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# LATE- AND POST-SOVIET MUSIC SCHOLARSHIP AND THE TENACIOUS ECUMENICITY OF CHRISTIAN MUSICS IN ESTONIA

## Jeffers Engelhardt

**Keywords:** Christianity in Estonia; music and religion; Baltic music scholarship; Cyrillus Kreek; Dmitri Bortnyansky; post-Soviet cultural and social transformation

### Religion, Music Making, and Music Scholarship in Estonia Since the Late 1980s

Since the late 1980s, religious renewal and revival, conversion, the restoration of religious spaces and institutions, missionary activity, new religious movements, and an influx of ideas, sounds and capital from abroad have profoundly reshaped the Estonian spiritual landscape. It is without paradox that many of these changes disclose broader historical continuities in Estonian religious life and practices. Contrary to many conventional Western narratives, these changes do not signal the ‘return’ of religion after the godless spiritual vacuum of the Soviet period (cf. Verdery 1999; Lankauskas 2002; Wanner 2003; Luehrmann 2005; Vallikivi 2005). Rather, these changes are the signs of new ‘religious mobilizations’ (Taylor 2006) that use ideas about the past and beliefs about the future to bring certain sacred, social and moral orders into being.

These religious changes involve music fundamentally and in a number of different ways. Whether it is in the Evangelical Lutheran worship service (*jumalateenistus*), the Orthodox liturgy (*liturgia*), the charismatic Protestant service of praise and testimony (*ülistus*), or the Catholic mass (*missa*), Christian musical practices in Estonia are changing in response to new practical needs, as the expression of new religious

ideologies, and in order to renew their efficacy. In my fieldwork, I have witnessed this happening in a number of different ways: through the arrival of a digital synthesizer by way of sister congregations in Finland and Sweden to a small Pentecostal congregation led by a Roma pastor in the southern Estonian town of Võru; through the revision, publication, and imaginative local uses of hymnals and service books;<sup>1</sup> and through the changing sounds of Estonian Orthodox choirs as priests, choir leaders, and singers return from study and pilgrimage in Greece, Finland and the United States.

Change is also audible in the re-establishment and burgeoning of religious song festivals sponsored by the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC), the Orthodox Church of Estonia (OCE), and the Union of Free Evangelical and Baptist Churches of Estonia (UFEBCE), which create new ecumenical and transnational networks and establish a decidedly Christian perspective on the national choral tradition. This kind of public religious singing builds upon Republican-era models and the increasing regularity with which Christian musics such as Lutheran chorales, Urmas Sisask's 'Eesti missa' (1992), and Rudolf Tobias's 'Eks teie tea' (1909) have been performed at the All-Estonia Song Celebrations since the Singing Revolution of 1987–1991. As in the Republican era, churches have become one of the most important venues for concerts of choral music, Estonian traditional music (*pärimumuusika*), jazz and improvised musics, symphonic and chamber music, and paraliturgical and evangelistic musics.

Religious change is registering in the Estonian music industry as well. One of the most notable developments in the Estonian traditional, jazz and improvised music scenes has been the widespread embrace of folk chorales and church hymnody as a melodic and textual resource in the work of Triskele (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005); Heinavanker (2007); Johanson and Vennad (1993, 2000); Vara (2003); Sofia Joons, Emma Härdelin, Meelika Hainsoo, Toivo Sömer and Janne Strömstedt (*Strand . . . Rand* 2002); Helin-Mari Arder, Siim Aimla, Ain Agan and Mihkel Mälgand (*Mu süda, ärka üles* 2005); and Meelika Hainsoo, Mall Ney, Elo Kalda, Maarja Nuut, Olavi Kõrre and Toomas Valk (*Armastuse ja rõõmu laulud* 2007). Ensembles specializing in Christian musics like Vox Clamantis, Linnamuusikud, Orthodox Singers and Püha Miikaeli Poistekoor are mounting successful performing, recording and festival projects. And on a global scale, the renown of the Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir has been closely associated with the Christian traditions present in the music of the Estonian composers Arvo Pärt, Toivo Tulev, Galina Grigorjeva, Urmas Sisask and Cyrillus Kreek, especially through the Choir's many releases on ECM Records and Harmonia Mundi.

It comes as no surprise, then, that Estonian music scholarship is also registering these changes, most notably in musicologists' ever-increasing attention to the study of Christian musics. Significant work has been done on folk hymnody (Lippus 1988, 1993a, 1993b, 2003, 2006; Humal 1989; Kõmmus 2001), nineteenth-century Lutheran chorale books (Siitan 1992, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2006), Protestant cantors in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Tallinn (Heinmaa 1999, 2004), musical institutions and ideologies in the Republican-era Lutheran Church (Kõlar 2002, 2003b), Orthodox syncretism in Seto traditional singing (Sarv 2000; Kalkun 2001) and the creation of indigenous Estonian Orthodox hymnody (Sarapuu 2003). In conjunction with religious leaders, scholars of religion,

and ecclesial historians, musicologists have also collaborated in reassessing issues of identity and the practical, aesthetic, and theological dimensions of Christian musics in Estonia through a number of conferences and publications (Salumäe *et al.* 2001; Kõlar 2003a). Finally, musicologists and folklorists have devoted more of their energies to the religious materials held in the Estonian Folklore Archives and the Estonian Theater and Music Museum (Kõmmus 2001, p. 75), and to teaching church music at the EELC Theological Institute and the Viljandi Cultural Academy of Tartu University.

This move within the musicological disciplines creates continuity with pre-Soviet Estonian musicology and historiography and is clear evidence of broader changes in the post-Soviet production of humanistic knowledge. At the same time, much of this work constructs Estonian identity as essentially Protestant Lutheran, renders fluid confessional categories as concrete institutional entities, naturalizes the alignment of musical style with particular beliefs, practices, and theologies, and is ambivalent in its secular approach to Christian musics. Here, I suggest that the tenacious ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia challenges the disciplinary practices and institutional ideologies that frame recent scholarship. In this context, ecumenicity refers to the interconfessional, catholic, more universally Christian scale of certain musics – thus to the opposite of denominationally exclusive Christian musics. Engaging this ecumenicity means engaging interactions between official theologies and lay practices, performances of ethnolinguistic and religious identities, expressions of sentiment and belief, and ways of contesting distinctions between sacred and secular. For historians and ethnographers, such engagement is vital in understanding the fullest spiritual and social significance of Christian musics in Estonia.

