

STAR BRIDE MARRIES A COOK: THE CHANGING PROCESSES IN THE ORAL SINGING TRADITION AND IN FOLK SONG COLLECTING ON THE WESTERN ESTONIAN ISLAND OF HIIUMAA. I

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Abstract: Relying on the critical analysis of the folk song collections, which represent the heritage of Estonia's second biggest island, Hiiumaa¹, as well as on manifold background information, the history of Hiiumaa folk song collecting (from 1832 to 1979) and the character of the singing tradition in the changing social and cultural context is drafted.

During the process of research, the data on Hiiumaa folk songs were formalized, the specific features of older local song styles (*regilaul*², transitional song, and archaic vocal genres) were outlined by using formal and typological text analysis, and the representability of folk song collections was estimated. The settlement history of Hiiumaa was studied and associated with the putative processes in folk song tradition.

The older folk songs collected from Hiiumaa reveal the process of historical changing: there occur older Baltic-Finnic alliterative songs and transitional songs with regional western Estonian features and a pervasive impact of bagpipe music. The singing tradition is influenced mainly by cultural contacts with the Estonian and Swedish population on Estonian islands and the western coast, and also by the contacts of local sailors.

The number of older Hiiumaa folk song representations is relatively modest due to the reasons that lay in folklore collecting ideology, the remote location of Hiiumaa, and a fast decline of *regilaul* tradition in the late 1800s and early 1900s. However, in the course of fieldwork, *regilaul* songs were always documented as precisely as possible, while other older genres were often dismissed by earlier collectors. Fieldwork was seldom done in Hiiumaa, but the existing folk song examples, if treated critically, still give quite a good overview of the local historical singing tradition.

Keywords: Estonian Swedes, Hiiumaa, folklore collection, *regilaul*, traditional music

INTRODUCTION

Why do folklore collections contain only a few older Hiiumaa folk songs?

The main goal of the article is to give a survey of the collections of older Hiiumaa folk songs, most of which are stored in the Estonian Folklore Archives (EFA), part of them also in other archives as well as published in different sources. A closer analysis is given as to why Hiiumaa is represented by only a relatively small number of *regilaul* and other older folk song examples in the archives. The results may shed light upon the regional developments of the Baltic-Finnic folk song tradition and history of folklore collecting as well as upon the larger cultural processes in the Baltic Sea area.

Earlier folkloristic research reveals which are areas rich in *regilaul* in Estonia and which are not. The island of Hiiumaa in western Estonia is noted as a rather poor *regilaul* area and has not attracted the attention of researchers. This disinterest might be caused by the general social and ideological processes, in which folklore collectors and researchers are involved. They are influenced by cultural trends and, in turn, they might influence culture with their choice and exposure of the research object. Folklore had an important role during the nation-building process in the nineteenth century, and likewise this was the case in many European countries (e.g. Baltic States, Slovakia) where a foreign upper class was dominant over the local native people (Anderson 1991 [1983]; Ó Guilláin 2000). The *regilaul* song had a central role in Estonian folklore and national folklore discourse owing to its age, the refined poetic form, and close ties with folk life and other Baltic-Finnic people (Kalkun & Sarv 2012; Oras 2012).

The reason why even such an abandoned and seemingly poor field of research as Hiiumaa *regilaul* has drawn attention today is because of the social processes in the islands of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa from which the authors originate, as well as the overall increasing scholarly interest in hitherto marginalized areas. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the inhabitants of Hiiumaa have experienced a new wave of interest towards traditional culture that the locals often call national awakening.³ The case of Hiiumaa is quite challenging because the old tradition is often better preserved in the peripheral areas of Estonia, like Setomaa in the southeast, or on islands like Kihnu and Muhu off the western coast of Estonia.⁴ As Hiiumaa is also an island near the western coast, but one not noted for a prosperous old song tradition, it makes sense to think about the peculiarities of local song tradition in the Estonian historical and cultural context.

The first research hypothesis is that the reason for the relatively small number of older Hiiumaa folk songs, *regilaul* in particular, might be found in folklore collecting history. Maybe collectors preferred to record other folklore genres than old folk songs in Hiiumaa, or failed to travel to the island or find the people who knew the songs. Secondly, *regilaul* as a style had died out in the nineteenth century or had never been properly spread or developed in Hiiumaa, perhaps because of the cultural impact of the local Swedish community or other ideological, historical or cultural factors. A combination of all these factors is certainly also possible.

The objectives of the present article are: 1) to assemble data on Hiiumaa folk songs; 2) to highlight the specific features of the local older song tradition, mainly by using formal and typological text analysis; 3) to outline folklore collection history in Hiiumaa and estimate the representability of Hiiumaa folk song materials; 4) to study the settlement history in order to get information about cultural contacts with a special insight into the possible impact of the local Swedish community; 5) to test the hypotheses, relying on the results of previous analyses.

The article is published in two parts in the consecutive volumes of the journal. In the following subdivisions the historical layers of Estonian folk songs are presented and the material used in this study is described. The second chapter outlines the history of folk music collection in Hiiumaa and analyzes to what extent the recordings reflect the situation of older folk song tradition. These chapters are followed by conclusions. In the second part of the article published in the next volume, the third chapter analyzes the folk song representations in three subdivisions (*regilaul*; transitional song; archaic vocal genres). The last chapter discusses Hiiumaa song tradition in the context of western Estonian cultural contacts and is followed by final conclusions.

