

“Now sing from the mouth and from the heart”:

The Spiritual Folksongs of Cyrillus Kreek

Laney McClain Armstrong

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Musical Arts

University of Washington

2013

Reading Committee:

Geoffrey Boers, Chair

Giselle Wyers

Áine Heneghan

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Music – Choral Conducting

©Copyright 2013

Laney McClain Armstrong

Introduction

Estonia is a country with a rich history full of music, singing, and ancient traditions. As a country that has been occupied and heavily influenced by a variety of different governments and cultures throughout Europe, Estonia's rich and ancient history is infused with traditions from a variety of cultures. German, Swedish, Russian, and other Baltic traditions permeate Estonian music, language, and religious practice.

During a national cultural awakening in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, musical scholars began to collect and document a variety of different folk traditions as part of the process of creating a national identity for Estonia. This process is parallel to the movements pioneered by Zoltan Kolday, Bela Bartok, and other nationalists who used the folk songs and folk traditions of their people to help create a national identity and integrate it into the modern music of their own cultures. The particular role that folksong collection played in the establishment of an Estonian cultural identity and the fight for independence is profound.

Among them was the young student Cyrillus Kreek. With his initial education in the folksongs of Estonia as a young student, Kreek went on to champion a particular form of Estonian singing: the spiritual folksong. The spiritual folksong is a unique blend of Lutheran cultures and the local singing traditions of rural Estonian peoples. The existence of these religious folksongs, their particular structure, and the reasons for their use provide insight into the power of collective singing, something that has been prevalent throughout Estonian history. In collecting dozens of these folksongs, and in composing hundreds of different chorale-like settings, Kreek exposed a genre that could have easily been overlooked in the annals of music history, and has preserved them for future generations to explore and enjoy.

Chapter 1: Religion and Song in Estonia

A Brief History of Religious Singing in Estonia

Even before the conception of the Christian hymn, singing was an important part of life in Estonia. In his history entitled Estonian Music, Harry Olt writes that singing and oral tradition were an integral part of peasant life in Estonia and that “the Estonian alliterative verse can be traced back to the first years A.D. or even earlier.” (Olt 1980, 20) The songs of these ancient peoples were concerned with the things of everyday life: work, family, dancing, and celebration. (Olt 1980, 20) In his volume The Old Estonian Folk Religion, Ivar Paulson often quotes songs that were connected with the ancient religions of Estonia. A few examples include a song encouraging fish to bite on the hook of a fisherman, a song asking for good weather and protection for crops, and a song chronicling the different journeys of a serf and his master in the afterlife. (Paulson 1971, 81-82, 114 ,199)

Christian Bishops began to foray into Estonia in the late 12th century with peaceful missions to the people. However, the peaceful overtures did not last long. A German Catholic group called the Order of the Knights of the Sword, founded in 1204, was more interested in conquering Estonia militarily and establishing Christianity by force. It is believed they began a military campaign with an initial clash in 1208. (Torma 1944, 4) By the 14th century, the Catholic Church became the ruling authority in the land, notwithstanding a last push revolt in 1343, which ended in mass destruction by fire of the Estonian landscape. (Torma 1944, 4-5) These German crusaders became a ruling class over the people who had lived in the land for centuries, changing their way of life along with their religion. (Laantee 1953, 269) As Catholicism spread, Estonians incorporated it with their long-standing folk religion. They identified particularly with the saints

of the Catholic Church, integrating the saints' supernatural feats into their own folk stories and songs, and asking for help from them as they would from their older, more familiar gods.

(Paulson 1971, 74) However, according to Karl Laantee, “the Catholic Church was never dear to Estonians,” and people continued to practice the religions of their ancestors. Well-established ethnic Estonians were constantly resistant to the power wielded by church leaders. (Laantee 1953, 271) As a result, Estonians were particularly open to the message of the Reformation in the 16th century.

As the Catholic and Lutheran churches fought for control over the Estonian people, language was a particularly potent tool. In his book Estonia and the Estonians, Toivo Raun writes, “it was only with the struggle between Catholic and Protestant forces for the hearts and minds of the Estonian people that an extensive Estonian text came into existence...[the] first surviving text is a fragment of a Lutheran catechism...published in 1535 in Wittenberg.” (Raun 1987, 24) While this religious battle had far more to do with the ruling classes than the individual Estonian people, it was an important step for the printed Estonian word. Ultimately, it was the eventual institution of Swedish rule with German nobility that led to the firm establishment of the Lutheran church in Estonia. (Pierson 1998, 31) Under that Swedish rule in the 17th century, there was a more concentrated push for the study and development of the Estonian language, particularly in printed materials, both religious and more general in nature. This led to the foundation of the University of Tartu in 1632, publications on Estonian Grammar, a “Handbook for the Home [*Käsi-ja Koduraamat*], which contained Martin Luther’s Little Catechism, the Gospels, the Epistles and some Church hymns,” and even the attempt at starting a translation of the Bible in Estonian—an effort that ultimately failed. (Torma 1944, 9-10) The Bible was eventually published in Estonian for the first time in 1739. (Vesilind 2008, 29)

It took another group of people to cement the role of Christian singing in the folk culture of Estonians. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Moravians entered religious life in the Baltic region. Working tenuously within the territory of the Lutheran church, the Moravian Brethren played a part in the publication of the Bible and New Testament in Estonian and, as a result, helped to codify the language. (Raun 1987, 53) The Moravians were popular because of their focus on the individual Estonian, encouraging the peasant classes to develop their own culture and language independent of the Baltic German nobility. (Pierson 1998, 32) They were especially popular on the island of Saremaa, where their influence was said to have contributed to “not one criminal case [being] heard in the courts between 1740 and 1745.” (Torma 1944, 12) Additionally, singing was an integral part of the Moravian philosophy. Writing about the role of the Moravians in developing a religious singing culture, Pierson observes the following,

Song evidently filled the central role in church services. After a song was finished, a leader would often stand to explain the song’s meaning in detail. Songs were also taught to children and then used as a teaching tool, through explanation of the content...[A]nother primary role of music was to make daily life sacred. The soul was prepared by singing for movement by the Spirit of God. (Pierson 1998, 33)

The Moravians were able to capture something that was already dear to the hearts of Estonians—singing as a part of daily life—and turn it into a religious practice. They recognized the power that singing has to unite a group of people with a similar purpose and help them to achieve a collective mindset, fully worshipping together as a group.

In addition to the Moravians promoting religion in Estonia, Johann L. Punschel and his hymnal played a pivotal role in documenting and codifying the Lutheran hymn in the Baltic region. Published in 1830, Punschel’s hymnal, entitled *Evangelisches Choral-Buch zunächst in Bezug auf die deutschen, lettischen und esthnischen Gesangbücher der russischen Ostsee Provinzen*

[Evangelical Chorale Book Primarily Taken from the German, Latvian and Estonian Hymnbooks in the Russian Baltic Provinces], is considered a definitive volume of the Lutheran hymns being sung in Latvia and Estonia during the 19th Century. (Smidchens, Chapter 4: Nations of Singers, Individual and Collective n.d., 9) Each hymn is published with a simple harmonization and a German title, but with no text accompanying the music. As a musical document, it is a simple collection and a helpful resource. As a historical document, this hymnal makes note of the prevalence of Lutheran hymns in Baltic region as Estonia headed into the twentieth century.

As Punschel was collecting and writing his hymnal, Estonia was beginning its own national awakening. As has already been established, singing has always been an integral part of the Estonian way of life. In 1869, that tradition was codified with the first National Song Festival. Held in Tartu, this festival provided an opportunity for choirs from around the country to gather in one place and celebrate the songs, language, and traditions of their national culture. This first song festival was not an aberration, but rather the manifestation of a nation searching for its own individual culture. It was modeled after similar nationalistic German festivals, and contained original music, as well as folk music and current German songs translated into Estonian. (Lieven 1993, 110) (Daitz 2004, 81) Song festivals continue to be an important part of Estonian culture to this day. Lieven, whose book on the Baltic Revolution was published just two years after the Baltic countries gained independence from the Soviets, writes,

Today, every village has its choir, which often sings to professional standard and children are strongly encouraged to participate...Localized festivals of folk song and dance take place regularly at every level of society. They find their apotheosis...in the great national song festivals. (Lieven 1993, 111)

He goes on to look into the future of the song festival, writing that they would continue to symbolize “the survival of a higher, unbreakable national unity and purpose in the face of all

political conflicts and disputes.” (Lieven 1993, 112) The Song Festival Grounds in Tallinn have at one time held a 30,000-voice choir and a 300,000-person audience, and this facility played a pivotal role in the revolution over the Soviet Union. (Vesilind 2008, 22)

As Estonia developed its strong choral singing tradition in the form of song festivals and singing societies, Estonians continued to recognize the power of religious singing as a tool of unification and resistance. (Pierson 1998, 44) In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, led by the philosophies and example Baltic enthusiast and folklore collector Johann Gottfried Herder, Estonia underwent a National Awakening. This movement involved, among other things, a clarification of the Estonian language, a celebration and exploration of folk culture, an establishment of their own literature, and an intensive collection of folk songs. (Lieven 1993, 113, 117) It proved “to the world that they possessed a full cultural identity, and [overcame] the sense of inferiority produced by many centuries of foreign rule during which any educated Balt automatically became a German or a Pole.” (Lieven 1993, 118) The Evangelical Lutheran Church and its leadership and pastors played a role in the establishment of many cultural elements in that helped to create a clear and unified Estonian culture. As Torma writes, “[clergy] played an important part in the study of Estonian folklore, others of Estonian history, some were making valuable contributions to Estonian literature, spiritual or secular.” (Torma 1944, 18) The National Awakening played a pivotal part in both building toward Estonia’s independence and in establishing its own culture once it was an independent country. This movement helped solidify Estonia’s cultural identity that, to that point, had been largely tied up in the identities of its foreign leaders and rulers. Estonia ultimately declared its independence in 1918 and, after a brief struggle with Germany and a war with the new Soviet Union, fully gained independence in 1920. (Uustalu 1952, 163-174)

The independence of Estonians was short lived. Soon, the country became a pawn in the fight between the Russians and the Germans in World War II. The Soviets invaded and occupied Estonia for a brief time, from 1940 to 1941, and that short occupation was a harbinger of things to come. (Vesilind 2008, 50-51) In a pamphlet published in 1944, several members of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church detail the aggressive dismantling of religious life by the Soviets during the occupation. Using techniques developed in Russia, the Soviets began cracking down on religious institutions, people, and clergymen within weeks of the beginning of the occupation. The pamphlet states,

It cannot be denied that if these designs had been attained and all clergymen or most of them had resigned their charges, there would have been left but a trunk without arms and legs of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, which hardly would have been capable of living any longer. (Perlitz 1944, 42)

