ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: GIVING VOICE TO THE FORGOTTEN: AN

EXAMINATION OF THE MUSIC AND CULTURE OF VELJO TORMIS'S "FORGOTTEN PEOPLES" CYCLE

Erik Reid Jones, Doctor of Musical Arts, 2006

Dissertation directed by: Professor Ed Maclary

Department of Music

Veljo Tormis's development as a composer was influenced by the political climate in which he was raised. He was born into a flowering and independent Estonia, with a parliamentary system of government and a people developing their own sense of individual culture after winning independence from Russia in 1920. Unfortunately, when Tormis was ten years old, this national independence and stability fell apart. Estonia would not regain its independence until 1991, when Tormis was 61. This combination of foreign occupying powers would have a significant impact on Tormis's musical life and direction.

That a people can be subsumed into a larger population might have been one of the driving factors that led Tormis to go beyond Estonia and study the music of the ancient cultures that surround his homeland. These Baltic Finns include (by his definition) the peoples surrounding the Gulf of Finland, the Gulf of Riga, and the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. This includes Latvia, Estonia, some of far western Russia and portions of southern and eastern Finland. Out of these explorations came six cycles of *a cappella* choral music set to the music and languages of mostly dying cultures, in a collection called *Forgotten Peoples*.

This purpose of this project is to make the *Forgotten Peoples* collection more accessible to performers and listeners. First we will examine the history, culture, and language of the six different peoples, especially among those areas where they share commonalities. Next, we will do a lyrical analysis of the pieces, pointing out stylistic traits that are common in Balto-Finnic poetry. Finally, we will take an analytical look at the construction of many of the movements in the *Forgotten Peoples* collection.

GIVING VOICE TO THE FORGOTTEN: AN EXAMINATION OF THE MUSIC AND CULTURE OF VELJO TORMIS'S "FORGOTTEN PEOPLES" CYCLE

by

Erik Reid Jones

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts

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PREFACE

This text is meant especially for choral conductors and singers who wish to perform one or more of the six cycles from Veljo Tormis's Forgotten Peoples collection. It is intended to provide performers with a brief and practical background on each of the six cultures and languages that Tormis used for crafting these pieces, his *magnum opus*, over a 20-year period. It will also give musicians an overview of the musical and textual structure of each work. First the reader will examine the history, culture, and language of the six different peoples, especially among those areas where they share commonalities. Next, the reader will understand the lyrical construction of the pieces, pointing out stylistic traits that are common in Balto-Finnic poetry. Finally, the reader will take an analytical look at the construction of all of the movements in the Forgotten Peoples collection. As a supplement to this paper, and in fulfillment of the performance requirement of the degree, digital live performances of the Master Singers of Virginia (under the direction of Erik Reid Jones) singing music from three of these cycles is included. For all six cycles I have used the publications by Edition Fazer, a division of Warner/Chappell Music Finland Oy, in the editions specifically created for Englishspeaking performers.

What to call each of these cycles and the individual movements therein can be problematic. These songs, as a rule, do not have titles and so Tormis gave them all titles in the Estonian language, even though none of the pieces are written in Estonian. Without original language titles, English seems to be as good a choice as Estonian for referring to the collections and movements, and has the added benefit of making this paper much

clearer and easier to comprehend. Therefore, I will refer to collections with the English title. I will refer to movements either with the English title (such as *Annikkini, Maid of the Island*) or with a numerical designation (the second movement from *Karelian Destiny*.) A complete set of lyrics in the original language, their Estonian titles, and an English translation is included in Appendix A.

It is difficult to do justice to even one of these peoples, let alone all six. It is my hope, however, that this work brings the reality of who these people were a little bit closer to the performer's world. When musicians sing these pieces, they should always remember that they are celebrating peoples whose language, culture, and very identity has been (in most cases) wiped off the map. To perform just the music itself, with no sense of the history behind each piece, is to do these cultures and the music a grave injustice.