Estonian folk songs

The Estonian language and older folk tradition have their roots in ancient Baltic-Finnic culture. The old folk songs circulated as an oral tradition, with both tunes and lyrics varying. Texts and melodies, once sung together, did not have fixed one-to-one connections, so melodies could be sung with different lyrics within some restrictions – this phenomenon is characteristic of many oral, text-centered singing cultures (Särg 2009; Tampere 1956). To subject such an abundant material of oral tradition to scholarly treatment, it has turned out to advantage to group textual variants of similar content and function as text-types. Estonian folk songs are divided into two main historical layers (in more detail see Rüütel 1998).

1. Old folk songs, rooted in the ancient Baltic-Finnic song tradition, are characterized by alliteration and syntactic and semantic parallelism; they are usually built up of certain traditional text motives and plots. These songs represent a different song culture, both from Western folk music and more recent Estonian folk music, although they have absorbed some neighboring influences while developing over time. They were performed without instrumental accompaniment.

According to their function and form, old folk songs fall into two large groups.

The first is a heterogeneous group, often referred to by the general term 'archaic vocal genres'. This includes incantations, children's rhymes, herding calls, nature sound imitations, etc. Each genre has its own specific means of expression, depending closely on the character of a certain activity. The songs are often on the borderline of music, their lyrics are usually short accentual verses, performed by a single person in a speech-like manner.

The second group of old folk songs is *regilaul* (the poetic text of *regilaul* is called *regivärss*). The *regilaul* song is distinguished from the previous heterogeneous group firstly by its meter that can be described as a specific form of Kalevala-meter. The *regilaul* meter has features of both quantitative and syllabic-accentual meter, its realization depending mainly on the regional singing tradition. Over a wide time span of about two thousand years, the development of *regilaul* has given rise to the formation of various historical, regional, and generic poetic sub-styles (for more detail see Sarv 2008, 2011; Ross & Lehiste 2001; Korhonen 1994).

In the melody every single note usually corresponds to one verse position. Normally, the *regilaul* melody extends over one or two verse lines. *Regilaul* tunes often have a narrow ambitus (from third to fifth) and one-line melody; the newer tunes have two-line or longer melodies and some of them reflect harmonic musical thinking. Many *regilaul* songs accompany specific activities, such as farmwork or weddings, but there are even more songs that can be performed in various situations, e.g. as a leisure pastime or handcraft. *Regilaul* songs were usually performed by a group comprising a leader and a chorus (Rüütel 1998; Lippus 1995).

2. More modern, end-rhymed stanzaic folk songs (*uuemad rahvalaulud*) emerged in Estonia under the influence of other European peoples, especially Baltic Germans. The adapted and translated versions of foreign folk songs spread during the late 1700s and in the 1800s and provided a 'fashionable' model for creating new similar songs in Estonian. The modernizing process of folklore was related to developments in economic and social structure as well as in language and musical taste.

End-rhymed songs lacked alliteration and parallelism, but had end-rhymes that organized lyrics into stanzas. They had syllabic-accentual meters that often consisted of 8 syllables, representing trochaic or iambic meter; but there also occurred stanzas formed from uneven lines and dactylic meters, etc. End-rhymed folk song lyrics spread also in handwritten and printed song books, although the melodies were still memorized by hearing. New genres emerged, such as songs about village life, songs of soldiers, sailors, and prisoners, and sentimental love songs; only a few of them, for example, the dance and game songs, still had functional ties. Singing could be accompanied by an instrument.

3. It is also possible to identify a separate group of transitional folk songs (*siirdevormilised rahvalaulud*) in between the older and newer song styles. The changes in oral tradition did not happen abruptly, and during this process a bulk of mixed songs emerged: modernized versions of *regilaul* or other older genres, and the early adaptations from the neighboring cultures. A specific group of transitional songs is formed by dance songs in triple meter, which accompany bagpipe music, or which have emerged under its influence. Their verses are alliterative and accentual, adaptable to the triple musical meter. The dance itself was usually called flat foot waltz (*labajalg*, *labajalavalss*) – most likely an ancient Estonian version of the European folk dance family, which would later evolve into the waltz.

The delimitation of research material

The folklore material used for the present research is comprised of Hiiumaa folk songs preserved at the Estonian Folklore Archives (EFA)⁵ and the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum (ETMM, manuscript of Harri Otsa)⁶, as well as printed sources containing the earlier fieldwork material (Gottlund 1832; Lönnbohm 1893). The material includes a vast majority of representations of Hiiumaa folk song melodies and lyrics, collected from 1832 to 1979.⁷

In order to better understand the changing folk song tradition, the research was not strictly limited to *regilaul*, but also its border areas were added. The importance of this principle was explained by Herbert Tampere, when he planned the volume of older folk songs from Mustjala parish, western Saaremaa.

The aim of the scholarly publication “Vana Kannel” is to demonstrate not only the classical forms of folk songs in regilaul style, but also to guide the readers to discover their birth, evolvement, and finally the obsolescence. Therefore one should add to the publication the song styles that were used simultaneously with regilaul, were fused with it, and, on the other hand,

had a mutual influence with the transitional forms that emerged on the way to a more modern, end-rhymed folk song. (Tampere 1960: 515)

The present research focuses on older Hiiumaa folk songs, therefore folklore material was initially divided into the three main historical groups described above. All the older alliterative folk songs (archaic vocal genres and *regilaul*) are included in further research, but more modern songs with end-rhymes and stanzas are excluded; the transitional songs are treated selectively.

The songs of different historical and poetic styles are not easy to define. The distinction between *regilaul* and end-rhymed folk song had not been made in the EFA materials until the 1930s because of the hardly discernible border between them: “A closer look reveals to us many songs on the cusp of transition. Which of them belong to one or another group should be discovered in the course of future research work” (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 199). Although the songs were classified later and the registers and card catalogues of the EFA offer information on the song style, the authors revised and (re)classified the material. The reason was that the earlier classification was made by different people over a long time span and might have been inconsistent for the fussy and dim borders between song styles. All the lyrics with more or fewer features of the older folk songs were distinguished from the songs with consistent use of end-rhymes and stanzaic form, the last being considered as the main defining feature of the new song style by Rütel (2015: 37).

