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Underrepresentation of Moravian Influence on Estonian Musicological Historiography

## I. INTRODUCTION

Near the beginning of my fascination in Estonian choral music, I read an article pertaining to folklore, and it mentioned the presence of the Moravian Brotherhood in Estonia. Knowing that Moravia encompassed the eastern part of historic Czech Republic lands, I investigated the Moravian Brethren. Their code encourages ecumenical Christian devotion, using music as a pure method of worship. Questions began forming in my mind about how their musical influence might have affected musical development in Estonia. Over the next many subsequent readings about Estonian music and the social conditions that led to a national awakening through the singing of folk songs, I found hardly any mention of the Moravians. I wondered why finding information on the Moravian's impact on Estonia's music history was so difficult. In seeking answers for my question, I first needed to ascertain the importance of the question, then secondly investigate whether the music the Moravians brought was any different than what had already been introduced and had originally existed in Estonia, and finally, assess the state of current and previous research on Estonian music.

## II. MORAVIAN INFLUENCE

How do I know that Moravian influence was significant in Estonia? I attended a talk by Ringo Ringvee, an adviser for Religious Affairs at the Ministry of the Interior of Estonia. He emphasized how the Moravian lay missionary movement promoted the concept of self-

importance to the Estonian peasants, which then evoked a change that ultimately defined a nation.<sup>1</sup> Such credit to a distinct group begs the question, who are the Moravians?

The Moravian movement started with Jan Hus denouncing the Roman Catholic practice of paid indulgences and non-married clergy. He lived in Bohemia, the western part of present-day Czech Republic, and developed a following that caused him to be burned alive in Rome as a heretic in 1415. The Bohemian followers, for a while known as the Hussites, continued their religion in the growing Protestant movement. In the late sixteenth century, Habsburg rule forced the return of Catholicism in the historic Czech lands. In about the 1620s, the Protestant Bohemians went underground, and found some degree of refuge in Moravia, the eastern part of present-day Czech Republic. In the next century, increasing persecution caused them to move northward to Saxony. In 1722, on land close to the border, they appealed to the landowner, Count Zinzendorf, who gave them protection and also became a member of their congregation.<sup>2</sup> They called the new settlement Herrnhut, *Herr* for Lord and *hut*, taken from the verb *hüten*, to keep, treasure, or watch. In some books, the Moravian Brothers are also referred to as Bohemian Brethren and Herrnhuters.

Turning our attention back to Estonia, before the Moravians arrived, the native Estonians had lived for five centuries as serfs to the German nobility who had divided Estonia among themselves. The Estonian serfs were forced to first become Catholic and then, when the Protestant Reformation reached the Baltics, forced to become Lutheran. The culture and

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<sup>1</sup> Ringo Ringvee, "Religion and Nation-Building in Estonia: Some Perspectives on Secular Society," in *Religion, Politics and Nation-Building in Post-Communist Countries*, ed. Greg Simons and David Weterlund (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 145.

<sup>2</sup> "Moravian Church," *Wikipedia*, last modified October 26, 2015, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moravian\\_Church](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moravian_Church).

language of the German ruling class became what was considered elite and refined. Anything worth any attention was spoken in German. Under such subjugation, the Estonians hid their continued pagan beliefs, superstitions, and ceremonies.<sup>3</sup>

When the ecumenical Moravian missionaries arrived in 1729, supposedly by invitation from the over-burdened German Lutheran ministers, it was to aid in pastoral duties.<sup>4</sup> German members of the Moravian movement were sent to appeal to the German ruling class. The Moravian Brethren had different practices than the Lutherans, including inviting Christians of any faith to join their continuous prayer vigil. Two special factors softened the attitudes of the Estonians towards Christianity, language and music.<sup>5</sup> The Moravians learned Estonian quickly to begin educating the serfs and to hold worship services in the native language, not German. The Moravian style of part singing by separate men's and women's choirs evoked emotions that led people to devout worship.<sup>6</sup> The Moravians continuously encouraged the Estonians to seek a higher purpose through education, becoming trained craftsmen, and feeling proud of their traditions. The Moravians helped create a belief in the serfs that they were a special social entity, not a lower class of people from the Germans. The Estonians built prayer houses, mostly on the western side of Estonia, to accommodate the increasing numbers of followers.