The persecution and harassment was harsh, resulting in the death and deportation of many clergymen, and a very difficult life for those remaining. (Perlitz 1944, 43-44) This Soviet occupation did not last long. However, Estonia did not experience much respite. The subsequent German occupation, though also short, was just as difficult. The three-years between 1941 and 1944 saw Estonia become a Nazi-occupied battleground. In 1944, the Soviets retook the country and held on with a firm grip for forty-seven years. (Vesilind 2008, 70-71)

During the Soviet occupation, singing remained a large part of the Soviet Estonian culture. The Soviet government was invested in promoting the strength of Estonian culture, publishing a series of booklets outlining the different pursuits taking place under Soviet rule. The series, entitled “Ten Aspects of Estonian Life,” contained pamphlets about social security, industry, literature, art, film, education, theater, science, agriculture and music. The music booklet outlines the vibrant musical life in Estonia, including a healthy singing culture, and a vibrant

community of composers, song festivals, and various other musical endeavors. (Normet 1966, 5-7) Interestingly, this is the same culture that aided Estonians in the eventual revolution over the Soviets. The Soviets allowed the Estonians to continue their tradition of holding a National Song Festival every five years. In fact, they highly encouraged the practice, although they replaced Estonian songs with “tributes to Stalin, Lenin, and the benefits of collective farms.” (Vesilind 2008, 84) However, this oppressive programming did not stop the Estonian people from expressing the love of their country and their desire to be independent. On multiple occasions, the crowd spontaneously sang Gustav Ernesaks’ adopted national anthem “*Mu isamaa on minu arm* [Land of My Fathers, Land That I Love],” much to the dismay of the Soviet officials. One of the more dramatic episodes occurred at the centennial celebration of the Song Festival in 1969 when Ernesaks was forbidden from conducting the song. As the program ended, the choir and crowd demanded the song, and would not abate, even when the orchestra began playing something else and it began to rain. Eventually, the crowd started singing the anthem spontaneously, and Ernesaks was finally allowed to go up to the podium to conduct the song. (Vesilind 2008, 103-104) This subversive spirit, bound up in the singing culture that has pervaded throughout Estonian history, was instrumental in the eventual revolution over the Soviets. Colloquially called “The Singing Revolution,” this movement, culminating late 1980s and early 1990s, combined social protest with song, song festivals, and massive demonstrations that included thousands of Estonians singing songs that, to them, represented freedom. It was during this time, in particular the Summer of Song in 1988, that the Song Festival grounds became a gathering place for people to vent their frustrations and join together to sing for freedom. (Vesilind 2008, 124-125)

Even though secular singing remained an integral part of the Estonian life, the life of religious singing and religious culture was not as vibrant. Religion was suppressed, as it had been during the brief Soviet occupation in the early 1940s. As a result, religious music and singing suffered. Anatol Lieven writes the following about the state of the religion in the Baltic States soon after the end of World War II: “By 1948, only one bishop was left in Lithuania, all the others having fled, been deported or murdered. Protestant bishops in Latvia and Estonia met a similar fate.” (Lieven 1993, 92) However, even as the Soviets continued to repress the Christian communities of Estonia, particularly during a religious revival in 1957, church membership in Estonia stayed strong in relation to other republics of the empire. (Pierson 1998, 47) Most worship, though, was driven underground, and only reemerged once Estonia became independent in 1991, with the Lutheran church leading the way. (Ringvee 2000) During this period, religious singing, although forced underground, did not die. It was kept alive through a variety of means, two of which will be explored below. By looking at the different ways that Estonians use these hymns and hymn tunes in different aspects of their lives, we can open a window into the importance of religious singing to this musical people.

Hymns in Unusual Places

As part of his work documenting the singing lives of the Baltic peoples, Dr. Guntis Smidchens recorded an impromptu birthday celebration song at a midsummer celebration in rural Estonia:

*Great god of singing, Vanemuine,
Lend me your kannel, this I pray to you!
Let waves from the great sea of life
Reach to the deepness of your soul;
My child, wake up, and open your eyes,
A new year has begun in your life.*

(Smidchens, Singing at Midsummer 2010, 9)

The text invokes the god of song, Vanemuine, borrowed from the Finnish folklore created by the authors of the great epic poem *Kalevipoeg*. (Raun 1987, 75) This epic poem, whose main character has ancient origins, but whose text was a creation of the National Awakening of the late nineteenth century, has deep meaning to the Estonian people and is regarded as a cultural relic. (Lieven 1993, 119) It begins “Vanemuine, lend me your lyre/A sweet song is stirring my senses/ and I long to unfold in song/ the legacy of ancient ages,” is well known to Estonians. (Kreutzwald 1982, 3) The birthday song also plays on a well-known choral composition by Villem Kapp, which invokes the opening lines of *Kalevipoeg*. (Kapp 1991, 3) While secular in nature, this song has two specific hymn-like elements. First, it invokes an Estonian god to bless the subject of the song. Second, it is sung to the tune of a popular Lutheran hymn. Bortnyansky originally composed the tune as a patriotic Russian song, and over the course of several decades it was refashioned for several different nationalities, eventually becoming a hymn tune identified by the name “St. Petersburg.” (Engelhardt 2009, 19) The tune appears in Johann L. Punschel’s seminal collection of hymns from the Baltic region and appears five times in the current edition of the hymnal of the Evangelical Estonian Lutheran Church [*Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik Kirik* or *EELK*]. (Kirik 1991, 307)

Is it simply coincidence that a text with a nationalistic connection is sung to the tune of a relatively popular hymn? There is no clear connection between the hymn and the birthday song besides the tune, although some of the texts set to the tune have a vaguely similar idea. While the connection is not clear, there is a pattern in other oppressed societies of people appropriating hymns for other uses in order to covertly practice their religion. In the Catalonian resistance to Spanish rule, and in the Polish resistance to Russian rule, there are documented cases of groups

of people using hymn tunes as a way to circumvent intolerance of religious activity. In both cases, the ideas behind religious songs were secularized into children's songs and became symbols of religious resistance. (Johnston 1989, 504) In his article about this type of resistance, Hank Johnston writes, "such activities comprise the 'small arms fire' of resistance and opposition. Even though we are dealing here with children and their jokes are perhaps but water pistols in the larger battle, they still suggest the illegitimacy of the state at a very basic level." (Johnston 1989, 504) In using these songs in play and during the school day, children, and the adults they associate with, slowly chip away at the rule of the oppressor in a seemingly benign way. Such was the case with Estonia's own Singing Revolution, where years of singing and culture, not force or violence, led Estonia to its independence from the USSR. (Vesilind 2008, 18)

Another important element of the Singing Revolution is reflected in this song: the power of singing as a unit. When people sing together as a group, particularly people with a common background, they are drawing on a common set of experiences and creating a community around what they are singing. As John L. Bell writes in his book about congregational singing,

We cannot all speak together, but we can all sing together...for music provides us with a regular pulse or beat, ensuring that we keep in time with each other. And even should we get a note wrong or mispronounce a word, we will soon rejoin the chorus of other people's voices. And because of this facility which singing offers, songs have for long been the means whereby people created or celebrated their identity. (Bell 2000, 17)

While it is unlikely that this group of singers was consciously invoking a hymn as they sang the Vanemuine Birthday Song, they were expressing a common sentiment—wishing well the person whom they were celebrating. And while even those who originated the song may not have had covert religious practice in mind, the pairing of a culturally nationalistic text with a hymn

suggests that the hymn had permeated the culture in an important way. It may have been hearkening back to a time they remembered using the song in worship, or it may have been an explicit stand-in for worship. Whatever the meaning, that the hymn was used in a culturally non-religious way suggests that it had made its way into the consciousness of the culture.

Such is also the case with spiritual folksongs collected and set by the Estonian composer Cyrillus Kreek. While these hymns were explicitly used in worship, they stand together with the Vanemuine Birthday Song in that they were adopted and changed by the people who sang them. In turn, Kreek took them on as his own and found a way to give them back to the Estonian people. This act, while simple and not recognized in his own time, was a way of taking these hymns, which had been made uniquely Estonian by the people who modified them, and codifying them into small gems of composed music that can live on forever as a monument to the Estonian people. Furthermore, the simple fact that they exist, that they survived many years of tumultuous religious upheaval and Soviet occupation, and were collected and cherished by Kreek during a time of little religious acceptance shows the consistent connection of some to the religion of the Estonian people, even in the face of opposition. Cyrillus Kreek and his spiritual folksongs will be discussed in detail in following chapters.

These two examples of how Estonians modify hymns for their own use in a folk context are not comprehensive. However, they do provide a few examples of the important role that hymns play in folk singing in Estonia. Hymns are used in non-religious and religious singing, and in a variety of contexts. Hymns have integrated into the home and into secular community celebrations. Hymns do not stay in the church in Estonia, but rather are a part of a vibrant and living folk tradition. They are available to be modified and altered as circumstances or necessity dictate. Additionally, hymns are free to be played with and improvised upon in a variety of contexts.

Although Estonia is not a deeply religious country, Lutheran hymns in particular have been enveloped by the culture and are used in a variety of ways in a variety of settings. As a result, these hymns and their elaborated versions, known as spiritual folksongs, are a touchstone of Estonian culture, a touchstone that was fully embraced by Cyrillus Kreek.

Chapter 2: Cyrillus Kreek

Cyrillus Kreek was an Estonian composer who showed his love of Estonia through what he chose to compose and how he showcased the materials he used. He was a champion of the Estonia folk song in the mold of the noted Baltic folklorist Johann Gottfried von Herder and following the model of the Hungarian collectors and composers Zoltán Kodaly and Béla Bartók. (Lippus, *Modernist Trends in Estonia Musicology in the 1970's-1980's and the Study of Folk Melodies* 2009, 78) Throughout his life, his dedication to the folk songs of Estonia, in particular the country's religious folk music, shaped his compositions, his employment, and his contribution to the landscape of Estonian choral music.

