättävän paljon yhteistä.

KEYWORDS: discourse, representation, articulation, national identity, the narrative of the nation, metal lyrics

1 INTRODUCTION

Music, like identity, is both performance and story, describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind; identity, like music, is a matter of both ethics and aesthetics. (Simon Frith 1996: 109)

This study is inspired, first of all, by the author's personal interest in the metal genre and its culture, but also by her curious wonder on the profound influence that a national identity may have on a person's way of perceiving the world. Globalisation continues to evoke recurring discussion on national identities. International cooperation may bring nationalities closer together, but at the same time it encourages to emphasise their unique characteristics. This is why the national identity has remained topical for decades.

Recently, the metal genre has become strongly associated with and interwoven into the discourse of the Finnish national identity, which makes the combination of the two discourses topical. Since the beginning of the 21st century the Finnish media has rather regularly celebrated either the international success of some Finnish metal bands, for instance Stratovarius, Amorphis, Nightwish, HIM and Apocalyptica, or characterised Finland as a nation that has fallen in love with metal music. Metal has entered the national discourse of Finland and become symbolic in representing Finland, not only within the national media, but also in various international contexts.

In addition to the rejoicing of the success stories of the internationally popular Finnish metal bands of the turn of the 21st century, the media hype on the Finnish metal culture further intensified in 2006 due to one unexpected event: Lordi, a Finnish monster metal band won the Eurovision song contest, which inspired the media to a perpetual stream of portrayals of Finland as a metal country. No other nation had ever won the contest with a song similar to Lordi's heavy metal/hard rock "Hard Rock Hallelujah", and therefore in this international context of popular music the image of Finland was given an epithet 'the metal country'. Actually, outside the contest context there is nothing especially Finnish about Lordi performing the song: the group draws its inspiration

from the northern American popular culture. Nevertheless, prior to representing themselves and their art, in the Eurovision song contest the contestants are representatives for their nationalities. The song contest emphasises the ways in which the national cultures are unique and different, although the representative songs often resemble one another. It is likely that the preceding international, underground success of Finnish metal music encouraged the Finns to choose Lordi as their representative, so the phenomena are related. Yet, success of a similar scale in an underground context would not have attracted as much media attention.

Ever since metal became nationally topical due to various Finnish success stories abroad, it became accepted and adapted into altogether new contexts. The subculture of metal is being written into the mainstream national context by the media. Since the beginning of the national metal boom, journalists have reported for instance about President Halonen recommending the Tuska festival (a metal festival that takes place in Helsinki) to her Russian colleague Medvedev, about President Ahtisaari giving his blessing to the charitable metal concert *Kaveria ei jätetä* (No friend left behind), and interviewed senior citizens of 70 to 80 years old, previously unfamiliar with metal, enjoying Lutheran masses performed musically as metal versions in local churches. Metal is no longer for fans only, it has become represented as a national treasure.

The national discourse may only recently have begun to embrace metal, but the metal musicians and song writers, for instance the bands Amorphis and Sentenced, have drawn inspiration from the national heritage for decades. Moreover, whilst the national metal boom of the new millennium, another wave of Finland-themed metal has begun to emerge. In addition to the bands that began the discussion on Finnishness in the 1990s and have now become canonical within the genre, also other bands have begun to discuss the theme in unique ways in the 21st century.

This thesis focuses on these more recent trends of representing Finnishness in metal lyrics. All discussion in this thesis is theoretically based on the idea that nations, national cultures as well as national identities are constructed discursively. Following mainly Stuart Hall's theories (1986, 1996) of narrating the nation and articulating

identity and Deena Weinstein's (2000) metal discourse theory I aim to examine what kind of Finnishness the metal lyrics construct.

The international context is the cardinal starting point of this thesis, therefore the metal lyrics that are written and sung in the lingua franca, English, are of interest. For this thesis I have chosen as my study material seven song lyrics that articulate Finnishness in English and which are written by the 21st century newcomers on articulating the national identity in metal. I have chosen two songs by Turisas, by Sargeist and by Korpiklaani, each, and the lyrics of one song by Stratovarius. The songs emphasise different aspects of Finnishness; each of the lyrics is a unique articulation of the Finnish identity.

Turisas is a Viking metal band that constructs the identity of 'Finnish Vikings' in its lyrics and by other aspects of its performing. Turisas's albums of 2004–2011 mostly concentrate on adventures of are based on the identity established on the demo in 2001. I have chosen as my material the lyrics of "The Heart Of Turisas" (2001), because it introduces the concept of the Finnish Vikings and "Till The Last Man Falls" (2001), because it concentrates on representing the land and its people. Sargeist is a black metal band that mostly concentrates on traditional black metal themes. Sargeist articulates Finnishness into two of its song lyrics, the lyrics of "Iron, Blood and Blasphemy" and "Dark Fortress" (2001/2004). Korpiklaani is a folk/pagan metal band, whose lyrics embrace an ascetic life style of living and existing in unity with nature. From Korpiklaani I have chosen "Native Land" (2005) and "Let's Drink" (2007), because they concentrate on Finnishness, yet they emphasise somewhat different aspects of the national identity. Sargeist, Korpiklaani and Turisas are newcomers of the 21st century within the metal genre in general. Nevertheless, the new millennium has also inspired a more experienced band, a power metal group called Stratovarius, to sing on Finnishness for the first time. Stratovarius published its first album in 1989, but waited till 2005 to discuss Finland in the lyrics of "The Land Of Ice And Snow", which completes my set of seven song lyrics for this thesis.

1.1 Previous Studies

Popular music has always discussed current topics. Aho and Kärjä (2007: 15) point out that since the very beginning of studies in popular music, the social phenomena around it have been taken into consideration, and the contexts have been paid attention to. At the end of the 1970s, Simon Frith theorised about the sociology of rock music. More than a decade later, with the help of Stuart Hall's then recently introduced concept of 'articulating identity', Lawrence Grossberg wrote about using popular music as a point of reference whilst constructing one's identity (Aho & Kärjä 2007: 16–17). Today popular music is qualitatively studied mostly with the tools of ethnography, textual representation analysis and music analysis (Aho & Kärjä 2007: 20).

Popular music has been studied for decades, but Hill and Spracklen (2010: vii) point out that the metal genre has begun to attract interest on the field of academic discussion rather late. Previously, the metal subgenres have been studied mostly from a historical point of view. The studies by such researchers as Deena Weinstein (1991), Robert Walser (1993) and Keith Kahn-Harris (2006) explain how the metal genre has evolved in the course of time, and present some sociological aspects associated with the genre and its culture. The most recent additions to the academic discussion on the metal genre are for instance the international Black Metal Theory project with its first publication *Hideous Gnosis* (2010) and the Music, Metal and Politics project of Inter-Disciplinary.Net, which is steered by a group of academics from the USA and Europe. The Finnish metal genre has been studied in the recent years for example from the point of view of sociology: Atte Oksanen's Master's thesis (in Finnish, 2003) concentrates on the different ways of representing masculinities in 'harder rock'¹ lyrics that are written in Finnish. Marcus Moberg's Doctoral thesis (2009) assumes a theological point of view on metal. He discusses issues of religious expression within the Finnish Christian metal scene. Miia Iisakkila (in Finnish, 2001) studies in her Master's thesis the Kalevala-influenced stylistics of Amorphis's verbal expression.

¹ Oksanen refers to his study material with a general term 'harder rock' [raskas rock], (which is not the same as 'hard rock') as the genre boundaries remain debatable.

The focus of this study is on the metal lyrics produce representation of Finnishness. Articulating Finnishness into metal song lyrics has not previously been thoroughly studied, albeit some international study projects have briefly commented on the phenomenon. For instance, an essayist for the Music, Metal and Politics project, Imke von Helden (2010: 34), states that in the recent decades Finland, Norway and Sweden have sprung metal bands that focus on “both national and local cultural roots”. A new subgenre of metal called ‘Viking metal’ has developed from the roots of black metal. Viking metal draws its lyrical themes mostly from the Norse mythology. Inspired by the mythology, also some German and Russian metal bands have begun writing their lyrics in Swedish or Norwegian. (von Helden 2010: 33–34) As stated above, one of the bands whose lyrics are studied in this thesis is a Viking metal band.

References to nationalities and local mythologies are not unique to the genre of Viking metal or to the Nordic countries. All over the world, issues of national identity have entered the metal lyrics. For instance, Slavic folk metal with Slavic themes is an evolving subgenre of metal, lead by the Russian group Arkona. Caroline Lucas (2010: 45) argues that English black metal celebrates the Anglo-Saxon, the Celtic as well as the Norse history. Yet another prominent example of the discussions on national identity is the extreme right-wing oriented branch of black metal which is studied for instance within the Black Metal Symposium project. Benjamin Noys (2010: 112) introduces the politics of this type of black metal by quoting Famine, the singer of Peste Noire: “My two nations are: France d’Oil and Hell. Black Metal is double nationalism, temporal and spiritual, horizontal and vertical.”² Metal does not, however, need to be black to be patriotic. Also the other extreme, Christian metal (also known as white metal or unblack metal) celebrates patriotism, which is apparent for instance in some lyrics of the Ukrainian band Holy Blood. National issues are also discussed in the lyrics of death metal. For instance, according to Keith Kahn-Harris (2006: 131), the Brazilian death metal band Sepultura (‘grave’ in Portuguese) explores national issues on many of its albums. Kahn-Harris (2006: 131) states that especially the album *Roots* (1996) concentrates on exploring Brazilianness. The album draws lyrically from “the power of

² Famine interviewed for *Zero Tolerance* magazine by Nathan T. Birk.

tradition and community as well as the pain and oppression of Brazilian history” (Kahn-Harris 2006: 131).

1.2 Material

In this thesis the main genre is referred to with the term ‘metal’ instead of ‘heavy metal’ to avoid confusion. The term ‘heavy metal’ used to be in the 20th century, and sometimes still is, used in two senses: firstly, referring to the historically first of the metal subgenres, and secondly, as a main category which includes the subgenre of heavy metal but also all of its chronologically descendant subgenres. This kind of usage of the term is confusing, as it is sometimes difficult to tell in which sense it is used. Moreover, the usage of ‘metal’ as the overall term has in practice become the standard within the genre discourse (Oksanen 2003: 4, Weinstein 1991: 7–8).

In this thesis I study the articulations of Finnishness in the lyrics of “The Heart Of Turisas” and “Till The Last Man Falls” by Turisas, “Dark Fortress” and “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” by Sargeist, “Let’s Drink” and “Native Land” by Korpiklaani and “The Land Of Ice And Snow” by Stratovarius. Some of the seven songs studied are musically influenced by several music genres. However, Deena Weinstein (1991: 32) points out that the discursive unit within the metal genre is a band, not a song or an album. Therefore the songs belong to the metal genre despite the influences from the ‘outside’. To be able to understand the references that the lyrics articulate into the construction of Finnishness of the lyrics, the references need to be read in the contexts of the national discourse and with the metal discourse.

Weinstein (1991: 32–34) argues that in order to grasp an understanding of metal lyrics, they need to be read in the context of the image of the band. The band Turisas is named after the god of war in the Finnish mythology. Martti Haavio (1967: 102) states that Mikael Agricola, who was the first to translate *The Bible* into Finnish in the 16th century, made a list of the Finnish gods to be attached to his translation of *The Book of Psalms*. The list introduced Turisas as the god of war (Haavio 1967: 102). Nevertheless,

Haavio (1967: 103–124) maintains that the myth of the god Turisas remains ambiguous because of the lack of sufficient number of written records about him. The mythologists have compared Turisas for instance with Thor and Týr of the Scandinavian mythology, with Mars and Apollo of the Romans and with Ares of the Greek mythology, but the origin and the essential character of Turisas remains unresolved (Haavio 1967: 103–124). The verses of the national epic *Kalevala* do not offer much help on the subject either.

The fictive identity of ‘Finnish Vikings’ is constructed by the band Turisas in various ways. For instance the group members wear red war paint and ‘warrior clothes’ made of leather and fur on stage and promotional pictures. Their album art features an image of historical battle troop (*Battle Metal* 2004) and a Viking ship (*The Varangian Way* 2007). Most of the later production of Turisas tells about Viking-inspired adventures with references of Finnish identity articulated into it. The Finnish-Viking image of the band is carefully constructed.

“The Heart Of Turisas” and “Till The Last Man Falls” by Turisas were published on the EP *The Heart of Turisas* in 2001. “The Heart of Turisas”, obviously, refers to the mythological god, to the name of the EP and also to the band itself. “Till The Last Man Falls” tells about the ‘Fenns’ who are attacked by crusaders. The two songs are musically pieces of Viking metal and the vocals resemble mostly death metal style vocals. The lyrics are written by Mathias “Warlord” Nygård. *The Heart Of Turisas* contains three songs, and the third song is a cover of the well known song “Those Were The Days” that has been remade into a folk/Viking metal song by Turisas. After *The Heart Of Turisas*, on the first album called *Battle Metal* (2004), the singing style changed into clean vocals. *Battle Metal* contains a song called “Battle Metal”, which is almost the same as “The Heart Of Turisas”. “Battle Metal” is basically a new version, a remake of the earlier song with slightly different lyrics.

The name ‘Sargeist’ is a combination of two words (in German): der Sarg (coffin) and der Geist (spirit). In an interview for *Fobia Zine* Ville Pystynen (2004) explains that the name of the band is inspired by the Greek black metal band Rotting Christ’s song “Old

Coffin Spirit” (*Passage to Arcturo* 1991), so it is an intertextual reference within the genre. The use of German words is common to NSBM (national socialist black metal). However, in an interview by Ville Kivimäki, Ville Pystynen (2009) states that Sargeist does not intend to portray itself as an NSBM band. Stage names are common to the black metal genre, and also the mastermind and lyricist of Sargeist, Ville Pystynen, performs and writes the lyrics by an artist name Shatraug.

“Dark Fortress” and “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” by Sargeist are pieces of black metal with screeching vocals, which is characteristic of black metal. They are musically influenced by the traditions of heavy metal. The songs were originally published in 2001 on the demo *Tyranny Returns*, but in this thesis the reissue of 2004 is studied because of the restricted availability of the first published version, which it is no longer for sale. *Tyranny Returns* contains eight songs, all of which can be classified as black metal. The lyrics on the demo concentrate on misanthropy, war, Satanism and opposition to religion, and the demo leaflet is styled in ascetic black and white aesthetics. The names of the songs “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” and “Dark Fortress” do not bear an explicit reference to Finland; they belong to the black metal domain instead. ‘Iron’ and ‘blood’ associate the song with war or battle, whereas blasphemy in this context echoes what is fought against: religion. Also the name of the other song, “Dark Fortress”, refers to the warrior thematic. The demo leaflet presents a picture of Shatraug in a black metal warrior’s ‘uniform’. This type of black metal musicians are maverick ‘warriors’ fighting what according in their understanding is spiritual ignorance by people. Wilson (2010: 39) explains that the warrior image is a metaphor of “the sovereign force of black metal”. It emphasises the force of the ideology, not the person.

The Finnish name of the band Korpiklaani means ‘a clan of the backwoods’. Korpiklaani concentrates on idealising simple life in the spirit of mythic past times on all of its seven albums. The admiration for forest-Finnishness is apparent on the lyrical and musical level of the songs, but also in the image and appearance of the band, for example the clothes worn on stage and their promotional pictures, as well as the album art. The lyrics of “Let’s Drink” and “Native Land” are written by Jonne Järvelä, the

vocalist of the band. Korpiklaani was formerly a folk band that begun to digest metal influences. Pagan metal bands often begin their career as black metal bands and later turn to pagan metal, therefore in this sense Korpiklaani is an exceptional group.

The songs “Native Land” and “Let’s Drink” were published on two different albums. “Native Land” by Korpiklaani could be musically characterised as a ballad-influenced piece of folk metal with traditional musical instruments and clean but hoarse vocals. The song was published in 2005 on the album *Voice of Wilderness*. “Let’s Drink” is a fast tempo folk metal song with clean, assertive vocals. The song was published in 2007 on *Tervaskanto* (resinous stump).

The lyrics on *Voice of Wilderness* and *Tervaskanto* tell about the mythic, romanticised lifestyle of past times, for instance by expressing love for the forest as home, romanticising ‘simple’ life, and celebrating drinking beer merrily. In other words, they are typical of the pagan metal subgenre. In the name of the song “Native Land”, relationship with nation and nature are in focus. The name of the song actually tells more about the people than the land, as “native” refers to an indigenous people; it refers to a profound way of belonging. The name of “Let’s Drink” is a conclusion, a solution to the tale told by the lyrics of the song.

Both albums by Korpiklaani, in their bilingualism, can be regarded as products of intentional cultural export. One of the song lyrics on *Voice of Wilderness* (2005) is in Finnish, the other lyrics are in English. An English translation of the Finnish song lyrics is provided on the album leaflet. Korpiklaani’s lyrics writer, Jonne Järvelä (2005: 50–51), explains in an interview by Matti Impola that he rather writes the lyrics in English because in the mother tongue they would sound too clichédly Finnish to him. The latter album, *Tervaskanto* (2007), features a guest lyrics writer, Juha Jyrkäs, also known as Virva Holtiton, who wrote the Finnish lyrics for the album. Seven of the nine song lyrics on *Tervaskanto* are in Finnish. Yet again, the English translations are provided on the album leaflet. Moreover, descriptions of the Finnish cultural contexts are inserted on the leaflet of *Tervaskanto*. For instance, the concept of ‘Tervaskanto’ is explained as follows:

Tervaskanto is not just a stump of a tree, but also a metaphor for an experienced old man, who knows about all aspects of life. All around the Fenno-Ugric language area man has always associated himself with a tree. This can be seen in the significance of for example the wooden seitas of the Sami people or the sacred garden trees of the ancient Finns.

The name Stratovarius is a hybrid of Statocaster, which is a Fender guitar model, and Stradivarius (Stratovarius 2011). Stradivarius is the Latin language version of the Italian family Stradivari, who is known for producing superior musical instruments, for instance violins, at the turn of 17th and 18th centuries. The hybrid name of the band is supposedly inspired by the musical style of the band. Power metal is a melodic metal genre which often employs instruments that are used by classical music orchestras. Power metal is often upbeat and the lyrical themes hopeful, communal and joyous, so in that sense, power metal discusses the very themes that the traditional heavy metal avoids. Nevertheless, power metal discusses all kinds of personal emotions, and some lyrics by Stratovarius are rather bleak in tone.