The Lutheran pastors resented the success of the Moravians. At that time, Estonia was ruled by Russia. The pastors were members of the German elite, and they petitioned Russia to

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<sup>3</sup> Paul Neustupny, "Activity of the Moravians in Estonia and Latvia" (lecture, International Moravian Conference – Suchdol nad Odrou, Zauchtel, Czech Republic 2009), [www.go-east-mission.de](http://www.go-east-mission.de).

<sup>4</sup> Neustupny.

<sup>5</sup> Ringvee.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Vogt, "Listening to 'Festive Stillness': The Sound of Moravian Music according to Descriptions of Non-Moravian Visitors," *Moravian Music Journal* 44 (1999) 15.

forbid Moravian missionary work. The movement suffered but became popular again when the next tsar removed restrictions.

Throughout Europe, nationalistic trends gave rise to united causes towards more democratic living. The emboldened Estonians, who by this time were skilled teachers and musicians, adopted the nationalistic fervor, and tested out their first song festival in 1869, copying similar song festivals or *Singspiele* in Switzerland, Germany, and Latvia.<sup>7</sup> Song festivals became a national event, even tolerated in Soviet times, that enflamed the hearts of Estonians with a fierce love for their country and fueled the Singing Revolution that led to Estonia's independence.

### III. TRANSFORMATION OF AND BY MUSIC

Finding credit for the psychological foundation molded by the Moravian missionary efforts affirmed their importance, but what about their music influence and heritage? An important question to be determined is how the music they brought might be different from German music already introduced to Estonia. I couldn't find documentation on what music the Roman Catholic invaders brought, but if the worship practices were similar to the rest of Europe, masses and incantations would have been performed in Latin. Estonians who were forced to attend services would have heard chants and possibly polyphony. When Lutheranism changed the religious scene, German choral singing entered the Estonian realm of singing. The structure of the Finno-Ugric language of Estonia did not, however, fit the pattern of German music. The

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<sup>7</sup> David John Puderbaugh, "My Fatherland is My Love': National Identity and Creativity and the Pivotal 1947 Soviet Estonian National Song Festival" (doctoral thesis, University of Iowa, 2006), 5, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305339828>.

major-minor tonality of western Baroque music landed with awkwardness on the ears of the Estonians. Indigenous singing only utilized notes on a tonal scale. The western practice of secondary dominants and modulating didn't take hold on the Estonian singers.<sup>8</sup> Organists needed to be agile and flexible as the congregation full of Estonian singers drowned out the written notes and sang their own versions of the melody.

Somehow, the Moravians bridged the differences between native and foreign music and also assuaged the resistance to assimilating a new purpose for music. The Moravians promoted music as a way for the soul to commune with God. Their system of music education seemed to reach all the members of the congregation, producing musicianship that was regarded higher than an average congregation. They also made their own instruments, from brass to strings, and taught this skill to the Estonians. The Moravians loved the trombone and had trombone choirs accompany the congregational singing. With the settlement of Moravians in Herrnhut, not far from Leipzig, sacred masterworks of Bach were incorporated into their worship. Not all their music would have sounded German though, as they were Bohemian, a Slavic people. In the ninth century, Prince Rastilav solicited Byzantine Emperor Michael III for Christian missionaries. Michael III sent brothers Cyril and Methodius to build missions among the Slavic tribes of Great Moravia. One of the brothers had already served a mission and had become familiar with Slavic languages and "both very well educated in music."<sup>9</sup> As they taught the people of Moravia the

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<sup>8</sup> Rimantas Sliužinskas, "Individual Innovations in the Klaipėda Region Lutheran Psalm Singing Tradition," in *Individual and Collective in Traditional Culture*, ed. Mari Bleive and Katrin Hakkinen (Tartu, Estonia: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi etnomusikloogia osakond, 2006), 55.

<sup>9</sup> "Our Slavonic Liturgy," *Carpatho-Rusyn Knowledge Base*, accessed August 29, 2015, <http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/spirit/chap6.htm>.