A Childhood Full of Music

Cyrillus Kreek was born on December 9th, 1889 as Karl Ustave Kreek. He was the ninth child born to Gustav Kreek and Maria Poots in the rural town of Ridala, a small town in Western Estonia. Gustav was raised by a single mother and his grandmother, and he was quite devoted to both of them. This devotion to family continued as he worked hard to make a living and support his wife and children. He eventually became the village teacher in Ridala, and instilled in his son a life-long love of this area of Estonia. (Järg 2003, 5)

Cyrillus Kreek began his musical education as a young boy at home with his father as his first teacher. As a schoolteacher, Gustav Kreek was also responsible for teaching singing in his local school, and he often had his children come and sing along with his students. At home, Gustav taught Cyrillus music fundamentals, and the family often spent time playing and singing both hymns and secular songs together. In 1896, Gustav began a 20-year tenure at the Fällarna Orthodox School on Vormsi Island, just off the coast of western Estonia. When Gustav began his

tenure on Vormsi Island, Estonia was undergoing a period of intense Russification, and thus the entire family was compelled to join the Russian Orthodox Church. As a part of this conversion, the Kreek family adopted russified names. Gustav became Konstantin, and Karl Ustav became Kirill, and he eventually adopted the name Cyrillus for his professional work. (Engelhardt 2009, 14)

When his father went off to teach on Vormsi Island, Kreek and the rest of his family stayed in Haapsalu where he and his brothers attended the parish school at St. Nicholas Church. It was here that Kreek began his formal music education, playing trombone in the school orchestra. Soon, he was immersed in making music all over town. He was allowed to practice the piano and the harmonium at the local temperance society and practiced the organ at local churches, in addition to participating in other local music societies. (Järg 2003, 7)

As he grew older, his talents as a trombonist and a musician became clear to his family and his local community. At the age of 16, his father bought him his own trombone. Gustav Kreek was known for being very rigid with his finances, thus it was a sign of both how dedicated and how talented Kreek was that his father invested in a trombone for him. As he continued to bloom as a trombonist, he also began more formal keyboard studies and played in local professional orchestras. The year he turned 18, Kreek taught the Haapsalu Town School's orchestra, and it was during this period that he attempted his first compositions. It was also at this age that his brother encouraged him to begin studies at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire—the premier conservatory for young musicians in Estonia at the time. (Järg 2003, 11-13)

A Young Composer and Collector

Kreek began his career at the Conservatoire in the fall of 1908 at the age of 18. He began his studies in trombone, music education theory, and harmony taught mostly by Russian teachers. His first formal composition was written during his first year at the conservatory, “*Vaike lillelaul* [Small Flower Song]”, written for men’s chorus. It was during this time that he met and befriended the noted Estonian composer and organist Peeter Süda (1883-1920). The two young composers overlapped at the conservatory for four years, the first four of Kreek’s and the last four of Süda’s, during which they became very close friends. When the two met, Kreek was specializing in trombone, and by the time Süda left the Conservatoire, Kreek was studying composition. The two often exchanged ideas, critiqued each other’s work, and provided support and feedback for each other. This exchange continued through letters after Süda left the Conservatoire in 1912. It was in this year that Kreek composed two songs that are exemplary of his style: “*Nõmmelill* [Heath Bell]” and “*Talvine õhtu* [Winter Evening]”. (Järg 2003, 13-15)

During his studies at the Conservatoire, Kreek was introduced to the study and collection of folksongs. At the time, the St. Petersburg Conservatoire was home to a group of students who were associated with the Estonian Students’ Society. Beginning in 1904, this group, along with the activist and folklorist Oskar Kallas, began collecting Estonian folksongs. (Järg 2003, 15) This effort was part of a larger undertaking all around Estonia rooted in a national movement of cultural definition, inseparably connected to the nation’s independence movement. Throughout the country, collectors were gathering folk songs, oral histories, folklore, and any other information they could get from the nation’s elders. (Vesilind 2008, 34). The students would travel into rural areas and notate songs sung as part of an oral folk tradition, passed down from generation to generation by the people of a particular community. This project was ongoing

when Kreek began his studies at the Conservatoire, and Kreek joined them for the first time in the summer of 1911, although he had shown interest in the folksong as early as 1909 when he notated several on his own. From 1911 until 1914, Kreek spent his summers with Kallas, his students, and others collecting folksongs in Western Estonia. Along with his partner Johannes Muda, Kreek was the first to record a folksong on the phonograph. It was during his last summer of collection, while working in Risti parish in southwestern Estonia, that Kreek recorded his first ten religious folksongs. (Järg 2003, 15)

In 1916, a combination of events led to Kreek suddenly ending his studies at the Conservatoire before he finished his course of study. His father passed away in November of that year, and the next month he was called up to serve in the Estonian Army as a part of the War of Independence against the Russians just prior to his final examinations at the Conservatoire. Even though he was discharged from the army in the spring of 1917, he was unable to return to the Conservatoire because of the unstable climate. As a result, he returned to Haapsalu and began his career as a music educator and conductor in the place where he began his musical education. (Järg 2003, 17)

A Dedicated Educator and Learner

Kreek taught for most of his adult life, working in various educational institutions for over forty years. He began his teaching career in his hometown in Haapsalu and then moved on to teach at Rakvere Teacher's Seminar and Virumaa High School in the northeastern part of Estonia. After working for one year in Tartu, the intellectual capitol of Estonia, he returned to Haapsalu. There, as in Rakvere, he taught both at the Läänemaa High School and at the Läänemaa Teacher's Seminar. At the Seminar, he had the important task of teaching other teachers to teach music. In

his teaching, he focused on the study of solfege, music history, piano, wind instruments, harmony, and he conducted a symphony orchestra. (Järg 2003, 19)

Both before and after World War II, from 1940 to 1941 and from 1944 to 1950, Kreek lectured at the Tallinn State Conservatory, where he was appointed a full professor in 1947. (Wolverton 2009, 12) After the war, when Estonia was under Soviet rule, the Conservatory did not escape the ideological reach of Stalin and his rule. Kreek was forced to resign in 1950 “because his work was pronounced unsatisfactory ideologically and politically by the Soviet authorities.” (Wolverton 2009, 12)

As he negotiated the politics and pressures of teaching in Estonia’s capitol, Kreek consistently attended to his teaching duties in Haapsalu. He was a dedicated teacher known for nurturing his students throughout his career, encouraging students to pursue careers in music, and inspiring life-long music enthusiasts and hobbyists. (Järg 2003, 37) While teaching in his hometown, Kreek also conducted the choirs of the town, taking charge of both the mixed choir and the men’s choir. Even though he was constantly composing choral music, the choirs rarely sang any of Kreek’s own compositions. In fact, Kreek’s compositions were not often sung in his lifetime, as a result of his political difficulties. This will be discussed in more detail at a later point. In accordance with Estonian tradition since the mid-nineteenth century, Haapsalu had its own song festival, in addition to the national song festival that took place in Tallinn every five years. Kreek, as the resident choral conductor of the town, was in charge of Haapsalu’s song festival. He also served as a judge in local choral singing competitions. (Wolverton 2009, 10)

While he worked as a teacher, he continued to compose and grow as a musician. According to his biography published by the Estonian Music Information Center, there is “no other Estonian

composer who managed to work full time at ordinary schools and be [an] active composer at the same time.” (Järg 2003, 37) Since the majority of his teaching was done far away from the cultural centers of Estonia, he had to make an effort to keep up with the new music being written, and he did so diligently. He copied by hand hundreds of pieces written by his contemporaries so he could have his own personal copies. There are 440 pieces in his archives that, while in his own hand, were composed by others. He was also a devotee of the radio, and learned many pieces by listening through the airwaves, as opposed to in the concert hall. (Järg 2003, 35) And while Kreek was certainly passionate about the new music being written in Estonia, and throughout Europe, he also had a vested interest in the folk music of Estonia.

A Local Musician with a National Vision

Throughout his career, Kreek collected folksongs in a variety of ways. He spent a great deal of time collecting songs in the field, in addition to making his own copies of tunes that his friends and colleagues had collected. He also regularly enlisted his students in a yearly summer project. As they spent the summer at home, they were charged with learning one song from a member of their family or another person in their community. Upon returning to school in the fall, the students would perform the songs they had learned. Kreek would notate the songs, make note of the place of origin, and add the song to his own collection. He also took his own students out into the field to collect songs, just as Oskar Kallas had done with him when he was a student. Additionally, as he travelled throughout his adulthood, Kreek took time to continue collecting folksongs, often taking hiking and song-collecting trips to Vormsi Island, Setumaa, Petseri and Ridala. (Järg 2003, 21)

During his first period in Haapsalu, from 1917 to 1920, Kreek began experimenting with the spiritual folksongs he encountered while studying at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire. Anu Kõlar, a lecturer and researcher at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theater, described the spiritual folksong as “a song that can be sung both in church and at home, either with family or alone.” (Kõlar 2004, 315) The texts to these folksongs were usually from the official hymnal of the Estonian Lutheran Church, or *Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik Kirik* (EELK), . While the tunes have their roots in the tunes of the EELK hymnal and other Lutheran hymnals from the region, they are greatly elaborated, sometimes to the point of being unrecognizable. During this four-year period, Kreek repeatedly set 18 different melodies for mixed choir. Some of the melodies were tunes that he collected while at the Conservatoire, and others were ones collected by his dear friend Peeter Süda. (Järg 2003, 17) There is some evidence from his correspondence with other composers and friends that he intended to gather these arrangements together into a uniquely Estonian hymnal. (Kõlar 2004, 319) These spiritual folksongs are discussed in detail in chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation.

He was not only a voracious collector, but also a meticulous recorder and archivist. Kreek’s father, Gustav, was very careful with the family’s finances, as he had to support his family on his small teacher’s salary. As a result, he kept careful, meticulous books, notating each bit of income and expenditure. This example made an impression on young Cyrillus, and he developed a similarly rigorous system for recording the tunes he collected. In his notes, with each song he included the place of origin and the person who performed and notated the song. In addition, on each of his own compositions, Kreek made note of the exact date and place where he finished the composition. In his archives, the file of just his spiritual folksongs includes 550 different melodies, all catalogued by parish. (Järg 2003, 7, 11) The Estonian Music Center’s biography

compares him to his father as follows: “Father Kreek had made a summary of ‘The Grammar of the Estonian Language’ by Eduard Aherns, the son wrote down for himself almost all of the most interesting contemporary Estonian music.” (Järg 2003, 11)

One of Kreek’s most important compositions, his “*Requiem*,” has the Estonian folksong at its heart. He began the composition in 1925, completed it two years later, and it was premiered in Tallinn in 1929. (Kreek, *Requiem* 2001, 2) Kreek wrote the *Requiem* in memory of his great friend and colleague Peeter Süda, in fulfillment of Süda’s lifelong dream to compose an Estonian version of the choral genre. (Järg 2003, 23) There are two important elements to this piece that make it uniquely Estonian. First, it is the only *Requiem* written in the Estonian language. He composed the piece using a translation of the text from Mozart’s *Requiem* from Latin into Estonian. While the published version contains a Latin singing translation, it is meant to be sung in Estonian, as Kreek set the text to reinforce the natural cadence of his native language. The Latin translation was added after the initial composition, as it was more acceptable for the piece to be heard in Soviet Estonia in Russian. (Kreek, *Requiem* 2001, 2) Second, Kreek included folk themes that tie the piece to the land. There are snippets of folk tunes used throughout the work, and Kreek made liberal use of “peasant” instruments such as the buckhorn and the herdsman’s horn in the orchestration. According to Kreek’s biographer, the use of lower registers symbolizes Estonians as people of the land, and invokes their spirit. (Järg 2003, 25) Kreek used this well-known and majestic genre to create a piece of music that spoke to and invoked the spirit of his beloved country. Overall, Kreek’s love of and devotion to Estonia, its language, and its people are reflected in the respect he showed for the folksong and in the music he chose to compose. While he was working as a local musician for most of his life, he thought about Estonian music on a nationalistic scale.