### Cyrillus Kreek in Estonian Musical Life and Scholarship

The changes in Estonian musical life and scholarship I am interested in here are rooted in and integral to the spiritual renewal and nationalist elation of the Singing Revolution, the surge in conversions, baptisms, confirmations and church participation that Jaanus Plaat describes as the Estonian ‘church boom’ (*kirikubuum*) of the 1980s and 1990s (2001, pp. 239–381; 2003a, pp. 221–52), and the discursive and social transformations brought about by *glasnost*, *perestroika*, and the re-establishment of an Estonian state. Much of this coalesced in events surrounding the 1989 centenary of Cyrillus Kreek (1889–1962), the composer, choral conductor, teacher, arranger and collector of folk hymnody and folk melodies whose biography, work, and reception emblemize the inherent ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia. Throughout his life, Kreek made hundreds of arrangements of Estonian and Swedish folk hymns and folk melodies, hundreds of canonic arrangements of Lutheran chorales from the collection of Johann Leberecht Ehregott Punschel (1778–1849), arrangements of Orthodox hymns, and several large-scale religious choral works, including his ‘Requiem’ (1927) and the seven *Psalms of David* (1914–1944). Kreek taught music theory at the Tallinn State Conservatory in 1940/41 and from 1944 until 1950 when, after being labeled a ‘bourgeois nationalist’, he was forced to leave his chair (Järg 2003, p. 26; Karjahärm & Luts 2005, p. 118; Karjahärm & Sirk 2007,

p. 715). Returning to his home in the coastal town of Haapsalu in 1950, Kreek worked until the end of his life as a freelance composer, music teacher and choral conductor (Lippus 2001). From the 1940s until the late 1980s, Kreek's religious works were not performed publicly for obvious political and ideological reasons.

In the early 1980s, however, a small number of Lutheran church choirs began singing Kreek's music in services (Kõlar 2003b, p. 54), giving voice to the increasing national-spiritual significance of his work and the decreasing personal and familial risks associated with active institutional religious involvement. Later in the 1980s, Kreek's religious music moved from churches into public spaces as well. In 1987, for instance, the Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir performed his 'Sacred Folk Melodies' (1916–1920) in public concerts for the first time since the 1920s, and the collection was published in 1989 (Järg 2003, p. 16). This was part of the thoroughgoing rehabilitation of Kreek that culminated with his centenary in 1989. Today, Kreek's music has pride of place in village and urban churches all over Estonia, at local, regional and national song festivals, and in the repertoire of a vast number of amateur and professional choirs. It has also become a valued resource for Estonian traditional, jazz and improvised musicians.

But Kreek is an ambiguous figure as well, in part because of the intriguing nature of his biography and in part because of the ecumenicity of his music. Cyrillus Kreek was born Karl Ustav Kreek in the western Estonian parish of Ridala in 1889. As is well known, this was a period of intense administrative and cultural Russification in tsarist Estland brought about by the reactionary policies of Alexander III (1845–1904), the desire to counter Baltic German hegemony in the Baltic provinces, the influence of Slavophilism and the Russian Orthodox Holy Synod and the politics of confession and conversion in the region (see Raun 1981, 2001, p. 80). These political, social, and religious dynamics had a decided impact on Kreek's formative years. When his father Gustav Kreek assumed a position as village schoolteacher at the Fällarna Orthodox school on the western Estonian island of Vormsi (Ormsö in Swedish) in 1896, the entire family was required to convert to Orthodoxy and take on Orthodox names in compliance with tsarist policy. A decade earlier, in 1886, 514 Estonian Swedes living on Vormsi had nominally converted to Orthodoxy in response to the official Russification (see Plaat 1999). Thus, Karl Ustav became Kirill (and later Cyrillus) and his father Gustav became Konstantin (his mother Maria remained Maria). Today, such stories are common in the many Estonian families of mixed Protestant and Orthodox background.

Beyond the seeming superficiality and political expediency of these conversions and name changes, however, one finds bases for the ecumenicity of Kreek's music and the meanings Estonians give it today. In addition to Kreek's prolonged later interest in folk hymnody and the musical forms of Western Christianity, his early exposure to the liturgical and musical traditions of Orthodoxy (Kõlar 2003b, p. 54) informed the more marginal aspects of his work drawn from Eastern Christianity – the seventh of his *Psalms of David* (Psalm 137, 1938/1944), which is based on a Russian Orthodox *znamennyi* melody, and his arrangements of translated Russian Orthodox liturgical chants, for example. Today, Orthodox Estonians use this part of Kreek's work to renew their liturgical musical practices and celebrate local Estonian Orthodox traditions. At the Cathedral of St. Simeon and the Prophetess Hanna in Tallinn, for

instance, the choir sings Kreek's arrangement of a translated *znamennyi* hymn of praise for the Virgin Mary, the Birth-Giver of God, on the Feast of the Annunciation. They sing directly from photocopies of Kreek's manuscripts held in the Estonian Theater and Music Museum (a recording of this hymn sung by the choir of the Cathedral of St. Simeon and the Prophetess Hanna is available on Engelhardt 2004).

In drawing on Kreek's work in this way, Orthodox Estonians are undertaking a kind of applied musicology oriented towards the renewal of their liturgical musical practices. Furthermore, they are drawing attention to some of the more marginal aspects of Kreek's work, which engage Eastern Christian musical traditions, and also to Kreek's ecumenicity, by claiming his Orthodox music as their own, just as Estonian Protestants have done with his folk hymnody and large-scale concert works. In this way, the ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia is deeply connected to the late- and post-Soviet changes in religious, musical, and scholarly life in which Kreek has played a central role.

In addition to being an aspect of these changes, how has Estonian music scholarship responded to these changes? What sorts of disciplinary practices and institutional ideologies are shaping the study of Christian musics in Estonia today? How do religious imaginaries, geopolitical histories, discourses about national identity, and ideas about what can be called sacred and secular figure into current

*jumalasünnitapa Veitai Maria kuulutamise päeval 25.mai*

Meie laula-me sulle, oh Puhas, Pääingli sõnu.  
Ole rõõmus, kes Sa armu oled saanud, Issand olgu Sinuga!