“The Land Of Ice And Snow” by Stratovarius is a metal ballad, enforced with a march-rhythm in the middle. It is sung with clean tenor vocals, which is characteristic of power metal. The name “The Land Of Ice And Snow”, foregrounds the northern wintry conditions; it echoes harshness, coldness as well as aesthetics and exotics. Because winter is foregrounded of the four seasons, it can be understood as a reference to the northern location of “the land” (NB not a nation or a country, land is politically more neutral), whereas the definite article articulates Finland’s one of a kind importance to the narrator of the song in comparison to the other countries with similar climate conditions. The lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” are written by Timo Tolkki. The song was published in 2005 on the eponymous album *Stratovarius* of nine songs, which is the band’s 11th studio album. Antti Niemelä (2005) argues in his review of the album *Stratovarius* that naming the album eponymously echoed a new beginning for the band, especially as the former composition of the band reunited played on it after interpersonal problems that momentarily tore it apart.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is theoretically based on the conception that the cultural communities of nations and national identities are constructed discursively, and constantly redefined in the course of time by further discourse. Thus, I begin the theory part of this thesis by defining what ‘discourse’ is and what and how it communicates. First, I introduce the general definitions of discourse by Sara Mills (1997) (following Michel Foucault). Because ‘ideology’ is rather inseparable from the concept of nation and thus relevant for my thesis, I explain the relations of discourse and ideology, following Roger Fowler (1981). Then I move on to describe how discourse communicates and introduce the concept of ‘representation’, following Roger Fowler (1981) and Stuart Hall (2003). Because my material consists of metal lyrics, I close chapter two by providing Deena Weinstein’s (1991) theory on the metal discourse. Weinstein’s theory guides my contextual interpretation whilst analysing the lyrics.

Chapter three opens with an introduction to the concept of nation as an ‘imagined community’, following Benedict Anderson (1991). By this I aim to give a historical insight into the concept of nation as a discursively constructed cultural community. I also aim to point out what kind of a role language, discourse and also capitalism had and still have in constructing the collective identity of a large society. After all, the songs studied in this thesis are products (of popular culture). Next, I introduce national culture as a system of representation, following Stuart Hall (1996). Anderson (1991: 204) argues that print media and capitalism made it possible to construct “the biography of nations”. Hall (1996: 292–293) maintains that this “narrative of the nation” is produced by the national cultural system of representation and that there are certain common tactics that are used in this process. I recite Hall’s theory on the common tactics used in narrating a nation, which I later reflect on whilst analysing the lyrics. Finally, I introduce the theory of articulating identity, following Stuart Hall (1986). By this I aim to demonstrate how the lyrics examined in this thesis are articulations of the Finnish identity.

I analyse the references to Finnishness in the song lyrics in chapter 4 under seven different subchapters that I have created on the basis of the character of the material and on basis of Hall's theory on narrating the nation. The first of the subchapters is a general, introductory overview of the lyrics, in which I perceive the general positioning of the narrating voice to the aspects of the Finnish identity. Subchapters 4.2–4.5 concentrate on the references of belonging to the metaphorical family of nation as well as the belonging to the nation as a home, identifying with Finnishness via nature, stereotypes and mentality and history and politics. In the sixth subchapter of my analysis I deliberate on how the metal lyrics have been influenced by the genre of patriotic song; mainly by the Finnish national anthem.

2 DISCOURSE

As stated above, this thesis is theoretically based on the perception that national identities are constructed discursively. This chapter introduces the concept of discourse and defines language as a representational system. Different discourses have their individual conventions and restrictions, which constructs coherence within the discourses. The context of the material that is studied in this thesis is the metal genre, therefore the general genre conventions of metal discourse are briefly outlined at the end of this chapter.

2.1 Discourse and Representation

‘Discourse’ is a concept with many definitions. Sara Mills (1997: 1) explains that the term is used in different senses across the field of different disciplines, for example psychology and linguistics as well as many others. Mills (1997:1) characterises ‘discourse’ as a term with “perhaps the widest range of possible significations of any term in literary and cultural theory”, yet it is often left undefined for its ostensible appearance as common knowledge. ‘Discourse’ is sometimes used to refer to spoken language in opposition to written text. However, according to another definition both count as discourse, and they are thus referred to as ‘written and spoken discourse’. The third way of defining discards the usage of the term ‘discourse’ altogether and refers to ‘written and spoken texts’ instead. (Mills 1997: 2–4)

On the basis of her interpretation of Michel Foucault’s theories, Mills (1997: 7) states that there are three different ways to define ‘discourse’. All of these three definitions include spoken as well as written language. First of all, “all utterances or texts which have meaning and some kind of effect on the real world count as discourse” (Mills 1997: 7). The second way of defining discourse is a discourse of “individualizable group of statements” (Mills 1997: 7) that discuss a theme with reoccurring structures or other kind of coherence. The third way to define the term equals it to the formulaic usage of language in either spoken or written form (Mills 1997: 7). The lyrics studied in

this thesis count as discourse in all the three senses that are mentioned by Mills. The lyrics are written to be sung and to have an effect on the listener. They follow genre conventions thematically as well as structurally, and are consciously inspired by ideologies, mostly the national ideology, which creates coherence. The lyrics are creative on a formulaic basis of (metal) song lyrics, and their linguistic style and themes are influenced by the metal genre conventions and the national discourse conventions.

Discourse produces representations of its subjects. Taking the constructivist stance, Fowler (1981: 24) points out that our “world of perception and cognition [...] is an artifice, a social construct.” Following Berger and Luckmann’s *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), Fowler explains that community creates a “representation of reality” (Fowler 1981: 25), which categorises perceptions into categories via which the members of community perceive ‘reality’. Fowler (1981: 26) argues that all “knowledge and communication is, precisely, representation”. Written and spoken language, images, videos and music stand for a meaning; they represent. Representations are repeated, which makes their object recognisable, repeated representations create “habituated categories of perception and action which simplify the society’s management of itself and of its habitat” (Fowler 1981: 25). New ideas and information are interpreted in relation to the habituated categories, which gives them a context and which results in the socially constructed meaning.

The socially constructed meanings are culturally dependent. Stuart Hall (2003: 1) explains that “culture is about ‘shared meanings’”. The main mediator of these meanings is language. Language is able to construct and mediate meanings “because it operates as a *representational system*” (Stuart Hall 2003: 1, original emphasis). Anything communicational that can be perceived and that is given a meaning “stand[s] for or represent[s] to other people our concepts, ideas or feelings.” (Hall 2003: 1). Hall (2003: 3) points out that “we give objects, people and events meaning by the frameworks of interpretation we bring to them”. Therefore, representations do not only carry information about the real world phenomena they describe; they also carry an emotional and an ideological stance to the subject that they describe. Representations

are mediators of the ‘truth’ or ‘true world’, or rather, they present interpretations of perceptions.

Discourse produces representations via complex cultural processes. Stuart Hall (2003: 3) maintains that meanings are produced within the ‘cultural circuit’. He explains that meanings are “produced at several different sites and circulated through several different processes”. Hall (2003: 3) states that society gives meaning to things by choosing certain ways of representing them: “the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them”. The discourse cumulates in an overall representation of a real world phenomenon or a concept. The representations evolve in time, because they never leave the cultural circuit of meaning production.

By choosing a certain word over another to describe a phenomenon or a person, the author is taking a stand in relation to what is being described. Words and concepts bear denotations and connotations, and one is expressing an attitude for instance by calling a female person a ‘girl’, ‘woman’ or a ‘lady’ (Fowler 1981: 25), or the certain type of ideologically inspired person a freedom fighter or a terrorist. In addition to choosing certain words, also the linguistic style echoes a stand. For instance, nominalisation and passivisation, and the obscurity of pluralisation create impersonally styled language that echoes the underlying purpose of distancing oneself either from the theme that is being discussed, or from the addressee of the utterance, or both (Fowler 1981: 30). Whilst discussing a phenomenon, of importance is also what the author chooses to emphasise and what not to report at all.

Discussion on a theme is impossible without some kind of ideological stance to it, whether conscious or not. ‘Ideology’ is a term that sometimes bears negative connotations, but in this thesis it is understood as a neutral term. Roger Fowler (1981: 26) argues that each discourse echoes an ideology or often several ideologies. All statements are made on the basis of systems of belief, world-views. Ideologies can not be entirely removed, they can only be replaced. (Fowler 1981: 26) An ideology may be

replaced with an updated or a resurgent version of it or with an entirely different one. Fowler (1981: 28–29) argues that “language use” is “a continuously active social practice” that ceaselessly produces ideology or theory as its unavoidable consequence; “ideology is simultaneously [a] social product and [a] social practice” and so linguistic style at the same time cites as well as adds to an ideology (Fowler 1981: 28–29). The current ideologies of a discourse affect the discourse to a great extent, this may happen up to the point that they become ostensibly self evident world-views, ‘truths’.

Texts, speeches and other means of representation mediate cultural references and the values of their authors, who are influenced by different cultural discourses. At the same time they are contextual to their time and genre on a general level, because they are regarded via habituated categories and frameworks of interpretation that make the author and the reader able to communicate. For instance a historically and nationally located novel is set on the assumptions, attitudes and practices of that particular time and place (Fowler 1981: 35), and moreover, it is set in relation to the novel genre. In other words, the novel is contextualised, first by its author and then by its reader. The characters are expected to behave according to their social identities, in a way that is appropriate to the time and location of the narration. All cultural codes do not need to be written explicitly to the narration, as the context helps to communicate and to understand the implied meanings and references in the text. It is possible to understand the implied meanings, because the text exists in relation to the overall discourse on the subject, the multiplicity of other representations already produced.

Besides the context of a discourse or of several discourses, texts also have the context of sender and receiver and the context of the form (genre) of the text. Fowler (1981: 82) recapitulates M.A.K. Halliday’s simultaneous functions of language, which are the ideational function, interpersonal function and textual function. The ideational function transmits a worldview. It gives a meaning and structure to experience. The interpersonal function refers to communication between the sender and the receiver of lingual messages. Besides communicating meanings between people, language functions in the maintaining and the establishing of social relations. The interpersonal functions can be seen for instance in the use of pronouns. The textual function has to do with the

coherence and form of the communicative unit of language utterances. (Fowler 1981: 82) These different functions of language set the context for the texts that are studied in this thesis. The ideational function, which in this case communicates the world view of the national culture, is the focus of this thesis. The lyrics draw from and add to the national culture, they construct their own individual representations of Finnishness. The habituated ways of representing the national identity of the national discourse make the themes of the lyrics recognisable. However, the interpersonal function, in this case the context of the author and the intended (international) audience, is also relevant in regard of sufficient contextual reading. The interpersonal function gives a perspective to the narration: who is narrating to whom on whose behalf. In this case the metal bands are constructing representations of Finnishness for an international audience. The textual function in the sense of coherence and form is regarded via Deena Weinstein's metal discourse theory.

2.2 The General Features of Metal Discourse

Music, whether teenybop for young female fans or jazz or rap for African-Americans or nineteenth century chamber music for German Jews in Israel, stands for, symbolizes *and* offers the immediate experience of collective identity. (Simon Frith 1996: 121, original emphasis)

Metal music that articulates a national identity offers an experience of double identity. On the one hand, it offers an identity of the 'metal community'. On the other hand, it offers an identity of a national community. This thesis is interested in the articulations of national identity, yet the metal context cannot be discarded. The lyrics examined in this thesis belong to the specific genre of metal lyrics, which contextualises them with the overall metal genre discourse. The relation to the metal discourse makes certain implications and references in the lyrics understandable and meaningful, but it also defines the discourse. Genre restrictions make some ways of expressing deviant and 'unacceptable'. The lyrics studied in this thesis are written by metal bands, and therefore it is relevant to take a look at the metal genre and the special features of metal discourse.

Atte Oksanen (2007: 164) argues that music is constantly active in producing meanings. Rock and metal music lyrics diagnose our times, yet at the same time they create meanings and categorisations (Oksanen 2007: 162, 164). They cite the existing rock and metal discourse and create new associations and meanings. In general, popular music reaches beyond the social, the national and the ethnic borders. Nowadays, the lyrics in popular music are most often written in either the mother tongue or in English. The metal lyrics examined in this thesis are written in English, so they are meant to be able to cross the language barriers of nationalities. Opting for English makes the lyrics more prominently a part of the international metal discourse.

Rosemary Hill and Karl Spracklen (2010: vii) characterise the metal genre as “a genre of dense sounds and ideologies”. Each metal band is often mainly associated with a metal subgenre with its own ideology and subgenre discourse, but metal also often adapts ideologies from the outside, like the lyrics studied in this thesis. The lyrics discuss Finnish national identity in an international context. The primary target audience is therefore supposedly people who are interested in Finnishness and metal.

Metal discourse has its own typical ways of expression. It has its own stylistics, aesthetics and vocabulary, and it exists in immediate context of the metal culture. Besides song lyrics, the general metal discourse comprises, for instance, articles and books written about metal music and metal culture, as well as the conversations that the fans and musicians have about the music and the culture. Within the subgenres of metal the stylistics and vocabulary are more defined, restricted and specific, because their underlying ideologies differ from one another, and because the different subgenres appreciate different kinds of aesthetics. Contextual information about the subgenre of metal as well as its culture is in many cases essential in the pursuit towards an understanding of metal lyrics and appreciation of their aesthetics.

Deena Weinstein introduces a theory on ‘heavy metal’ discourse in her *Heavy Metal: A Cultural Sociology* (1991). However, it is at times difficult to say, which of the two senses of the term ‘heavy metal’ she refers to in her work, to the main genre of metal or to the subgenre of metal. However, whichever she actually refers to in this context is

rather irrelevant, because the theory she presents on the verbal dimension of the genre is generic enough to be sufficient to describe the whole of the present day diverse metal genre.

According to Weinstein (1991: 31), the verbal dimension of metal music discourse consists of “band names, album and song titles, and lyrics”. Weinstein (1991: 32) points out that instead of a song or an album “metal’s unit of discourse” is the band. Therefore band names are pivotal “contexts of meaning” (Weinstein 1991: 32) in the interpretation of the lyrics, and so is the image of the band in general. Another pivotal context of meaning for the lyrics is the song title. The lyrics are contextualised and interpreted via the band’s name and via the song title (Weinstein 1991: 32). The context sets up “an emotional expectation and function[s] the same way that familiarity with a person colors our understanding of that person’s words or actions” (Weinstein 1991: 34). This is why the names of the bands and the titles of the songs and albums/EPs are introduced thoroughly in the material chapter of this thesis.

Besides the names of bands and songs, the lyrics sung in the chorus have a heightened importance because they are foregrounded due to their repetition in the song (Weinstein 1991: 32). The choruses are marked with emphasis in the song lyrics that are provided as appendices in this thesis, if not written multiple times in the original lyrics of the CD leaflets already. The lyrics are copied from the CD leaflets of the albums, so the way in which they are presented in the appendices is dependent on how they are provided in the product.

Weinstein (1991: 34) argues that metal lyrics must be analysed through “figurative and contextual interpretation rather than a literal reading”. Weinstein (1991: 34) maintains that “[l]yrics are not intended to be tightly integrated systems of signifiers, although there are exceptions to this rule. Most lyrics are best understood as a loose array of fragmentary and suggestive signifiers”. However, there is usually an aspiration to certain coherence within the discourse of an album, which is created for instance by the names: whereas the first albums by a band are often eponymous, the other albums often “adopt the name of a song within the album” (Weinstein 1991: 33).

The conventions of metal music discourse exist for multiple reasons. First and foremost of course, they exist because of the constructed, habituated categories of representing and understanding the world. This is why we have a genre category called metal music: to characterise a certain kind of form of popular art. The conventions guide the artist and the audience and make contextualised communication possible. The formulaic conventions of the genre makes the creating of new songs easier for their author, as everything does not need to be created from the basics, in other words, reinvented. Similar expressive styles make the interpretation of the songs easier for the addressees. Because of the genre categorisations and conventions of the metal discourse, the audience knows what to expect and the fans know how and where to find the kind of music that they prefer.

Metal music is a product. All popular music is produced for the masses; therefore it reaches a large audience (Aho & Kärjä 2007: 8). 'Masses' as well as 'large' audiences are, of course, relative concepts with many different kinds of definitions. However, of interest is that popular music is a significant communicational channel in today's world, therefore, if something is sought to be communicated via it, the messages are potent to reach many addressees. Metal music is usually mostly listened to by metal fans. While it is common to some other popular music genres to produce hit songs that are forgotten relatively quickly, metal songs do not often become hits, but they do not wear out as quickly either. If defined in an over-simplifying manner, metal music is a product that is constantly replayed by the fan (or re-enjoyed at live performances). Thus, one aspect of the power of representing in metal lies in the ceaseless repetition.

Song lyrics are primarily meant to be sung. However, those who get interested in a song are also potent to read the lyrics from the album leaflet. The convention of providing lyrics in a written form on the product exists on demand; consumers want their lyrics in a written form accompanied by the sung ones. Besides the CD-format which usually includes an accompanying album leaflet where one can find a printed version of the lyrics, this can also be seen in the mere abundance of web sites devoted to lyrics of songs. If one does not own the product, but overhears a song somewhere, the lyrics are still available and of interest. The sung and written lyrics of a song exist in a special

relationship, yet they also function independently as works of popular art. The lyrics are also given a different status compared to the non-verbal musical expression: one cannot find for instance guitar tablatures written on the album leaflet.

3 NATION, DISCOURSE AND IDENTITY

Historically, the political division of geographical territories into *nations* is a new phenomenon, and the national identities a modern way via which to perceive the self and the others. The transition into a global system of nations was gradual. Alongside nations, the preceding colonial system was in use in some parts of the world up till the middle of the 20th century (Hofstede 1993: 29). The national identity was constructed, ‘created’ with the help of imagination, because the industrialised society was in need of loyalty between people; the type of loyalty that could reach beyond locality (Anttila 2007: 4, Anderson 1991: 6).