Because of his dedicated work as a local teacher and musician, Kreek's influence on Estonian choral music and his composition work were not fully recognized until after his death. As he was not working on a national stage, he did not make much of an impact. His work at the Conservatoire did not impress at least one of his teachers, who commented after exam "no talent, but diligent." (Järg 2003, 33) Furthermore, he was forced out of his position at the Tallinn Conservatoire because his work was not "professionally, ideologically, [or] politically" acceptable at an institution of higher learning. (Järg 2003, 27) In general, his work was not performed during the Soviet period, with the exception being his *Requiem*, which was performed eight times while he was alive, most likely because of its grand scale. Kreek himself commented: "My time has not come yet. It will come in 30-40 years." (Järg 2003, 29)

An Estonian Composer in a Soviet World

Life in Soviet Estonia was difficult for a wide variety of people. As detailed in Chapter 1, religious people were persecuted and religious leaders forced from their positions in violent and coercive means. Life for musicians was not quite as harsh, but there were ideological guidelines by which those involved in the arts had to abide. Even though the individual identity and culture of Estonia continued to exist, it was subject in many ways to the collectivization of Soviet rule, and Estonians were considered a small ethnic minority in a vast Soviet nation. Hundreds of thousands of Russians were appointed to move to Estonia in order to dilute the concentration of Estonians. In the wake of the devastating events of World War II, Estonia's cultural institutions were in shambles, and thus the Soviets were primed to shape them to their satisfaction. Artists had to toe a difficult line: Soviet authorities encouraged expressions of folklore by ethnic minorities, but anything that seemed the least bit nationalistic was forbidden. Additionally, they were encouraged, in the age of Stalin, to be "ideologically pure" and avoid "bourgeois

nationalism.” (Vesilind 2008, 78-81) Under Khrushchev in the late 1950s, these strict ideological ideas were relaxed somewhat, but not in time to spare Cyrillus Kreek. (Lieven 1993, 126)

In 1950, Kreek was accused of being a “bourgeois nationalist” and forced to resign his chair at the Tallinn Conservatory, where he taught from 1940 to 1941 and from 1944 until his resignation. While the reasoning behind this label is not spelled out exactly, it may have been related to his focus on folk music, as many folklorists were stamped with the same label and even temporarily jailed as a result. (Vissel 2004, 311) Additionally, his devotion to different types of religious choral music could have been a contributing factor. Prior to his forced resignation, Kreek had composed the “*Requiem*” (1927) and his seven “*Taavati Laulud* (Psalms of David)” (1914-1944). In addition, he had written many hundreds of spiritual folksongs and had begun writing his canonic arrangements of Lutheran chorales from Punschel’s hymnal. This type of composition was not in line with what the Soviet government expected from a professor in a place of prominence, and contributed to him being cast out from academia. Although he continued to compose religious music after leaving the Tallinn Conservatory, his music was not performed from the 1940s until the 1980s in order to protect those performing from also being branded as “bourgeois nationalists.” (Engelhardt 2009, 14)

Even though it was taboo to perform Kreek’s music in the public arena, he was mentioned sparingly in Soviet literature about Estonian music. The way he was mentioned sheds light on the position his work had gained him with the Soviet officials. In the pamphlet “Ten Aspects of Estonian Life: Music,” published in 1966 four years after his death, Kreek is mentioned alongside Mart Saar, another composer of his generation. Together, they are described as being the “[past-masters] of Estonian choral music.” The pamphlet describes their music as follows:

Their scores were not limited to the setting of simple folk songs. Far from it. They stood on the high level of the musical culture of their age and created their own idiom. Although their kinship with folkart can be felt in their choral poems, nevertheless their songs are all original compositions. Mart Saar's songs are mainly odes to the natural scenery of our northland, and Cyrillus Kreek's songs personify the people's humour and vitality. (Normet 1966, 10)

On the surface, this is high praise. However, it is telling that Kreek's fully original music is what is lauded here. His preservation of the Estonian folk song through composition was really his life's great work. Yet his original compositions are emphasized in order to give him some credit for the role he played in developing Estonian choral music without acknowledging his greater accomplishments. In the following paragraphs, his marginalization continues, as he is not mentioned among the influences for other Estonian composers, among them Veljo Tormis, who has named Kreek among his inspirations. (Normet 1966, 10) Throughout the pamphlet, he is mentioned several times as someone who had a passing influence on Estonian music, but not lauded for his significant contribution. (Normet 1966, 10, 19) In another Soviet-produced book, published in 1980, Kreek is mentioned in passing among graduates of the St. Petersburg Conservatoire and, once again, with Mart Saar as a choral composer. (Valt 1980, 328, 330) These resources, published and distributed in English during the period of Soviet occupation, were meant to be a window on Soviet Estonia for the western world. In them, we see that Cyrillus Kreek was separated from his greatest accomplishment, his contribution to the preservation of folk songs in Estonian culture, and relegated to being a marginal forefather of Estonian composition. This downgrading of Kreek's accomplishments and the stigma attached to performing his music left his compositions in a state of disuse and with a diminished status.

Fortunately, in the 1980s Kreek's music enjoyed a period of revitalization. The country was ripe for the reintroduction of Kreek's music into performance, as the firm grip of the Soviets over the

country was beginning to loosen. In the beginning of the decade, a few Lutheran church choirs began to sing Kreek's music in their services as part of a movement to regain the unique Estonian voice in religious practice. This coincided with an uptick in baptisms and general religious participation in the country. In 1987, the Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir performed a number of his spiritual folksong arrangements, which was followed by a published collection in 1989. That year, the centennial of Kreek's birth, included a full celebration of his life and his music. Currently, Kreek's music is sung in churches throughout Estonia, in song festivals and by numerous choirs, and the folk songs he preserved are a resource for improvisational musicians as well. (Engelhardt 2009, 14)

Kreek was undoubtedly a part of a generation of composers who shaped Estonian choral music. Along with his contemporaries Mart Saar and Heino Eiler, he shaped the music of Estonia as the country was beginning to shape its own culture and identity at the beginning of the twentieth century. (Järg 2003, 3) His focus on folksong was particularly inspirational to many young composers. Veljo Tormis, one of the most revered living Estonian composers, is famous for his use of folksong in his composition, from the ancient to the more modern. As mentioned above, he specifically cites Kreek as being influential on his decision to pursue compositions based on folksongs and *regilaul*. (Anderson 2000, 24) Like Kreek, Tormis first became involved with folk songs as a student at the Conservatoire, and his affinity for them grew when he saw how other composers were using them in their work. One of those composers was Cyrillus Kreek. (Anderson 2000, 24-25) In conversation with Martin Anderson, Tormis responded to a question about folk music in his childhood. He said, "It was mostly church music, not folk music, [my childhood] was not connected direction to folk music. I had my first connections with folk music through Estonian composers, not directly: Mart Saar, Cyrillus Kreek, etc., etc." (Anderson 2000,

24) While Cyrillus Kreek may not be a well-known name, and his positions may not have been high or influential, his body of work and his love of the folksong clearly showed his love for Estonia and inspired many other Estonian composers to express their love as well.

Features of Kreek's Choral Music

First and foremost, Cyrillus Kreek, as mentioned above, made liberal use of the folksong in his music. Whether he was writing original music or arranging folksongs he had collected, Kreek showed his love of the folksong through its prolific use. One form he was particularly interested in was the spiritual folksong. Kreek's output contains over 600 arrangements of these spiritual folksongs. Additionally, as discussed above, the folksong served as the basis for much of the material for his *Requiem*. This is in addition to dozens of other arrangements of folksongs that Kreek composed over the course of his lifetime. As a result of his devotion to the folksong, Kreek composed almost exclusively in the Estonian language. His devotion to his country and its culture is evident through his devotion to its language.

Kreek was a twentieth-century composer, but much of his education took place with nineteenth-century ideals. Thus, he never really experimented with some of the unique tonalities that were beginning to pervade Europe during his lifetime. Instead, his music remained strictly in the realm of the tonal. While he does use some interesting harmonies, most of them are used in a coloristic sense, to paint a particular text or a particular moment of a composition. Additionally, he was very focused on linear, homophonic writing, which may be a consequence of his focus on folksong arrangements. Most of his pieces have a clear melody-accompaniment relationship; there is not a great deal of complicated, polyphonic writing. (Lippus, Kreek, Cyrillus n.d.) When Kreek did use extended polyphony, it was often with the canon. He arranged a whole series of

hymn tunes from Punschel's hymnal to be sung as canons, often with two parts in canon, and the other parts providing harmonic support. (Engelhardt 2009, 13) While this more complicated writing does add to the complexity of these arrangements, it still manages to showcase the simple melodies by featuring it in more than one part. Overall, the simplicity of his style highlights the folksong melodies he loved and revered, and puts them foremost in the ear of the listener.

Along with his hundreds of spiritual folksong arrangements and his Requiem, Kreek has many other notable choral works. He has many non-religious folksong arrangements, among which are numbered "*Meie err* [Our Master]" (1918), "*Sirisege, sirbikesed* [Chirp, the Sickles]" (1919), "*Meil aiaääme tänavas* [On My Beloved Country Lane]" (1921) and "*Maga, Maga, Matsikene* [Sleep, Sleep, Little Mathias]" (1922). He is also very well known, particularly in the United States, for his Psalm settings. Titled "*Taaveti laulud*", literally David's Songs, these settings are not based on folksongs, but instead consist of entirely original material. The "*Taaveti laulud*" include settings of Psalms 84, 12, 104, 141, 121 and 137, in addition to a setting of "*Õnnis on inimene* [Happy is the man]", a poem that invokes the language and imagery of a psalm. These lush, full settings are among Kreek's most performed and recorded pieces. Kreek also tried his hand at several newly-composed secular pieces, mostly in the early part of his career before he left the St. Petersburg Conservatoire.

Later in his career, in 1953, he composed a cantata for solo violin, mixed choir and orchestra. This composition was not based on folksongs, but it took for its text portions of the Estonian epic poem *Kalevipoeg*. As mentioned previously, the poem, while not actually the historical relic it claimed to be, played an important role in the formation of an Estonian identity, much like the folksongs to which Kreek was so devoted. Overall, as evidenced by his devotion to Estonian

themes, Estonian folksongs and the Estonian language, Kreek was a champion of Estonia and its culture through his choral music.

Chapter 3: The Spiritual Folksong

What is a Spiritual Folksong?

As one of the favored genres for Kreek's source material, the spiritual folksong was the basis for hundreds of his arrangements, including over 400 for women's voices alone. Anu Kõlar defines the spiritual folksong as "a song that can be sung both in church and at home, either with family or alone." (Kõlar 2004, 315) The lyrics of these songs are, for the most part, the standard Estonian language lyrics from the Estonian Lutheran hymnal, and the tunes find their core in traditional Lutheran hymns. A minority of the tunes are Swedish in origin, and their lyrics can be found in the *Svenka Psalmboken*, the hymnal of the Church of Sweden, also a Lutheran denomination. Most of the root hymn tunes can be found in Punschel's 1892 hymnal that recorded Lutheran hymns sung in the Baltic region. What separates the spiritual folksong from a regular Lutheran hymn tune is the elaboration in the melodic line. These tunes capture the intersection of Estonian folk song and Estonian religion, two forces critical to the definition of an Estonian culture. Kreek's great service was to find a unique yet simple way to preserve these tunes for Estonians and others to study, perform, and enjoy outside of the small communities where they were created.