*Meie laulame Sulle,*

We sing to You,

*Oh, Puhas, Pääingli sõnu:*

Oh, Pure One, the words of the Archangel:

*Ole rõõmus, kes Sa armu oled saanud,*

Be glad, You who have received mercy,

*Issand olgu Sinuga!*

the Lord be with You!

**FIGURE 1** Cyrillus Kreek's arrangement of a translated *znamennyi* hymn of praise for the Virgin Mary, the Birth-Giver of God, on the Feast of the Annunciation. Photocopy from the choir of the Cathedral of St. Simeon and the Prophetess Hanna.

approaches towards Christian musics, and how does ecumenicity complicate the situation? In the discussion that follows, I will provide an overview of the significant body of late- and post-Soviet Estonian music scholarship dealing with Christian musics in order to tease out some answers to these questions.

## Christian Musics in Late- and Post-Soviet Estonian Scholarship

The bulk of late- and post-Soviet scholarship on Christian musics deals with the Protestant Lutheran traditions of Estonians and Baltic Germans. That these traditions are often glossed simply as ‘church music’ (*kirikumuusika*) reflects the fact that the majority of institutionally affiliated Estonian Christians<sup>2</sup> belong to the EELC, the *de facto* national church whose public presence bolsters the mainstream association of Lutheranism and Estonianness.<sup>3</sup> Thus, ecumenicity is not necessarily inherent in the language of Estonian music scholarship; by and large, the study of ‘church music’ is the study of Protestant Lutheran music.

What is very much front and center in studies of ‘church music’, however, is sensitivity to and anxiety about the ways in which hymnody and religious concert music are or have become Estonian. Such sensitivities and anxieties are part of more thoroughgoing discourses emerging in the nineteenth century about Estonian national identity, Finno-Ugrianness and Europeaness that articulate a deep ambivalence about Christian, German and Russian influences of all kinds (cf. Karjahärm & Sirk 1997, 2001, 2007; Karjahärm 1998, 2003). Thus, the contributors to a 2002 volume celebrating the tenth anniversary of the new EELC hymnal each address the same provocative question: whose songs do we sing? (*Kelle laule me laulame?*) (Salumäe *et al.* 2001).

In that same volume, Toomas Siitan frames the question in a different way: does one study Estonian ‘church song’ or ‘church song’ in Estonia? (*Eesti kirikulaul või kirikulaul Eestis?*) (Siitan 2001) The ideological stakes are high in phrasing the question this way, since the derivative, non-indigenous character of the vast majority of the Lutheran hymnody he is concerned with chafes against the nationalist discourse of some Estonian music scholarship and ecclesial historiography. Siitan concludes his essay by making the necessary move toward a consideration of agency and practice – what he has elsewhere referred to as ‘ethnohymnology’ (2003b, p. 97) – as a way of overcoming the pitfalls of stylistic or provenance analyses and their attendant claims about authenticity: ‘[L]et us sing our own songs, which means the songs that have been given to us, regardless of whose they are or from where they come’ (*laulagem omi laule, see tähendab laule, mis on meile antud, küsimata kelle nad on või kust nad tulevad*) (2001, p. 44). Siitan lays the groundwork for this in his many studies of nineteenth-century Lutheran hymnody in Estonia, which expand upon the earlier work of Elmar Arro (1931, 1981, 2003). Siitan’s work focuses on such important figures as Punschel and Johann August Hagen (1786–1877), the impact of the pietistic revival of the Moravian Brethren,<sup>4</sup> and the aesthetic, social, political, and religious bases of musical reform in the Lutheran churches of tsarist Estland and Livland (see Siitan 1994, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2006).

Another scholar concerned with the aesthetic, religious, and ideological bases of renewal and reform is Anu Kõlar. Kõlar's work is notable for the ways in which it addresses questions about the ontology of 'church music' by examining musical style, social and political change, Estonian nationalism, confessional and doctrinal differences and worship practices (2004). The main body of her work is devoted to the institutions, ideological outlook, and repertoire of the Republican-era EELC in the 1930s. Kõlar shows how musical leaders and EELC elites transformed Estonian Lutheran 'church music' by taking it in a 'Christian-nationalist direction' (*kristlik-rahvuslikus suunas*) (2002, p. 180). In keeping with the nationalist ideologies of the interwar Estonian state, the EELC sought to establish itself as an autonomous national church and divorce itself from the feudal associations of the Baltic German-dominated Lutheran Church (Kõlar 2003b, p. 59). Kõlar explores the musical, religious and social dynamics of these processes by looking at how the EELC and its Church Music Secretariat concentrated on organizing religious song festivals, revising hymnals, fostering pedagogy and raising the level of choirs, congregational singing and organ playing (2002). What emerged was a passionate discourse about indigeneity and foreignness (read: Germanness) in 'church music'. Leaders in the EELC Church Music Secretariat, like Johannes Hiob (1907–1942), for instance, pushed for the creation of identifiably Estonian 'church music' and hymnody that would echo the vernacular national romanticism of concert and secular choral music without resorting to the 'sentimentality' of Baptist and other non-Lutheran Protestant musics (Kõlar 2002, pp. 219–21). In these exhaustive studies, Kõlar elaborates the ways in which Estonian 'church music' has been and continues to be a locus of national sacrality, nativist ideology and naturalized or politicized connections between musical styles, religious institutions and confessional identities.

Another field of Christian practice that has drawn the attention of numerous music scholars is the tradition of Estonian folk hymnody. These popular variations and elaborations on Lutheran chorales are valued for their apparent indigeneity, their Scandinavianness, their vitality as the traces of a predominantly oral religious culture, their compatibility with the methodologies of Estonian folkloristics and ethnomusicology and for the different possibilities they offer to contemporary performers of traditional, jazz and improvised musics when compared to other traditional Estonian song genres like *regilaul* (cf. Bak & Nielsen 2006).<sup>5</sup> The ways in which folk hymnody circulates reflects these values and reveals the extent to which Christian musics have become commonplace in Estonian musical life and scholarship.