Among the older Hiiumaa folk songs the formal poetic features (meter, stylistic devices, etc.) did not define the substyles (archaic vocal genres, *regilaul*, and different styles of transitional songs) well enough. In order to distinguish between them, we took into account also the content: the topics, motives, and formulas. For the present research *regilaul* is defined in a way similar to that in the Estonian folk song anthology (Tedre 1969–1974), i.e. the alliterative songs with *regilaul* formulaic language, motives, and basic trochaic 8-positional meter, even if modernized. The same anthology has been used as a basis for the classification of *regilaul* and some older non-*regilaul* song genres.⁸ From the transitional style group are the older songs, which share several features with *regilaul* and archaic genres, and the bagpipe dance songs *labajalg*, chosen for the present research. The well known, pan-Estonian types of transitional songs and round games were excluded (e.g. numerous variants of *Üks jahimees läks metsa* (‘A hunter went to the forest’), and *Jänese õhkamine* (‘The wail of a rabbit’)) (Rütel 1980, 1983, 2015). Despite everything, our decisions might sometimes be slightly subjective and inconsistent.

Based on firsthand analysis, there are approximately 280 older folk songs (i.e. entities written down or sound-recorded together with the melody and song lyrics), some melodies without lyrics, and 1150 variants of song lyrics

(written down without the melody) – with altogether about 1430 variants of lyrics of older folk song under further research. The corpus of older folk song lyrics contains about 620 *regilaul* songs, 380 archaic vocal genres (mainly imitations of natural sounds, incantations, and children's songs) and 430 older/local transitional songs.⁹ To specify the number of *regilaul* songs, there are only 44 of them among the 284 older folk songs collected together with the melody: 27 fieldwork transcriptions and 17 audio recordings.

For comparison, in the *regilaul* publication *Vana Kannel* ('Old Psalter') 1018 variants are published from two parishes, Paide and Anna, which are not known as rich *regilaul* areas (Kõiva & Oras 2012), and 1403 variants from Mustjala, a parish in Saaremaa (Tampere & Tampere 1985). If we separated the 424 texts (*labajalg* songs and concise half-spoken archaic genres) that would not be the subject of *Vana Kannel* from the total amount of Hiiumaa older song lyrics, it would yield approximately 1000 variants. Hiiumaa consisted of four parishes, so this was not a large amount in Estonian context.

FOLK SONG COLLECTION IN HIIUMAA

Is Hiiumaa older folk song tradition reliably represented in the EFA collections? The answer may be found by analyzing the various Hiiumaa folk song collections and the data available about the collectors' goals, achievements, and possibilities during fieldwork as well about the singing tradition. While analyzing the archived materials, we kept in mind that the older layers of folklore, including *regilaul*, received more attention because they disappeared fast and gained more value. The tendency in fieldwork was to ask for older songs preferably from aged people (cf. Oras 2012: 176).

The first records of Hiiumaa folk song lyrics by Finnish collectors

Beginning in the thirteenth century, Estonians lived as lower-class country people, ruled by the Baltic German nobility. The older, rare records of Estonian folklore, written down by foreign people, date back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and give scant information until the eighteenth century, when a specific folklore interest emerged in Europe. The Finnish national movement had started already in the early 1900s, and awakened interest in the language and folklore of Estonia, their close kindred language. The first two *regilaul* songs from Hiiumaa were documented in Sweden in 1832, when Finnish writer and philologist Carl Axel (Kaarle Aksel) Gottlund (1796–1875) met sailors from

Hiiumaa who visited Stockholm harbor. He indicates Thomas Piritson¹⁰ as his informant from Hagaste village in Pühalepa parish (Gottlund 1832: 184). Two well known narrative songs, *Kass kaevus* ('Cat in the well') and *Venna sõjalugu* ('Brother's war tale') in Pühalepa dialect were published with Finnish translation in *Otava eli suomalaisia huvituksia II* ('Great bear or Finnish amusements') in the same year. Gottlund in his short metrical analysis emphasizes their similarity with Kalevala-meter¹¹ (Gottlund 1832: 181–193). The texts are in quite regular western Estonian *regilaul* style (see the third chapter in the second part of the article).

The first extensive field trip to the western Estonian islands of Hiiumaa, Saaremaa, and Muhu was undertaken in 1877, by a philology student of the University of Helsinki, and later a teacher of Finnish, Oskar Anders Ferdinand Lönnbohm (alias Mustonen, 1856–1927). According to Tellervo Krogerus (1983), the result included, inter alia, around 400 *regilaul* and end-rhymed folk song lyrics as well as a fieldwork diary. Mustonen's main interests were older folk songs, but he described the singing tradition as rapidly modernizing: "To my joy and happiness and against all my hopes, I still succeeded in finding many remnants of old eight-syllable songs, beside which there were more modern songs growing especially prolifically."¹² Part of this collection was published (Lönnbohm 1893).¹³ Of the 204 printed texts, 75 originate from Hiiumaa¹⁴ (32 *regi*, 18 trans, 10 arch + 15 end-rhymed songs); the singers and the exact location have remained unknown. The songs are systematized according to their function as men's, women's, and children's songs, lullabies, wedding songs, dance songs, joke songs, and miscellaneous (Lönnbohm 1893: 3). In the *regilaul* songs Mustonen had 'improved' the meter, adding in the brackets the sounds that most likely had been dropped over time, e.g. *Mis sa seisad kui metsapuu, eks sa hakka laulama(ie)* ('What are you standing for like a forest tree, start to sing') (Lönnbohm 1893: 45). The transitional style is represented mainly by dance songs and children's songs, both of which are very typical of Hiiumaa tradition.