Cyrillus Kreek and Spiritual Folksongs

Beginning in 1904, a group of composers and ethnomusicologists led by Oskar Kallas spent their summers in the Estonian countryside collecting folksongs. As a young student at the Conservatoire in St. Petersburg, Cyrillus Kreek joined this group as a part of the expedition. These trips ignited Kreek's love for the folksong and for folksong collection. While working with Kallas in 1914, the professor introduced Kreek to the spiritual folksong. This particular

genre of folksong quickly became a favorite source material for Kreek in his own collection and composition. They were particularly well suited to him as they appealed to two distinct passions of his: folk singing and spirituality.

After his first exposure to the spiritual folksong, Kreek continued to collect these elaborated hymns throughout his life, eventually collecting over 60 versions from small parishes in different parts of Estonia. (Humal 2003, 7) As he collected them, Kreek added them to his catalogue of folksongs that he kept meticulously. This system held the raw data for hundreds of arrangements of his carefully cataloged spiritual folksongs. (Humal 2003, 7) As he arranged the spiritual folksongs, he was sure to notate the arrangements with information he felt was important to keep with the folksong. Each arrangement is notated with the following: the person it was collected from, that person's birthdate and place of residence, the date of the composition, the meter—or number of syllables per phrase—of the hymn, and the number of verses in the hymn. (Kõlar 2004, 318) Kreek organized his own collection of folksongs by the meter and number of verses. This meticulous system shows his dedication to the origin of the song and to making it simple for himself and others to access information about them.

Kreek also included with each arrangement a reference to the hymn tune of origin, using Johann L. Punschel's hymnal as a point of reference. This hymnal is a collection of hymns sung in the Baltic region during the nineteenth century. Kreek uses it as his touchstone for his own unique Estonian versions; the majority of his arrangements contain the number of the standard version of the hymn from Punschel's hymnal as a point of reference. As some of the versions are quite different from their original tunes, and are published with Estonian titles and texts, this provides a reference for the singer, researcher, or other interested party to compare the spiritual folksong with a more standard version of the hymn.

There is some evidence that Kreek may have been interested in creating his own uniquely Estonian hymnal. Over the course of his life, Kreek's great interest was in gathering traditional music, using his own unique compositional style to give it a contemporary voice, and returning that traditional music back to the people of Estonia. He referenced this process in a 1911 letter: "What has been elaborated, goes back to the people again!" (Kõlar 2004, 318) Beyond this interest in returning music to the people, a frequent correspondent of Kreek's believed that he was creating a chorale book that included only hymns he had collected from the people of his country. This hymnal would have been uniquely Estonian, with hymns and texts collected from the people, and returned to them in a consolidated form—exactly Kreek's vision for his work. Other than the thoughts of Kreek's correspondent, the most compelling evidence that Kreek intended to collect these settings into a hymnal comes in the sheer number of times he set certain tunes. Some tunes were set just once, but many were set two or three times, and often he would set multiple different versions of the same hymn. For example he wrote 19 versions of "*Ma tulen täevast ülevalt*," 18 different versions of "*Oh Jesus, Sinu valu*," and 25 different versions of "*Nüüd surnu keha matame*." It is very possible that Kreek kept setting these different hymns multiple times in search of the perfect settings for a hymnal. Such a book would have been a new way of approaching hymnody. Anu Kõlar writes, "If Kreek's hymnal had become a reality in the 1930's it would have been nothing less than a national reform of Evangelical Church Music." (Kõlar 2004, 320)

While the extent of Kreek's involvement in such a project is not known precisely, the time was not right for such a hymnal during his lifetime. Such a hymnal is not likely to have been accepted by the leaders of the Evangelical Estonian Lutheran Church, the institution where the hymns and the hymnal would have been the most use. It was in the 1930s that Kreek did the bulk of his

work with the spiritual folksongs. However, during this same period the leaders of the EELK were quite conservative. They were looking for hymns with simple, standard melodies and consistent rhythms. Kreek's collected spiritual folksong melodies are far from simple, standard, and consistent. They tend to have elaborate, if predictable, ornamentations and often have irregular and changing meters throughout the arrangements. While they are well suited to showcasing a folk tradition, they would not have been useful for regular congregational use, and may be why Kreek's spiritual folksongs were not made into a hymnal in the 1930s. (Kõlar 2004, 320)

While the EELK may have had control while Estonia was an independent country, in post-World War II Estonia, the Soviets were in charge. During this time, Kreek's music was not well known or a part of the Estonian choral music mainstream for reasons detailed in chapter 2. Kreek's music did not fit the mold of what the conservatories under Soviet rule wanted to propagate, and thus he was relegated to teaching in a rural secondary school. Additionally, sacred music was frowned upon during the Soviet rule, particularly sacred music that was outside of what was deemed appropriate by Soviet officials. For example, because of its grand scale, compositions like Kreek's *Requiem* were considered more acceptable religious music in this period, but his small-scale spiritual folksong arrangements were not. (Kõlar 2004, 320) Thus, in the first part of Kreek's career, the EELK would have been unreceptive to a new, folk-music-based hymnal, and in the second part of his career those in charge were not prone to accept any religious music. As a result, while Kreek's spiritual folksong arrangements were published beginning in 1989, they were never collected together into a hymnal for the Estonian people, as Kreek may have liked.

Two Spiritual Folksongs and Two Hypotheses

As previously mentioned, a spiritual folksong is an elaborated version of a Lutheran hymn. The songs were recorded using the standard texts from the EELK Hymnal or Svenska Songbook, but had elaborated tunes that were sung by rural Estonian people in their local communities for worship and at home. No one knows exactly how spiritual folksongs came to be, but there are two dominant hypotheses about their conception. The first is that people have used elaboration to embellish the standard tunes and create different versions, perhaps with regional or localized fingerprints.* When musicians in the field notated these folksongs, they caught a changing tradition at one moment in time. It would be as if the researchers had walked into a home and taken a picture of a family; that picture would only show what that family was doing at that very moment. The same could be true of these folksongs: perhaps the singers were simply improvising on the spot, as this was a common practice. When the musicians heard and recorded these songs, they may have just been catching a snapshot of a changing and fluid tradition. In writing them down, the collectors codified this tradition and became the most accessible written source of these melodies, thus freezing them in time. Urve Lippus points out that these tunes are not as complicated as they might seem at first glance, as they use the same types of embellishments repeatedly. Thus, the singers may just be adding embellishments for interest—to keep the tunes fresh and interesting as they sing them over and over again. (Lippus, *The Estonian Tradition of Folk Hymn Singing* 2006, 55)

The second theory suggests that the tunes were varied to mimic the formal and harmonic changes notated and performed in the standard versions of the hymns. The small congregations where

* In this document, “elaboration” is used to describe any variation from the original tune as printed in the Punschel hymnal. This includes, but is not limited to, rhythmic differences, passing tones, neighboring tones, intervals filled in with scalar motion, and different melodic contours.

these tunes were recorded were located in rural places where the congregation members were unable to recreate some of the complicated harmonies that may have been performed on an organ or by a choir in a larger or more urban community. Untrained musicians and singers may have been able to hear the interesting facets of certain hymns, but may not have been able to reproduce the four-part harmony that created the harmonic complexity. Congregations may well have added their own elaborations to the hymn tunes in order to add the same kind of interest that secondary dominance or deceptive cadences do in fully harmonized hymns. (Lippus, *The Estonian Tradition of Folk Hymn Singing* 2006, 52) Putting two spiritual-folksong tunes side by side and investigating their elaborations can test these two hypotheses.

“*Nüüd Paistab Meile Kaunisti*” is an elaboration of the Lutheran hymn “*Die schön leuchtete der Morgenstern*,” number 342a from Punschel’s hymnal, and the tune is prominently featured in multiple cantatas by Bach, including BWV 1, a chorale cantata based on this chorale tune. Kreek has eight arrangements of this tune for women’s voices, but only three from the region of Lääne-Nigula in the northwestern region of Estonia, near Kreek’s hometown of Haapsalu. These three will be referred to here as Kreek 158, 159, and 160, the numbers they are given in the 1990 publication. (Kreek, *Eesti vaimulikud rahvaviisid: naiskoorile* 1990, 38-43) While it is published in Punschel’s hymnal in E Major, all of the spiritual-folksong versions are in G major. This hymn is in bar form, or an AAB, where A is referred to as the *Stollen* and B as the *Abgesang*, and where the second *Stollen* is an exact repeat of the first (see Figure 1). The version in Punschel’s hymnal is fairly straightforward, but there are some interesting harmonic twists that occur in specific places in the hymn. In the Punschel version, the *Stollen* (mm. 1 to 6) changes keys in the second phrase from E Major to B Major. By the end of the *Stollen* (m. 5), it has returned to E Major. This is something that is not reflected at all in the melody intrinsically, but is expressed

with an added leading tone in the harmonic accompanying parts. Additionally, in the last phrase of the *Abgesang* (m. 13 to end), there is significantly more movement in the internal parts with added eighth notes, and even a lowered D in the tenor part. Similarly, this is not reflected in the simple melody, which moves down a simple, diatonic scale, from tonic to tonic.

Figure 1: Harmonic Analysis of No. 342a from Punschel’s Hymnal in E Major

Harmonic analysis of No. 342a from Punschel’s Hymnal in E Major:

System 1 (Measures 1-5): I V⁶ I vi V⁶ ii⁶/V V/V I/V I/V V/V I/V IV⁶/VI⁶/V ii⁶/VV/V I/V I IV I vii⁶ I⁶

System 2 (Measures 6-10): ii⁶ V⁷ I V V⁶ I V⁶ V I V⁶ I V² I⁶ V⁶ I V I

System 3 (Measures 11-13): IV⁶ V ii⁶ V V⁷ I vi iii IV I ii vi ii⁶ V V⁷ I

“*Oh Laulgem Südamest*” is the Estonian version of a well-known Christmas hymn “*In Dulci Jubilo*.” Kreek has five arrangements of this tune. Here we will consider two, one from Lääne-Nigula, and one from Kihnu, a small island in the Baltic Sea off the southwestern coast of Estonia. They will be referred to as Kreek 117 and 118, respectively, again referencing the numbers in the 1990 edition. (Kreek, *Eesti vaimulikud rahvaviisid: naiskoorile 1990*, 28-32) The

corresponding hymn in Punschel's hymnal is number 220 (See Figure 2). Organized into phrases of 2 measures, each one ending with a dotted-half note with a fermata, the hymn has an aa'bcbedd form. With its short phrases, and simple, stepwise movement, this hymn tune provides little intrinsic interest. However, the harmonization in Punschel's hymnal has some interesting harmonic moments. The first occurs in measure 12, where the phrase cadences on a B Major chord, the third scale degree of this G Major hymn tune, and a very unusual cadence point in a standard hymn harmonization. In the very next phrase (mm. 13 to 14), there is another interesting and uncommon cadence. While not quite as shocking as a cadence on the III chord, the next phrase cadences on a vi chord—not unheard of, but instead of a deceptive cadence, this cadence tonicizes the vi chord in the previous measure. This harmonization contains a few harmonic oddities that make the simple melody more interesting.