The modern concepts of ‘nation’ and ‘identity’ lack concreteness, therefore they are often explained via figurative expressions. This chapter introduces the nation as a discursively, socially constructed, ‘imagined community’, following Benedict Anderson (1991). National discourse constructs the narrative of the nation that the lyrics studied in this thesis also actively reproduce. The concepts of ‘national discourse’ and the ‘narrative of the nation’ are defined following Benedict Anderson (1991) and Stuart Hall (1996). Finally, the concepts of ‘identity’ and ‘articulating identity’ are introduced, respectively, following mainly Stuart Hall (1986, 1996 & 2002).

3.1 The Imagined Communities

Benedict Anderson defines nation as an invention, as “an *imagined political community* – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (1991: 6, emphasis mine). Anderson states that he defines nation as ‘imagined’, because a person of a nationality will never meet all of his or her compatriots, but regardless of this “in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 1991: 6). This communion is constructed via national discourse which produces representations, so in this sense, the communion has to be ‘imagined’. By the ‘limitedness’ Anderson (1991: 6) means that nations, regardless of how large in geographical size or in the amount of population, are not imagined to include the whole human kind or surface of the planet, nor that such

inclusion would be a future goal of any of the nations. By using the term ‘sovereign’ Anderson refers to the secularisation of reign, as the ruler is not appointed by a divinity anymore, as was believed to be the case in the preceding dynastic realms. The ‘community’ aspect Anderson explains to be based on fraternity, “a deep, horizontal comradeship”. (Anderson 1991: 6–7)

In his influential work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991) Benedict Anderson debates on how the imagined cultural community of nation was brought together in the spirit of nationalism. Besides the right timing in political history, according to Anderson, there were three essential elements to this evolution. First of all, he stresses the importance of language. Anderson (1991: 146) states that a nation is “a community imagined through language”. He (1991: 54) points out that through times, language has acted as a central unifying element to various kinds of large communities. For instance, large religious communities were once connected via the shared, mostly silent (i.e. only written), holy languages. Since the history of nations, the initiation into a national community has taken place by learning the language. One can be invited into a nationality as nation-ness lies in language, not in blood, and anyone can learn a language; nations are closed systems but with flexible borders. (Anderson 1991: 7, 54, 134, 145)

Anderson (1991: 67–68) remarks that ‘lingual-nationalism’ is “of central ideological and political importance” in defining the nation unique in comparison to the other nations in the case of many (mostly European) nations. However, Anderson (1991: 133) recognises that “[i]t is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them – as emblems of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances”, because discourse, rather than the language it is in, is what matters. This is apparent for instance in the case of Switzerland of several national languages and the national identities of some former colonies imagined through the imperial language, for instance such as the Mozambique identity imagined and written about in Portuguese. (Anderson 1991: 134–136, 139).

Second of all, besides the importance of language, the national discourse had to become accessible to people. This became possible because of the technical development of communication. Anderson (1991: 25) emphasises the importance of the emergence of two print media at the early stages of European national imaginings in the 18th century; the novel and the newspaper. He regards them as the pivotal ones because they “provided the technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the kind of imagined community that is the nation”. The print media created an effective communicative channel that masses had access to, for the sharing of the representations of nationality. Anderson regards the newspaper as markedly symbolical for the imagined community also because of the ritual aspect of it. Reading the newspaper in the morning is imagined to be a shared experience throughout the whole nation, with the fellow compatriots, every single day. He calls the reading a “mass ceremony”, in which there is “community in anonymity”. (Anderson 1991: 24–25, 34–36) Albeit both are print media, the novel is a very different from the newspaper as a communicational channel. The novel is read and re-read more often than a newspaper, and it stands time better. No-one discards a novel because it was written yesterday, as might be the case with a newspaper. However, these two formats, in their particular ways, made nationalistically inspired texts accessible the public.

The print-media were pivotal in establishing the national community, because according to Anderson, print-vernaculars gave the speakers of the various dialects of the same language a unifying communicational channel. The spoken dialectical language variants were often incomprehensible to one another. Anderson states that the establishment of print-languages also “gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of nation”. Nations are a modern creation, but their history and traditions are drawn from the antiquity. Anderson points out the primordial character of languages; no one knows the day any of them came to existence: “[e]ach looms up imperceptibly out of a horizonless past.” However, as much as they unified, print-languages also gave an advantageous status for those who spoke a language variant closest to the written version. (Anderson 1991: 5, 44, 144)

Third of all, besides language (discourse) and technology, Anderson associates the emergence of nationalism strongly with capitalism. He emphasises the importance of the print media products as commodities by referring to the vast amounts of literature printed and consumed even before the 17th century; this is how the ideas spread already in the early stages of the history of nationalism. The print media evolved into a channel of mass communication to answer the demand of capitalist markets. The print-media sought for new markets to sell books at and therefore publishing in vernaculars was established, which provided a fertile soil for the growth of national imaginings. In this sense, the rise of capitalism made it possible for nationalism to emerge and the national imaginings to be attached to something concrete and accessible: a printed commodity. (Anderson 1991: 37–38)

Finally, Anderson (1991: 134) concludes that “[p]rint-language invents nationalism, not a particular language per se.” By this he refers to the historically new means of mass-communicating national representations in an understandable and accessible way to everybody. In this conclusion all of the three elements combine. A written language variant gave fixity to language, and capitalistic mass production made printed texts accessible commodities to everybody.

The means of mass communication have developed a great deal from the days when nationalism first emerged. Capitalism has played a major role in this later development as well. Nowadays the representations of nations are scattered to various media along with the traditional print media, for instance the television, the radio and the internet, not to mention the cultural products in new formats, for instance electronic books, applications to mobile phones, CDs and DVDs. Nowadays, all of these media maintain and reproduce national cultures.

3.2 National Discourse and the Narrative of the Nation

Stuart Hall states that besides a “political entity”, a nation is also “*a system of cultural representation*” (1996: 292, original emphasis) and that a “national culture is a

discourse” (1996: 292, original emphasis). In the national discourse representations are constructed by giving them “the frameworks of interpretation” (Hall 2003: 3), of nation and nationality. National discourse concentrates thematically on representing the imagined cultural community of nation in descriptive and prescriptive (ideological) ways. Hall (1996: 297, original emphasis) points out that “[i]nstead of thinking national cultures as unified, we should think of them as constituting a *discursive device* which represents difference as unity or identity.” National cultures are never homogenous. Each modern nation is a cultural hybrid. However, the national discourses on them aim to be homogenising. (Hall 1996: 297)

The emergence of the mass-communication made it possible to bring together the local cultures, to begin the homogenising process and to create, or construct, what Anderson (1991: 204) calls “the biography of nations”. Anderson (1991: 204) explains his figurative expression by stating that “[a]ll profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives.” The large communities called nations did not exist, or rather, were not imagined before, so out of this oblivion of existence had to be constructed and imagined inspiring narratives in order to culturally unify the nation.

According to Anderson (1991: 204), the narratives of nations resemble autobiographies of persons. An adult does not remember much of his or her childhood, because puberty afflicts ‘a profound change in the consciousness’ of a person. However, the person can track down his or her history by looking at documents and photographs of the childhood time and by learning about his or her infant self from the people who were present as the caretakers back then. The person one used to be as a child, but whose consciousness one can no longer recall as an adult, becomes part of the adult’s identity via narration. (Anderson 1991:204) The case with national imaginings is similar to this, “because it [cannot] be remembered, [it] must be narrated” (Anderson 1991: 204) and, of course, as it cannot be remembered, it must be imagined. Similarly to autobiographies of persons, in autobiographies of nations some aspects and events are forgotten, some suppressed, some invented.

Anderson (1991: 204) maintains that biographies of persons often begin with a brief discussion of the person's parents or even grandparents. Persons, however, have identifiable dates of birth and death, neither of which they can nevertheless remember and thus give an account for. Nations do not have identifiable birthdates, and unlike persons, they never die naturally. There is no explicit event or date that can be called a birth of a nation, as it can be debated that a nation existed in its people's hearts before the official declaring of nationhood and independence. Moreover, a possibility for such a declaration may never occur, yet also these undeclared nations exist. As nations have no birthdays, the narratives of nations are often written in reminiscence towards something earlier in history, something that the people wish to identify with. This is often something heroic and admirable, like the legend of King Arthur. (Anderson 1991: 205)

Stuart Hall (1996: 293) states that "the narrative of the nation" is represented in the "national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture." Similarly to all discourses, the national discourse has recognisable and reoccurring structures. The narrative of the nation is actually the sum of all kinds of stories about the nation and of the "images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, or *represent*, the shared experiences" (Hall 1996: 293, original emphasis). Because the narrative of the nation consists of the representation of the shared experiences, it exists in a close relation to the concept of collective memory.

Local, for instance local scenery often becomes representative of the national. Jorma Anttila (2007: 123) points out that many traditions, for instance folk music, are based on local ethnic cultures. A national culture is selectively based on the local cultures within a nation, so the local identities and national identities overlap in that sense. The national discourse absorbs and modifies elements of local cultures, it 'feeds' on them. (Anttila 2007: 123) The frameworks of interpretation are translated from local into national and the newly contextualised elements of culture enter the national discourse as representations of the nationality.

Hall (1996: 293) maintains that the narrative of the nation is emotionally relatable to the members of the national community. It offers a sense of belonging. Hall (1996: 293) explains that “we see ourselves in our mind’s eye sharing this narrative”. The narrative of the nation is usually very grandeur, and moreover, it is crowned by a sense of a national destiny. By relating to this, the members of the national community feel a sense of belonging to a remarkable, extraordinary whole that existed before their birth and will remain eternal as they depart. (Hall 1996: 293) This kind of sense of belonging to something particular is sought by many, because the global and universal are present in the current, everyday society more than ever before.

Hall (1996: 294) points out that representing the national identity as something essentially ‘original’, even primordial, is a common discursive strategy in national discourse. It is a strategy in which the elements of “continuity, tradition and timelessness” are reinforced, and typical of this strategy are references to the national character (Hall 1996: 294). The national character is represented as something essential that has remained the same through times, and will remain unchanged in the future. It is represented as something that is found within each person, as something shared, and therefore it is a very profound way of belonging together.

The discourse on national character makes generalisations of the personal features of a people; this is how stereotypes emerge. According to Hofstede (2001: 13–14), a “stereotype (the word derives from the printing industry) is a fixed notion about persons in a certain category, with no distinctions made among individuals”. A national stereotype represents the people of a nation as a unified folk with similar personality traits. In their ability to unify, stereotypes are an important part of the narrative of the nation. They are constructed to determine, what ‘we’ are like. However, the concept of ‘we’ is always determined against ‘the others’, therefore, to be able to determine ‘us’ it is essential to define the others as well.

Depending on the perspective, there are two types of stereotypes about ‘us’ and two about ‘them’, so in total there are four. An autostereotype always refers to ‘our’ qualities and practices, whereas heterostereotypes characterise the groups of others

(Petkova & Lehtonen 2004/2005: 9). Jaakko Lehtonen (2005: 69) explains that there are simple and projected autostereotypes, and simple and projected heterostereotypes. The simple autostereotype is our characterisation of ourselves, of the form ‘we think we are like this’, whereas the projected autostereotype is about how we imagine to be appearing to the others: ‘we believe the others think we are like that’. Both simple and projected autostereotypes characterise ‘us’, only the point of view that ‘we’ assume on ourselves is different. The simple heterostereotype consists of ‘our’ conception of the ‘others’: ‘the others seem to us like this’, whereas the projected heterostereotype discusses how the ‘others’ are believed to see themselves: ‘we believe the others consider themselves to be like that’. (Lehtonen 2005: 69)

Stereotypes consist of different kinds of notions about a group of people. Diana Petkova (2005: 20) states that stereotypes can be positive or negative. However, one’s own group is usually considered ‘normal’ and the other cultural communities’ habits are seen as “more or less strange” (Petkova 2005: 20). Petkova (2005: 20–21) explains that sometimes material practices, which can “be based on the food eaten, clothes worn, houses built or tools used”, become so defining that they may even define a national or a religious heterostereotype, for instance “the Italians are ‘macaronis’, the French are ‘frogs’ and the Muslims are ‘cloth-heads’”. However, the national stereotypes also discuss immaterial qualities, for example mentality.

Hall (1996: 294) states that in narrating a nation it is very common to refer to a “foundational myth”, the myth of origin of the nation. The nation and the national character are implied to be so old that they originated in the mythical time. Hall (1996: 295) points out that this is a common discursive tactic in founding new nations. For instance in the case of previously colonised areas that have later declared independence as their own nations, this kind of myth of origin is provided as an “alternative history or counter-narrative” (Hall 1996: 295). Myths of origin join the people of different kinds of cultural and ethnic origins together by implying that they have shared mythical roots and therefore belong to the same people (Hall 1996: 295). National epics often narrate such foundational myths. Moreover, besides describing the narrative of the nation and its people, the epics often also begin at the very beginning, the beginning of times when

the whole world was created. The epic narration usually creates a sense that the people in question is not only a unified people, but also 'the chosen' people.

Hall (1996: 295, original emphasis) argues that national identities are "also often symbolically grounded on the idea of a *pure, original people or 'folk'*". This discursive tactic refers to the 'primordial folk' as the ancestors of the people of the nation and in this way the existence of the nation is justified, regardless of the fact that the people of the past times had no concept of nation, they merely dwelled an area of the land that later became known as the nation. Rarely does the family descendant of such historical pioneers exercise power in the present day society, so references to them are merely symbolic (Hall 1996: 295). The mythical pioneers are often narrated about in prose literature. The characters and sometimes even the places they dwell in such novels are undoubtedly fictional, but nevertheless the narratives construct powerful representations of the national character and of the abiding cultural values.

The experience of continuity is reinforced by the personal experience of taking part in traditions and rituals. Hall (1996: 295) points out that tradition had to be invented to support the newly constructed national culture. These traditions are revered in a way that makes them appear as if they had always existed, but actually they are rather recent creations. Hall (1996: 294) cites Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983) on "the invention of tradition": according to Hobsbawn and Ranger the traditions are either ritual or symbolic, and they echo the national values and the national norms of behaviour. For instance, singing along with the national anthem is such ritual.

Hall (1996: 296) points out that national culture pursues to link together people not only of different kinds of ethnic backgrounds, but also of different classes and genders. It is challenging to do so, but an often employed discursive tactic to manage this is to employ family vocabulary (Hall 1996: 296). This is the tactic that for instance Benedict Anderson employs in explaining the community aspect of his definition of nation as an imagined community: he calls it a 'fraternity'. Each person is the son or daughter of someone, so the metaphorical 'children of a nation' is easily relatable and understandable to everybody. In national discourse, some members of society are

nevertheless favoured over others. Hall (1996: 297) states that in the national discourse the masculine identity is usually primary to the feminine one, so there is a certain tendency to the preserving of the patriarchal values. One of the local identities, the hegemonic one, is usually dominant in defining the 'norm' of nationality. For instance such is the English identity in Britain. (Hall 1996: 297)

Despite the certain tendency of clinging to conservative values in representing the nation, the narrative of the nation also meanders into new directions all the time, as representations of nationality are slowly reformed. As mentioned before, the new mass-communicational channels provide a stage of constant renewal of the national discourse. Representations of national identity sell products on commercial breaks on television. In an instant, victorious athletes who represent a nationality in a contest become the new national heroes. People discuss aspects of national identity on internet forums. Typical of the 21st century national discourse are the societal and the interactive character of the discussion; everyone can take part in it. Characteristic of the present day discourse is also the fast pace of action-reaction and the media-sensations, such as caused by Lordi's success in the Eurovision contest.

Besides the media, popular art is one of the important domains of constructing and reinforcing the representations of national identity and culture. Actually, these two maintain a very intense relationship with each other, because the media are keen to discuss popular arts and the media publicity is good for the sales of the products of popular culture. The lyrics that are studied in this thesis are products of popular culture. They are products that represent the Finnish identity in their own particular ways. They are sold to the consumers, repeated in the CD players and this is how they in their part reproduce the narrative of the nation.

3.3 Articulating the National Identity

According to Hall (1996: 291), national culture is a central source of a person's cultural identity in the modern world. Hall argues that characterising oneself via a national

identity is metaphorical, as the national identities are based on the cultural systems of representation. However, people usually regard national identities as substantial parts of themselves, as something self-evident. (Hall 1996: 291) Hall (2002: 13) supposes that identity is always fiction in a way, as nations or maybe even families are, because the principle that dictates what is excluded and included is ‘artificial’. It is artificial in the sense that the limits are culturally constructed, not ‘natural’. Identifications and identity are based on definition via difference: against what, who and where one is not (Hall 2002: 11).

The perception of the coherence of an identity has shifted from self-evident to a mere illusion in the course of the development of psychology, cultural theories and social sciences. According to the latest post-modern perception, an identity can actually never be stable or complete, or even congruous. (Hall 1996: 275–277) “The subject assumes different identities at different times,” (Hall 1996: 277) but they do not form a unity of self. Hall (1996: 277) argues that “[i]dentity becomes a ‘moveable feast’: formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us”. The notion of coherence is imaginary, but an identity may appear as if it was wholesome in the apprehension one has of the self, and this is because an identity is ‘written’ in the ‘narrative of the self’. (Hall 1996: 275, 277)

The narrative of the self is a metaphor created to explain the mechanisms that hold ‘the pieces of an identity’ together, that create an illusion of the coherence. The narrative establishes an experience of unified self. According to Hall (2002: 11, 16), all identities are based on language, culture and history, and an individual’s identity is based on an autobiographical narrative of the self. Hall (2002: 11) explains that this narrative is written in a reflective relationship with many other narratives, for instance narratives of history and culture. One can identify with a nation, “which influences and organizes both our actions and our conception of ourselves.” (Hall 1996: 292–293) Moreover, in addition to what one identifies oneself to be, an identity consists also of what one desires and aspires to be (Hall 2002: 11).

Hall (2002: 16) argues that nationalism is one of the ways of ‘articulating’ oneself in the discourse of identity. Hall (1986: 53) states that his usage of the term ‘articulation’ is based on the Ernesto Laclau’s *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*. Hall (1986: 53) explains that Laclau used the term to discard “the necessitarian and reductionist logic” that marked the Marxist theory. Jennifer Daryl Slack (1996: 121) states that the Marxist logic explained articulations of culture by reducing them to as only having to do with “class or the mode of production”, but Laclau’s work among others made it “possible and necessary to re-theorize social forces such as gender, race and sub-culture as existing in complex – articulated – relations with one [an]other as well as with class”. Slack (1996: 112) maintains that studying ‘articulation’ is a method of contextualising.