As transcribed and recorded by figures like Cyrillus Kreek in the early twentieth century, Estonian folk hymns emerged in the 1980s from the archives where, in the recent past, they were deemed inappropriate for Soviet ideological reasons and effectively silenced or, in the Republican period, obscured by the nationalist emphasis on folk materials that were considered more authentically Estonian. In addition to the scores of choirs now singing Kreek's arrangements, many active in the Estonian traditional music scene – like the ensemble Triskele or Sofia Joons, Emma Härdelin and Meelika Hainsoo – draw extensively on folk hymnody. Since the late 1980s, scholars like Mart Humal and Urve Lippus have looked to folk hymnody and Kreek's arrangements for fresh analytical opportunities (Humal 1989; Lippus 1993b), and for insight into the musical consciousness, melodic spontaneity and spiritual landscapes

of Estonians and Estonian Swedes at the turn of the twentieth century (Lippus 1988, 1993a, 2003, 2006). Both Lippus and Helen Kõmmus are also interested in the social significance with which scholars invest folk hymnody. Because of its thematic content, poetic structure, strophic form, melodic ambitus and specific tonality, folk hymnody is commonly understood to represent a distinct and more recent layer of Estonian traditional music, which emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through the influence of German-speaking and Swedish Protestantism. In questioning whether folk hymnody is a 'religious' or a 'secular' phenomenon, then, Lippus (2003, p. 20) and Kõmmus (2001, p. 77) critically reframe broader scholarly debates about Estonian identity, archaic musical and cultural forms like *regilaul*, and Protestant-inflected practices assimilated from Scandinavia and German-speaking Europe. If folk hymnody is 'religious' and genres like *regilaul* are 'secular', then the distinction between what is often championed as an authentic, pre-Christian Estonian heritage and what are viewed as derivative, imposed, or less authentic Christian traditions is maintained. However, if folk hymnody can be considered 'secular', then the situation becomes ideologically more complicated (not to mention the possibility of folk hymnody being some third thing that reflects the interdependence of the religious and secular).

Since the late 1980s, Estonian music scholars have done less work outside the Protestant Lutheran mainstream and associated vernacular practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the exception of Heidi Heinmaa's research on Protestant cantors in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Tallinn (1999, 2004). This is in large part due to scholars' personal involvement with the religious musics and histories they study; naturally, scholars can speak as authoritative insiders about the musics with which they worship and the religious communities in which they participate. There are social and disciplinary reasons for these currents as well. For instance, very few Estonian music scholars are Orthodox Christians, which is to be expected given the small number of Orthodox Estonians in general. Thus, with the exception of Jelena Gandšu (2002) and Kristi Sarapuu (2003), there is very little Estonian scholarly discourse about Orthodox musics. Furthermore, stereotypes about Orthodox Christianity (it is commonly glossed as 'Russian faith' or *vene usk* in everyday Estonian speech) and the absence of more Russian-speaking scholars who might bring an Orthodox perspective to Estonian scholarly discourses are other aspects of social dynamics that shape disciplinary practices.

There are also methodological challenges in working outside of the Protestant Lutheran mainstream. The rigor and comprehensiveness of Estonian music scholars' recent text-centered, structural-historical approaches (see Lippus 2004 for an overview) is difficult to translate when archival sources are few, practices are emerging, institutional affiliations are global and fluid, religious ideologies are difficult to understand or accept, or when particular religious communities are inaudible and invisible in public spaces. Therefore, scholarly engagement with the musics of Estonian evangelicals and Baptists (Paldre 2003) or with the changing liturgical musics of Estonian Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Pentecostals and Lutherans (Jõks 2003) is noteworthy for its methodological emphasis on practice and the socio-religious dynamics of musical change. What is still much anticipated, however, is a more complete, more ecumenical consideration of Christian musics in Estonia, including the musics of Lutherans, Baptists, Methodists, and Pentecostals, Roman Catholics,

Estonian and Russian Orthodox Christians, Russian Old Believers, Ukrainian Greek Catholics and Armenian Apostolic Christians, all of whom are active in Estonia. Work with this scope would bring even greater nuance and a richer texture to late- and post-Soviet scholarship on Christian musics and the Christians for whom they are efficacious.

All of this raises the question of ecumenicity, and ecumenicity raises questions of religious ideology and the relationship of musical style, belief, theology, and sentiment. In the section that follows, I will discuss a specific congregational song whose genealogy and current relevance for Lutherans, Orthodox Estonians, evangelicals, Baptists, and Methodists illustrates the efficacy of ecumenicity and the fluidity and ambivalence of confessional categories. I do this in order to suggest some ways in which the tenacious ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia provides evidence of deep continuities in pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Soviet religious practices, and also to model a critical approach to understanding the fullest spiritual and social significance of Christian musics in Estonia.

### The Genealogies and Efficacy of Ecumenicity

Around 1822, Dmitri Bortnyansky (1751–1825), the director of the Court Cappella in St. Petersburg who exercised virtually absolute control over the musical practices of the imperial Russian Orthodox Church, created the patriotic hymn ‘Kol’ slaven nash gospod’ vo Sione’ (‘How Glorious Is Our Lord in Zion’).

At the centers of empire, ‘Kol’ slaven nash gospod’ vo Sione’ quickly came to symbolize the sanctity of tsarist order and the military power that perpetuated empire. The elite Preobrazhensky Life Guard, buoyed by the defeat of Napoleon in 1812, adopted ‘Kol’ slaven nash gospod’ vo Sione’ as its regimental anthem, for instance. Bortnyansky’s melody was chimed daily from clock towers in Moscow’s Kremlin and the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg. It served as the hymn of the imperial family and was used to accompany a host of religious and military ceremonies while having a place in everyday Russian Orthodox musical life as well.

Rumor has it that in 1813 Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770–1840) of Prussia heard Russian soldiers singing ‘Kol’ slaven nash gospod’ vo Sione’ in their camp. Impressed by the soldiers’ religious and patriotic fervor, he ordered that Bortnyansky’s melody be set to ‘Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe’ (‘I Worship the Power of Love’), a text by the eighteenth-century German mystic Gerhard Tersteegen (1697–1769), and incorporated into the German military ceremony known as the *Grosse Zapfenstreich*. Following this, the story goes, ‘Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe’ entered into the Lutheran hymnody of the German-speaking world and took on a religious and martial significance similar to that of ‘Kol’ slaven nash gospod’ vo Sione’ (see Wittenberg 1982). While this apocryphal tale is a myth and, as Andreas Wittenberg has shown, chronologically impossible, ‘Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe’ had in fact appeared by 1822 in a chorale book published in Karlsruhe by Joseph Gersbach (1787–1830) (Wittenberg 1982, p. 169).