Please note that portions of this dissertation were published as a separate article in the April 2005 edition of *The Choral Journal*.

Grateful thanks are given to Fennica Gehrman Oy, Helsinki (2006) for their permission to print the musical excerpts contained herein.

DEDICATION

To Colin Elijah Jones, whose imminent arrival on this earth was all the inspiration I needed to finish on time.

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Introduction and Background

A composer by training and an ethnomusicologist by dint of what he has accomplished, Veljo Tormis has spent a lifetime gathering and arranging the native folk music of Estonia and surrounding lands of the Baltic Sea region, much as did Bartók and Kodály throughout Hungary and in other nearby regions. Through his research and travels, Tormis crafted his own compositional voice around these folk songs. In so doing, he created a sound that is inexorably linked to the spirit of the peoples of Estonia and the Baltic Finns. Where fellow countryman Arvo Pärt's music is ethereal, spiritual, and transporting, Tormis's is every bit as delightful, but rooted in the earth.

Veljo Tormis was born August 7, 1930, east of Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, which lies directly on the Baltic Sea. Tormis's development as a composer was influenced by the political climate in which he was raised. He was born into a flowering and independent Estonia, with a parliamentary system of government and a people developing their own sense of individual culture after winning independence from Russia in 1920. The global depression had made life difficult, but a national identity was vigorously taking root.

Unfortunately, when Tormis was ten years old, this national independence and stability fell apart. After the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, the Red Army in 1940 occupied Estonia. Then came the German army, which controlled the country from 1941-44. After Germany's withdrawal, but before Estonia could muster an army with which to defend itself while a new provisional government was forming, the Soviet Union once again laid siege to the country, beginning forty-seven years of oppressive, totalitarian rule. Estonia would not regain its independence until 1991, when Tormis was 61. This combination of

foreign occupying powers would have a significant impact on Tormis's musical life and direction.

Tormis's *oeuvre* stands apart from that of most twentieth-century composers, in that he wrote few instrumental works. His 200 choral works are almost exclusively secular music, and for the most part contained in larger cycles. The dearth of sacred music is rather surprising, given that his early experiences were in the realm of sacred, not secular, music:

Since childhood I have been living in choral music: my father was a choir conductor and organist in a little village.... It was mostly church music [in my childhood], not folk music. I had my first connections with folk music through Estonian composers, not directly: Mart Saar, Cyrillus Kreek, etc.¹

Tormis's musical direction was not immediately apparent. At first, influenced by his father's choice of profession, he aspired to be an organist and studied with that goal in mind in Tallinn. He then attempted choral conducting, but few churches in which to ply this trade were available, due to the influence of secularization under Soviet rule. Tormis then turned to composition, and graduated with a degree in composition from the Moscow Conservatoire in 1956.

Tormis began his career as a freelance composer, writing situational music for gatherings and in response to various commissions. Between 1956 and the re-assertion of Estonian independence in 1991, a small but significant number of Tormis's compositions with underpinnings of political protest appeared. But like all artists under Soviet rule, he had to avoid overtly expressing political dissent, because the Communist Party and

¹ Martin J. Anderson, "'We Should Know Who We Are': Veljo Tormis in Conversation," *Tempo* 211 (January 2000): 24.

Department of Culture kept close watch over all musical and publishing activities in Estonia.

Tormis was not, however, an overtly political composer. Folk music quickly became his mainstay, and these folk works often fell between the cracks of what was deemed appropriate secular music and what was judged to be an improper display of nationalism. Distinguished Tormis researcher Mimi S. Daitz notes that, "Historical hindsight may eventually reveal that the variety of ways in which Veljo Tormis worked with Estonian folk music ... was a more effective attack on the Soviet regime than were many of the political songs." But no matter what the political impact of his compositions was, Tormis emerged as the most important twentieth-century Estonian composer who was dedicated to keeping alive the choral traditions of Estonia and the surrounding regions.