The first Estonian collectors

Jakob Hurt (1839–1907), a scholar, pastor, and public figure, started a major public campaign of collecting local oral heritage in Estonia in 1888 (see Valk 2005; Jaago 2005). The intertwined ideological and aesthetical aims to construct a national identity and culture as well as the scholarly aim to get material for comparative folklore studies resulted in monumental folklore collection.

The response from Hiiumaa was modest. The first Estonian folklore collector in Hiiumaa was Madis Liedenberg (1846–1925) from Vigala parish in western

Estonia. Beginning in 1867 he was the director of Kasevälja village school and a parish clerk in Pühalepa parish. It was his nephew, folklore collecting organizer Matthias Johann Eisen (1857–1934), who inspired him to pay attention to local tradition. Liedenberg collected 6 songs representing the older tradition (5 *regi*, 1 trans). The first folklore collector of Hiiumaa origin, Gustav Tikerpuu (1868–1946), wrote down diverse heritage material from Pühalepa and Reigi parishes during 1888–1894 (including 22 *regi*, 5 arch, 1 trans).

In 1890 Hurt organized grants for fieldwork in Hiiumaa for two students of the University of Tartu – Gustav Seen (1871–1955) and Peeter Saul (1868–1910). These fellows, already experienced in previous fieldwork on Muhu Island, collected an abundance of material in Hiiumaa during one month,¹⁵ including many old song texts which were their priority (229 *regi*, 17 arch, 46 trans). This splendid collection of that period conveys to us a picture of a changing song tradition with several intermediate forms, e.g. the compilation of *regilaul* types *Peretütar läks sauna ja sõi salaja* ('A maiden went to sauna and secretly ate'), and *Suur tamm* ('Big oak'), filled in by several new verses of quite free accentual metric structure and end-rhymes – while the end is more traditional (see example 1).

Example 1.

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²⁵ *Taat läks kopli tamme raima,
raius suure tamme maha.*

Tüist tegi suure laevatüüri,

²⁸ *keskelt kerstu kaanelaua,
ladvast lapse kätakilaua.*

*See mes sest veel üle jäi,
sest tegi vennale kirju kannu.*

See mes sest veel üle jäi,

³³ *need ta põletas saunaahjus,
et võis venda vihelda.*

H II 6, 52/3 (63) < Reigi p. – Gustav Seen, Peeter Saul < Mihkel Teebak,
60 (1890)

²⁵ An old man went to the paddock to chop an oak,
he cut down a big oak.

From its trunk he made a big ship's helm,

²⁸ from the middle part a board for a coffin's plate,
from the top a board for a baby's cradle.

From the rest of it [the oak]

he made a spotted jug for his brother.
The rest of it
³³ he burned in the sauna oven,
so that he could whisk his brother.

There were seven more correspondents from Hiiumaa during 1888–1906.¹⁶ Hiiumaa older song collections usually provide information neither about the singer nor the location; Seen and Saul, on the contrary, give data in most cases. The question to what extent collectors relied on their own competence or even compiled some new songs is not easy to answer, given the background of the overall changing tradition.

As can be seen in the descriptions of folk song collecting in Hiiumaa as well as in Figure 1, the preferred style collected in this period was *regilaul*: this forms 75% of the nineteenth-century older song material from Hiiumaa (transitional songs form 17%, and archaic vocal genres 9%).

The first folk song melody collection: Peeter Süda

The transcribing of melodies was more complicated than that of the lyrics as it demanded specific skills, and so no folk tunes were sent by Hiiumaa local correspondents. The first folk music fieldwork led by folklorist Oskar Kallas (1868–1946) was organized all over Estonia by the Estonian Students Society (ESS) between 1904 and 1916 (see Kuutma 2005). At the beginning of the twentieth century, as compared to the nineteenth century, there were already considerably fewer informants who knew *regilaul*, because the generations who had grown up after the mid-1800s had no longer been exposed to this particular oral tradition (Oras 2012: 162–163).

The situation in Hiiumaa is described by the folk music collection grantee of the ESS, a student of St. Petersburg Conservatory and later a composer and organ virtuoso Peeter Süda (1883–1920), who notated the first song and instrumental melodies from Hiiumaa in 1905 and 1906:

About 20 years earlier, as it is said by old folks, folk song was still in a very prosperous state, while now, what is still sung is only the poor remains of this rich song lore. Everyone says: ‘Why didn’t you come 20 years earlier, then you wouldn’t have to leave with so empty hands.’ As nowadays art song has fended off folk song, several previously great singers have forgotten their tunes because of that. In the past folk songs were often sung at weddings, while coming back from manor slavery work, and in other cases. (EÜS III 690/1)¹⁷

The reasons why Süda went to Hiiumaa were likely its closeness to his home (on the neighboring island of Saaremaa) and his contacts with the local schoolteacher Gustav Lauri (EÜS II 769).¹⁸ In addition to Lauri, other local educated people helped Süda to write down song lyrics and find informants. People's attitude to song collectors was friendly. Only sectarians who opposed themselves to folklore could be hostile, so once Süda was even chased away with dogs (EÜS II 779).¹⁹ In the case of choices at collecting Süda addressed Kallas: before the departure he asked him to send instructions and during fieldwork he posed a question about whether to collect obscene songs.²⁰