By 1844, Bortnyansky’s hymn had appeared in Protestant Estland and Livland as ‘Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi’ (‘I Worship You, Power of Love’) in Hagen’s first

collection of Lutheran chorales (1844), and by 1862 in Wilhelm Bergner's later publications of Punschel's (1862) seminal chorale book.<sup>6</sup> In its Lutheran incarnation, the hymn made its way from the collections of Hagen and Punschel into the official 1899 hymnal of the Lutheran synods of Estland and Livland (*Uus Lauluraamat* 1900). It was also included in subsequent Republican-era and early Soviet editions of the EELC hymnal (1926, 1938, 1948, 1957). It comes as no surprise, then, that 'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' is present in the landmark 1991 edition of the EELC hymnal as well.

It is highly likely that Bortnyansky's 'Kol' slaven nash gospod' vo Sione' was also part of Russian Orthodox culture in nineteenth-century Estland and Livland, and it is at least plausible that the tune, perhaps paired with an Estonian text, was known to Estonian Orthodox converts from the 1840s onward.<sup>7</sup> Whatever the case, 'Kol' slaven nash gospod' vo Sione' had entered definitively into Estonian Orthodoxy by 1896, when the priest-musician Andrei Ramul (1842–1926) included it in a collection of liturgical and paraliturgical congregational songs, a page of which is shown in Figure 2 above. By 1915, 'Kol' slaven nash gospod' vo Sione' was Estonianized as 'Kui suur on Siionis me' Jumal' ('How Great Is Our God in Zion') (*Waimulikud laulud õigeusulisele Eesti rahvale* 1915) and had become one of the most popular strophic, rhymed congregational songs (*riimilaulud*) among Orthodox Estonians by the time it was published in official OCE service books during the Republican period (*Eesti Apostliku õigeusu kiriku Wiiside raamat I* 1925). It seems natural, then, that 'Kui suur on Siionis' has been included among the extensive republications and retranslations of service books that the OCE has issued since the early 2000s.

Among Estonian Baptists, Methodists, Seventh-Day Adventists, evangelicals and other Protestant groups (*usulahud*), Bortnyansky's tune, usually paired with Tersteegen's text, has circulated widely from the late tsarist period onwards, revealing the considerable extent to which 'free churches' (*vabakirikud*) and 'free congregations' (*vabakogudused*) have worked ecumenically and supported one another musically, spiritually and in other practical matters (see Paldre 2003). For instance, 'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' appeared in the International Tract Society's 1913 Estonian-language 'Songs of Zion' (*Sioni Laulud* 1913), in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Estonia's 1926 *Hymnal for the Methodist Episcopal Church in Estonia* (*Lauluraamat Piiskoplikule Metodistikirikule Eestis* 1926), and in the Estonian Union of Seventh-Day Adventists' 1928 'Songs of Zion' (*Siioni laulud* 1928). In the latter publication, there are multiple new variant texts provided for Bortnyansky's tune as well.

'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' continued to appear in Protestant publications both during and after the Second World War. In 1943, it was included in a youth hymnal that brought together the musics of Estonian and Swedish Baptists, Lutherans, Seventh-Day Adventists, Pentecostals and evangelicals (*Noortelaulik* 1943), and it also appeared in official Soviet-era hymnals for Baptists and evangelicals (*Evangeelsed laulud 1975a*, republished in 1991) and Methodists (*Evangeelsed laulud* 1975b).

In 1992, the UFEBCE, together with Estonian Methodists and Pentecostals, began work on a new hymnal whose content would better meet the Union's worship needs and reflect its members' beliefs about the propriety and efficacy of congregational singing. Given its prominent place in so many earlier Baptist, evangelical, Methodist and Pentecostal publications, it is no surprise that 'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi'

# Коль славень нашъ Господь въ Сионѣ.

Варажасте.

Бортнянскій.

№ 38.

1. Коль сла-вень нашъ Гос-подь въ Си - о - нѣ,  
 Не можетъ изъ-яс-нить я-зыкъ! Ве-ликъ Онъ въ небе-  
 -сахъ на тро-нѣ, Въ былинкахъ на зем-ли ве-ликъ! Вез-  
 -дѣ Господь, вез-дѣ Ты сла-вень, Во дни въ нощи, си-

FIGURE 2 'Kol' slaven nash gospod' vo Sione' (Andrei Ramul, *Waimulikud laulud, psalmid ehk waimulikud kantad, wiisidega* [Tallinn, Lindfors, 1896], p. 63).

found its way into *Sacred Songs* (*Waimulikud laulud* 1997), the hymnal used in 92% of UFEBCE congregations as of 2002 (Paldre 2003, p. 71).

Bortnyansky's tune also circulates more generally within Eastern and Western Christianities. In the Anglophone hymnody of any number of Protestant

denominations, for instance, the tune has come to be known most commonly as ‘St. Petersburg’ and is present in numerous hymnals. Orthodox Finns have also adopted Bortnyansky’s tune for use in their paraliturgical and devotional singing (see Piironen 1951, p. 5), and it is popular in Serbia as well. In 2003, the Estonian Orthodox version of Bortnyansky’s hymn (‘Kui suur on Siionis’) was included as one of the OCE’s contributions to an ecumenical youth hymnal published by the Estonian Council of Churches (M-L. Mäeväli 2003). Surrounded by representative musics of Lutheran, evangelical, Baptist, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Seventh-Day Adventist, Armenian Apostolic and Russian Orthodox traditions, its appearance in this volume recognizes the ecumenical significance of Bortnyansky’s hymn for Christians in Estonia.