Figure 2: Harmonic Analysis of No. 220 from Punschel's Hymnal in G Major

The image displays a musical score for No. 220 from Punschel's Hymnal in G Major, featuring harmonic analysis. The score is presented in three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. Roman numerals are placed below the bass staff to indicate the chords used in each measure. Section markers 'a', 'a'', 'b', 'c', and 'd' are placed above the treble staff to denote different parts of the piece. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C).

System 1 (Measures 1-6):

- Measure 1: I
- Measure 2: IV vii⁶ I IV⁶
- Measure 3: I I⁶ vi V I IV⁶ V
- Measure 4: I I⁶ IV V IV⁶ V⁵ I V⁷ I vi

System 2 (Measures 7-11):

- Measure 7: V⁷/V V⁷ vi V⁷ I
- Measure 8: I I⁶ IV I IV⁶ V⁵ I V⁷ I vi V⁷/V V⁷ vi ii⁶

System 3 (Measures 12-15):

- Measure 12: III
- Measure 13: IV ii V/vi
- Measure 14: vi
- Measure 15: IV ii I⁶ V⁷ I

When compared to the melodies of Punschel's hymnal, it is easy to see the different types of elaborations that exist in these two sets of spiritual folksongs. All of these versions stick to their original tunes fairly closely using elaboration to create different versions (See Figures 3 and 4). For example, much of the elaboration consists of neighbor tones and filled in intervals. There is also the prevalent use of the triplet, particularly in the melodies of 159 and 160. The versions use a variety of rhythmic patterns in their elaborations; there is a mix of triplets, dotted eighth-sixteenth note patterns, and straight eighth notes. There are even some sixteenth-note triplets, which are particularly prevalent in the version from Kihnu. It bears mentioning that collectors wrote down all of these different versions after they were heard either live or from a recording; they did not exist in written form before then. Thus, all of the notations, particularly the rhythmic

ones, are up to the discretion of the notator. While they did their best to accurately notate what they heard, there may have been honest disagreements between notators.

With the case studies of these two sets of versions, and the original Punschel settings, the two theories about the origins of the spiritual folksongs can be investigated. The first theory, that regions and individual communities may have particular ways they sing, leading to a local type of elaboration, can be investigated using the tunes from Lääne-Nigula. There are certainly some similarities within the tunes from the same region. In the three versions of “*Nüüd Paistab Meile Kaunisti*” from Lääne-Nigula, this is exceptionally clear. In particular, numbers 159 and 160 share very similar types of elaboration. Both have a many triplets and dotted-eighth/sixteenth note patterns throughout. Additionally, both share a unique and interesting attribute: the second *Stollen* is different from the first (mm. 7 to 12). In a traditional bar form, the first and second *Stollen* are identical, as shown in the version in Punschel’s hymnal. However, both of these versions differ in the second *Stollen*, adding a new level of elaboration and interest to the hymn.

Figure 3: Melody comparison of different versions of “Nüüd Paistab Meile Kaunisti” with Punschel’s 342a (Punschel No. 324a has been transposed from E Major to G Major)

The image displays a musical score for the hymn "Nüüd Paistab Meile Kaunisti". It consists of four staves, each representing a different version of the melody. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The first staff is labeled "Punschel 342a" and includes a boxed letter 'A' above the first measure. The second staff is labeled "Kreek 158". The third staff is labeled "Kreek 159" and features several triplet markings (indicated by a '3' over a group of notes). The fourth staff is labeled "Kreek 160" and also includes triplet markings. The score is divided into three systems, with measure numbers 7 and 14 indicated at the beginning of the second and third systems, respectively. A boxed letter 'B' is placed above the final measure of the second system.

Additionally, numbers 158 and 159 have entire measures of identical material. Measure two of both versions is identical, and measures 13 and 14 are melodically identical, with only metrical differences. Thus far, these versions carry similar attributes, which could be due to their region. What would happen if two different hymns from the same region were compared?

Figure 4: Melody comparison of different versions of “Oh Laulgem Sūdamest” with Punschel’s 220

The musical score consists of three systems, each with three staves. The first system (measures 1-6) compares Punschel No. 220 (top staff), Kreek 117 (middle staff), and Kreek 118 (bottom staff). The second system (measures 7-11) continues the comparison. The third system (measures 12-15) shows a variation with a 'd' label above the first staff. The music is in G major and 3/4 time, featuring dotted-eighth/sixteenth note patterns and triplets.

The tune “*Oh Laulgem Sūdamest*” from Lääne-Nigula (117) shares some similar attributes to the other tunes from the same region. Both have a great deal of dotted-eighth/sixteenth note patterns and lots of skips by thirds, creating upper and lower neighbors, which carries with it a very distinct sound. While there is some general similarity to the tune from Kihnu (118), there is more affinity in elaboration types between the tunes from Lääne-Nigula. While this is not definitive

proof of the first hypothesis, it is certainly understandable that versions from the same region of the country would be similar, as communities would have a tendency to elaborate in a similar manner. This hypothesis becomes even more probable when one understands the structure of the rural Estonian village. For centuries, Estonian villages “formed...definite economic and social unit[s] which governed vast, common lands.” (Paulson 1971, 132) Each village had been built around common land that held the animals of those who lived there and, although the farmers worked their own individual land, they often shared a collective farm house with facilities for processing and storing what they had grown. (Paulson 1971, 132) This resulted in a close-knit structure in individual villages that would have encouraged the kind of regionalized and even localized differences in elaboration and singing observed in the tunes examined above.

A second theory about the genesis of these versions is that the elaborations on the tune were created to mimic the interesting harmonic features of the chorales. Even though the people in most of these rural locations would not have the capacity to sing in four parts from a hymnal or an organist to play along with the congregation, it is certainly plausible that individuals or communities heard the harmonized versions of the hymns. When they sang them in their own congregations, they would have elaborated on the tunes in order to create some of the interest and complexity that the harmonizations provided. Not only would they use the elaborations to create interest, but to specifically recreate the complexities that they heard or saw written in the harmonized versions in the Punschel hymnal.

The versions of “*Wie schön leuchtete der Morgenstern*” seem to support this second theory (See Figure 3). In the original Punschel 342a, as discussed above, there is a key change in the *Stollen*, creating significant harmonic interest. In all three versions, the tunes reflect this key change with a raised fourth scale degree (mm. 2 to 4 and mm. 8 to 10). Just as the Punschel hymn modulates

from E Major to B Major, the dominant key, these tunes have an implied modulation from G Major to its dominant key, D Major. Even in Kreek 159 and 160, where the second *Stollen* is different from the first, the key change is reflected in both *Stollen*. Additionally, all three versions reflect the increased activity in the internal parts that happens in the last phrase of the hymn (mm. 19 to 21). Kreek 159 and 160 in particular have a great deal of increased activity, really reflecting the drive to the final cadence in the standardized Punschel. These tunes clearly map to some of the specific details in the Punschel hymn.

By contrast, the versions of “*In dulci jubilo*” do not conform to this model (See Figure 4). As discussed above, Punschel 220 has some very interesting cadences, including one on the Major III chord in measure 12, and one on a vi chord in measure 14. These two places would be obvious places for some kind of interesting elaboration or reflection of an unusual cadence. However, the versions do not reflect these cadences; in fact, they appear to actively avoid it. In the analogous cadences in Kreek 117 and 118, the tune actually lands on a different note of the tonic triad. While the Punschel version ends on a B in measure 12, which is harmonized as the tonic note of a III chord, Kreek 118 ends on G, and Kreek 117 ends on a D (all three versions are in G Major). Similarly, where the Punschel has a cadence on a vi chord in measure 14 with a G in the melody, Kreek 117 and 118 both cadence on a D instead. It is clear that these versions do not elaborate on the Punschel in the same fashion as Kreek 158, 159, and 160. There is a different type of elaboration at work in Kreek 117 and 118.

In the previous versions of Punschel 342a investigated, the ending notes at each cadence were the same with one exception in measure 10 of Kreek 158. By contrast, the versions of Punschel 220 have multiple different notes at cadences. As discussed earlier, this hymn has a very simple and repetitive tune with regular, two-measure phrases, and a fairly straightforward harmonization.

Instead of creating differences by mimicking the harmonic movement below the melody, the versions create interest by changing the shape of the melody altogether. The two versions accomplish this in different ways, but both target the middle and ending sections of the tune: the bcbcd section (mm. 5 to 14). In Kreek 117, the contour of the tune is similar for the first bc (mm. 5 to 8) with some elaboration. However, in the second bc (mm. 9 to 12) the contour changes significantly and adds more melodic interest for the repeat. This contour change continues into the next phrase (m. 13 to 14), which ends on a D instead of a G, as in the standardized version. In Kreek 118, the contour changes immediately, with the third phrase of the hymn ending on an A instead of a G (m. 4 to 6), and this elaboration continues through measure 8. Then, as opposed to different elaboration in measures 9 through 12, the previous four measures (mm. 4 to 8) are repeated exactly. This creates a more clear question/answer form to the two phrases, making it seem more like a four-measure phrase than two two-measure phrases. As in Kreek 117, the contour changes continue in the next phrase (m. 13 to 14), where the tune ends on a D instead of a G.

It is no coincidence that these versions change the contour of their tunes in a section of the hymn tune that contains both of the interesting cadences. These versions add interest in a different manner than Kreek 158, 159, and 160: they elaborate by changing the contour of the tune altogether. Instead of adding altered notes, more notes, or more interesting rhythms, they changed the general contour of the line to mimic harmonic oddities, and in turn, created a much more interesting tune. The tunes of Kreek 117 and 118 have more shape to the line, more complicated phrase structure, and more interest than the original, very straightforward tune. These different versions have mimicked harmonic complexity by creating melodic complexity where there was none. Thus, in both case studies, there is evidence that the standard versions of

the hymns, as printed in Punschel's hymnal, affected the elaborations of individual communities. Furthermore, the two theories discussed above are not mutually exclusive. There is strong evidence that both regional differences and the influence of the Punschel versions are at work in these spiritual folksongs.