After some weeks in Hiiumaa in 1905, Süda was quite content with the course of the fieldwork: "By now the result is – if not big, but not very small either – 130 various musical pieces [---]" (EÜS II 771).²¹ He was working diligently and thoroughly, and even met the best singers several times (EÜS II 775, 777),²² but did not succeed in visiting all the places in Hiiumaa, so he went back the next summer. The 1905 collection contains lyrics of 169 songs, 140 of them with the melody, and 78 other melodies.²³

Süda evaluated the fieldwork results of the following year, 1906 – lyrics of 22 songs and 43 various melodies – as poor. As possible reasons for the small take, he mentioned the impact of the revolt in 1905 and the war law (during 1905–1908) that made people distrustful against strangers; for example, an old woman told him: "...even if you paid a ruble per word, I would not say a word to you" (EÜS III 686).²⁴

As a grantee of the ESS, Süda was expected to record firstly the fast-disappearing older tradition and, indeed, approximately half of the song collection contained 102 variants of older songs (57 *regi*, 40 trans, 5 arch). So, he most likely did not skip *regilaul* and older transitional songs. The number of archaic vocal genres (and maybe the older ritual songs with a narrow ambitus) did not reflect the reality (as it is seen in comparison with later collections), and was likely caused by the fact that the half-spoken genres had not yet become the object of folkloristic interest, and the collector's main interest was melodies. Despite not having attended all the places (EÜS III 687/8),²⁵ he concluded, mainly because of the small amount of added material in 1906, that Hiiumaa old song lore had been exhaustively collected by that time, the start of the twentieth century (EÜS III 686/7).²⁶ This final conclusion was practical for that moment, but not precise. Anyway, it decreased the urge to organize the next round of fieldwork on the island.

We can suggest that Süda recorded a representative collection of *regilaul* songs, transitional songs, and instrumental music available at that time, because he used the help of local people and wrote down songs with various stylistic features.

The first audio recordings and the collection of folk songs until 1940

Information about Hiiumaa instrumental music is also relevant for folk song research as songs reveal the influence of bagpipe pieces. The earliest Hiiumaa sound recordings represent instrumental music, so this might have seemed quite unique at that time. The first Estonian sound recordings are related to Hiiumaa: Finnish-Swedish musicologist Otto Emanuel Andersson (1879–1969) phonographed six dance songs from the Hiiumaa-Swedish player of bowed harp (*hiiruotsi kannel*), Georg (Jüri) Bruus, in Helsinki in 1908.²⁷ Finnish musicologist Armas Otto Väisänen (1890–1969) recorded 6 dance melodies and 3 dance songs *labajalg* from Juhan Maaker, alias Torupilli-Juss (Bagpipe Juss), a famous member of a legendary bagpipe players' family, in Tallinn (SKSÄ A 521/3, ph 171; SKSÄ A 533/17, ph 170). Estonian composer Cyrillus Kreek (1889–1962) recorded 38 pieces from the same musician in Emmaste parish in 1921.

Kreek also collected folk songs during his teaching years in the Western Estonian Teachers' Seminar (from 1921 to 1932); he used the help of his students who wrote down folk tunes during their summer holidays (Kõlar 2010: 96). Kreek's melody collection includes at least 20 song notations from Hiiumaa (ETMM, M 11).²⁸ In 1929 composer and music teacher Eduard Oja (1905–1950) phonographed two Hiiumaa folk songs from Agnes Kalju of Pühalepa (ERA, Fon 249 a, b).

The Estonian Folklore Archives were established in 1927 and became an institutional centre of folklore collecting and research. At one time, Hurt considered *regilaul* one of the most important objects of folklore collecting in the late 1800s, and still the number of old folk songs was called the “most exciting and stirring question” about the EFA collections in the 1930s statistics (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 217–218). The total amount of folklore (28,687 pieces) and the number of folk songs and games²⁹ (7,331) for Läänemaa County³⁰ was quite small, the number of tunes (998) was not bad, while the number of the folk song texts and games for every single Hiiumaa parish was not strikingly different from many other parishes (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932; Leichter 1932: 177). The main goal of the statistics was to discover the gaps in earlier fieldwork and the results might have caused some more trips to Hiiumaa and Saaremaa.

Although Hurt's aim was to collect folklore equally all over Estonia, for practical reasons the fieldwork had been focused more on southern areas (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 209). Owing to its university, Tartu was the centre of national movement and Estonian intelligentsia. The number of collectors, mainly educated Estonians, originated rather from wealthy southern regions and preferred to carry out fieldwork in the surroundings of their home or in the areas famous for *regilaul* tradition, e.g. in the coastal parishes of northern Estonia.

The founder of the Estonian folk music research, musicologist and folklorist Herbert Tampere (1909–1975), and philologist and Fenno-Ugrist Paul Ariste (1905–1995), phonographed a singer Leena Elmi (born in 1864) in Kassari³¹, Pühalepa parish, in 1933. The trip might have been initiated by Ariste, who collected material for his thesis on Hiiu dialects during four summers (Ariste 1939: 3). Leena Elmi sang, on wax cylinders, 13 examples of various genres with different melodies, probably chosen for recording by Tampere. Ariste wrote down the lyrics (ERA, Fon 377–379; Ariste 21, 24, 27). Not all of the sound tracks are easily understandable any more, but they still outline the once extant song tradition. Some 10 older songs have survived: at least 4 (or maybe 6) *regilaul* fragments; an incantation for making butter; and 3 dance songs *labajalg* related to wedding and calendar customs. Enda Ennist, an EFA grantee, wrote about Leena Elmi in 1939: “Both women [Leena and her sister Mare] are of high intellect, and you know, our most gifted poetess Marie Under comes from their family” (ERA II 189, 16).³² Elmi became the best known informant for several students of folklore and language; therefore she was later called “the professor” (ERA II 188, 59).³³ She apparently represented the oldest tradition available, as she sang with a loose speech-like intonation and had learned the songs from her mother, who was of Kassari origin.