These transformations of Bortnyansky’s ‘Kol’ slaven nash gospod’ vo Sione’ give just a taste of the ways in which this tune has been efficacious for Estonian Christians since the mid-nineteenth century. There are other ways as well. In the first half of the twentieth century, for instance, Orthodox Estonians frequently used the tune of ‘Kui suur on Siionis’ to set new texts written specifically for Orthodox feasts, burial services, or local anniversaries, which circulated on commemorative song sheets (*laululehed*). That there is no musical notation on these song sheets reveals the degree to which Bortnyansky’s tune was vital to popular Estonian Orthodox oral practices at the time (in addition to the practical financial reasons for not printing notated music). In my fieldwork, I have also attended ecumenical religious song festivals where participants jointly sang both the Orthodox and Lutheran versions of this hymn.

So how might one deal with the tenacious ecumenicity of Estonian Christian music like this? How should scholars make sense of complicated musical and religious genealogies such as these? What are the ways in which music like this confounds or denaturalizes the alignment of musical styles and confessional categories? What calculus of aesthetic and theological values can explain this ecumenicity? Finally, what challenges emerge as music scholars attempt to negotiate the limits of secular methodologies?

To begin with, I would suggest that the ecumenicity of songs like ‘Kol’ slaven nash gospod’ vo Sione’ or ‘Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi’ or ‘Kui suur on Siionis’ and the practices they engender echo ongoing and more extensive ecumenical histories involving the interaction of different religious ideologies and confessional groups in Estonia, beliefs about the Estonian nation, and the geopolitical, imaginative, and spiritual dimensions of Eastern, Western, and charismatic Christianities. In other words, the ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia is a key to understanding their fullest spiritual and social significance. Ecumenicity reveals shared beliefs about the propriety and efficacy of sounds that make those sounds both Estonian and Christian.

There are any number of possible explanations for the ecumenical appeal of Bortnyansky’s tune as a vessel for different religious texts—its melodic attractiveness and memorability, its impelling rhythmic character, its uncomplicated harmonic orientation around tonic–subdominant–dominant poles, its formal accommodation of textual parallelism (the *Stollen* phrases) and contrast (the *Abgesang* phrase), and its affective, august lyricism. Indeed, the ecumenicity (or ambivalence) of Bortnyansky’s style, closely related as it is to secular and Western Christian vernaculars in

eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe yet able to serve Orthodox functions, lends itself especially well to all kinds of Christians in Estonia.<sup>8</sup> Given its ubiquity among Estonian Christians, then, the sentiments inspired by singing Bortnyansky's hymn can be both religious and social; singing can be efficacious within the context of denominationally specific Christian worship and, at the same time, mediate experiences of national intimacy. This has considerable bearing on the ways in which the ethnolinguistic and geopolitical dimensions of the Estonian nation are often described in quasi-religious language and invested with sacred meanings, no less so today as part of the European Union and in a time of demographic change and geopolitical struggle than during the interwar Republic or the nineteenth-century 'national awakening' (*ärkamise aeg*).

This ecumenicity also has considerable bearing on the secular methodologies of music scholars. Text-based historical and analytical approaches may not fully reveal the ways in which music like Bortnyansky's is efficacious – not in spite of but *because* of its complicated religious and musical genealogies, its ecumenicity, and how it obscures ideological distinctions between Christian confessions and the sacred and secular. But the more profound challenge for music scholars is to deal with the sacrality of this music and the religious sentiments it engenders, both of which exceed conventional confessional and social categories. The most meaningful aspect of ecumenicity for Estonian believers may be the spiritual power it mediates and the shared, more universally Estonian practices it enables. Because of its power to forge connections across denominations and doctrines, ecumenicity may enhance the truthfulness of revealed sounds and words, and may be understood as the fuller presence of divinity, as something transhistorical, non-parochial, and cosmopolitan, or as the embodiment of values that transcend confessional categories, thereby giving voice to and making sense of other religious and social formations. For these reasons, it is incumbent on music scholars to verge on matters of belief, faith, and efficacy by analyzing the practices and discourses inspired by ecumenical musics like Bortnyansky's.

The ecumenicity of 'Kol' slaven nash gospod' vo Sione' or 'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' or 'Kui suur on Siionis' does not mean that Lutheran, Orthodox, Baptist, Methodist and evangelical Estonians have not adopted texts and transformed Bortnyansky's tune to reflect their own beliefs about the propriety and efficacy of Christian sounds. Quite the opposite, in fact. The differences between Protestant (Figures 3 and 5) and Orthodox (Figures 4 and 6) texts, for example, are fundamental. While the Protestant variants convey Tersteegen's mysticism in an insistently first-person, singular devotional voice, the Orthodox variants, though noncanonical texts, are written in a conciliar first-person plural, inflected with touches of apophatic theology, and imbued with royal imagery familiar to Orthodox Christians.

Musically, there is much that distinguishes these variants as well. The Lutheran 'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' (Figure 3) is clearly geared toward the essential, theologically symbolic liturgical practice of singing in unison to organ accompaniment. Given the proscription of musical instruments in Orthodox Christianity, however, 'Kui suur on Siionis' (Figures 4 and 6) becomes an accessible kind of Christian sound meant to foster congregational participation in a musically specialized and, at times, esoteric liturgy. Finally, the Baptist, evangelical, and Methodist version of

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## MA KUMMARDAN SIND, ARMUVÄGI

Omal viisil

Ma kum - mar - dan Sind, Ar - mu -  
Ma as - tun ar - mas - tu - se  
vä - gi, mis Jee - su - ses end  
li - gi, mis põr - mu pea - le il - mu - tand.  
ha - las - tand: mu o - ma mõ - te  
ä - ra ka - ob ja ar - mu -  
mer - re üks - si va - ob.

2. Kui väga Sa mind armastanud  
ja kuis Su süda nõuab mind!  
See imearm mind äratanud,  
et minu hing ka ihkab Sind.  
Mu sees Sa asu, armu võimus,  
et võrsuksin ka Sinu vaimus.

3. Su oma, Issand, on mu süda,  
Sa minu vara ja mu võit;  
mu eest Sa kandsid surmahäda,  
et mulle tõuseks elu koit.  
Sa maksid minu võla ära,  
mu hinge õnn ja kallim sära!

4. Oh Jeesus, oma püha nime  
mu südamesse kirjuta,  
et Sinu suure armu ime  
võiks hinge sisse vajuda,  
et sõna, töö ja terve elu  
siis kuulutaks Su nime ilu!

Viis: „Ich bete an dich, Macht der Liebe“  
Dimitri Bortnjansky, 1751–1825.