Hall (1986: 53) points out that ‘articulation’ has in the British English a dual meaning. Besides ‘to utter’ or ‘to express’, it also refers to a lorry that consists of two parts, the front and back, or the cabin and the trailer, which may be attached to one another, i.e., articulated. The connection of the front and the back is not necessary, but possible (Hall 1986: 53). Hall (1986: 53, original emphasis) states that “[a]n articulation is thus the form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions.” The articulated discourse and societal forces must be linked “under certain historical conditions” (Hall 1986: 53), this is how articulations of a nationality emerge.

Articulation, Hall (1986: 55) states, is “the non-necessary link, between a social force which is making itself, and the ideology or conceptions of the world which makes intelligible the process they are going through” whilst becoming, whilst assuming a collective cultural identity. Hall (2002: 229) maintains that a cultural identity is not an essence, instead, it is *positioning*. The post-modern subject assumes changing, sometimes contradictory roles and has no essential identity (Hall 2002: 23). As stated above, instead, an identity appears as coherent only because of the narrative of the self. However, in this sense of no essential identity, articulating a national identity is positioning, assuming the collective national identity, metaphorically: playing a part or a role, and writing or expressing by some other means of communication from that particular position. Positioning connects the collective identity and the articulator.

Articulation creates the non-necessary link. Yet, Slack (1996: 114) points out that articulation is not solely the connection, instead, it refers to the whole “process of creating connections”. Articulation produces representation of national identity by connecting the identity with a symbol, something that stands for the collective. For instance, a (local) landscape becomes a representation of the national identity when it is articulated within the framework of interpretation of the national identity, and repeated enough to become habituated. The elements that a national identity is constructed of via representing do not have a necessary connection to the members of the society, and there is no necessary connection between the members of society other than the framework of nation. Instead, they are unified by the discourse, by the articulations of national framework.

Jennifer Daryl Slack (1996: 112) states that articulation has three functions: an epistemological function, a political function and a strategic function. On the epistemological level articulation is concerned with “correspondences, non-correspondences and contradictions, as fragments in the constitution of what we take to be unities” (Slack 1996: 112). This refers to the making of the links by articulating concepts into unities, to the socially constructed reality. Politically, articulation is the foregrounding of the power structures of “dominance and subordination”. On the strategic level, “articulation provides a mechanism for shaping intervention within a particular social formation, conjuncture or context.” (Slack 1996: 112) In other words, articulation is also manipulation.

Articulations create the non-necessary links which can sometimes become rather stable in society. For instance, in many political societies religious elements have been articulated into the political discourse. In such cases, breaking the connection by beginning to articulate politics and religion separately is possible but difficult because of the long traditions of articulating them together. This is because religion has been used to “construct some narrative[...]to connect the past and present”. Also, the articulating of them together has become a habituated practice. Breaking the connections by beginning to articulate them separately would equal challenging the current existing world-view of long traditions. (Hall 1986: 53–54)

Besides the process of producing for instance a text, also the process of reading the text can be regarded as articulation. Lea Rojola (2004: 39) points out that in the recent decades, the focus of literary studies has shifted from the text and author oriented more to the reader oriented discussion. It has become more essentially important to consider, how the reader may position in relation to the text and what kind of readings the text encourages (Rojola 2004: 40). In the reader oriented sense, according to Rojola (2004: 37), the reading is also a process of articulation. The reader connects elements of the text with his or her previous knowledge and conceptions. The reader contextualises the text, makes the unnecessary connections, the articulation, thus both the author and the reader are active in the process of producing meanings (Rojola 2004: 36). The reader's articulation process takes place within and during the process of reading and the interpretation may be different from what the author of the text intended to express. The reader's articulation connects the text with meaning, the meaning with 'reality' and produces the effect that it has on the reader or listener (Rojola 2004: 37).

4 ARTICULATIONS OF FINNISHNESS IN THE LYRICS

The lyrics that are studied in this thesis construct brief descriptions of Finnishness. They encourage certain kinds of readings because of their tone, their choices of themes and words and because of the context of the metal discourse. Song lyrics are restricted in length by the genre conventions; therefore it is emphasisedly meaningful which few symbols and references are included in to construct the lyrics' representation of the national identity.

I begin my analysis in 4.1 by outlining how the national identity has been approached in the lyrics. Subchapter 4.2 focuses on the references of familial belonging to the nation and to the references to nation as home, 4.3 on the references to nature, 4.4 on references to the stereotypical Finnish mentality and 4.5 on positioning in relation to history and politics. Subchapter 4.6 reflects upon how the metal lyrics have been influenced by the genre of patriotic song.

4.1 Positioning of the Narrating Voice in Relation to Finnishness

As mentioned above, Stuart Hall (2002: 229) argues that cultural identity is not an essence but positioning. The lyrics that are studied in this thesis are articulated from positions in relation to the Finnish national identity. The authors have assumed one or several different approaches on the collective identity in their process of articulating elements of Finnishness into their metal lyrics.

Besides positioning themselves with the national identity, the authors also position as the lyrics writers of the songs. Their function is to produce artistic expression for the band; so obviously, the lyrics cannot be regarded to articulate the personal identities of the authors. Therefore, the narrator in the lyrics is referred to as the narrating voice instead of referring to it as 'the author'.

In “The Heart Of Turisas” by Turisas the narrating voice positions itself as the leader of Turisas’s troops on earth in mythical time, beyond the existence of the concept of nation. However, the narrative of the lyrics is linked to Finnishness, because the national mythology and the mythical time are constitutive parts of the narrative of the nation. Moreover, the Viking metal genre lyrics often bear national connotations, so the context of the genre also associates the lyrics with national identity. In the lyrics the Finnish god of war, Turisas, acts as the subject of identification, whose characteristics the narrating voice admires and what he desires to be like. Because mythical time has no restrictions of national borders, Turisas’s troops do not consist only of ‘the people of the north’, but of people from all over the world, whom the narrating voice welcomes to join the army.

In “Till The Last Man Falls” by Turisas the narrating voice describes a land far away in the north. The depiction of the land is given in a distancing manner, from the point of view of the ‘others’. The narration fabulates and mystifies ‘us’, who are the dwellers of the land, yet, after the mystification, the point of view changes to ‘our’, the “Fenns”, who are under an attack by a conqueror. ‘We’ is defined as a people under the guidance of “the old Gods”, i.e. heathen, against the enemy: an army on a crusade. The narrating voice positions ‘us’ in time and in place with the help of references to history: the folk under an attack is pre-Finnish, medieval, Tavastian. Tavastia area is located in the southern inland of the current nation. However, the historical names ‘Fenns’ and ‘Tavastia’ are not names of Finnish but instead, of foreign origin. They are names given to the people and the area by ‘outsiders’, so in this sense, the narration is affected by the perspective of the others throughout the lyrics.

The lyrics of “Dark Fortress” by Sargeist articulate an extreme type of nationalism. The narrating voice positions itself with the National Socialist Black Metal ideology by references to the holocaust and other anti-Semitic acts of violence of the WW II. The narrating voice positions itself with ‘we’, who are pro the NSBM ideology, which can be regarded as a form of neo-Nazism. Because nationalism is a central aspect of National Socialism, the Finnish identity becomes associated with the NSBM ideology via references to the Finnish flag and the northern ethnicity, as in the lyrics they are

articulated into a unity. The narrating voice assumes a position with the collective identity of Sargeist, which in the lyrics of this song is represented as a Finnish, racist, warrior unit.

In “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” by Sargeist the narrating voice positions itself in relation to four aspects of Finnishness: to the nation by greeting Finland as the ‘fatherland’ in an honouring manner, to an admiring and respective relation to Finnish nature, to a protective relation to the metaphorical Maiden of Finland and to the concept of ‘us’, the people. The concept of ‘us’ is referred to in four different senses in the lyrics of the song. First, the narrating voice positions itself with the Finnish people by using the collective ‘our’. At this point ‘we’ can be understood to refer to the Finnish people, as no further specification is made, but later in the song lyrics, the concept of ‘we’ is also used in more restricted senses. ‘We’ changes into a more specific, more exclusive expression of ‘ethnic Finnishness’, when the concept of ‘race’ is added to it. The ‘we’ of the song is further narrowed down, defined into a smaller group by stating that ‘we’ come from a town “Once with name Lapwestrandh”. The expression articulates locality into the Finnishness of the song. The fourth ‘we’ articulates an anti-Christian and propagandist agenda for Finland, it positions ‘us’ as black metal warriors in protection of the fragile Maiden of Finland, so the song culminates as an articulation of double-identity of a nationalistic Finnish black metal warrior unit.

In “The Land Of Ice And Snow” by Stratovarius the narration begins by representing Finland as a sublime land of ice and snow in a patriotic manner. However, the narrating voice does not greet nor name the nation, Finnishness is contextualised in other ways, for instance by references to some symbols of the nationality and by mentioning a Finnish product, Koskenkorva, by name. The concept of ‘we’ the Finns is defined to include those who are alive, but also those who have passed away in defence of the nation. The narrating voice introduces the point of view of ‘others’ on the Finns, and after this, addresses the others by from ‘our’ perspective. At the end of the lyrics, the narrating voice positions itself in a personal relationship with the nation: Finnishness is articulated as destiny.

The narrating voice of “Native Land” by Korpiklaani positions itself in relation to three aspects of Finnishness: nature, the people and the nation. Finnish nature is articulated into a unity with the Finnish people, but it is also described as a threat to ‘us’. The relationship with nature is discussed from the Finnish people’s point of view as well as from a personal perspective. In the chorus of the song, the narrating voice addresses the nation. However, the nation remains distant: the people appear to be more connected via the shared unity with nature than the political structures or social relations. ‘We’, the Finnish people, are also unified on a symbolical level in opposition to the harsh conditions of nature. The collective is able to overcome the threat posed by nature, and in the end, the ability to co-exist with nature whilst challenged by its harsh conditions re-establishes and strengthens the unity formed by northern nature and the Finnish people.

The narrating voice of “Let’s Drink” by Korpiklaani positions with the Finnish identity by approaching it from a rustic-romantic perspective. The narrator’s dwelling is a little red house that is accompanied by a potato field, which is a way of living that is often referred to as the ‘Finnish dream’ in the national discourse. The narrating voice positions itself alone, in a personal relationship with the surrounding nature, and expresses a celebration of a simple way of life. The narrating voice does not directly position itself in a relation with the Finnish people or the nation. Instead, it relates to the national identity by describing a collective dream, a caricature of the stereotypical forest-Finnishness of the sparsely populated areas.

4.2 Belonging: Nation as Family, Nation as Home

Anderson (1991: 143) describes the patriotic discourse in the following way:

Something of the nature of this political love can be deciphered from the ways in which languages describe its object: either in the vocabulary of kinship (motherland, Vaterland, patria) or that of home (heimat or tanah air [earth and water, the phrase for the Indonesians’ native archipelago]). Both idioms denote something to which one is naturally tied.

This chapter focuses on the articulations of belonging to the national unity in a way that is often represented ‘natural’ in the national discourse: belonging to the family of nation and to the nation as home.

4.2.1 The Family of the Nation, the Belonging with the Kin

Hall (1996: 297) argues that employing family vocabulary is one of the tactics of narrating the nation, the discursive tactic “of ‘the family of nation’”. Family vocabulary is used in national discourse to signify power relations, to describe the sense of belonging and to create allegiances. However, the family metaphor was not invented by the national discourse. It was already used in colonial discourse to justify the colonial rule (Chambers 2001: 37–39), not to mention the sisters, brothers, mothers and fathers of religious communities. Family metaphors are a traditional way to represent and unify large communities. Personifications of the nation, for instance Mother Russia, usually derive from the family metaphor. Besides the personifications of nations, heroic leaders and other kind of idols, either real or imaginary persons, are represented as the mothers and fathers of nations. The people of the nation are referred to as the nation’s children, which emphasises the power relations. Close blood relations signify belonging closely together. The closer the ties are in the metaphorical expressions, the greater the emphasis on allegiance, but also the more explicit the power relation.

The usage of the pronoun ‘we’ in the context of articulating a national identity contains an implied reference to the family of the nation, because the metaphor of family is so habitual and common in the discourse of national identity. All of the seven song lyrics refer to the concept of the national collective, ‘we, the Finns’, in different ways, some of them in reference to all the Finns, some of them in more restricted senses, as mentioned above. Even the lyrics of “Let’s Drink”, which do not contain the actual pronoun ‘we’, refer to communal activity by the statement “let’s drink and enjoy”.

Despite the family vocabulary being so common discursive tactic in narrating a nation, “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” is the only one of the seven lyrics to explicitly employ it

in its articulation of Finnishness. In the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” Finland is represented as the ‘fatherland’. The narrating voice greets Finland in Finnish at the beginning of the chorus (and in the penultimate line) of the lyrics by the name “Isänmaa” (fatherland) with a capital initial letter. The rest of the lyrics are in English, however, the greeting in mother tongue is an example of what Anderson calls ‘lingual-nationalism’: Finland the patria is meaningfully greeted in its own tongue. “Isänmaa”, fatherland, is an expression that activates meanings of familial belonging to the nation. It also implies a reference to the patriarchal ideology, in which the children are classified to belong somewhere according to their father, who is the authoritative figure in relation to them. ‘Isänmaa’ refers to the actual, not a metaphorical, father (and the forefathers), therefore it refers to being tied to the nation in a concrete familial way, and positions the narrating voice of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” in a ‘naturally tied’, familial relationship with the nation.

In the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” the fatherland is then pledged to by ‘us’: “Your song will echo ever long / Burnt with pride into *our* heart / With honour marked on *our* souls” (emphases mine). Even if not named specifically, the ‘we’ in the pledge can be interpreted to refer to the Finnish people as the sons (and daughters) of the patria. Whether the daughters are included or not depends on the reading. Albeit women are secondary “as guardians of the hearth, kith and kin, and as ‘mothers’ of the nation’s ‘sons’” (Hall 1996: 297) in the national discourse, they are, however, present, whereas in black metal “male authority mostly ignores the feminine presence” (Stephanou 2010: 167). However, misanthropy is in the essence of black metal (Wilson 2010: 34), not communality, so the national discourse clearly dominates the first half of the lyrics. The more probable reading thus is that the daughters are included in this particular definition of ‘us’.

Both lyrics by Sargeist imply racial brotherhood. As mentioned earlier, Hall (1996: 295) argues that a common discursive strategy in narrating the nation is the myth of “a pure, original people or ‘folk’”. This can be interpreted to refer to ethnicity, and in a narrow definition as a reference to race. Hall (1996: 297) argues that it is “tempting to try to use ethnicity in this ‘foundational’ way” in narrating the nation. Hall (1996: 298) points out

that race “is a discursive not a biological category”, yet the racial ideologies of extreme nationalism have left their mark on national socialist black metal discourse. According to Benjamin Noys (2010), “nation, race, historical tradition and counter-tradition, and war” are representations of a type of extreme-right black metal. They have shock value in modern society, as they are often associated with “Nazism, fascism, and ultra-nationalism” (Noys 2010: 105). The narrating voices of the two lyrics articulate race in the process of their national identification. In the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” and especially in the lyrics of “Dark Fortress”, race can be understood to refer to an extended family, to the racial brotherhood. This example of belongingness is defined via difference and exclusion.

4.2.2 Nation as Home

Besides the family metaphor that is commonly used in national discourse, another central way of expressing national identity is referring to the nation as home. In the lyrics, the nation is articulated as home in three different ways. The sense of home is found in them either via the level of a particular locality, via stereotypical national scenery or on the level of an experience of ‘homeland’.

Anttila (2007: 106) states that experiencing a local district as one’s home district is usually a prerequisite to experiencing the nation as home. Anttila (2007: 106) maintains that emotional attachment to the area of dwelling establishes the experience of home district. The strengthening of identification with the local area is a parallel phenomenon to that of strengthening of the national identities; the catalyst behind both is the impending globalisation in its various forms (Hall 1996: 300). Strong emotional identification with the home district becomes in the context of national discourse a motive for identifying with the larger area that it is a part of, the whole nation (Anttila 2007: 106). Four of the lyrics articulate attachment to a locality. Two of them define the locality by name and two of them express belonging to stereotypical Finnish scenery.

The sense of belonging to the nation is expressed via belonging to a particular locality in “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” by Sargeist and “Till The Last Man Falls” by Turisas. In the former the narrating voice positions itself in relation to a home town: “We are from the Cavalry Town / Once with name Lapwestrandh”. In the latter the dwelling place of the ‘Fenns’ is a district called Tavastia. Both are historical names for locations that are nowadays known by the modern names Lappeenranta and Häme. In the context of the lyrics’ mythologically and nationally hued articulations of national identity the references to the local areas of Finland articulate identification with the whole nation.

In the lyrics of both “Let’s Drink” and “Native Land” by Korpiklaani the sense of belonging with the stereotypically Finnish local scenery is emphasised. Neither of the lyrics recognises the home district by name, instead, the locations remain anonymous. “Let’s Drink” articulates an experience of home outside the densely inhabited urban areas with its depiction of a “[l]ittle red house, potato field / little forest, lake as far as you can see / Woodshed, for my home brewed beer”. According to Anttila (2007: 121), the well known combination of the little red house and a potato field means in the Finnish cultural discourse representing the national with the local. The narrating voice is depicting a collective dream, a stereotypical locality that in the context of national discourse is a representation of Finnishness. In the lyrics of “Native Land” the narrating voice refers to the local forest as a place where “my mind rests” and where “I will forget the pain”. Forest is a central theme and symbol in the discourse of Finnishness, and the local forest, in the same way as the red house and the potato field, represents national via the local. However, the depiction “[a]nd the hills high” in the lyrics is typical only of certain areas of Finland. Hilly scenery is can be found only in the inland and northern parts of the country, so the reference emphasises locality to these areas in a restricted sense.