Several Hiiumaa folk song collectors still sent in handwritten material in the early twentieth century. An already mentioned grantee of the EFA, folklorist and teacher Enda Ennist (Pöld) (1916–1976), carried out fieldwork in Hiiumaa in 1938 and 1939 (ERA II 188, 189, 254). Her extensive and thematically rich material provided an eloquent picture of the pre-World War II Hiiumaa folk culture. In three months she visited all the parishes in Hiiumaa, and during interviews wrote down many *regilaul* lyrics (71 variants) and descriptions of singing situations. She was the first to collect systematically archaic vocal genres (86) that had not attracted much attention previously (cf. Laugaste 1931), and many transitional songs (102), which were mainly *labajalg* dance songs.

Ennist’s choices probably reflect the instructions received from the folklore archives: she preferred to record the older tradition, while some people knew better modern end-rhymed songs that she did not always bother to write down (ERA II 188, 52/3).³⁴ The finding of an older folk song was sometimes marked by a joyful note in her diary: “I got some genuine folk songs that are very scarcely preserved here”, or “Indeed, I got such a rarity not heard in three years of collecting – *Ori taevas* (‘A serf in the heaven’)” (ERA II 189, 15, 22).³⁵

The prevalence of dance songs and more modern song styles in the public sphere as well as lack of information about Hiiumaa can be exemplified by the following story. A correspondent of the Estonian Museum (operated in 1919–1928), Johan Jansi, was tasked by August Pulst in 1922 with finding Hiiumaa musicians, in addition to a well-known bagpipe player, Juhan Maaker,

for a planned concert in Tallinn. During a two-week trip Jansi did not get the expected results and was deeply disappointed – probably owing to his idealized romantic views about folklore. Relying on his words, instead of carriers of “old and honorable tradition” he met only “modern and indecent” singers: mainly men who were singing improper and amoral songs – bagpipe pieces as locals called them – and parodies of church chorals accompanied by the accordion (ETMM, M 234: 1/15–16; Sildoja 2014: 37–38).

The next extensive recording of folk music onto shellac-discs took place in the Tallinn Radio broadcast studio during 1936–38. Hiiumaa was represented with only two more modern songs – folk chorals as probably a local specialty (ERA, Pl 76 A1, A2 < Käina p. – Herbert Tampere, August Pulst, Estonian Broadcast < Liisa Siisberg, 60, 1938). The long journey to Tallinn from an island 22 km from the western coast might also have been an obstacle for elderly people.

Song style	archaic vocal genres	<i>regilaul</i>	older transitional songs (including <i>labajalg</i> dance songs)
Period of collecting			
19th century	9	75	17
First half of the 20th century	24	41	35
Second half of the 20th century	52	8	39

Figure 1. Representation of older Hiiumaa folk song styles in the EFA collections in different historical periods (%).

As the song collections and diaries bore witness, *regilaul* had no prestige and function in the public sphere and had been forgotten by the younger generation by the 1920s. Characteristic of Hiiumaa was the abundance of *labajalg* dance songs, other transitional songs about village life, as well as round games. Certainly children’s songs (including sound imitations) were popular, but they were unlikely to have been heard in the public sphere.

The examples of older folk song styles collected from Hiiumaa during the first half of the twentieth century contain considerably fewer *regilaul* songs (41%) and more from other genres (trans 35%, arch 24%), as compared to the nineteenth century (Fig. 1). The increasing proportion of transitional styles might reflect changes both in tradition and the song collectors’ interests: with *regilaul* disappearing and being replaced by more modern styles, the material available for folklorists changed as well. The increase in the amount of collected archaic vocal genres in the 1920s–1930s is related to the widened scope

of folkloristics, because the genres like nature sound imitations or lullabies, known in numerous variants amongst all Baltic-Finnic peoples, could not have been invented in the early 1900s.

Fieldwork in the second half of the twentieth century

Beginning in the late 1940s audio recording during fieldwork became usual. The EFA organized systematic collection trips to several Estonian regions, first trying to record the older song tradition with the new equipment. Hiiumaa was not a field of interest for decades.

During 1967–1969, composer and music educator Harri Otsa (1926–2001) undertook several fieldwork trips to Hiiumaa. Differently from folklorists, as a composer he was interested in more elaborate, melodically more complicated newer melodies and planned to write scientific research about them. Unfortunately his original fieldwork material is not available, but his manuscript comprises 133 melody examples from his collection: 128 newer end-rhymed folk songs and instrumental pieces, plus 5 older folk songs (ETMM, M 221: 1/15).

An outstanding informant and folklore correspondent of that period was Elli Küttim (1909–1993) from Pühalepa parish. She was the daughter of schoolteacher Gustav Lauri – Peeter Süda's guide and folklore collector in 1905 – and the granddaughter of folk singer Maret Lauri (born ca 1852). Küttim compiled her folklore collection during 1954–1962; it contained also 11 older songs with melodies (RKM II 128, 73/184). She was audio-recorded in the same year by Aino Strutzkin from the Estonian Radio in 1962 and by the EFA in 1979 (RKM, Mgn II 1651–1654).³⁶