Sõnad: Gerhard Tersteegen, 1697–1769.  
Tõlge: Martin Lipp, 1854–1923.

1. Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi,  
mis Jeesuses end ilmutand.  
Ma astun armastuse ligi,  
mis põrmu peale halastand:  
mu oma mõte ära kaob  
ja armumerre üksi vaob.

1. I worship You, Loving Power,  
which was revealed in Jesus himself.  
I draw near to the love,  
which was spared corruption:  
thought of myself vanishes  
and is wholly engulfed in a sea of love.

FIGURE 3 'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' (*Kiriku laulu- ja palveraamat* [Tallinn, Eesti Evangeeliumi Luteri Usu Kiriku Konsistooriumi, 1992], p. 348).

Kiriku- ja palvelaule 247

## Kui suur on Siionis

V. Raska

D. Bortnjanski



1. Kui suur on Si - o - nis me Ju - mal,  
 2. Oh I - sa, mõis - tust mei - le an - na  
 3. Sa päik - se - val - gust su - re - lis - tel  
 4. Oh Ju - mal, Si - nu troo - ni et - te



ei keel või ü - les rää - ki - da; ta suu - rus  
 Sind kü - ta, Ju - mal! Pü - ha Tall, Sa mei - e  
 nüüd an - nad ar - must kõi - gi - le, ja Si - o -  
 nüüd tõus - ku mei - e pal - ve - hää, ja ol - gu



pais - tab koi - du ku - mal ja mul - la - põr - must  
 kü - tust tae - va kan - na kui ma - gust suit - su  
 nis Sa o - ma las - tel teed e - lu - a - set  
 pan - diks Si - nu kät - te meil tä - nu - pi - sar



pais - tab ka. Ta hül - gab kus - tu - ma - ta  
 Ju - ma - lal. Nüüd võ - ta, I - sa, mei - e  
 hel - des - ti. Ka pa - tu - seid, Sa lu - mal,  
 pal - ge peal. Mu sü - da al - ta - riks Sull'



pal - gel öö - a - jal, nii ka päe - va - val - gel.  
 tä - nu ja kus - tu - ta me hin - ge ja - nu.  
 hoi - ad ja o - ma ar - mu - lau - al toi - dad.  
 saa - gu, mu keel Sind kü - tes ü - len - da - gu.

1. Kui suur on Siionis me Jumal,

ei keel või üles rääkida;

ta suurus paistab koidu kumal

ja mullapõrmust paistab ka.

Ta hülgab kustumata palgel

ööajal, nii ka päevalgel.

1. How great in Zion is our God,

words cannot describe;

God's grandeur appears in dawn's gleam

and also from the dust of the earth;

God's inextinguishable countenance

shines

at night, as in the light of day.

FIGURE 4 'Kui suur on Siionis' (*Õigeusu palveraamat*, Mattias Palli (ed.) [Tallinn, Eesti Apostlik-Õigeusu Kiriku Kirjastus, 2006], p. 247).

## Ma kummardan Sind

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Mt 4:10

Gerhard Tersteegen

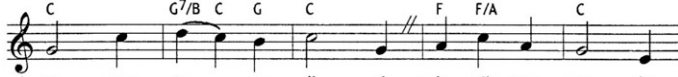
Dimitri Bortnjanski



1. Ma kum - mar - dan Sind, ar - mu vä - gi,  
 2. Ma tun - nen, sü - da sõu - ab Sul - le,  
 3. Su o - ma, ls - sand, on - mu sü - da,  
 4. Oh Jee - sus, o - ma pü - ha ni - me



1. mis Jee - su - ses end il - mu - tand. Ma as - tun  
 2. Su o - ma üks - nes o - len - ma. Ei ka - duv  
 3. Sa mi - nu va - ra ja - mu võit. Mu eest Sa  
 4. mu sü - da - mes - se kir - ju - ta, et Si - nu



1. ar - mas - tu - se li - gi, mis pör - mu pea - le  
 2. ilm too õn - ne mul - le, mul rõõm on Si - nus  
 3. kand - sid sur - ma - hä - da, et mul - le tõu - seks  
 4. suu - re ar - mu i - me võiks mi - nu hin - ge



1. ha - las - tand. Mu o - ma mõt - ted ä - ra  
 2. e - la - da. Su juu - res ra - hu, rõõ - mu  
 3. e - lu - koit. Sa mak - sid mi - nu võ - la  
 4. va - ju - da, et sõ - na, töö ja ter - ve



1. kao - vad ja ar - mu - mer - re üks - nes vao - vad.  
 2. lei - an, end ar - mu - mer - re pei - ta püü - an.  
 3. ä - ra, mu hin - ge õnn ja kal - lis sä - ra.  
 4. e - lu siis kuu - lu - taks Su ni - me i - lu.

1. Ma kummardan Sind, armuvägi,

mis Jeesuses end ilmutand.

Ma astun armastuse ligi,

mis põrmu peale halastand.

Mu oma mõtted ära kaovad

ja armumerre üksnes vaovad.

1. I worship You, loving power,

which was revealed in Jesus himself.

I draw near to the love,

which was spared corruption.

Thoughts of myself vanish

and are wholly engulfed in a sea of love.

FIGURE 5 'Ma kummardan Sind' (*Vaimulikud laulud* [Tallinn, Eesti Evangeeliumi Kristlaste ja Baptistide Koguduste Liit, 1997], p. 358).

Jeesuse ülestõusmine

Lunastuslugu

## 58 Kui suur on Siionis

Dmitri Bortnjanski

**Pikalt**  
*p*

1. Kui suur on Siionis me  
Jumal, ei keel või üles rääki -  
da; Ta suurus pais - tab koi - du -  
ku - mal ja mul - la põr - must  
pais - tab ka. Ta hiil - gab kus - tu -  
ma - ta pal - gel öö a - jal,  
nii ka päe - va val - - gel.

2. Oh Isa, mõistust meile anna  
Sind kiita, Jumal, Püha Tall;  
Sa meie kiitust taeva kannal,  
kui magust suitsu Jumalal.  
Nüüd võta, Isa, meie tänu  
ja kustuta me hinge janu.
3. Oh Jumal, Sinu trooni ette  
nüüd tõusku meie palvehääl  
ja olgu pandiks Sinu kätte  
meil tänupisar palge peal.  
Mu süda altariks Sul saagu,  
mu keel Sind kiites ülendagu.