Kreek's Interpretations

The Punschel settings may have also had influence on Kreek's settings of the different versions. In taking a close look at the cadences of Kreek and Punschel's versions, there emerges a close affinity between the two. In all three versions of "Nüüd Paistab Meile Kaunisti" that Kreek set, the quality of the cadences map quite closely to those in the Punschel's standardized setting of the hymn (see Figures 5, 6, and 7). For example, all three of Kreek's interpretations have authentic cadences in the dominant key at the first two fermatas (m. 2 and 4), with a third authentic cadence in the tonic key following (m. 6), making the cadences in the *Stollen* identical. The elaboration comes entirely in the *Abgesang*, where the qualities of the cadences do not change as much as the placement of the cadences. In Kreek 158 and 159, there are no fermatas in measures 13 and 14, but instead one at the end of measure 16, which in Punschel 342a is in the middle of a phrase. However, where the cadences do match up, they are of the same quality.

Figure 5. Kreek 158 with Cadential Analysis

The musical score for Kreek 158 is presented in four systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes cadential analysis markers: a box labeled 'A' at the beginning and end of the first system (measures 1-6), and a box labeled 'B' at the end of the second system (measures 7-13). Chord symbols are placed below the bass staff: G, D, I, I G, and F in the first system; D, I, I G, and I in the second system; vi and I in the third system (measures 14-18); and no symbols in the fourth system (measures 19-22). The notation includes various rhythmic values and rests.

Figure 6: Kreek 159 with Cadential Analysis

The musical score for Kreek 159 is presented in three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C).
- **System 1 (Measures 1-6):** Marked with a box 'A'. The bass staff contains chord symbols: G, D, I, F G, F.
- **System 2 (Measures 7-13):** Marked with a box 'B'. The bass staff contains chord symbols: D, I, F G, F.
- **System 3 (Measures 14-19):** The bass staff contains chord symbols: F, IV, F.
The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and fermatas.

Figure 7: Kreek 160 with Cadential Analysis

The musical score for Kreek 160 is presented in three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (measures 1-7) contains two boxed sections labeled 'A' and 'A'' in the melody. The second system (measures 8-13) contains a boxed section labeled 'B'. The third system (measures 14-18) continues the melody. Chord symbols are placed below the bass staff: G, D, I, I, I, G, I, D, I, iv, G, I, I.

“*Oh Laulgem Südamest*” provides a contrasting example (see Figures 8 and 9). In Kreek 117 and 118, many of the cadences have different qualities than the Punschel setting, often because the tune ends the phrase on a different pitch than the standard melody, as discussed above. However, there are still indications that Punschel’s cadences may have had an effect on Kreek. For example, Kreek uses a minor iii cadence in both versions at the ends of different phrases (m. 12

in 117 and m. 4 in 118). While this is not quite as unusual as the Major III cadence in Punschel's harmonization, it is still a cadence that is not often used in standard hymn settings. Due to the rarity of a cadence on the third scale degree, it is not likely a coincidence that these it is found in both of Kreek's settings and in Punschel's hymn. Because Kreek references Punschel's hymnal in his cataloguing, we know that Kreek was familiar with the hymnal and presumably the harmonizations as well. Punschel's version certainly influenced way that Kreek set the spiritual folksong.

Figure 8: Kreek 117 with Cadential Analysis

The musical score for Kreek 117 is presented in three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes cadential analysis labels (a, b, c, d) and chord symbols (G, F, V, vi, F, IV, iii, I) placed below the bass staff.

System 1 (Measures 1-7):

- Measure 1: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: G.
- Measure 2: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: F.
- Measure 3: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: V.
- Measure 4: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: vi.
- Measure 5: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter.
- Measure 6: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter.
- Measure 7: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter.

System 2 (Measures 8-12):

- Measure 8: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: F.
- Measure 9: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: IV.
- Measure 10: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: iii.
- Measure 11: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter.
- Measure 12: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter.

System 3 (Measures 13-15):

- Measure 13: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: iii.
- Measure 14: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: I.
- Measure 15: Treble clef, G4 quarter, A4 quarter, B4 quarter, G4 quarter. Bass clef, G2 quarter, G2 quarter, G2 quarter. Chord symbol: I.

Figure 9: Kreek 118 with Cadential Analysis

The musical score for Kreek 118 is presented in three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, triplets, and fermatas. Cadential points are marked with letters in boxes: 'a' and 'a'' in the first system, 'b' and 'c' in the second system, and 'd' in the third system. Chord symbols are provided below the bass staff: G, V, iii, ii° in the first system; vi, V, IV in the second system; and V, F in the third system. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the third system.

In general, Kreek's settings are written in a fairly standard manner. They follow the general rules of tonal harmony, and use standard tonicizations and harmonizations. However, the settings do reflect an exposure to a more advanced tonal landscape than those of Punschel. There are added extensions to standard chords, and some interesting dissonances that would not be found in a

standard hymnal. For example, the downbeat of the last measure of Kreek 118 has a tonic chord in first inversion. Instead of ending there, however, Kreek extends the lines of the middle and lower parts. The lower part steps down a third from the median to the tonic, while the middle part steps up a third from the dominant to the leading tone, creating a quite dissonant final chord. While few and far between, these moments add a twentieth-century feeling to these settings of old spiritual folksongs and even older hymns.

There are many other things about Kreek's settings that make them standard in the world of hymnody. All of the settings for women are in three parts (SSA), while the settings for mixed choir are arranged in the standard SATB fashion. They are all a standard length, and are published in the same way that hymns would be published—with just two staves of music, with the text written once in the middle. In the editions published by Kirjastus Muusika, there is one verse in Estonian and the same verse again in German below it. (Kreek, *Eesti vaimulikud rahvaviisid: naiskoorile* 1990) For all intents and purposes, these settings could easily be put into a larger, single collection containing the best of each hymn, but they would not be practical for regular use by a congregation. The rhythms are too complicated, and the harmonies just outside the milieu of a singing body of churchgoers. Today in Estonia, church choirs sing these settings as anthems that would be recognizable to the congregations as elaborations on their own Lutheran hymns. However, the scope of their performability is limited. While lovely, they are short and without a great deal of complexity. They would work extremely nicely paired with certain hymns, chorale settings, or other pieces where standard hymn tunes are used as a *cantus firmus*. For example, one or two versions of "*Nüüd Paistab Meile Kaunisti*" paired with a Bach chorale cantata that uses the same tune, or with one of the choruses excerpted, would work very

well in a choral program. Nevertheless, an entire program, or even a large section of a program, containing Kreek's spiritual folksongs would be impractical.

The elaborations also present interesting performance issues. They are relatively simple, with spiritual folksong melodies highlighted and the other parts serving purely as accompaniment. However, the tunes often have complicated rhythms, which would certainly affect the tempos at which they could be performed. And, in contrast to a standard hymn, they would be hard to perform with a large, cumbersome group, and would be more easily performed with by a smaller, flexible group of singers. The elaborations could also have an effect on the character of the hymn setting, much like different variations on a theme have different characters. Some may be more appropriate for somber performances, others for more celebratory occasions. Exploring this aspect of the tunes and Kreek's settings would be an interesting area for further study.

No matter the intentions for their performance, it is clear that Kreek had a great affection for these tunes and for setting them. The sheer number of them alone, along with the care he took with various forms of documentation surrounding them, indicates that this endeavor was one for which he truly cared. Interestingly enough, little is known about Kreek's own religious life and practice, aside from the fact that he converted to Russian Orthodoxy as a child. He was an intensely private man and left behind no writings or other documents that would shed light on this issue. It is hard to refute, however, that he had a great affinity for these spiritual folksongs, no matter his own personal religious practice. Furthermore, this labor of love preserved these tunes in a manner that they are now a part of Estonian culture in an interesting way. Before their collection and setting, these tunes were spread out in different parts of the country, in rural areas, separated from each other and being cultivated by individuals, families, and communities. Now, due to Kreek's collection, recording, and composition, they are a full-fledged part of culture

through performance and study. True, had they stayed in their individual communities, they would have served a local purpose. But here, collected as they are and preserved in these simple, lovely settings, they are available nationwide to any Estonian no matter of region, village, or creed. They are truly a part of a national culture in a way that they would not have been, but for Kreek's work.

Although these pieces are performed as part of the Estonian choral repertoire, they are perhaps suited for a greater and more important purpose. As discussed above, their performance potential is limited. However, they catalogue a part of Estonian religious culture that was hidden under the surface, suppressed by years of Soviet rule and marginalization when practicing one's religion was a serious offense. These people and their culture are the other "Forgotten People" of Estonia. The composer Veljo Tormis, a musical descendent of Kreek, has contributed significantly to the preservation of certain lost Estonian tribes in composing his "Forgotten People" series. Therein, in his signature style of miniature piece gathered into larger works, Tormis has set the ancient runic songs of different groups of people whose traditions and languages have long since passed away. With these spiritual folksongs, Kreek has done something very similar. He has preserved a religious culture, one that could have easily faded into obscurity in the era of Soviet Estonia, through his collection and crystallization of these spiritual folksong tunes. This culture, while far newer than the one that Tormis has worked to preserve, is just as much a part of the fabric of the Estonian diaspora. It reveals things to us about life in rural Estonia in unique ways. For example, in surveying just the titles of the tunes Kreek set, there are a large number of them that deal with dark subjects: death, pain, suffering, and burial. While there are some with joyful titles, the majority are cries for help, laments to God, and descriptions of dark episodes in the Christian diaspora. This could give great insight into the mindset and disposition of those singing these

songs and those collecting them. Why would such hymns be elaborated so frequently? Why would these be the songs people chose to sing for collectors? And why would collectors choose to transcribe such dark songs as a part of an effort to define the culture of Estonia? Why did Kreek choose to set so many dark and dreary hymns? All of these would be interesting areas for further study.

These spiritual folksongs are intrinsically interesting, and, in collecting and setting them, Kreek has preserved them for further generations to study and enjoy. This is truly the great work of his life. While his other compositions may be more performance-friendly, these spiritual folksong arrangements, along with this other folksong arrangements, show a great deal of love and care for the Estonian people, their religions, their culture, and their traditions. While marginalized in life, Kreek deserves to be recognized for the great work he did to preserve the aforementioned elements of Estonian life. We do not know much about his thinking or his personal life, but we do know that he had a specific purpose for his work. In conserving these tunes and making them modern in his way, Kreek has both saved part of a culture and that easily could have been forgotten. He has fulfilled his stated purpose: what has been collected and elaborated has “gone back to the people again!”

Chapter 4: Index Explanation

The index included herein was compiled using the book “Cyrillus Kreek: *Personaalnimestik*,” published by the Soviet Estonian Cultural Committee [*Eesti NSV Riiklik Kultuurikomitee*] and the Estonian National Library [*Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu*]. *Personaalnimestik* translates as a personal index, and functionally it is a list of all of Kreek’s compositions, categorized by genre and voicing. It includes information about the composition dates, the sources for melodies and texts, orchestrations and voicings, and reference numbers in Kreek’s personal collection. It also includes an extensive bibliography of articles and books published in both Estonian and Russian about the composer up until the time of publication. The book was a joint project between the Library and the Theater and Music Museum in Tallinn, which holds Kreek’s personal archive, and it was published in celebration of Kreek’s 100th birthday in 1989. With an introduction by the musicologist and music educator Tiia Jarg, this index is unparalleled in the volume of information it holds about Cyrillus Kreek and his compositions.