The last notable folk song collection from Hiiumaa was gathered in June 1979 during the EFA systematic fieldwork. Folklorists Ingrid Rüütel (b. 1935), Vaike Sarv (1946–2004), Ellen Liiv (1930–2010), Erna Tampere (1919–2016), and others audio-recorded approximately 900 various songs on magnetophone tape (RKM, Mgn II 3119–3178, 3698), and wrote down song lyrics (RKM II 339, 340) (from the older tradition: 30 *regi*, 198 *arch*, 132 *trans*). The fieldwork diaries prove the collectors' bigger interest in the older tradition, the use of special questionnaires for interviews, the lack of older folk songs, and the prolific tradition of end-rhymed stanzaic songs. Erna Tampere's description of the collecting situation in Küttim's home is characteristic for that time: "...we start again with children's songs and bird song imitations. I write a long *Liiri-lõõri, lõoke!* ('Wirble-warble, lark!'). Then more modern songs come which she values higher" (RKM II 339, 309).³⁷

The examples of older song tradition from the 1960s–1970s demonstrate, on the one hand, the diligence of the collectors to catch every single verse, and, on the other hand, the disappearing remnants of living tradition, including mainly short children’s rhymes, transitional songs, and some *regilaul* lines with slightly modernized poetic features. The sound recordings are especially valuable for understanding the rich voicing manner and timbre of different archaic genres (90 audio variants in 1979), such as sound imitations, children’s rhymes, lullabies, etc. (e.g. resembling speech, nature sounds, bagpipe music). They, inter alia, help one to discover the impact of bagpipe pieces and more modern song tradition.

The folklore material collected in Hiiumaa in the second half of the twentieth century contains *regilaul* songs as a marginal part: it makes up 8% of the older song representations. This *regilaul* material is also quite poor by its content: 32 songs include 13 short examples (1–3 verses) of calendar ritual songs, and 16 fragments of other songs that were likely sung to children. Transitional songs numbered 154 (39%) and archaic genres 205 (52%), including a large amount of short children’s verses and songs that have moved to the children’s amusement repertoire like the popular *labajalg Hiir hüppas* (‘The mouse jumped’).

CONCLUSIONS

The EFA collections reflect quite reliably the Hiiumaa folk song tradition, although the proportions of song styles are biased: remnants of *regilaul* have been collected as thoroughly as possible, but the end-rhymed songs, archaic genres, and maybe newer transitional songs were omitted by earlier collectors. The diminishing percentage of *regilaul* recordings over the last 150 years reflects this disappearing tradition (Fig. 1), while the numbers for other song genres are more dependent on the collection goals. Every single song collection tried to represent a slightly older period as compared to the collector’s present, and so the picture of folk songs tended to become older and more fragmentary than the singing tradition of that time.

The relatively small total amount of Hiiumaa older songs might be caused by the island’s distant location from Tartu and southern Estonia. This caused the lack of both local folklore collectors and distant visitors, for whom the complications were the long journey, the different character of Hiiumaa people and their distrust of strangers. The interest might have diminished due to the examples available, which did not represent the prolific song tradition of regular Kalevala-meter.

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NOTES

- ¹ 989 km², 9348 inhabitants as of January 2016. <http://www.stat.ee/ppe-44780>, last accessed on February 10, 2017.
- ² Older Estonian singing style that represents the Kalevala-metric song tradition.
- ³ The island’s important annual events, Hiiumaa Folk Music Festival (started in 2005) and Hiiumaa Cafeterias Day (started in 2007), reveal many local cultural traditions and bring together people with Hiiu roots. The epic story of Hiiumaa hero Leiger was published in 2014, and was followed by a children’s version in 2015. Some works about the Hiiu dialect appeared in print: the dictionary in 2015 and the chrestomathy in 2016. An encyclopaedic compendium about Hiiumaa culture, history, and people was published in 2015.
- ⁴ There are also two western islands, Ruhnu and Vormsi, which until World War II were inhabited mainly by Swedes. Some Swedish people lived on the western coast and in Hiiumaa as well. Today the Estonian Swedish community has faded away.
- ⁵ The collections included: H; E; E, StK; EÜS; TEM; Ariste; ERA II volumes 9, 147, 188, 189, 254; RKM II volumes 128, 323, 339, 340. The volume AES and some volumes in the series ERA I and II, RKM I and II, each one including only one or two Hiiumaa folk song lyrics, were excluded. Their examination would have been time-consuming and given only a few more examples of older songs most likely not having a significant impact on the overall result. The sound recordings include RKM, Mgn and ERA, Fon; only a few newer examples not digitalized yet are excluded.
- ⁶ ETMM, M 221: 1/15. The manuscript is an amateur research work that contains Hiiumaa folk song melodies from Cyrillus Kreek’s and Harri Otsa’s own folklore collections as examples. Kreek’s collection in ETMM, M 11 has not been studied yet by the authors, but Otsa has likely quoted the most essential Hiiumaa examples of Kreek’s collection. Otsa’s original fieldwork collection is not available.
- ⁷ The archival sources in the text are quoted in endnote references. The archive code shows the name of the collection, followed by the place of informant’s home, collector(s) name(s), and finally the informant’s name, age, and collecting year.