**FIGURE 6** 'Kui suur on Siionis' (*Oikumeeniline noortelaulik OIKU*, Mai-Liis Mäeväli (ed.) [Tallinn, Eesti Kirikute Nõukogu, 2003], pp. 130–1).

'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' (Figure 5) is suited for singing to organ accompaniment but also features chord markings to facilitate improvised accompaniment on guitar or keyboard in the context of charismatic worship.

These musical and textual differences are distillations of different attitudes towards Christian sounds and different beliefs about what makes those sounds efficacious. But instead of obscuring the ecumenicity of Bortnyansky's hymn and other Christian musics in Estonia, these differences in fact accentuate ecumenicity because of the shared practices, sentiments, and experiences they enable by being at once confession-specific and also about a more universal Christianity and sense of Estonianness. Although the ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia has become more publicly audible and pronounced through post-Soviet religious renewal and transformation, it also registers deep continuities in pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Soviet religious practices while critically recasting distinctions between confessional categories and the sacred and secular.

## Conclusions

The ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia is tenacious, especially in light of the changes in late- and post-Soviet Estonian musical life and scholarship that I have documented here. For a host of ideological, political, and personal reasons, Christian musics once again sound in public spaces, provide creative resources for musicians of all kinds, and bring both pleasure and spiritual nourishment to listeners and worshipers. Estonian music scholarship has participated in and documented these changes, and scholars' renewed commitment to the study of Christian musics is evidence of the changing ways in which humanistic knowledge is produced in the post-Soviet era. No longer subject to ideological proscription and (self-)censorship, belief, faith, theology, socio- and musico-religious histories, and practices related to divinity have re-emerged as fields of inquiry that are redrawing and, at the same time, obscuring and overcoming disciplinary boundaries in productive ways. As I have suggested here, 'church music' has been critical in the reassessment and rewriting of Estonian music histories (see Lippus 1995a, 2002a, 2002b), and many scholars have made their careers addressing lacunae in Estonian music scholarship through the study of Christian musics, introducing new methodologies and illuminating new temporal and geographic relationships in the process.

In the wake of important work that has been done since the late 1980s, the tenacious ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia is becoming more explicit in music scholarship as well. What is valuable about an explicit consideration of ecumenicity is the way in which it registers the nuanced dynamics of historical change in Estonian musical and religious life, and the way in which it denaturalizes the alignment of musical styles, confessional categories, ethnolinguistic identities and religious institutions. Like those engaged in, experiencing, or studying Christian musics and religious renewal in post-Soviet Estonia, Christian sounds, ideas and believers are necessarily active within ecumenical spaces and at the fluid boundaries of the sacred and the secular in society at large. The tenacity with which musics like 'Kol' slaven nash gospod' vo Sione' or 'Ma kummardan Sind, Armuvägi' or 'Kui suur

on Siionis' mediate ecumenical histories, enable ecumenical practices, and are efficacious because of their ecumenicity, then, is an essential consideration in the field of Estonian music scholarship, first and foremost because of the ways in which it challenges ambivalent secular methodologies and disciplinary practices.

In this way, post-Soviet Estonian music scholarship can no longer be considered simply post-Soviet: on the one hand, in coming to terms with the ecumenicity of Christian musics in Estonia, present-day Estonian music scholarship is dealing with methodological and ideological issues that shaped Soviet and Republican-era musicologies as well, albeit in different ways. On the other hand, in coming to terms with matters of belief, efficacy, the sacrality of sound as such, and the relationship of modernity and secularism, Estonian music scholarship is dealing with issues that concern the international musicological community as a whole. Thus, not only has Estonian music scholars' turn towards Christian musics been part of a widespread, decidedly late- and post-Soviet phenomenon, it has also been one of the ways in which Estonian music scholarship has moved beyond the post-Soviet and the essentialisms, retrograde historical interpretations, and ideas of Western 'normalcy' associated with that label to forge a vital, agentive present and future.

## Notes

- 1 See, for example, the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church's *Church Song and Prayer Book* (*Kiriku laulu- ja palveraamat* 1991), the Orthodox Church of Estonia's *Orthodox Prayer Book* (*Õigeusu palveraamat*; Palli 2006), the Union of Free Evangelical and Baptist Churches of Estonia's *Sacred Songs* (*Vaimulikud laulud* 1997), and the Estonian Council of Churches' *Ecumenical Song Book for Youth* OIKU (*Oikumeeniline noortelaulik OIKUi*; M.-L. Mäeväli 2003).
- 2 Here I am referring to ethnic Estonians, not to the Russian-speaking population in Estonia.
- 3 Overall, however, Estonian society is markedly secular, and many of those living in Estonia do not identify with institutionalized religions (cf. Liiman 2001; Plaata 2002, 2003b, 2003c; Kilemit & Nõmmik 2004).
- 4 Also see Rudolf Pöldmäe (1987, 1988) and Voldemar Ilja (1995, 2000) for late- and post-Soviet accounts of the Moravian Brethren.
- 5 *Regilaul* is a traditional Estonian song genre closely related to Finnish Kalevalaic song and other Balto-Finnic traditional genres. It is characterized by trochaic, octosyllabic verses, thematic parallelism, and alliteration. *Regilaul* is typically responsorial, monophonic, and cyclical; its melodies feature a limited vocal range and are generally syllabic. The earliest forms of *regilaul* probably date back to the first millennium C.E. and stand apart from the rhymed verses, strophic forms, tonally inflected melodies, and functional harmonies of later song genres arriving (along with popular Christianity) from Western Europe and taking root in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Lippus 1995c, pp. 20–7).
- 6 T. Siitan, personal communication, 16 May 2004.
- 7 On Estonian Orthodox conversion and the significance of congregational singing in Estonian Orthodoxy, see Engelhardt (2005, pp. 108–209).

- 8 The cosmopolitan character of Bortyansky's religious and secular music and the affinities between Russian, German, and Italian elite musical cultures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been well documented. See, for instance, Morosan (1994, p. 57–73) and Taruskin (1997, pp. xi–xiv, 105–235; 2006).

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