Anttila (2007: 120) argues that on the level of geography a nation is (usually) a limited, concrete territory, which gives an ontological aspect to the national identity associated with it. The home district offers a similar kind of concrete experience of belonging somewhere, but the concreteness is experienced on a more personal level of everyday life. However, a nation can be experienced as home also on a more abstract, conceptual

level. This is for instance because in the national discourse, following the national ideology, the nation is represented as the home of the children of the nation. Besides expressing an emotional attachment to a stereotypical locality, the narrating voices of “Native Land” and “Till The Last Man Falls” articulate a sense of belonging also on the level of experiencing Finland as the homeland. The chorus of “Native Land” addresses Finland as “my *native* land” (emphasis mine), something he is naturally tied to. The lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” declare ownership of the land by stating: “[t]his is the land of the Fenns”, which defines the area of dwelling, the land as home.

Moreover, according to Anderson (1991: 12) the nationalistic discourse represents the national identity as destiny; one is not born a Finn by chance, but because it was meant to be so. Hall (1996: 293) argues that sharing in the narrative of the nation connects “our everyday lives with a national destiny that pre-existed us and will outlive us”. In the lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” the connection to Finland is not made via a locality, instead, the narrating voice refers to the whole nation as home. The lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” articulate a nationalistic sense of destiny: “Here I was born and here I’ve lived / And one day here I will die / Under northern starry sky / In the land of ice and snow”. The narrating voice positions itself as one of the children of the nation whose eternal home is the nation.

4.3 Belonging: Nature

Anttila (2007: 45) argues that the collective national identities are built on the shared point of view on nature. Anttila (2007: 3) states that the natural environment is an important basis for the constructing of national identities, because prior to anything else, it is the natural resources and conditions that determine the possible ways of living. A landscape, even if never touched by humans, becomes a cultural resource when constructing an identity (Anttila 2007: 3).

Moreover, the constructing of Finnish identity begun before Finland was granted the official status of an independent nation. Whilst the geographical area of Finland was

still an autonomous part of the Russian Empire, separateness in the political sense could not be emphasised, since it could have been considered treason. Because of the political situation, the Finnish identity was originally mostly constructed on a basis of emotional connectedness to the local scenery and surrounding nature. Expressing love for Finnish nature was politically relatively neutral, which is why it became the most central theme of the national discourse. (Varpio 1999: 19, Klinge 1999: 88)

4.3.1 The Seasonal Extremities and Exotics of the Northern Location

In the national discourse Finland is often represented as a land of exotic extremities, especially if the context is international. Extremities are found for instance in the depictions of the extreme coldness of winter versus the cosy warmth of the midsummer time. The phenomenon of annually recurring polar day and polar night is part of the exotics of northern nature. The two polarities have different connotations in the Finnish cultural discourse. The polar night is often associated with the tendency for melancholy and depression, and on the contrary, the polar day has the positive connotations of bliss and cosiness. Especially in the 1980s the Nordic art exhibitions often used to be themed around the mystique associated with the midnight sun (Palin 1999: 214). In the narrative of the nation the nightless night of the midsummer time is often represented as the annually recurring highlight.

Because of the emphasis on the extremity, within the Finnish national discourse nature is usually described either as beautiful and gentle or as rugged and menacing. The depictions of nature as beautiful identify an environment of tranquillity and cosiness, whereas the depictions of nature as threatening and harsh usually echo empowering: surviving the harsh conditions is believed to make the people more durable, more inured to challenges in general. Hall (1996: 304, original emphasis) points out that cultural homogenisation creates a “fascination with difference and the marketing of ethnicity and ‘otherness’”. Jone Nikula (2006: 14) argues that in today’s market a metal band has to stand out and therefore brand itself, to specialise in some way. On a global scale portraying as a Finnish metal band or emphasising the northern character can be

regarded also as a marketing tactic. The tourist business has emphasised the exotics for decades.

The lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” describe Finland, first and foremost, as a land of exotic, extreme coldness. Even though the song does not have a chorus, the depiction of Finland as “the land of ice and snow” is clearly foregrounded by the regular recurrence of the line in the lyrics: it is repeated seven times. The representation of Finland as a land of coldness is further emphasised by the line “Where the freezing wind blows”, so rather than anything else, the lyrics emphasise the harsh, extreme wintry conditions of Nordic nature.

Nevertheless, albeit the references to coldness dominate the lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow”, there is also room for contrasts. The song opens with the line “The land of ice and snow” which is followed by a reference to Finland as a land of the polar day. This creates a strong contrast between the two extremities. However, the choice of words in the latter reference is atypical: “the midnight sun *blows*” (emphasis mine). Because of this deviant expression, it is apparent that the lyrics of the song derive from the lyrics of a song that is well known within the metal genre. The first two lines of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” bear enough resemblance to “Immigrant Song” by Led Zeppelin to be regarded as deriving from it. The lyrics of the two songs begin almost identically:

The land of ice and snow
Where the midnight sun blows (Stratovarius, Timo Tolkki 2005).

We come from *the land of the ice and snow*
From *the midnight sun* where the hot springs *blow* (Led Zeppelin, Jimmy Page 1970, emphasises mine).

The lyrics of “Immigrant Song” continue by articulating the Scandinavian (Norse) cultural heritage, for instance by referring to Valhalla and the “hammer of gods”, Vikings, Nordic midnight sun and Icelandic hot springs. The intertextual reference to “Immigrant Song” in “The Land Of Ice And Snow” associates Finland with the mythological heritage and exoticism of the other Nordic countries.

Besides the ‘blowing’ midnight sun, in the lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” there is also another example of unique exoticism: “Northern lights guide our way”. The northern lights are an often recurring theme of northern exoticism in the Finnish national discourse. However, they are not usually referred to as guides, instead, the North Star is. Therefore, by combining the cultural meanings of the two traditional symbols of Finnishness, those of northern lights and of the North Star, a new rather ambiguous meaning emerges. In comparison to the northern lights the North Star is a more stable, a more predictable and more concrete object. The northern lights are strongly associated with mysticism in the national discourse. Because of the ambiguity of the meaning granted to the northern lights as guides, one possible interpretation of the function of the reference is mystification of the Finnish people. This is because something very mystical, peculiar and unique is referred to guide the people.

In the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy”, references to nature are articulated in two frames of meaning. First of all, the lyrics articulate references to nature to construct a representation of Finland as the metaphorical Maiden of Finland. Second of all, nature is referred to outside the metaphor, in a more general frame of meaning.

The winter of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” is beautiful, tranquil and pure; there are no references to extreme harsh conditions. This is because the one sole reference to winter in the lyrics is bound to the metaphor of the Maiden of Finland: “You are clad in white of the winter”. In the metaphorical expression, snow is analogous to a maiden’s dress. The colour of the dress implies purity. Moreover, the theme of purity recurs on the next line of the lyrics: “Beauty of the north so true”, which is interpretable on two levels. It refers to the Maiden of Finland as a beautiful woman who is faithful, but also to the beauty of the authentic Nordic nature.

Katri Komulainen (2002: 149) points out that whereas in the beginning of the 20th century Finland used to be referred to as ‘mother Finland’, i.e. as nature that feeds its children, the war against USSR changed the representation into a fragile young maiden. Both representations are rather about the female body than a woman as a person. (Komulainen 2002: 149) Tuula Gordon (2002: 47) argues that because women represent

the 'other' (gender), the otherness makes it possible to build allegorical representations out of femaleness; because of the otherness, female representations are understood on a more generic level. In the lyrics of "Iron, Blood and Blasphemy" the Maiden of Finland is represented in the traditional way, because she remains passive and is rather presented as a concept of female body than a woman. Instead of describing her as dressing herself in white in the winter, she is "*clad* in white of the winter" (emphasis mine) as a passive object.

In the more general frame of reference, outside the Maiden of Finland metaphor, the polar day is introduced. The narrating voice of "Iron, Blood and Blasphemy" refers to the phenomenon of the polar day by "And the nights of summer they are bright / With endless sun among the stars". The polar night, which according to Butler (2010: 28) is an essential part of the black metal lexicon, is left unmentioned. Therefore, the lyrics clearly favour the aesthetics of beauty and cosiness in their description of the seasonal extremities.

The coldness of northern nature is also acknowledged in "The Heart Of Turisas" and "Native Land". However, these lyrics do not seek contrast for the cold in the warmth of summer or the nightless night. Instead, their references to the extreme coldness echo empowering. In "The Heart Of Turisas" the narrating voice states that "At The Tables Of The North / Man Is Used To Blizzards And Storms". Northern nature is represented as empowering, because the characterisation of the extreme living conditions implies the durability of the warrior men of the north. This empowerment is stated in the line: "Gallantness And Faith Fills Their Hearts". In "Native Land" the extremity of winter conditions is described from the perspective of the people experiencing it: "The frost of the north hurts", and later in the song related to by stating that "Not weather can frighten us / not shrivel us winters". Thus, also in the lyrics of "Native Land" surviving the extremity is an empowering experience for every Finn.

4.3.2 Finnish Scenery

Lake sceneries are considered central to the idea of Finnishness (Palin 1999: 217). Therefore it is not surprising that five of the seven lyrics refer to lakes in constructing their Finnishness. The references are made at the beginning of the lyrics, and therefore they can be considered pivotal in defining the Finnish thematic. Three of the lyrics, “Let’s Drink”, “Till The Last Man Falls” and “Native Land” describe lakes on a local level, as part of the home scenery. Two of the songs, “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” and “The Land Of Ice And Snow” repeat the symbolic, clichéd representation of Finland as ‘the land of a thousand lakes’.

Another important theme of reference in describing Finnishness is the forest. According to an often retold old myth, the forefathers of the Finns are characterised as a Finno-Ugrian tribe of the forests (Klinge 1999: 88). Matti Peltonen (1998: 31) points out that actually, historically the Finns populated relatively densely the southern coastal areas, not the forest areas of the inland. Only few people were dedicated to land reclamation outside the densely populated areas (Peltonen 1998: 31). Regardless of the historical accuracy, forest-Finnishness remains a powerful myth in the national discourse. Later on in history, forests have become strongly associated with Finnishness also because of the economic interests of the forestry industry that remains a pivotal source of the national income. Besides the forestry industry, the tourism business acknowledges the value of the ‘national scenery’, and Finland is often marketed as a country with unpolluted nature. The same five lyrics that articulate lakes as part of their construction of Finnishness also contain references to the forest.

In the lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” the references to the forest and the lakes are introduced together in the successive lines: “No pinewood this enchanting at night, / Nor water so blue or bright”. It is somewhat ambiguous, which ‘water’ the expression refers to. By it is meant either the Baltic Sea or the water of the inland lakes and ponds. However, as the context is that of the Häme/Tavastia area, the mention presumably refers to the inland waters. The description is romanticising, fabling in tone. According to Klinge (1999: 88), ‘mythical land far away in the north’ is one of the typical ways of

representing Finland. In the spirit of this tradition the inland waters and the pinewood, which is typical of the Finnish forest, are mystified and fabulated in the lyrics. The scenery is further depicted in a tone similar to describing a fairy-tale wonderland: “Rugged hills tower over the woods”. Thus, the lyrics construct a fabulous, fantasy-like representation of the Finland of past times.

Besides mystical and fabulous, in the lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” the trees are also depicted as ever present: “Once the trees were as old as the world”, which implies nature untouched by humans. It also implies that the ‘Fenns’, about whom the lyrics narrate, have dwelled the location since the first trees and in that sense, belong there indigenously, which, as mentioned before, is according to Hall (1996: 295) a common reference when narrating a nation. Trees are considered central symbols in mythologies and pagan religions all over the world. Moreover, trees as such symbols are considered sacred, so besides attacking the Fenns, the Crusaders are described to be disturbing the sacrosanct, peaceful existence of the trees. Therefore, the intrusion is referred to as a sacrilege against the ancient north itself. This impression is supported by the fact that the intruder is never recognised as Swedish, instead, only as Christian. Although the Lutheran religion has later in history become the most practiced religion in Finland, the national identity was built on the myths that derived from local ancient pagan religion (Anttila 2007: 135–136). Any other religion is therefore in this sense can be seen as culture imposed from the outside and a threat to the ‘sacred’ earthy unity of Finnishness and nature.

Also the lyrics of “Let’s Drink” introduce the lake and forest thematic together, on the same single line: “Little forest, lake as far as you can see”, as part of the construction of the stereotypical ‘Finnish dream’ scenery with a little red house and a potato field. Risto Kalliola (1999: 52) points out that the essential location of a Finnish summer cottage is near water, either the sea, or some kind of lake. The forest and the lake are referred to as parts of the homestead in the lyrics, instead of referring to them merely as the location of the dwelling. Therefore, the relation and emotional attachment to them is very personal; they are as much parts of home as the house is. The depiction is very traditional.

Identification with the local scenery on a personal level is very central in both Korpiklaani's lyrics. Both lyrics describe an immediate personal experience with the surrounding scenery. In "Native Land" the opening line of the lyrics "The waves of the lake splash" refers to an experience of the nationally symbolic theme of lake on the level of locality. The reference to the splashing sound of the lake creates an atmosphere of tranquillity. The lake is part of the home district; therefore lake is referred to as *the* lake and no further clarification is needed. Rather than just referring to the lake as a symbol of the national identity, the narrating voice describes the particular, yet stereotypical and anonymous scenery with emotional attachment to it. The depiction of the scenery implies bliss.

The lyrics of "Native Land" recognise the lake as part of the home district, but they construct a more complex relationship with the forest. Actually, the forest is the main theme of reference in the song. First of all, the line "[a]nd pines hum" refers to the forest as a domain of ambient tranquillity. This is continuance for the splashing sound of the lake. The forest is also related to on a very personal level: "Woods bleak and stony, unlit / There my mind rests / There I will forget the pain". In this reference, the forest is experienced as a therapeutic environment. The adjectives 'bleak' and 'stony' may have associations of desperation and destitution, but here they become associated with tranquillity and piece of mind. The relation to the forest in the lyrics echoes deep spirituality; according to Anttila (2007: 156), patriotism sanctifies the nation in a manner similar to a religion. Secondly, along with being regarded as a domain of tranquillity, the forest also poses a threat. The line: "not the cruelty of the woods / take our blood and life" refers to the harsh conditions of nature. However, surviving the harsh conditions is implied to be an empowering experience, as it has made the people dwelling it durable. Thirdly, the northern locality is emphasised by specifying "Woods of pine and forests of birch", which refers to the familiarity and specificity of scenery; the types of woods mentioned are common to the Nordic climate and moreover, the birch is the national tree of Finland. The mere abundance of forest-themed lines indicates that it is the essential theme in constructing Finnishness in the lyrics of "Native Land".

The lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” repeat the common representation of Finland as ‘the land of a thousand lakes’ by referring to the inland waters as the eyes of the metaphorical Maiden of Finland: “Your blue eyes are the thousand lakes”. Actually, in reality there are almost two hundred thousand lakes in Finland, so the clichéd ‘the land of a thousand lakes’ is an understatement in that sense. Nevertheless, the phrase in English with only ‘a thousand’ lakes has become established, so the symbolic value has become more important than the factual accuracy of quantity. In the context of the lyrics’ articulation of racial, ethnic Finnishness, the emphasis on the blue colour of the Maiden’s eyes implies that besides the purity of her white dress, the personification of Finland is also ‘ethnically pure’. The lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” construct an idealised representation of ‘a damsel in distress’ in the spirit of the ideology of a rather extreme form of nationalism.

The narrating voice of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” positions ‘us’ as the defenders of the idealised Maiden of Finland, and ‘we’ are implied to be empowered by the forest: “[a]nd forests *vast and cruel* / Breathe the culture of our race” (emphasis mine). The line foregrounds the unmercifulness of nature. Because in the lyrics the forests are represented as the dwelling of the culture of ‘our race’, in the lyrics’ ‘us’ is empowered by the mystic menace of the forest. The representation of vast, cruel forest is intersectional; the concept is typical of the black metal discourse as well as of the Finnish national discourse. Steven Shakespeare (2010: 9) remarks on the black metal forest that “[t]here is no rest in this nature, no Eden”. The depiction of the forest in this kind of tone of masculine empowerment implies a shift towards a more particular definition of ‘us’ in the narration of the lyrics: that of the black metal warriors, a definition that excludes the feminine presence. Moreover, the dark menace of the forest is suitable to empower a group of black metal warriors, who are not meant to be righteous and brave, but powerful, menacing and effective. Therefore their protective attitude towards a romanticised fragile maiden is somewhat peculiar, somewhat unique. The lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” set the reference to lakes and the reference to the forest, which are often found as a pair in the national discourse, into a contrast. The lakes represent the feminine as the forest becomes associated with masculinity. In the end, the two construct a unity of the protected and the protectors, however in the lyrics the two

traditional parts of national scenery are given special, somewhat untraditional roles. The nationalist machismo of the lyrics promises to regain the health of the Maiden of Finland by giving her back her earthy pagan existence. In this sense, the Maiden of Finland of the lyrics is similar to Mother Earth, the personification of nature.

In the lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” the line “Hundred thousand lakes glow”, is a compromise between the established symbolism of ‘a thousand lakes’ and the actual quantity of the lakes. Moreover, lakes are seldom referred to as ‘glowing’, besides when associated with a sunrise, sunset or with the glow of the moon. None of these is mentioned in the lyrics. Therefore, alongside the ‘blowing midnight sun’ and ‘guiding northern lights’ the line is yet another artistic expression that breaks the common patterns of national symbolism, all of these expressions in the lyrics are of ambiguous and extraordinary kind. The reference to the Finnish lakes focuses on the aesthetics of the inland waters with somewhat mystifying tone, but it also has another function in the lyrics. While the lyrics imitate “Immigrant Song” at the beginning of the song, introducing the clichéd theme of the ‘great quantity of lakes’ specifies and defines *the* land of ice and snow of the song as Finland from the other Nordic countries that the intertextual reference to Led Zeppelin’s lyrics creates associations to. The other Nordic countries may share the similar climate conditions, but the amount of lakes is special to Finland.

In “The Land Of Ice And Snow” the forest is articulated as a part of Finnishness in the line “Forest god protects our day”. In the spirit of power metal, Stratovarius habitually discusses epic myths. Stratovarius’s production contains a multitude of references to well known myths and religious discourse, for instance the songs “Mother Gaia”, “Phoenix” (*Infinite* 2000) or “The Kiss Of Judas” (*Visions* 1997), so in the context of the band the reference to the forest god can be read, first and foremost, as a reference to spirituality.