- ⁸ Estonian song classifications slightly differ depending on a researcher, region, and period. We prefer Tedre's classification as it comprises the most extensive material from all over Estonia. Another choice would have been to base our research on Tampere's classification made for Mustjala *Vana Kannel* (Tampere & Tampere 1985), which contains the material of a coastal parish of the neighboring island, Saaremaa.
- ⁹ The exact number is not easy to specify because 1) some longer texts can be interpreted either as a cycle of songs or as one long song; 2) some sound recordings include several complete or fragmentary variants of the same song; and 3) there exist some problems in song classification (discussed above). If the distinction between *regilaul* and transitional song had been based more strictly on formal features of 'classical Kalevala-meter', the number of *regilaul* would be smaller in favour of transitional songs. The abbreviations *regi* (*regilaul*), arch (archaic vocal genres), trans (transitional songs) will be used below for the statistical data.
- ¹⁰ According to the data of the Estonian Historical Archives, Thomas Piritson was probably Thomas Peter's son Uskam (later Toomas Uuskam), the first son of a farmer in Hagaste village, Pühalepa parish (EAA.1864.2.VIII-198). The 22-year-old Estonian served as a seaman on board a ship of Hiiumaa landlord von Ungern-Sternberg in 1832. Farmers of Hagaste village got family names in 1835. So it is probable that three years earlier Thomas introduced himself with a patronymic *Peter son ~ Peetre son* (*Peetri poeg*). Finnish native speaker Gottlund admitted that he did not know Estonian orthography, so he transcribed the texts according to his hearing. The Finnish researcher's auditory decisions could also explain the change of Thomas's family name to Piritson.
- ¹¹ "These songs are quite similar to our runosongs by their lyrics and character; their whole verse line was no longer than 8 positions, divided into four constituents [=feet]; but it was varied in the way that in the cases of each line containing 10 constituents [=syllables] (as it often happened), both positions were divided in the first feet." (Gottlund 1832: 184–185)
- ¹² Mustonen's fieldwork diary from 1877, quoted by Krogerus (1983: 48). According to Krogerus, the diary is archived in Helsinki: Lönnbohm, O. A. F. 1877. *Kertomus murteentutkimusmatkasta Hiiden- ja Saarenmaalle*. Helsingin yliopiston keskushallinnon arkisto Sd 89/225. The copy is in the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura) Folklore Archives (Krogerus 1983: 48).
- ¹³ The draft of Mustonen's book is in the Kuopio Museum; the location of the original papers is unknown (Krogerus 1983).
- ¹⁴ For the dance songs in the subdivision "Instrumental pieces" no region is indicated. They might have been known on all three islands.
- ¹⁵ H II 6, 1/198 contains 259 songs as written on the title page; the singer's data are usually available. H II 6, 225/313 includes many dance songs (several of them quite obscene) without any data on singers, and plenty of other material.
- ¹⁶ Five correspondents sent folklore to Hurt and two to Eisen.
- ¹⁷ Peeter Süda's comments to his Hiiumaa fieldwork materials (1905 and 1906), written in Saaremaa 1907.

- ¹⁸ Peeter Süda, a letter to Oskar Kallas, 2.06.1905.
- ¹⁹ Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1905.
- ²⁰ Peeter Süda, the above- and below-mentioned letters to Oskar Kallas.
- ²¹ Peeter Süda, a letter to Oskar Kallas, 24.07.1905.
- ²² Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1905.
- ²³ In the working process we discovered a gap of about 70 pages with more than 100 melodies in the card catalogues and registers on Süda's 1905 material in the EFA. As these registers often serve as the main basis for further research, this part of the collection might not have been noticed, which helped to shape the opinion about the scarcity of Hiiumaa material.
- ²⁴ Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1906.
- ²⁵ Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1906.
- ²⁶ Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1906.
- ²⁷ Copies of these wax cylinder recordings were found and identified almost one hundred years later by a Finnish bowed harp researcher Rauno Nieminen from the Sibelius Museum in Turku, Finland. Georg Bruus's original recordings are archived in the Swedish Melody Archives in Stockholm (Svenskt Visarkiv) (Nieminen 2007: 111–121).
- ²⁸ Cyrillus Kreeks' personal collection.
- ²⁹ Songs and games were classified together as many games were accompanied by a song; also there was a bulk of songs that could be sung both separately and with a game. This statistics does not include melodies (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 199).
- ³⁰ Hiiumaa County was established in 1946. Until World War II, Hiiumaa was part of Läänemaa, therefore the material collected in Hiiumaa before World War II has been regarded as part of Läänemaa collections.
- ³¹ Island in western Estonia.
- ³² Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1939.
- ³³ Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1939.
- ³⁴ Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1938.
- ³⁵ Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1939. Enda Ennist had collected folklore in western Estonia before she went to Hiiumaa.
- ³⁶ Sound recordings include 12 variants of Hiiumaa older folk songs.
- ³⁷ Erna Tampere, fieldwork diary, 1979.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum

- Ariste – copies of Paul Ariste’s manuscript collection
E – manuscript collection of Matthias Johann Eisen (1880–1934)
E, StK – manuscript collection of Matthias Johann Eisen’s grantees (1921–1927)
EKS – manuscript collection of the Estonian Literary Society (1827–1924)
ERA – manuscript collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1927–1944)
ERA, Fon – wax cylinders collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1912–1948)
ERA, Pl – shellac disc collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1936–1938)
EÜS – manuscript collection of the Estonian Students Society (1875–1917)
H – manuscript collection of Jakob Hurt (1860–1906)
RKM – manuscript collection of the Estonian State Literary Museum (1945–1996)
RKM, Mgn – sound recording collection of the Estonian State Literary Museum (1945–1996)
TEM – manuscript collection of the Estonian Museum in Tallinn (1897–1925)

Collections of the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum

- ETMM, M 11 – manuscript collection of Cyrillus Kreek
ETMM, M 221: 1/15 – Harri Otsa’s manuscript *Hiiumaa uus rahvalaul* (‘The modern folk song of Hiiumaa’) 2001
ETMM, M 234: 1/14–28 – August Pulst’s manuscript *Mälestusi muusika alalt* (‘Memories from the field of music’) 1961

Collections of the Finnish Literature Society

- SKSÄ – sound archive of the Finnish Literature Society. Armas Otto Väisänen.

Collections of the National Archives of Estonia

- EAA.1864 – Lutheran Church records from Pühalepa parish, Hiiumaa

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