Monastic order of services, the sounds of their chants would have touched the music of Moravia. The chants that developed in the Slavic liturgies followed Macedonian patterns.

Likewise as in the Czech lands, Slavic influence spread into Estonia. The southeast portion of Estonia, closest to Russia, retained its affiliation with the Orthodox Church, sometimes of the Russian order and sometimes of another. The Russians are a Slavic people. Would the sound of their chants have developed the same as that of the Byzantine-influenced Moravians? Considering the surrounding cultures of both regions, one could reasonably assume that Moravian music would have a different Slavic sound than Russian music.

Another element of music, besides the basics of notes, rhythm, phrasing and harmonic structure, is the color of tone, emphasis, and lyricism. Two sources lead me to believe that something different existed in the Moravian choral production compared to the German Lutheran one. Written accounts from first-hand observations of the Moravians in Germany from 1736 to 1867 mention the exquisiteness of the sound quality.<sup>10</sup> At times, witnesses observed Moravians singing while lying prostrate. Was this position responsible for a change in alignment of internal body parts that then created a unique sound, or was it the acoustic difference of the sound source close to the ground that then bounced onto the rest of the architecture? Somehow their method of vocal production must have been different enough from the performance practice of heavier German singing to warrant specific descriptions. Johann Michael von Loen, an aristocrat from Frankfurt, wrote in a letter from 1736

The manner of singing and the harmony was exceedingly lovely, the voices were almost all pure and musical, and I must confess that I found therein something that was devout and moving.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Vogt.

<sup>11</sup> Vogt.

The other source that accounts for Moravian sound being different from the traditional sacred choral music of Germany and German-based Lutheran singing comes from the work of Gustav Ernesaks. Ernesaks is lauded as a most important hero in the Singing Revolution of Estonia. His song “Mu isamaa on minu arm” (“My Fatherland is My Love,”) became the unofficial anthem of the Estonians during the national awakening in Soviet times. At the first song festival the song was sung, the Soviet censors were not aware of the patriotism hidden in the words. Authorities knew to disallow the song in the next festival, but the audience and choir members numbering over thirty thousand drowned out the brass band and orchestra, who were told to play a Russo-centric song louder and louder. The Estonian people kept singing until the authorities acquiesced, signaling for Ernesaks to take the stand and conduct the song.<sup>12</sup>

Ernesaks, 1903-1993, was appointed by the Soviet Estonian cultural institution to organize a professional chorus. This gave him license to implement an ideal. Ernesaks had studied music in Czechoslovakia intermittently from 1935-1937 and was heavily impressed by the men’s chorus with “their tone quality, well-finished interpretation, and organized way of working.” His new Estonian choir became a men’s choir of eighty trained yet still amateur singers, even though he had already been conducting a highly esteemed Tallinn Men’s choral Society of two hundred singers. He sought to cultivate a sound like that of the Moravian Teachers’ Men’s Chorus.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Rachel J. Holland, "Songs of Resistance" (presentation, Global Awareness Society International 23rd Annual Conference –Montego Bay Jamaica, May 2014), <http://organizations.bloomu.edu/gasi/>.

<sup>13</sup> Urve Lippus, “Professionalization of a Chorus and Its Quest for Repertory” (lecture, International Musicological Symposium, Ljubljana, April 2015), 2, <https://www.academia.edu/12289374/>.

Though Ernesaks designed the personnel to his vision, choosing repertory for the new choir resembled a small stream trickling around a crooked, rocky path. Too many rules restricted the choices in choral music. In the beginning of Soviet rule, when the saturation of Stalinist ideas and russification of culture were of foremost importance, Western classical music and sacred music were mostly forbidden. On the occasions Ernesaks conducted Classical music, with lack of training in that spectrum, he over-romanticized the music or failed to train the chorus to function appropriately for orchestral accompaniment. The State Philharmonic Men's Chorus sang more folk-like music supported by the Soviet censors. As a result, Ernesaks composed Estonian songs for the choir that were set for unaccompanied voices, thus helping to continue the Estonian choral tradition.