In the Finnish mythology the forest god is one of the Tavastian gods. He is not the highest in rank, but one of the most important ones, well known and much written about (Marti Haavio 1967: 58). However, in the lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” the

forest god is foregrounded as the significant one, because no other gods are mentioned. This emphasises the importance of forest to Finnishness.

The forest god has been mentioned so regularly in different contexts within the Finnish cultural discourse that he has become secularised and reached a symbolic value beyond mythology. Because the context of constructing Finnishness in the lyrics, the mention of forest god activates all the connotations that forest has in the national discourse. In the secularised conception of the 'forest god', the cultural heritage of pagan roots and the multitude of meanings that the forest has to Finnishness merge. As mentioned above, Finnishness was established on pagan roots. The forest god, who in this context can be interpreted also as a personification of forest, becomes a symbolic protector of the Finnish people. The forest god can be interpreted as a representative of the cultural roots of Finnishness, but also as an embodiment of economical security provided by the forestry industry. Moreover, the cultural roots of Finnishness that lie in spiritual unity with forest protect the Finnish people by giving them a sense of identity, tradition, continuity and belonging.

4.4 Belonging: Stereotypes and Mentality

Stuart Hall (1996: 294) maintains that references to the national character are common in narrating the nation, because the idea of sharing something profoundly in common with the previous generations constructs continuity. Matti Peltonen (1998: 21) states that mentality is a construction of habitual attitudes towards the self and the phenomena of the surrounding world that is mostly learned from the previous generation. According to Jorma Anttila (2007: 102), identifying with the nationally stereotypical like-mindedness or mentality strengthens the experience of belonging to the national unity.

Caricatures of the Finnish mentality or mentalities, for actually there are several versions of Finnish mentality, are produced by the national discourse. The most influential depictions of the stereotypical mentalities can undoubtedly be found in literature. The canonical works of Finnish literature, for instance the national epic

Kalevala and also *Tuntematon sotilas* (The Unknown Soldier) among many others have played a major role in the construction of the representation of the Finnish mentality/mentalities.

The characterisations of Finnish mentality traits and stereotypes can be roughly divided into two categories: the positive and the negative. In general, the national stereotypes usually describe a prototypical man. Surely, the descriptions can be regarded to also refer to the female population of the nation, but the emphasis is on men. The typical positive characterisation of the Finns describes a folk, who despite of being small in quantity is brave, strong and durable. This is the patriotic characterisation of Finnishness; it is a description that has been greatly affected by nationalism. The negative stereotype usually presents an uncivilised, violent, primitive, alcoholic folk who is incapable of small talk. Satu Apo (1998: 84–85) points out that the stereotypical depictions of the Finns often surface as ‘self-evident facts’, whilst discussing national issues; for instance in the statements by the national media and in debates on news paper and internet forums. This indicates that the stereotypes have become habituated up to a point of appearing as scientific facts, as the ‘truth’.

Especially after the wars the stereotypical Finnish patriotic defender of the nation has been described as brave and durable, in his skills and stamina not only a match to one but capable of opposing many enemies. Ali Pylkkänen (2006) states that the characterisation was already used by the commander in chief of the ‘Finnish’ troops, who was writing to his Swedish king during the war between Sweden and Russia in the 16th century, when the area of Finland was part of the Swedish empire. Especially after the Winter War, the characterisation became the ‘official’ stereotype in the Finnish military discourse (Pylkkänen 2006). Besides the military, the characterisation is familiar to many Finns from Linna’s canonical novel *Tuntematon sotilas*. This kind of encouragement in military context was a logical tactic, as the number of Finns was and is small. The extraordinary durability of Finns is often explained to be caused by their adaptation to the harsh climate conditions. Apo (1996: 31–32) points out the challenges that the climate conditions posed on the agrarian Finns’ livelihood: the northern ground was not easy to cultivate and the summer was short. The hard working affected the

Finnish mentality (Apo 1996: 32–33). According to Laura Kolbe (2010: 48–50), during the World War II the international press depicted the Finnish soldier as an exotic, heroic man, who skied in his white costume and endured the extreme coldness of the Winter War. Along with the agrarian roots, this war time characterisation by the others has greatly affected the Finnish autostereotype: the result of these hardships is the stereotypical Finn, who is full of stamina, ‘sisu’.

In the lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” this kind of patriotism acts as a subject of identification, and the following lines are foregrounded with the march drums in the song: “We didn’t bow under oppression / We fought and we died / Redeemed in blood / The land of ice and snow”. In this context ‘the land of ice and snow’ becomes associated with the Winter War. Despite being located in time before the idea of Finland was born, also the lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” celebrate the type of ‘small people against a powerful enemy’ setting typical from the patriotic discourse of Finnish nationalism. The lyrics of “The Heart Of Turisas” refer to the stereotype of durable Finns with: “At The Tables Of The North / Man Is Used To Blizzards And Storms”. Even the chorus of “Native Land” refers to the militaristic sisu-Finnishness via the concept of nation; however, despite the reference, as mentioned above, the narrating voice does not express identification with this kind of soldier identity.

The extreme winter conditions are associated with durability and bravery in the nationalistic discourse, but they are also potent to create prejudices. The lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” introduce a negative projected autostereotype about the Finnish mentality: “Some might say we are cold”. The lyrics of the song emphasise the coldness of Finnish nature, so in this sense the reference states the awareness of the negative connotations this may associate Finnishness with. Anttila (2007: 45) points out the similarity of the words for mentality and nature in many languages. Also the English word ‘nature’ has these two meanings; it can either refer to nature or the nature of a person. The two-fold meaning of the word ‘nature’ is obvious in the lyrics: because nature is cold the nature of people is also cold. According to the stereotype, the climate conditions of cold and dark make the stereotypical Finn withdrawn and unsociable that is often understood as ‘coldness’ by people that come from different cultures. Coldness

as a personality trait is in the lyrics referred to as the point of view of the others on 'us'. However, it is negated and presented as a false judgement by the line: "Don't believe all that's been told". Moreover, a positive simple autostereotype is introduced: "Our hearts are made of gold", which is supposed to replace the negative perception. The lyrics state that what may appear as coldness is merely an illusion and misperception.

Besides the coldness of the winter, another important point of reference in moulding the stereotype of the Finnish mentality is the forest. According to Satu Apo (1998: 83–85), especially in the 1990s the national discourse of Finland used to contain self-racist autostereotypical representations of the Finnish people as 'backwoodsmen'. According to the stereotype, the Finns considered themselves uncivilised in comparison to some other European countries with longer cultural histories (Apo 1996: 24). This kind of self-racism can be regarded as controversial, because as mentioned before, Finnishness was in the early stages into a large extent constructed on nature symbolism. Anttila (2007: 198) points out that the Finnish national identity is often represented via references to nature that has not been touched by humans, which makes Finnishness emphasisedly 'non-cultural'. Instead of cultural, Finnishness is often represented as 'natural'. Associating the national character with nature complies with Hall's discursive strategy of myth of origin, because both mentality and nature are timeless concepts.

The lyrics of "Native Land" construct a version of the traditional forest-Finnishness. The lyrics describe a relationship with nature that is complex and spiritual. No trace of self-racism can be read in the lyrics, therefore, after the 1990s negative discourse the lyrics can be regarded as an attempt pro restoring the positive connotations that nature used to have in the national discourse. The lyrics of "Native Land" emphasise the spiritual connectedness with Finnish nature. Nature is not just a place for contemplation; it is also a site of hardship and challenge in the lyrics, actually it is the site of all experiences in life, as mentioned above. Rather than referring to nature merely on the level of symbolism, the lyrics refer to the underlying spiritual values. Spiritual connectedness with nature is often idealised in folk/pagan metal discourse. Therefore, the lyrics can be regarded as articulating revivalism of old, 'primal' values into the song's overall representation of Finnishness. The lyrics recreate the stereotype of

Finnish ‘backwoodsmen’ in an idealised way which turns it into a positive subject of identification. As mentioned earlier, in the lyrics of “Native Land”, the Finns are empowered by surviving the harsh conditions of northern nature. Juha Siltala (1992: 53) argues that surviving alone, without the help of community is stereotypically considered a question of honour in the Finnish culture. The narrating voice of “Native Land” takes pride in his solitary survival in the woods, and thus emphasises its compliance to the national cultural codes and reinforces the stereotype.

Anttila (2007: 120) points out a cultural paradox: whereas it is common in the Finnish culture to go to the solitude of a summer cottage to enjoy some peace and quiet and to be alone, on a symbolical level it is an act of taking part in the national unity of solitude. This kind of hermitage is also sought in both Korpiklaani’s lyrics, and the solitude is expressed explicitly in “Let’s Drink” by the statement: “grief my only mate”. The narrator or narrators of these two lyrics, however, differ from the paradoxical stereotype in their extremity, because they appear to dwell at their ‘summer cottages’ all year round. They are caricatures dedicated to the forest-Finnishness.

Besides establishing the spiritual connectedness with nature, melancholy is romanticised in the lyrics of “Native Land”. Ehrnrooth (1996: 38) states that a tendency for depression and melancholy is one of the important aspects of the stereotypical Finnish mentality. In the lyrics the line “The frost of the north hurts, / Finnish grief it sings” can be interpreted as referring to this stereotypical Finnish mentality trait. The reference can also be interpreted as a personification of the frost. As the personified nature grieves, it is an emphatic entity that shares the stereotypical mentality with its people. The frost and the Finnish melancholy form a harmonious unity.

The narrating voice of “Let’s Drink” dwells in depression and melancholy. This is expressed in “Disappointment is who I live with, / great grief only mate from then / every morning pangs of remorse”, which is then settled for by stating “but it’s so familiar like my old black horse”. Melancholy is considered a part of the Finnish mentality, and there is no need for change, because it is something that people are used to, something in which people have a sense of belonging. The lyrics of “Let’s Drink”

articulate reluctance for change by stating “Never gonna give up my rugged life, / never sell my infertile soil. / Never gonna give up this simple style”. This conclusion is also foregrounded, as it is in the chorus of the song. It celebrates the economically poor, simple ‘forest-Finnishness’ as a challenging, yet precious way of life.

Hall (1996: 295) states that “[s]ometimes national cultures are tempted to turn the clock back, to retreat defensively to that ‘lost time’ when the nation was ‘great’, and restore past identities”. Finland does not have a history as a great empire. Yet, in Korpiklaani’s lyrics the clock is turned back on a personal level by the return to the way of living of the past times. Since the middle of the 20th century, the densely populated areas of the coast have become even more densely populated. Idealising the ‘simple’ way of living can be interpreted as a protest against the society of today, a protest against the globalisation towards which it is progressing. The self-racist talk of the 1990s compared the Finns to the other Europeans; therefore it can also be regarded as a protest against the negative talk about ‘us’.

Besides romanticising melancholy, also a tradition of romanticising decadence caused by alcoholism exists in the Finnish cultural discourse. It is mostly expressed in Finnish song lyrics, in Finnish. Ehrnrooth (1996: 50) states that alcoholism is one of the personality traits of the negative autostereotype of Finnishness. It is not usually celebrated in the international context, so idealising the Finnish habit of drinking in English is not traditional. The chorus of “Let’s Drink” foregrounds the habit of drinking by “let’s drink and enjoy”, moreover, the name of the song itself refers to the habit of drinking. The alcoholic stereotype is also referred to in “The Land Of Ice And Snow”: Finland is described as the land “Where Koskenkorva flows”, which actually tells more about the people of Finland than it tells about the alcoholic beverage.

The lyrics of “Let’s Drink” reveal that drinking is a habit, as they speak of intentional behaviour by stating: “Woodshed, for my home brewed beer, / perfect place for drunkards like me”. Moreover, according to the negative stereotype, the only time when the Finns enjoy themselves in a sociable context is when they are drunk. The lyrics narrate of solitary existence, but the chorus of the song celebrates drinking as communal

activity. The metal genre context reverses the excessive use of alcohol in both lyrics into something accepted, even celebrated behaviour also in the international context. According to Daniel Frandsen (2010: 11) metal music is often associated with a certain kind of lifestyle that is often spiced with self-destructive behaviour. It is common and socially acceptable to drink plenty of alcohol while attending live shows, and attending live performances of metal bands is an essential part of the ‘metal way of living’ (Frandsen 2010: 11). Moreover, in the lyrics of “The Land Of Ice And Snow” the abundant flow of alcohol is turned into something positive by the choice of words: Finland is the land of plenty. The genre context and live show environment turn the negative stereotype into a celebrated one, as the lyrics do not attach the typical negative connotation to the abundant flow of alcohol. The lyrics translate the romanticised decadence of Finnish stereotypical drinking habits previously only celebrated in intranational context into the international context.

Koskenkorva is also a symbol of Finnishness in itself. Koskenkorva is something invented and produced in Finland, and it can be regarded as a national cultural product. Why Koskenkorva and not the Finlandia vodka (both are symbolic of Finnishness), is open for debate; perhaps the answer lies in the rejection of foreignisation. Finlandia, with its Latin name, appears distanced in comparison to Koskenkorva that appears more authentic. Authenticity is one of the central values in metal discourse. The name of the beverage is in Finnish, so it echoes Anderson’s lingual-nationalism, but Koskenkorva also has a deeper meaning to Finnishness. Besides a beverage, Koskenkorva is a location, a village in the western Finland alongside the river Kyrönjoki. The name of Koskenkorva means ‘the area by a rapid’ so those who understand Finnish are able to make connection of the flowing alcohol to the flowing of this particular Finnish river. Moreover, the association with the small village refers to a locality and besides all this; the bottle’s label has a picture of a stereotypical Finnish agrarian view of grain fields printed on it. In the national discourse, the agrarian roots are often referred to as constitutive in constructing Finnishness.

The metal discourse and culture celebrate several features that are stereotypically Finnish but have negative connotations within the national discourse, at least in the

international context. Nevertheless, also the lyrics studied in this thesis join the narrative of the nation, so the end result is something positive to both discourses. Apo (1996: 15) points out that the version of Finnishness is dependent on who defines the concept. It is therefore important to consider what is being said in relation to the one who is saying, what kind of an expertise the person has and in what kind of context the statements are made (Apo 1996: 15).

4.5 Positioning in the History and in Relation to Politics

Hall (1996: 293) states that the narrative of the nation is constructed of “the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation”. The lyrics that are studied in this thesis recognise two types of ‘national sorrows’: foreign rule and foreign religion. However, they also narrate triumphs over these national sorrows, some of which refer to real historical events, some of which are invented or only loosely based on history.

In history books, Finland is usually presented in a continuum: first as a part of the Swedish empire, then as an autonomous part of the Russian empire and finally as an independent nation. As mentioned above, whilst first constructing Finnishness, the political separateness could not be emphasised, but after independence the unique character of the nation and its people became central themes within the national discourse. The beginning of the 20th century was crucial in defining Finland as a nation. Finland became independent in 1917, and a couple of decades later, battled in the World War II to remain independent.

Especially after the independence, folklore became nationally important: elements were borrowed from local cultures to construct the national identity. The narrative of the nation was written towards the mythical history. The national epic that was actually written in the early 19th century became pivotal and actual: it presented a mythology that had an essential role in defining Finnishness. Besides the actual mythology, the national identity was also sought for in the historical but mythic, ‘primal’, medieval

Finnishness, i.e. in times before becoming the eastern part of the Swedish empire in the 13th century. Rather than regarding Finns as former Swedes and Russians, they became regarded in the national discourse as a separate people, who had actually existed since the mythical time, but had been under foreign rule.

The lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” tell a fabulous tale of a battle that took place in Tavastia in the 13th century, thus the temporal location lies in the ‘primal’, pre-Finnish times. The lyrics identify the enemy as the Crusaders: “War ships float towards the town / With crosses sewed on their sails”. Häme (Tavastia) became a part of the Swedish empire during the first half of the 13th century largely due to the crusade that is known as the Second Crusade to Finland (Virrankoski 2001: 71). It has been debated, whether the crusade to Häme, which the lyrics refer to, was a crusade in the actual meaning of the word at all. Virrankoski (2001: 68–70) argues that by 1100 already half of the local people were Catholics and the ‘crusade’ to Häme was merely a visit that was narrated by the *Eric’s Chronicle* as a legendary battle (Virrankoski 2001: 68–70). However, the lyrics of the song, although loosely based on historical events, narrate their own fabulous version of history. It is not relevant whether the crusade actually took place, or whether it is merely a myth, because it provides a historical reference in either case: *Eric’s Chronicle* is a piece of history.

Much of the perspective in Turisas’s production in general is borrowed from the Vikings. The lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” refer to the site of events with the new Latin name ‘Tavastia’ that derives from ‘Tavastland’. The etymology of the place name remains debatable, but according to Virrankoski (2001: 60), Tavastland supposedly derives from the Germanic ‘eist’ or ‘aist’, which referred to the people of the geographical area of Estonia, and the Scandinavian word ‘tav’, which means simple or stupid. The name was supposedly given by Varangians (Vikings), who regarded Tavastians as similar to Estonians but more difficult to communicate with, as the Tavastians did not understand or speak the Varangians’ language as well as the ‘Estonians’ did (Virrankoski 2001: 60). The name was given to Tavastland by the outsiders, and later used by the Swedish conquerors, so it is a definition by ‘others’ on ‘us’. The name was given to the people by the outsiders, who did not know much about

the people of Häme, and therefore, the people remain a misinterpreted mystery. In the lyrics ‘us’ does not refer to ‘Finnish Vikings’ but ‘Fenns’, yet the Vikings association is present in the lyrics via the name that they have given to Häme. However, supposedly the most important reason for using the name Tavastia in the lyrics is the association that the name has to the mythology of the Tavastian gods, one of which the god Turisas also is. Therefore, the name fits the mystifying and mythical style of the narration of the lyrics.