This introduction will serve to explain the various categories of information contained in the following index of Cyrillus Kreek’s spiritual folksongs. Each individual arrangement has been assigned a number for this index based on the order it appeared in the *Personaalnimestik*. In the publication, the pieces are presented in chronological order within each genre category, thus the numbers in this index are also chronological as only one specific genre is examined. Some publications of these spiritual folksongs include the texts in German in addition to the Estonian. This is expected, given the Lutheran origin of the tunes, the more universal appeal of German and the German roots of Estonia’s culture. Here, all titles are presented in Estonian, as that is the language they were collected in and in which they were intended to be sung.

Most entries in the index also include a Punschel Number and an EELK or Svenska Number. These numbers, as recorded by Kreek, refer to the places that these melodies or texts appear in other hymnals. The Punschel number refers to the melody as recorded in Punschel's hymnal *Evangelisches Choral-Buch zunächst in Bezug auf die deutschen, lettischen und esthnischen Gesangbücher der russischen Osee Provinzen* (or *Evangelical Chorale Book Primarily Taken from the German, Latvian and Estonian Hymnbooks in the Russian Baltic Provinces*), discussed in chapters 1 and 3. This hymnal is an important touchstone, as it provides a standardized melody for many of the versions Kreek arranged. The EELK and Svenska numbers provide a similar touchstone, but for texts as opposed to melodic material. The EELK hymnal is the standard hymnal for the Estonian Lutheran Church. The Svenska number refers to a number in the *Svenska Psalmboken*, or the Swedish-language hymnal for the Church of Swedish, also a Lutheran denomination. The spiritual folksongs with Svenska numbers are songs that Kreek collected from certain areas of Estonia with heavy Swedish influence. Songs from these regions often had Swedish texts, thus they were given a reference number in from the *Svenska Psalmboken*. Some of the EELK entries contain the notation "Old Songbook," meaning they come from a version of the songbook that was not the most recently published. The most recent version of the EELK hymnal was published in 1991, after the publication of this index. The version most recent version at the time of the publication of this index—and the one Kreek would have been familiar with—was published in 1899. Any references to an "Old Songbook" are from the songbook published prior to 1899. Many entries in the index include a "see also" entry. This refers to another entry in the index that uses the same version for its base melodic material. Just as Kreek set different versions of the same hymn many times, he also set the same

version of the same hymn more than once. These reference numbers are also part of the *Personaalnimestik*.

Additionally, there is a date provided for each entry in the index. It is the specific date recorded by Kreek on the composition. Since some of these dates span a few days, it stands to reason that these are the dates that Kreek spent working on the composition, as opposed to a starting or a completion date. Kreek was meticulous about marking his compositions with a variety of information. Aside from exact dates, he occasionally marked the place where he worked on the composition, including not only cities, but also specific locations, such as “home,” and addresses. That information is not included in this index.

The dates of composition reveal a pattern in Kreek’s compositions. He worked for a concentrated time on these spiritual folksongs, and would go years without writing any at all. For example, he arranged over 450 spiritual folksongs between 1931 and 1938—the vast majority of all those he wrote—but did not complete another until 1949. And in this seven-year period, there was an eighteen-month period where he did not complete any between 1935 and 1937. The 1930s were a time when Kreek was experiencing much family turmoil, including the death of his oldest son in 1934 and a divorce from his first wife in 1939. (Järg 2003, 25) Perhaps he found refuge in the work these spiritual folksongs provided, or perhaps their small form was easier to work on given other stresses of life. The dates also reveal that he completed his first arrangements as a young man in 1911 and 1914, and that he worked on them until 1955, seven years before his death.

In addition to recording dates, Kreek was also fastidious about recording where his sources came from. Most spiritual folksongs in this index have an entry for whom the song was collected from, who originally recorded the song, and from where it was collected. There are a limited number of

people who recorded these songs, and Kreek himself recorded many. Other collectors include Kreek's friend and mentor Peeter Süda, the composers Mart Saar and Eduard Oja, and the composer and conductor Juhan Aavik, who was the first person to conduct a performance of Kreek's *Requiem* in 1929. (Järg 2003, 25) The tunes were also collected around the country in a variety of different places, although naturally certain collectors gravitated toward certain areas of the country. Figure 1 is a map of the different parishes and towns where the tunes for the spiritual folksongs were collected. It shows the variety of places from around the small country where songs were collected.

Figure 1. Map of locations where spiritual folksongs were collected



Each entry in this index has an archival number associated with it. This number is a reference number in the Estonian Theater and Music Museum (*Eesti Teatri- ja Muusikamuuseum*) where Kreek's manuscripts are housed. The "M11" refers to Kreek's personal collection and the ":2" indicates that it is a manuscript. The number following the slash is the folder where the manuscript is contained. Thus, the number "M11:2/186" indicates that the item is a manuscript by Cyrillus Kreek, and it is located in folder 186 in his collection. (Lehiste 2012) Several entries are housed in more than one place, and thus have multiple archival number entries. Any number after the first is contained in the "Other Locations" column. Many of the spiritual folksongs were part of wider collections put together by Kreek, indicated in the "Collection" column. These collections include "*150 vaimalikud rahvaviisid segakoorile*" (150 spiritual folksongs for mixed choir), "*28 vaimalikud rahvaviisid sega- ja meeskoorile*" (28 spiritual folksongs for mixed and men's choir), "*443 vaimuliku rahvaviisi 3-häälset seadet naiskoorile*" (443 spiritual folksongs for three-voiced women's choir), and "*Vaimulikud rahvaviisid segakoorile*" (Spiritual folksongs for mixed choir) volumes I and II.

Bibliography

- Anderson, Martin and Veljo Tormis. "'We Should Know Who We Are': Veljo Tormis in Conversation." *Tempo* (New Series) 211 (2000): 24-27.
- Bell, John L. *The Singing Thing: A case for congregational song*. Chicago: GIA Publications, Inc., 2000.
- Bruce, Steve. "The Supply-Side Model of Religion: The Nordic and Baltic States." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39 (March 2000): 32-46.
- Daitz, Mimi S., and Veljo Tormis. *Ancient Song Recovered: the life and music of Veljo Tormis*. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2004.
- Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik Kirik. "Kiriku Laulu- ja Palveraamat." Tallinn: Trükikoda "Ühiselu", 1992.
- Engelhardt, Jeffers. "Late- and Post-Soviet Music Scholarship and the Tenacious Ecumenicity of Christian Musics in Estonia." In *Baltic Musics/Baltic Musicologies: The Landscape since 1991*, edited by Kevin C. and Joachim Braun, Editors Karnes, 11-34. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Humal, Mart. *Cyrrillus Kreek and Estonian Swedish folk hymn variants*. Tallinn: Scripta Musicalia, 2003.
- Järg, Tiia. *Cyrrillus Kreek*. Tallinn: Eesti Muusika Infokeskus EMIK, 2003.
- Johnston, Hank. "Toward an Explanation of Church Opposition to Authoritarian Regimes: Religio-Oppositional Subcultures in Poland and Catalonia." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28, no. 4 (1989): 493-508.
- Kapp, Villem. "Laena mulle kannelt, Vanemuine." Tallinn: Eesti Muusikaühing, 1991.
- Kõlar, Anu. "Folk Hymns as a Source of Cyrrillus Kreek's Compositions." *Fontes Artis Musicae*, July-Dec 2004: 315-320.
- Kirik, Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik. "Kiriku laulu- ja palveraamat." Raamattutalo, 1991.
- Kreek, Cyrrillus. "Eesti vaimulikud rahvaviisid: naiskoorile." Vol. 1. Tallinn: Kirjatus "Muusika", 1990.
- . "Requiem." Tallinn: SP Muusikaprojekt, 2001.
- Kreutzwald, Friedrich Reinhold and George Kurman. *Kalevipoeg: an ancient Estonian tale*. Moorestown, NJ: Symposia Press, 1982.
- Laantee, Karl. "The Beginning of the Reformation in Estonia." *Church History* 22 (December 1953): 269-278.
- Lehiste, Risto. "Cyrrillus Kreegi Information." Tallinn, 10 3, 2012.

Lieven, Anatol. *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993.

Lippus, Urve. *Kreek, Cyrillus*. www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed March 28, 2011).

Lippus, Urve. "Modernist Trends in Estonia Musicology in the 1970's-1980's and the Study of Folk Melodies." In *Baltic Musics/Baltic Musicologies: The Landscape Since 1991*, edited by Kevin C. and Joachim Braun Karnes, 78-95. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Lippus, Urve. "The Estonian Tradition of Folk Hymn Singing." In *Spiritual Folk Singing: Nordic and Baltic Protestant traditions*, edited by Kirsten Sass Bak and Svend Nielsen. Århus: AKA Print, 2006.

Normet, L. and A. Vahter. "Soviet Estonian Music." *Ten Aspects of Estonian Life*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1966.

Olt, Harry. *Estonian Music*. Tallinn: Perioodika, 1980.

Paulson, Ivar. *The Old Estonian Folk Religion*. Edited by John R. Krueger. Translated by Juta Kõvamees and H. Kõvamees Kitching. Vol. 108. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1971.

Perlitz, H. "The Fate of Religion and Church Under Soviet Rule in Estonia 1940-1941." New York, NY: World Association of Estonians, Inc., 1944.

Pierson, Steven James. "We Sang Ourselves Free: developmental uses of music among Estonian Christians from repression to independence." Trinity International University, 1998.

Raun, Toivo U. *Estonia and the Estonians*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1987.

Ringvee, Ringo. *Recent historical background of the religious situation in Estonia*. 2000. http://www.estonica.org/en/Culture/Religion/Recent_historical_background_of_the_religious_situation_in_Estonia/ (accessed 09 22, 2012).

Smidchens, Guntis. "Chapter 4: Nations of Singers, Individual and Collective." By Guntis Smidchens. Unpublished manuscript.

Smidchens, Guntis. "Singing at Midsummer." In *Unpublished Manuscript*. 2010.

Torma, A. "The Church in Estonia." New York, NY: World Association of Estonians, Inc., 1944.

"Uus lauluraamat: kirikus, koolis, et kodus kasutamiseks." Stockholm: EELK Komitee, 1958.

Uustalu, Evald. *The History of Estonian People*. London: Boreas Publishing Co., Ltd., 1952.

Valt, L, ed. *Soviet Estoina: Land, People, Culture*. Tallinn: Valgus Publishers, 1980.

Vesilind, Priit. *The Singing Revolution: How Culture Saved a Nation*. Tallinn: Varrak, 2008.

Vissel, Anu. "A Century of Collecting and Preserving Estonian Traditional Music." *Fontes Artis Musicae* 51, no. 3/4 (Jul-Dec 2004): 304-314.

Wolverton, Vance. "Baltic Portraits: Cyrillus Kreek--An Estonian Original." *Choral Journal*, 9
2009.