With Ernesaks' enchantment with Moravian choral music, one is led to believe that even into the twentieth century, the sound of a choir from Moravia differed from the sound produced in Tallinn, Estonia. Moravian singing had been introduced two hundred years earlier in Estonia. Was the music from 1736 different than what Ernesaks heard in 1935? Did the spread of Moravian music in Estonia blend with local customs, or had the music of Moravia also changed? Could it be said that Moravian music influenced Estonian music twice?

#### IV. ESTONIAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Why is information about the Moravian influence on Estonian music hard to find? A combination of inaccessible records, restricted research, and retaliation could be the reason for the lack of documentation.

In her "Survey of Estonian Music Bibliography," Katre Linnas mentions that the past conquering countries hold records of Estonian publications and that records dating from the



Great Northern War, which ended in 1721, to 1918 reside in Russian archives.<sup>14</sup> During the Soviet rule, from 1944-1991, there most likely would not have been a situation where an independent Estonian scholar would obtain approval to research Russian records and books, especially if it brought awareness to a common religious cause that strengthened the peasants rather than Communism. Urve Lippus has written that during the Soviet era, Baltic musicologists “did not have much methodological training in historical research.”<sup>15</sup> Writings completed during Soviet rule “are often subdued with some use of Marxist-Leninist jargon demanded by academic officials.”<sup>16</sup> Lippus’ survey of the topics discussed in the Baltic musicological conferences that began in 1967 revealed that there was a majority of interest in national music. How the subject was written needed to be carefully stated, because it was important never to upset the Soviet censors or bring about attention to oneself as a suspect of behavior that could be prosecuted as an enemy of the state. A national Composers Union existed, but societies in general weren’t places of free thought. Composers communed with common talents, but one never knew who could be an informant for the Soviet government trying to subdue all expression that could be seen as against communist theories.

In a Baltic conference I attended at Stanford University, Aigi Rahi-Tamm from Tartu University in Estonia detailed the history of a composer who was threatened with the deportation of his family if he didn’t spy on his fellow composers. He was one of three composers who had

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<sup>14</sup> Katre Linnas, “Survey of Estonian Music Bibliography,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 41, no. 2 (1994): 181, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23508462>.

<sup>15</sup> Urve Lippus, “Baltic Music History Writing: Problems and Perspectives” (presentation, International Musicological Symposium, London, August 1997), 50, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/932903>.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

attracted the attention of the Soviet monitors. The three composers convened often and, on one meeting in the composer's home, his wife wanted to serve tea but they had run out of sugar. She asked the composer to ask the neighbor for sugar. At the distant farm house of the neighbor, a Soviet agent was present. The composer could have been taken to a holding center for wanting to exceed his sugar ration but after conflicting hours of personal deliberation, he agreed to the demands of the secret police. If he were detained at that moment, he would never see his family again. If he became an informant, he would break his personal ethics. If he refused, his family would be forever challenged with the stigma of a criminal, prevented from being hired, or sent to a labor camp themselves. A year-and-a-half of having no suspect activity to report, the authorities put so much pressure on him, he succumbed to fabricating information that then resulted in the other composers being sent to Siberia. Four conductors from the 1947 national song festival were arrested and deported in 1949. Ernesaks was the only one to survive.<sup>17</sup> In this climate of distrust, people's activities were curbed.

Religious activities were also forbidden at this time. That could be a factor in the reason why researchers shied away from studying the positive influence of the Moravian missionaries. Investigating historical documentation in the framework of unfortunate occurrences would be different than investigating the growth of Estonian music arising from non-indigenous religious practices. The tenor in the studies produced during the Soviet times focused on traditional folk music, keeping the pride of nationality subtle, yet retaining a sense of connection to their national heritage.

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<sup>17</sup> Guntis Šmidchens, *The Power of Song* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 55.

Possibly stemming from this history of subjective research, articles I've read in English about traditional Estonian folk music, runic songs, or the Singing Revolution either don't mention the Moravians or mention them minimally, inaccurately, or negatively. In the book *The Power of Song* by Guntis Šmidchens, a full chronology of the development of singing in Estonia covers over three hundred pages, yet there are only two minor mentions of the Moravians, one to say they were banned in 1743.