Moreover, the narrating voice of “Till The Last Man Falls” calls the area “the land of the Fenns”, which is another name given to the people of the geographical area of Finland by the others. Päivi Kanninen (2008: 22–23) points out that the Roman historian Tacitus wrote about the Fenns in his work *Germania* in year 98. The Fenns of Germania, however, actually referred to the Sami people, but later on in history the name has transferred to mean the ancestors of ‘ethnic’ Finns (Kanninen 2008: 23). The description of the ‘Fenns’ was given by a person, who was not really familiar with the people he was describing, so also this context is as mystifying as the one of the name ‘Tavastia’. Tacitus was not the only antiquity historian to refer to ‘Fenns’, so the people that the lyrics refer to are defined from ‘above’, i.e. from the perspective of ancient civilisations. However, the antiquity historians knew only very little about the ‘Fenns’, so the Fenns remained a mystery. In this sense, the narrating voice tells of a fabled people of a fabled land. Moreover, ‘Tavastia’ and ‘Fenns’ also sound more familiar to the international audience than ‘Häme’ and ‘people of Häme’, because the Latin name Tavastia is more often used in English texts and the current English word ‘Finn’ obviously derives from ‘Fenn’.

The narration of “Till The Last Man Falls” is located temporally in times prior to becoming a part of the Swedish empire. Therefore it would be incoherent for the narrating voice to position itself in relation to the nation of Finland because the concept of nation is temporally too recent construction. The lyrics of are loosely based on the event of the Second Crusade to Finland. The crusaders were Swedish (Virrankoski 2001: 69). However, in the lyrics, the enemy is not recognised as Swedish. Instead, the enemy is recognised as the Christian religion, because the conquerors battle in the name

of the cross. In the tale told by the lyrics, the people of Tavastia win the battle, unlike the 'history' narrated by *Eric's Chronicle* suggests. The lyrics also suggest that the battle is not over by wondering: "When will the old Gods fall? / For how long will the spirit live on? / United against the cross we stand". The lyrics imply that the pre-crusade times of Finland are the central ones in grasping the cultural essence of Finnishness. The lyrics bring this kind of 'primal' Finnishness to the 21st century. The last three lines of the lyrics suggest the past is present in the current day role play of Turisas; when it comes to the band's artistic expression and image, the sense of time is not linear but mythical. Therefore 'the old Gods' still live on in the context of Turisas's current day Finnishness. The last three lines of the lyrics can also be interpreted to refer to the current interest on the revival of the pagan religion and lifestyle.

The band Turisas did not invent the genre Viking metal; instead, the group has made a Finnish version of it. In the lyrics of "The Heart Of Turisas" the god Turisas is represented in a manner similar to Týr, the god of war in the Scandinavian mythology. The Scandinavian mythology is the central inspiration for the current day Viking metal genre bands. Few written records about the god Turisas remain, and the myth is ambiguous (Haavio 1967: 102–124). Therefore the myth is richly potent for modern day fabulation. With its version of Viking metal, the band Turisas expands the genre into Nordic instead of merely Scandinavian.

The lyrics of "The Heart of Turisas" borrow aspects of the Viking identity and invent the tradition of Viking-Finnishness that appears old, but obviously, is a new invention. The narrating voice of "The Heart Of Turisas" positions itself as the leader of warrior troops under the guidance of the mythological Finnish god of war: "The Heart of Turisas Leads Our Way". The god is 'Finnish', but the narrating voice summons his troops as "Soldiers From All Edges Of The World", so the troops of men are not 'national' but 'international'. Alternatively, in the grandiose narration the whole world is Finland, subject to the reign of the god Turisas. Moreover, the narrating voice positions in relation to the international audience of the band to include the fans of the band Turisas 'from all edges of the world' in celebration of the fabulous invented tradition.

The lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” glorify the pre-Christian times of Finland. The lyrics refer to the same medieval era in time, before the geographical area of Finland became a part of the Swedish empire, as both lyrics by Turisas. Yet, the narrating voice of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” does not position itself in pre-Christian times, it only reminisces them. The lyrics refer to a battle that is yet to come, not one that was fought in history. Nevertheless, the black metal war that the lyrics refer to will be fought with ‘iron’, which can be interpreted as a reference to medieval weaponry, which, as Moynihan & Söderlind (2003: 99) point out, is part of the resurgent ‘return to pagan roots’ theme of black metal. The weaponry is the same as would have been used in history by the crusaders. The lyrics also imply criticism to one of the best known symbols of Finland, the Finnish flag because its cross derives from Christianity, by introducing an alternative, heathen banner: “Every flag will celebrate our sign / Iron sunwheel of the gods”. Iron sunwheel, or sun cross, is originally a pagan symbol later employed by both national socialists and the black metal scene (and also by Christians as the cross of St. Olav) (Moynihan & Söderlind 2003: 167–169).

Moreover, instead of using the current name Lappeenranta in the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy”, the use of the historical name Lapwestrandh, which was granted official status in 1652 (Toivanen 2011), echoes past times. However, it also implies others’ lingual perspective and thus oppression, yet, according to Toivanen (2001), this was the name that the local people also used. Along with the definition of the town as “Cavalry town” the old name articulates legitimacy of existence because of the long history of the town, which surpasses even that of the nation of Finland, but it also points out that Lappeenranta is now free from the lingual oppression. The town was once called Lapwestrandh, but not anymore. The only thing left to fight against is the ‘foreign’ religion. As mentioned earlier, Hall (1996: 294) argues that “emphasis on origins, tradition and timelessness” is a common discursive tactic in narrating the nation. Finland may have existed before its existence became official in 1917, but according to Anttila (2007: 131), at least in the 18th century there were no Finnish people in the sense of what is understood by the concept today. The usage of the historical name of the 17th century emphasises the origins way back in history.

In the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” the narrating voice declares a “sacred war”, a black metal war against Christianity in Finland to save the Maiden of Finland tormented by the “plague” of Christianity. Albeit the lyrics celebrate blasphemy, they do not seek to be insulting against the nation. In the lyrics the use of words rarely found together, “With blood and *honour*, iron and *blasphemy*” (emphasis mine), declares that sacrilege is practised in order to honour Finland. The Maiden of Finland is a unique personification of the nation also in the sense that it refers to the geographical shape of the Finland displayed on maps, so the feminine body of the maiden of Finland is closely connected with the geographical space and the national borders. Besides a personification, a symbol, the maiden of Finland equals the geographical space of Finland. “We will rid the land of the *plague* / Burn the churches to the ground” (emphasis mine) refers to the Maiden of Finland on both levels, as a female body and as a geographical space.

Common to the Christian religion and to nationalism is that the patriarchal world-view is traditionally articulated into a steady unity with the representations of both of them. The lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” articulate the patriarchal world-view into their construction of Finnishness by the way that they set Christianity and nationalism as counter-forces. Therefore it is almost inevitable that the nation is seen as a female, i.e. as the Maiden of Finland, because in the patriarchal symbolism only women can be conquered, reclaimed and saved. The song is a religious-political statement pro reviving the ancient Finnish pagan religion that is in this context defined to be something essentially Finnish, something that the Maiden of Finland needs in order to survive. After all, she is ‘plagued’ by the foreign religion that has intruded her body.

In two of the song lyrics, “The Land Of Ice And Snow” and “Native Land” the narrating voices refer to the early 20th century history of Finland. Both lyrics also acknowledge the timeless, primal roots of Finnishness in their earthy sentiments towards the forest, but the early 20th century history is regarded as the central reference to specific history, because in the songs this part of the lyrics is emphasised. In the former the lines are emphasised by the march rhythm and in the latter by the repetition of it as the chorus of the song.

Anderson (1991:142) points out that “[e]ven in the case of colonized peoples, who have every reason to feel hatred for their imperialist rulers, it is astonishing how insignificant the element of hatred is” in their cultural products of national discourse. Before becoming an independent nation in 1917, Finland was under imperialist rule. “The Land Of Ice And Snow” discusses this kind of oppression, and like Anderson suggests, the lyrics do not express hate or bitterness but pride: “We didn’t bow under oppression”. The line most likely refers to the Russification of Finland in the beginning of the 20th century, generally known as ‘the times of oppression’. It is regarded as a shared sorrow in the national discourse, the surviving of which gives meaning to the nation of Finland. The following lines of the lyrics: “We fought and we died / Redeemed in blood / The land of ice and snow” refer to the losses of the WW II in a very communal way. “We died” suggests that something died also of the ones who lived to tell about it, but also that the people who died for the country are always present in a way. They are still regarded as honorary members of the community, who redeemed the nation. According to Anttila (2007: 299) independence is regarded one of the most important elements of Finnishness in the national discourse. It is central because of the colonial history. The line “Redeemed in blood” emphasises the importance of independence, because the sacrifice is ultimate. The depiction of the redemption of independence is communal and epic, typical to power metal.

In “Native Land” the narrating voice heartily wishes Finland well: “O my native land, stand proud, facing the future / You were never broken down, banished into the night”, and wishes for things to remain the same: “you will never be broken down.” This is the chorus of the song. The reference is less specific than that in “The Land Of Ice And Snow”, but it refers to the same historical events of the early 20th century. In “Native Land” the nation is personified and the agency is transferred from the people of the nation to the concept of the nation. In this sense, war and conflicts between nations seem distant from the perspective of the narrating voice of the lyrics, nevertheless, it is the perspective that the narrating voice has assumed on society and other people in general: the narrator dwells in solitude.

Besides the expressions of national uniqueness and separateness, in the lyrics there are also references to international belongingness and 'brotherhood'. As mentioned above, the intertextual reference in the lyrics of "The Land Of Ice And Snow" associates Finland with the 'Viking Scandinavia' and Iceland. Obviously, the lyrics of "The Heart Of Turisas" also bear Viking associations. The borrowed Viking past is articulated into unity with the traditional elements of Finnishness.

Also the lyrics of "Iron, Blood and Blasphemy" imply belongingness with one of the bordering nations of Finland. The reference to church burnings associates the lyrics' Finnish nationalism with the arsons of the Norwegian black metal scene of the 1990s. These arsons caused a major media chaos and made this particular subgenre of metal infamous. In the 1990s the media introduced black metal as a Norwegian national phenomenon. Within the black metal discourse, one of the immediate associations of Norway is still the church burnings of the 1990s. The phenomenon of church burnings was and is not only restricted to Norway, nevertheless, the associations remain strong. Moreover, the line "Black holocaust funeral march" is an intertextual reference to *March to the Black Holocaust* (1995), a French black metal split album by Vlad Tepes and Belkètre. They are known as members of Les Légions Noires, which was a similar underground group associated with black metal in France as the group called Black Metal Inner Circle in Norway. By the intertextual reference, the lyrics imply nationalistic brotherhood and homage to the French scene as well as the Norwegian scene.

As mentioned above, the lyrics of "Dark Fortress" refer to the NSBM ideology and imagery in a very explicit way. They articulate acceptance and admiration to the anti-Semitic acts of violence of WW II into their version of extreme Finnish nationalism. The 'foreign' enemy is recognised as the Jewish religion. The nationalism is defined as Finnish, because the Finnish flag is articulated as the central symbol of identification whilst defining the extreme nationalistic ideology: "Nation's flag upon the walls / Cross of blue on white" as the banner of the "Dark fortress of SARGEIST". The lyrics also describe racial issues in "Reshape the fallen dignity / Of a mighty northern race". The discursive strategy of the myth of 'original, pure people' is used to express the

politically extreme nationalism. The lyrics of “Dark Fortress” imply brotherhood towards the NS-nations, most famous of which is undoubtedly Germany.

Besides obvious references to politics and history, also another emphasis that is apparent in the lyrics, can be regarded political. Kolbe (2010:10) points out that during the Cold War, geographical location became essential in defining the international political status. Finland, a nation at the border of the politically defined eastern and western world, wished to remain outside of conflicts. Therefore in the national discourse, Finland became separated from this juxtaposition and defined first and foremost as *northern*. (Kolbe 2010: 10). The northern identity of Finland is therefore, besides geographical, also political. The lyrics imply brotherhood towards nations of the western world, but six of the seven lyrics, define Finland as northern by using the words ‘north’ or ‘northern’, none of them as western or eastern. “Let’s Drink” does not define Finland geographically at all.

As mentioned above, Slack (1996: 112) regards articulation as manipulation. Besides reciting the patriotic and nationalistic political ideologies and referring to Finnish nature, mythology and people in glorifying ways in the lyrics, the lyrics also refer to international relations. Besides clinging to the traditional definition of Finland as primarily northern, expressing brotherhood towards ‘western’ countries reinforces the image of Finland as ‘western’, which has been the dominant political representation of the nation after the Cold War.

Moreover, besides defining Finnishness politically in the international context, the lyrics also define Finnishness in the intranational context. As mentioned above, the lyrics are regarded primarily in the context of the national discourse. In the national discourse, ‘hegemonic Finnishness’ is considered the norm. The hegemonic cultural conceptions are often articulated in various texts. They have become hegemonic in the first place because of the repetition. These kinds of texts manipulate the reader to habituate the hegemonic perceptions of reality, either intentionally or unconsciously. Slack (1996: 114) argues that “hegemony is not domination but the process of creating and maintaining consensus or of co-ordinating interests”. Often the hegemonic ways of

perceiving the world are considered as self-evident, therefore the manipulation can also be of unconscious nature from the part of the author of the text. Articulations from another perspective appear as deviant and the exceptions point out the existence of norms.

Diana Petkova (2005: 19) introduces three hypothetical persons in pointing out the actual diversity of the Finns: first a Protestant, Swedish-speaking Finn, second a Protestant, Finnish-speaking Finn (an “ethnically Finnish” person) and third “a naturalised Finn, Somalian by ethnic origin and Muslim by religion”. They all have very different individual cultural identities, but nevertheless they are all Finns. (Petkova 2005: 19) The “ethnic Finnishness” is often regarded as the norm; it is a simple definition of the hegemonic Finnish identity. In addition, as mentioned above, Hall (1996: 297) states that the masculine identity is usually regarded primary to the feminine one in the national discourse. For instance, the narrating voice of the lyrics of “Native Land” could belong to a woman who is not ‘ethnically’ Finnish, because the identity of an ethnically Finnish man is not expressed literally in the lyrics. Surely, the lyrics are sung by a Finnish man, and the image of the band expresses ethnic Finnishness, but also the context of national discourse and its practice and tradition of no further definition whilst describing a ‘standard’ case strongly implies that the lyrics are narrated by an ethnically Finnish man.

All seven lyrics reproduce the hegemonic, ethnic Finnishness. Because of this, they reinforce the patriarchal, male-dominated perspective in constructing their national identity. The perspective of the ethnic Finnish man does not need to be defined, as it is the standard. The lyrics do not challenge the traditional, hegemonic way of defining the Finnish identity, therefore they reinforce and maintain it. “The Heart Of Turisas”, “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy”, “Dark Fortress”, “The Land Of Ice And Snow” and “Till The Last Man Falls” tell about wars waged by ‘us, the Finnish men’. Both lyrics by Korpiklaani describe caricatures of stereotypically Finnish forest-men, who take pride in their solitary survival in the woods. Moreover, the alcoholism that the lyrics of “Let’s Drink” refer to is usually considered in the national discourse primarily a stereotypical male quality. It is no surprise that the point of view is that of men, after all, the lyrics

are written by men to be sung by men, and moreover, both the national discourse and the metal discourse usually assume the male perspective. However, while Petkova includes Protestantism in her definition of hegemonic Finnishness, in the lyrics it has been replaced with an emphasis on the pagan roots.

4.6 Influenced by the Patriotic Song

Obviously, the metal genre is not the first of the musical genres to articulate the Finnish identity. Each existing nation is often accompanied with a long tradition of patriotic songs. Hans Kuhn (1990: 4) states that the function of patriotic songs is to create a sense of belonging to the social communion. According to Kuhn singing together is “an act of group identification, and hence such songs carry a higher emotional charge than a song sung individually or not expressly designed for community use”. He also points out that texts that are meant to be repeated out loud are memorised by heart more often than written texts that are only meant to be read. Therefore, “often they will be the only kind of literature a person remembers in the long run”. (Kuhn 1990: 4) Also Benedict Anderson (1991: 145) emphasises the importance of poetry and songs to the national discourse. He points out the emotional effectiveness of national anthems. On national holidays, anthems are sung together, which is a ritual of simultaneity that Anderson refers to as ‘unisonance’. (Anderson 1991: 145)

Kolbe (2010: 58) states that the national anthem of Finland, *Maamme* [Our land] was written in 1848. She argues that the song itself is a part of the Finnish collective memory. In general, according to Kolbe, all national anthems are ideological packages; they reveal the central elements of the national identity in question. Because *Maamme* was written before 1917, it focuses on representing Finnishness via references to nature. (Kolbe 2010: 57–59) Besides the national anthem, also some other songs that refer to the same symbols of Finnishness as *Maamme* have reached an unofficial canonical status within the Finnish national discourse. For instance the patriotic “Täällä pohjantähden alla” (Here, under the North Star) (1994) by Petri Laaksonen and “Sininen ja valkoinen” (Blue and white) by Jukka Kuoppamäki (1972) and the ironic “Tuhansien

murheellisten laulujen maa” (The land of thousands of sorrowful songs) by Martti Syrjä (1982) can be regarded as such. Nevertheless, the national anthem is here regarded as the original influence.

In comparison to the national anthem, structural and thematic similarities can be found in the metal lyrics. For instance, two of the lyrics, “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” and “Native Land” greet Finland in a way similar to the traditional patriotic song. Also the national anthem of Finland begins by greeting the nation. The very first line of the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” greets Finland in the mother tongue: “Terve Suomi, Isänmaa!” (Salutation to Finland, the fatherland!) and later in the song, the narrating voice addresses the personification of the nation, the Maiden of Finland as ‘you’. In “Native Land” the nation is greeted as “O my native land” and addressed as ‘you’. Both lyrics greet and address the nation in the chorus part of the song. The greeting and addressing the nation are thus foregrounded in both songs. The style and emphases in constructing Finnishness are very different in the two song lyrics, because the lyrics of “Native Land” are very cautious in their patriotic expression, whereas the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” express extreme nationalism very assertively. Yet they both have adapted these elements from the national anthem. Besides greeting the nation, patriotic songs often celebrate the song itself and also the ritual aspect of singing in honour of the nation. In “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” the narrating voice emphasises the symbolic, ritualistic act of singing in honour of the nation by “Your song will echo ever long”. Weinstein (1991: 38) points out that metal lyrics are prone to celebrate music, for instance the canonical “Let There Be Rock” by AC/DC. Therefore, actually, celebrating the symbolic and ritualistic value of songs is a shared feature in both metal and patriotic song.