Only two sources I found state positive facts about Moravian music influence but also include incorrect details. On the Estonian Open Air Museum website, they write "The Moravian Church ... laid the basis for the first choirs and wind ensembles in Estonia."<sup>18</sup> The other source, a book by Michigan scholar Johannes Tall published in 1985, still during the Cold War, states that the Moravians came to the Baltics in the nineteenth century. He states that the Moravians found employment with the German landlords as music teachers and that these teachers were even able to "reach the common folk."<sup>19</sup> Tall continues to write more facts in a positive light on the Moravian activities in music, but I don't know what facts are true, since he had been wrong about the date and why the Moravians came in the beginning of the article and some other things he claims, I haven't found anywhere else.

A small brochure designed with the beautiful colors of the Estonian folk costumes seen everywhere on festival week written by Rein Sikk states

Traditional music was delivered a fatal blow by the hugely popular Moravian movement in Estonia in the 18<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> centuries: seized by

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<sup>18</sup> "Moravian Church Prayer House," *The Estonian Open Air Museum*, accessed September 29, 2015, [evm.ee/eng/esposition/the-island/Moravian-church-prayer-house](http://evm.ee/eng/esposition/the-island/Moravian-church-prayer-house).

<sup>19</sup> Johannes Tall, "Estonian Song Festivals and Nationalism in Music toward the End of the Nineteenth Century," in *National Movements in the Baltic Countries during the 19th Century*, ed. Aleksander Loit (Sweden: Texgruppen, 1985), 449.

religious fervour, Estonians axed their bagpipes, forgot their old songs, dyed the colourful national costumes piously black and ... gradually acquired a totally new (singing) culture.<sup>20</sup>

In their book *The Temporal Structure of Estonian Runic Songs*, Jaan Ross and Ilse

Lehiste translate a passage by Herbert Tampere

(By 1730) the Moravian community conquered the Kambja parish ... The spiritually awakened brothers from Kambja established religious communities ... and wherever they built their chapels, folksongs and old customs began to be treated with contempt and fell into decline.<sup>21</sup>

Tampere wrote the section on Estonia in the 1980 edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Here he writes

The development of capitalism in the Estonian countryside was accompanied by the decline of the runic folksong.<sup>22</sup>

Did Tampere feel pressure to make capitalism the culprit? Would making religion the reason for the death of runic songs still have made an association the Soviet authorities would not want to happen? Later in the book by Ross and Lehiste written in 2001, they state

The cause of the relative poverty in songs may be attributed to the activity of the religious movement of the Moravian Brethren, who were actively opposed to the runic song tradition; this, together with the emergence of a capitalist economy, contributed to the disappearance of the runic song tradition ...<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Rein Sikk, *Estonian Song & Dance Celebration: The Tradition of Song & Dance Festivals* (Tallinn, Estonia: Estonian Institute, 2009), 13.

<sup>21</sup> Jaan Ross and Ilse Lehiste, *The Temporal Structure of Estonian Runic Songs* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001), 9-35.

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Tampere, "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Estonia, Folk Music," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), VI: 359.

<sup>23</sup> Jaan Ross, "From the Conference Director" (conference abstracts, 3rd Conference on Interdisciplinary Musicology, Tallinn, Estonia, August 2007), 13, [http://uni-graz.at/richard.parncutt/publications/MaPaMaRo07\\_CIMabstracts.pdf](http://uni-graz.at/richard.parncutt/publications/MaPaMaRo07_CIMabstracts.pdf).

What does combining the two reasons do? Do the two reasons shore up each other to make them more valid? What if changes in education level and social status, from serf to free peasant, met a need that the runic songs no longer related to?

Six years later, Ross wrote an introductory page for the third Conference on Interdisciplinary Musicology.

The popularity of choral singing in Estonia may be traced back to the Moravian Brotherhood a few hundred years ago.<sup>24</sup>

Not only is there conflicting information about the changes the Moravians made on Estonian music, some of the conflicts come from the same source.

## CONCLUSION

Through reading what is accessible to me in English, I have encountered varied information and have come up with at least an explanation for the lack of research, analysis, documentation, and publications of the Moravian Brothers' musical influence in Estonia. I hadn't thought about the difficulty in functioning under Soviet rule as a reason for low representation of the Moravian Brothers in Estonian music history. I had thought that the reason for insufficient credit arose from a need to claim the originality of Estonian nationalistic music. A slightly different sentiment prevailed in past interest in Estonia's music history, that of preserving the indigenous musical manifestations of their ancestors. Though researchers did not seek to deny

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<sup>24</sup> Nikolai Boyarkin, "Ingrid Rüütel and Contemporary Finno-Ugric Ethnomusicology (Phenomenon of a Person in the Humanities)" in *Individual and Collective in Traditional Culture*, ed. Mari Bleive and Katrin Hakkinen (Tartu, Estonia: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi etnomusikloogia osakond, 2006), 191.

the Moravian influence, they also didn't try to understand details about the music or effects of the Moravian music on Estonian music. Neither positive nor negative assessments of Moravian changes I have encountered have definitive examples that back the claims.

A scholar on Estonian religions has stated that the Moravian missionaries boosted the psyche of the Estonian peasants and that understanding the changes inspired by the Moravians is important. How much of the change in Estonian music could be proven to have come from just the Moravians has yet to be determined. They were not an isolated instance of cultural transfer. To me, encountering differing statements that lack substance increases the importance of the original question. Why are the Moravians underrepresented in Estonian music history? No one as yet has been motivated enough to objectively seek original sources, analyze and document what music the Moravians presented to the Estonians and the effects of this exposure through time. Could the Moravians be singled out as the source of the decline of the native runic songs? The Moravians promoted Christianity, but they were an ecumenical group that also believed in retaining the language and culture of the lands where they set up their diasporas. Maybe they didn't favor the ancient superstitious chants but there were also runic songs about nature and relationships. Without a breadth of information, selective statements have been too easy to make.

Nikolai Boyarkin stated that Finno-Ugric ethnomusicology lies in the formation of its scholarly history.<sup>25</sup> As a field of study, Estonian musicology is young and open to deeper delving. With communication technologies simplifying access to all documents, be they in Russian, German, or private hands, difficulties of research are less than what they were fifty

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<sup>25</sup> Toomas Siitan, "Origins of the Estonian Choral Movement and its Clerical Connections in the First Half of the 19th Century," abstract, in *Eesti Muusikaloo* (Tallinn: Estonian Music Academy, 2007).

years ago. Dr. Toomas Siitan, researcher at the Estonian Music Academy, has published studies of the Estonian choral movement through the nineteenth century, stating in his abstract that academic “interest in the religious roots of the choral movement, especially its connections with the Moravian Brethren” is increasing but their influences on “music history ... await more thorough research.”<sup>26</sup> The more training that an ethnomusicologist obtains, the more objective his or her studies will be. I eagerly await reading future studies.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

## Annotated Bibliography

Allsen, Mike. "Moravian Trombone Choir Music: Frequently-Asked Questions." The Glenwood Moravian Trombone Choir (website). May 2002.

<http://webpages.charter.net/gmtc/GMTCFAQ.html>.

This site explains the role of trombones in the worship services of the Moravian church. Because trombone choirs are an important part of this church, the site discusses instrumental substitutions and what parts are the minimum. It explains the numbering system of the music book and which hymns may have a association with a subgroup. Guidance for music at a Moravian-style lovefeast is given.

Altnurme, Riho. "Moravian Movement in Estonia." Eesti Institute (website). *Estonian Culture*. 2004. [www.estinst.ee](http://www.estinst.ee).

Clear dates and member counts of Moravian members in Estonia are given. Some information is included about joint and separate causes of the Moravian Brotherhood and the Lutheran church. The reasons for high and low membership numbers Estonians are slightly discussed. The positive and negative effects of the Moravian influence in Estonia are also shown.

Armstrong, Laney McClain. "'Now Sing from the Mouth and from the Heart': The Spiritual Folksongs of Cyrillus Kreek." DMA thesis, University of Washington, 2013.

<https://digital.lib.washington.edu>.

This thick dissertation includes a biography of the Estonian composer Cyrillus Kreek. To understand what Kreek did, the change from vocal runic songs to written choral singing is shown. Kreek collected folksongs in the same manner as Kodaly and Bartok. This paper also shows sample scores from historical hymns and compares them.