The influences by the national anthem can be read as similarities in the depictions of Finnishness in the metal lyrics. Besides the typical features of the genre of patriotic song mentioned above, in its eleven verses the national anthem of Finland introduces most of the elements symbolic of Finnishness that the metal lyrics studied in this thesis refer to. The national anthem of Finland refers to the nation as ‘the land of the fathers’, like “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” does. The national anthem of Finland describes

Finland as a poor land, and the lyrics of “Let’s Drink” also find the essence of Finnishness in poverty: “Never gonna give up my rugged live, / Never sell my infertile soil.” The lyrics of *Maamme* narrate of the northern location of ‘our’ land, and also refer to frost, polar night, forest and thousand lakes in their constructing of Finnishness, like the lyrics studied in this thesis. The anthem tells a tale of the battles that the Finns have fought (with *swords*), and so are the battles waged with swords in the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy”, “The Heart Of Turisas” and “Till The Last Man Falls”. The lyrics of the national anthem articulate ‘pinewood’ and ‘frothy rapids’ as part of Finnishness, and the same references as found in the depictions of Finnishness of “Till The Last Man Falls” and “Native Land”. The North Star is often referred to in the national discourse as a guide for the Finns. Three of the metal lyrics, “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy”, “Native Land” and “The Land of Ice And Snow”, refer to stars, however, none of the lyrics speak of the North Star, but stars in general, as in the lyrics of the national anthem.

Patriotic songs often tell about bloodshed in the name of the nation, or imply readiness for further bloodshed if needed. Kuhn (1990: 70) argues that “times of peace and prosperity” inspire “the most bellicose and bloodthirsty national anthems”. Obviously the metal songs studied in this thesis are not regarded as national anthems; nevertheless, they exist in close relation to the genre of patriotic song. The word ‘blood’ occurs in five of the seven metal lyrics. In the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” the battle is for nationalist black metal ideology, in defence of Finland ‘conquered by foreign religion’. In “The Heart of Turisas” the Finnish Vikings’ warrior-god’s heart is forged “With A Hammer Of / *Blood*” (emphasis mine). The lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” and “The Land Of Ice And Snow” articulate bloodshed in the name of defending ‘our’ geographical space and autonomy: in the former “Much blood has been spilled” to defend “the land of the Fenns” from conquerors, and the latter refers to the battles fought for the existence of the nation by: “Redeemed in blood”. Exceptionally, in the lyrics of “Native Land”, the enemy of the potentially ‘bloody’ battle are not foreign conquerors, but the extreme conditions of the living environment: “not the cruelty of the woods / take our *blood* and life” (emphasis mine). As mentioned before, the narrating voice of the lyrics positions itself in distance from the nation and its people, and is very

cautious in its political expression. Yet, it still includes a word typical to the patriotic song. Therefore, the usage of the word 'blood' can be regarded as an adaptation of the ultimate sacrifice, that the concept of nation is associated with, to the world-view of the lyrics.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I have studied the representations of Finnishness of seven metal lyrics. The study was theoretically based on the idea that the national culture and the national identity are constructed discursively. Therefore I began by defining ‘discourse’, following Sara Mills and Roger Fowler. I recited Benedict Anderson’s definition of nations as ‘imagined communities’ and Stuart Hall’s theories of narrating the nation and articulating identity to demonstrate, how the national identity is constructed discursively. I used Deena Weinstein’s metal discourse theory and the theories by Stuart Hall in analysing and contextualising the references. I read the references that the lyrics make to the symbols and other elements of Finnishness primarily in the context of the national discourse and secondarily in the context of metal discourse. This is how I contextualised them as representations of Finnishness.

In the introduction of this thesis I defined my perspective as that of a person, who is interested in both, the metal culture and the national culture. As mentioned above, Rojola (2004: 36–37) points out that the reading is also a process of articulation, and that the reader is active in the process of producing meanings while reading texts. I have read in the lyrics a great amount of intertextuality. I have read references to the national and to the metal discourse: some of the references I actually discovered to be intersectional in character. On the one hand, the results of this study have been affected by my personal way of reading, therefore I have to acknowledge that the study cannot be regarded wholly objective. On the other hand, my long-term interest in both discourses has given me an insiders’ perspective on the subject of my study.

The approaches on the national identity in the lyrics differ from one another in their emphases and points of view, but also in which references and symbols have been articulated into their overall representation of Finnishness. Obviously, there is also a great deal of similarities, because the lyrics are inspired by the same national discourse. Moreover, the lyrics are clearly influenced by the lyrics of one particularly defining song in regard of the national identity: the national anthem of Finland. References to the traditional, nationally symbolic elements that have been often repeated in the national

discourse also make the Finnish theme of the seven lyrics recognisable. In the lyrics the earthy, mythological primal pagan roots and traditions, the northern location, the relationship with nature and the symbolic value of national scenery are emphasised in constructing Finnishness. The sense of belonging is also expressed by references to shared mentality and nationally defining shared experiences of the people. The political attitude of the lyrics varies from the cautiously patriotic to the extreme nationalist.

Both lyrics by Turisas construct Finnishness in a manner that is mystifying and fabulating; the Finns portray almost as an enchanted people. The lyrics of “Till The Last Man Falls” describe a primal, medieval people, the Finns, who are subject to the ancient Finnish pagan gods. The lyrics of “The Heart Of Turisas” refer to a warrior troop of Finnish Vikings, who is subject to the god of war of the Finnish mythology. The lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” articulate traditional elements of patriotic symbolism of Finland into unity with the NSBM ideology, which results in the double identity of nationalistic black metal warrior group. The lyrics of “Dark Fortress” articulate admiration to the historical Nazis into the lyrics, which with the references to Finnishness constructs and produces extreme-nationalist Finnishness. “Native Land” and “Let’s Drink” by Korpiklaani construct their representation of Finnishness on the nationally symbolical unity with Finnish nature. They identify with the people of the nation via links, not directly; they join the national unity via the stereotypical solitude of forest-Finnishness and a stereotypical, national collective dream. The lyrics of “The Land of Ice And Snow” by Stratovarius approach the national identity first and foremost by emphasising the exotics of the northern location, but they also refer to a multitude of national symbols in a mystifying way.

The pivotal time frame of reference in the metal lyrics is the ‘primal’ Finnishness of mythical times. Most of the seven lyrics construct some kind of relation to the ‘mythical past times’ of Finland. Most explicitly this can be read in the two lyrics by Turisas, in which the narration is temporally located in the medieval, pagan, pre-nation times of Finland. Also the lyrics of “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” by Sargeist emphasise the importance of pagan past in their articulation of Finnishness. However, the perspective is more current, and the lyrics declare to regain the glorified pagan past. The lyrics of

“The Land Of Ice And Snow” refer to the mythic past by associating Finland with the Norse mythology and by the reference to the Finnish ‘forest god’. The lyrics of “Native Land” and “Let’s Drink” embrace the past times by identifying with the mythic forest-Finnishness. Based on the emphases of the metal lyrics, the essence of Finnishness of metal is temporally located in the mythic past, yet the same essence can be accessed in the modern day by respecting the cultural roots.

Nevertheless, two of the lyrics, “The Land Of Ice And Snow” and “Native Land” foreground more recent historical events, those of the early 20th century, i.e. ‘the times of oppression’, the declaration of independence in 1917 and battles of WW II. In the former, the lines to are foregrounded by the march rhythm and in the latter, the lines construct the chorus of the song. Even if the essence of Finnishness is in both lyrics found in forest of pagan roots in the distant past, the lyrics’ Finnishness is current, patriotic and bound to the modern concept of nation.

Traditionally, the relationship with nature has been emphasised in the Finnish national discourse because of the political restrictions whilst first constructing the identity in the 19th century. Most of the lyrics that were studied in this thesis base their construction of Finnishness on references to nature; in this sense the representation that the lyrics construct is very traditional. In accordance to the two centuries of national discourse, the lyrics articulate the lake scenery and the forest as pivotal references in their representation of Finnishness. The lakes are referred to as symbolic to the nationality in five of the lyrics. The lake references define the land that is narrated about as Finland in the level of local scenery and via the clichéd representation of ‘the land of the thousand lakes’. The forest of the lyrics is, besides part of the home scenery, also sacrosanct. Besides patriotism, in the lyrics the forest is sanctified by the ancient Finnish pagan spirituality. The references to nature are traditionally considered to be a politically neutral way of constructing national identity; however, in the lyrics they are also used in the constructing of the extreme nationalistic Finnishness.

The Finnishness of the lyrics is emphasisedly northern. As mentioned above, ‘northern’ is, besides a geographical location, also a political location and an exotic location from

the point of view of marketing. Six of the seven lyrics articulate the northern location into their construction of Finnishness. Similarly to the patriarchally spirited national discourse, metal is a male dominated genre that is usually primarily composed for a male audience. In the metal context the extremities of nature become associated with fantasy, empowerment and heroism. The northern character of Finland is emphasised by referring to the extreme and exotic conditions of nature: ice, snow, frost, blizzards, northern lights and midnight sun. Besides the exotics of the extremities of cold and warm and polar night and day, Finland is also often internationally marketed for its purity of nature. Especially the lyrics of “Native Land”, “Till The Last Man Falls” and “Iron, Blood and Blasphemy” describe Finnish scenery as blissful, despite the challenges posed by coldness and frost. The similarities with the depictions that marketing and tourism produce exist because both the patriotically inspired metal lyrics and tourism seek to present Finland in a positive way, albeit the purpose is different. It is difficult to say, how political the northern location of Finland in the lyrics is, because the representation of Finland as ‘northern’ has become so habitual that many have forgotten the political connotation of the expression. Moreover, the lyrics intentionally articulate brotherhood towards ‘western’ countries of Europe and borrow elements of Scandinavian history and mythology in their construction of Finnishness, so in conclusion the national identity of the lyrics is also articulated as western.

Besides positioning internationally, lyrics also articulate intranational locality into their representations of nationality. Experiencing nation as the ‘homeland’ is expressed by identifying with the national via the local. The lyrics refer to localities in different parts of the inland of Finland. In this sense, the inland Finnishness is dominant to the coastal Finnishness in the representation constructed by the lyrics. However, the lyrics also directly recognise the whole nation as home, as “the land of the Fenns”, as “my native land” and as ‘destiny’.

References to a shared mentality and national stereotypes are common points of reference in constructing a national identity. The lyrics represent the Finns as durable and brave people who are united when the national collective is under a threat in accordance to the traditional, patriotic stereotype. The lyrics also represent the Finns as

a people that enjoys solitary existence and takes pride in solitary survival, a people that uses great amounts of alcohol, is melancholic, dwells in grief and solitude and is withdrawn up to a point of appearing 'cold' which is however declared a misunderstanding. Nevertheless, all the aspects of Finnish mentality are embraced in the lyrics, some of them because the metal genre context gives them positive connotations, and all of them because they offer a sense of belonging.

The metal lyrics express the identity of an ethnically Finnish man and therefore they reinforce the hegemonic definition of Finnish identity. The 'norm' identity has been traditionally defined in the national discourse as that of the ethnically Finnish, Finnish-speaking protestant man. Up to an extent, the hegemonic Finnishness has embraced the Christian religion since the beginning of the national discourse. Yet, the national identity was constructed on pagan roots and mythology, not the Christian religion. The metal lyrics that were studied in this thesis replace the Christianity of the traditional 'norm' Finnishness with paganism and mythology in their representation of the national identity. Since the beginning, the metal genre has drawn inspiration from religious symbolism and discourse. Only seldom has it, however, sided with the 'good' divinity. Yet, these lyrics represent the forest god and the god of war of the Finnish mythology as the guides and supporters of the people. However, this is not typical only to the Finnish metal: as mentioned above, the recently emerged pagan metal of any nationality celebrates the pagan roots and mythologies. Nevertheless, it is interesting how defining the pagan roots have become in constructing Finnishness in 21st century metal lyrics.

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Appendix 1. "The Heart Of Turisas" (Turisas 2001)

At The Tables Of The North
 Man Is Used To Blizzards And Storms
 Their Arms Are Tempered By The Work Of Their
 Swords
 Gallantness And Faith Fills Their Hearts

The Heart Of Turisas Was Forged By Four Winds
 In A Smithy High Up In The Skies
 On An Anvil Of Honour, With A Hammer Of
 Blood
 The Four Winds Pounded

The Heart Of Turisas Was Forged By Four Winds
 In A Smithy High Up In The Skies
 On An Anvil Of Courage, With A Hammer Of
 Sweat
 The Four Winds Pounded

Over Vast Steppes
 Horsemen Ride For Day And Night
 With Honour And Glory In Their Minds
 The Eastmen Ride

Under The sun
 The Soldiers Of The South Sing Their Songs
 Endless Scorching Deserts
 Have Trained These Men

Take This Sign Into Your Heart And Be Brave
 Let It Lead You To Your Glory Or Your Grave
 Today

Hear Me, My Warriors
 Soldiers From All The Edges Of The World
 Let Us Join Our Forces
 To An Army, United

The Four Winds Guide Us
 The Heart Of Turisas Leads Our Way
 Our Drums Echo: Forward March
 Our Horns Cry For Victory

Beyond The Ocean
 The Warriors Of The West Bend Their Bows
 In The Name Of The Eagle

These Brave Men Fight

The Heart Of Turisas Was Forged By Four Winds
In A smithy High Up In The Skies
On An Anvil Of Glory, With A Hammer Of
Tears
The Four Winds Pounded

Appendix 2. "Till The Last Man Falls" (Turisas 2001)

Far away, Beyond the bay
 Rugged hills tower over the woods
 A fort stands steadfastly on each top
 No pinewood this enchanting at night,
 Nor water so blue or bright
 This is the land of the Fenns

Once the trees were as old as the world
 Whole Tavastia was quiet and tranquil
 Now those days have gone by
 Left: mourning and loud war cries
 A chain of six bonfires blaze

People start running back and forth
 In these distant towns of North
 Hundreds of years We've fought
 Thousands of men dropped their sword
 'till the last man falls - We vow

Blow Your horns, Prepare for war
 War ships float towards the town
 With crosses sewed on their sails
 The huge fort gates are boomed
 The ones left outside are doomed
 United against the cross We stand

Suddenly all the people fell quiet
 The cloudless heavens turned scarlet
 Drumskins strongly boomed from the skies
 The signs of warfare were in front of our eyes

See the battle raging - Grab Your sword
 A distant thunder rumbling - Bend your bows
 The great arrows fly, Stallions whine
 Long chains creak, Heath echoing

Finally the victory is achieved
 Last enemies retreat
 Much blood have been spilled
 Hundreds of men been killed
 Cheering and celebrating can be heard

Far away, Beyond the bay
 Rugged hills tower over the woods
 A fort stands steadfastly on each top

When will the old Gods fall?
For how long will the spirit live on?
United against the cross we stand

Appendix 3. "Dark Fortress" (Sargeist 2001/2004)

Fires burn yet again
Fed with corpses of the men
Who opposed us and never will be free
They still live for only flames to see

And the old gas chambers
Destroy human life again
Pestilent weak people
Grimly rid with Zyklon-B

You will work force labor
For our engines of war
As the fodder to feed with
To be reaped with war

God's race feeds our cause
Such an irony within
Grim Northern funeral winds
Blow again over lands

No mercy will be shown
Panzer march, panzer march
Iron tyranny and hate
Conqueror fire and supreme art

Dark fortress of SARGEIST
Soon stands rising proud
Nation's flag upon the walls
Cross of blue on white

Reshape the fallen dignity
Of a mighty northern race
We are the first of cruelty
Beating on humanity's face

Appendix 4. "Iron, Blood and Blasphemy" (Sargeist 2001/2004)

Terve Suomi, Isänmaa!
Your song will echo ever long
Burnt with pride into our heart
With honor marked on our souls x3

Your blue eyes are the thousand lakes
 Our banner white and blue
 You are clad in white of the winter
 Beauty of the north so true
 And the nights of summer they are bright
 With endless sun among the stars
 And forests vast and cruel
 Breathe the culture of our race

We are from the Cavalry Town
 Once with name Lapwestrandh
 Once again we will return
 Regain the pagan past
 Every flag will celebrate our sign
 Iron sunwheel of the gods
 We will rid the land of the plague
 Burn the churches to the ground

Comradeship through iron and blood
 We unite in sacred war
 Our hearts forged unto battle
 Thirsting for the victory
 There is nothing stopping our march
 Black holocaust funeral march
 Terve Suomi, Isänmaa
 With blood and honor, iron and blasphemy

Appendix 5. "The Land Of Ice And Snow" (Stratovarius 2005)

The land of ice and snow
 Where the midnight sun blows
 Hundred thousand lakes glow
 In the land of ice and snow

Northern lights guide our way
 Come whatever may
 Forest god protects our day
 In the land of ice and snow

Where Koskenkorva flows
 Where the freezing wind blows
 Summer nights are white and warm
 In the land of ice and snow

Some might say that we are cold
 Don't believe all that's been told
 Our hearts are made of gold
 In the land of ice and snow

We didn't bow under oppression
We fought and we died
Redeemed in blood
The land of ice and snow

foregrounded with the march rhythm

Here I was born and here I've lived
 And one day here I will die
 Under northern starry sky
 In the land of ice and snow

Appendix 6. "Native Land" (Korpiklaani 2005)

The waves of the lake splash
and pines hum.

The frost of the north hurts,
Finnish grief in sings.

Woods bleak and stony, unlit,
there my mind rests.

There I will forget the pain,
stars and moon us bless.

O my native land, stand proud, facing the future.

You were never broken down, banished into the night

O my native land, stand proud. facing the future

you will never be broken down x2

Not weather can frighten us
not to shrivel us winters
not to cruelty of the woods
take our blood and life.

Frothy rapids roar

And the hills high

Woods of pine and forests of birch

Over the wide rocks

Appendix 7. "Let's Drink" (Korpiklaani 2007)

Little red house, potato field.
 little forest, lake as far as you can see.
 Woodshed, for my home brewed beer,
 perfect place for drunkards like me

*Never gonna give up my rugged live,
 never sell my infertile soil.
 Never gonna give up this simple style
 let's drink and enjoy. x4*

Disappointment is who I live with,
 great grief only mate from then,
 every morning pangs of remorse
 but it's so familiar like my old black horse

*Never gonna give up my rugged live,
 Never sell my infertile soil.
 never gonna give up this simple style,
 let's drink and enjoy. x4*