Boyarkin, Nikolai. "Ingrid Rüütel and Contemporary Finno-Ugric Ethnomusicology (Phenomenon of a Person in the Humanities)." In *Individual and Collective in Traditional Culture*, edited by Mari Bleive and Katrin Hakkinen. Tartu, Estonia: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi etnomusikloogia osakond, 2006.

This explains how research needs to be studied and that ethnomusicology is only as good as the documented sources. Studies are as important as fieldwork, are as important as cataloguing. Layers of theories and connections to other facets of life make for better ethnomusicology.

Holland, Rachel J. "Songs of Resistance." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of Global Awareness Society International, Montego Bay Jamaica, May 2014.

<http://organizations.bloomu.edu/gasi/>.

Paper about how music united two different groups of people and created non-violent resistance. The Estonians turned to their folksongs and composed new secret meanings in



the Soviet regime. The African-Americans used their spirituals, also with secret meanings. Music helped give courage to the people who were treated unfairly.

Jaanus, Eva-Liisa. "Some Aspects of Religiosity in Estonia." In *The Social Significance of Religion in the Enlarged Europe: Secularization, Individualization and Pluralization*, edited by Detlef Pollack, Olaf Müller, and Gert Pickel, 167-85. Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.

This chapter looks at some history of different religious groups entering Estonia. With a few different religions, Estonians could identify one of the groups. After the repression of religion during the Soviet era, secular groups were developed. When the country gained its independence, people could choose secular or religious groups to identify with.

Linna, Katre. "Survey of Estonian Music Bibliography." *Fontes Artis Musicae* 41, no. 2 (1994): 181-186. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23508462>.

This article written in 1994 discusses the work being done to make a catalogue of all publications in Estonia. It states the difficulties of that time, only three years into their independence and the financial struggles of a new nation and funding such projects. Labels of all the criteria for cataloguing Estonian music publications are listed. It describes how a bibliography is being made for printed music, sound recordings, books and periodicals, and individual bibliographies

Lippus, Urve. "Professionalization of a Chorus and Its Quest for Repertory." Lecture presented at International Musicological Symposium, Ljubljana, April 2015.

<https://www.academia.edu/12289374/>.

This presentation discusses the Estonian National Men's Chorus and its beginnings with Gustav Ernesaks. It describes the contributions of the famous composers of Estonia to the repertoire of the chorus. The men's chorus is a society for men. This chorus was for elite singers and so discord arose between this group and other choruses.

———. "Baltic Music History Writing: Problems and Perspectives." Presentation of paper at International Musicological Symposium, London, August 1997.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/932903>

Description and history of what a musicologist was during Soviet times in the Baltics. Includes an explanation of their lack of training and limitations of censorship. Shows a survey of the topics of musicology conferences.

Neustupny, Paul. "Activity of the Moravians in Estonia and Latvia." Lecture presented at International Moravian Conference, Suchdol nad Odrou, Zauchtel, Czech Republic, 2009. [www.go-east-mission.de](http://www.go-east-mission.de).

This lecture gives the history of wars and missionary work in Estonian and Latvia. It states the condition of those countries before the Moravians arrived. The difficulties the Moravians encountered in setting up their lifestyles are discussed along with their positive outcomes. It mentions how Moravians opposed the Germanization of the Estonians and prompted nationalism.

Puderbaugh, David John. "'My Fatherland is My Love': National Identity and Creativity and the Pivotal 1947 Soviet Estonian National Song Festival." DMA thesis, University of Iowa, 2006. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305339828>

This very long thesis describes the Estonian national song festivals under Soviet occupation in detail, listing the songs and text. It starts with the conditions in Estonia that led to the first song festival. The organizers of the festival had been inspired by different sources and wanted to try out the idea in Estonia, having smaller scale festivals first.

Ringvee, Ringo. "Religion and Nation-Building in Estonia: Some Perspectives on Secular Society." In *Religion, Politics and Nation-Building in Post-Communist Countries*, edited by Greg Simons and David Weterlund. Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2015.

A history of religion in Estonia is given. The chapter elaborates on how the different social groups were affected by various religious movements. It gives correlations between developing awareness and nationalism.

Ross, Jaan. "From the Conference Director." Conference abstracts publication for 3rd Conference on Interdisciplinary Musicology, Tallinn, Estonia, August 2007. [http://uni-graz.at/richard.parncutt/publications/MaPaMaRo07\\_CIMabstracts.pdf](http://uni-graz.at/richard.parncutt/publications/MaPaMaRo07_CIMabstracts.pdf)

The publication contains the abstracts for all the presentations made at the conference, including several introductions. The conference concept about singing is explained as how other music disciplines view singing. The introduction from one of the directors address the influence of the Moravians on the singing cultures of the Baltics.

——— and Ilse Lehiste, *The Temporal Structure of Estonian Runic Songs*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001.

This book gives detailed information about the possible invention of runic songs and records of their distribution around northeastern Europe. It explains terms used only in describing small units in runic song traditions. Charts for performance rules are included.

Sikk, Rein. *Estonian Song & Dance Celebration: The Tradition of Song & Dance Festivals*. Tallinn, Estonia: Estonian Institute, 2009.

This is a small, colorful book full of pictures showing scenes from the Estonian festivals and famous people. There is a biting caption about the Moravians. The rest of the words extol the wonders of the festival gathering.

Siitan, Toomas. "Origins of the Estonian Choral Movement and its Clerical Connections in the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century." Abstract. *Eesti Muusikaloo*. Tallinn: Estonian Music Academy, 2007.

Sliužinskas, Rimantas. "Individual Innovations in the Klaipėda Region Lutheran Psalm Singing Tradition." In *Individual and Collective in Traditional Culture*, edited by Mari Bleive and Katrin Hakkinen. Tartu, Estonia: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi etnomusikloogia osakond, 2006.

Details of foreign aspects of German songs are given and compared to how the ethnic songs would be sung. The local people could not accept what they heard as cold, hard music. They transformed the melodies and harmonies with an intuitive spirit that helped them to feel worshipful.

Šmidchens, Guntis. *The Power of Song*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014.

Tall, Johannes. "Estonian Song Festivals and Nationalism in Music toward the End of the Nineteenth Century." In *National Movements in the Baltic Countries during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, edited by Aleksander Loit. Sweden: Texgruppen, 1985.

Tampere, Herbert. "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Estonia, Folk Music,." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Edited by Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980. vi: 359.

Vogt, Peter. "Listening to 'Festive Stillness': The Sound of Moravian Music according to Descriptions of Non-Moravian Visitors." In *Moravian Music Journal* 44, (1999), 15-23.

Wikipedia. "Moravian Church." Last modified October 26, 2015.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moravian\\_Church](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moravian_Church).

Carpatho-Rusyn Knowledge Base. "Our Slavonic Liturgy." Accessed August 29, 2015.  
<http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/spirit/chap6.htm>.

This outlines the history of the Byzantine Rite in Moravia. A few descriptions of the chants and their origins are given. It mentions how the Slavic culture developed outside the sphere of influence of Rome or Greece.

Estonica. "Religion." Accessed October 21, 2015. [www.estonica.org/en/culture/religion](http://www.estonica.org/en/culture/religion).

This page offers further links to the Moravian movement, awakening movements, Lutheranism, and Orthodoxy in Estonia. The years each movement started is given and very short histories. There is a picture of a brass band of the Moravian Brothers with all varieties of brass instruments.

The Estonian Open Air Museum. "Moravian Church Prayer House." Accessed September 29, 2015. [evm.ee/eng/esposition/the-island/Moravian-church-prayer-house](http://evm.ee/eng/esposition/the-island/Moravian-church-prayer-house).

This the website for the outdoor, living museum of Estonia. This page gives history and accounts of the works of the Moravian Brothers. There is a picture of a prayer house and a blueprint.

Teeliste Kirikud 2014. "Moravian Church in Estonia." Accessed August 28, 2015.

[http://www.teelistekirikud.ekn.ee/2014/en\\_kirikud.php?konf=12](http://www.teelistekirikud.ekn.ee/2014/en_kirikud.php?konf=12).

This website lists the remaining buildings still standing now. The years they were built range from 1820 – 1935. Some of the pages have multiple pictures of the prayer houses and a little description.