Growing up in an independent Estonia and then enduring foreign occupation for most of his adult life profoundly influenced Tormis's musical development. In resisting Soviet homogenization, national songs by Tormis and other Estonian composers were crucial parts of maintaining an Estonian identity. Like most other musical expressions of national character, Tormis observed:

[T]hey were forbidden in the 60's and 70's, these works. It's complicated, and paradoxical. In 1948, when they were shouting about formalism, they said, 'Please look for folksongs'—but it was a very good slogan for me! In the 60's and 70's the Ministry of Culture here said, ah, that's nationalism. It took them 30 years to understand what I was doing! I was not a fighter, not a dissident—but our public understood what I wanted to say in my national, folk-based work.³

² Mimi S. Daitz, "Reflections on *Reflections*: The Music and the Cultural/Political Context of Two Choral Works by Veljo Tormis," *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (1995): 117.

³ Anderson, 26.

Regilaul, the Estonian Folk Song

In crafting his particular Estonian sound, Tormis made extensive use of the *regilaul*, translated literally as, "sleigh song." The *regilaul* is often referred to as *runolaulu*, or in English, "regi-verse" or "*runo* song." These terms are somewhat interchangeable, although *regilaul* tends to suggest only Estonian folk song, while "*runo* song" often refers to folk music of the larger Baltic-Finnish region.

The *regilaul* is a strong component of national pride and heritage for the Estonian people. Estonians traditionally consider themselves to be rooted in the earth, and from the earth *regilaul* flows. *Regilaul* are songs of nature and work, life and toil, a means of communication and a means of celebration. By tradition, these tunes are not written down, or even given titles. Instead, they are passed from one generation to the next orally, as is only appropriate for a genre that legend says comes from the birds, the wind, the rivers, and the trees.

Typically, *regilaul* have lines of eight feet in a trochaic meter (*strong*-weak, *strong*-weak). The lines are written in parallel style, with the same melody usually employed for each line in a song. This characteristic leads to the frequent criticism that *regilaul* are too repetitive to be interesting. Alliteration abounds⁴, and when combined with a persistent duple meter, the result is a singing style that falls off the tongue with ease (to those who speak Estonian, at any rate).

⁴ An excellent discussion of alliteration within the *regilaul* can be found in: Mari Sarv, "Regilaul: Clearing the Alliterative Haze," *Electronic Journal of Folklore* 10 (April 1999). [online journal] http://haldjas.folklore.ee/folklore/vol10/alliter.htm (9 December 2005).

Tormis's most important early work to incorporate *regilaul* is *Estonian Calendar Songs*. Written between 1966 and 1967, these five collections of songs, for Martinmas, St. Catherine's Day, Shrovetide, Springtime (called *Swing Songs*), and St. John's Day, are his earliest important choral works. Tormis considers these songs to be, "...a turning point in [his] artistic life.... [These compositions are] an attempt to preserve the authenticity of the source material, whilst making a compromise with the forms and performing practices of today—in other words, classical choral music." *Estonian Calendar Songs* were the works that first established his use of *regilaul* in a manner that he believed reflected the intended use of the songs in everyday Estonian life. This became an important facet of Tormis's compositional style. It separated him from earlier composers who used pieces of *regilaul* as melodies within their own compositions.

Tormis wanted to move closer to the way in which these songs were originally performed, while still crafting artistic choral compositions.

Forgotten Peoples: The Music of the Baltic Finns

That a people can be subsumed into a larger population could have been one of the driving factors that led Tormis to go beyond Estonia and study the music of the ancient cultures that surround his homeland. These people, the Baltic Finns, include (by his definition) the peoples surrounding the Gulf of Finland, the Gulf of Riga, and the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. This includes Latvia, Estonia, some of far western Russia and portions of southern and eastern Finland.

⁵ Veljo Tormis, liner notes to *Casting a spell...*, Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir, Tõnu Kaljuste conducting, Virgin Classics 5451852 (1996): 12.

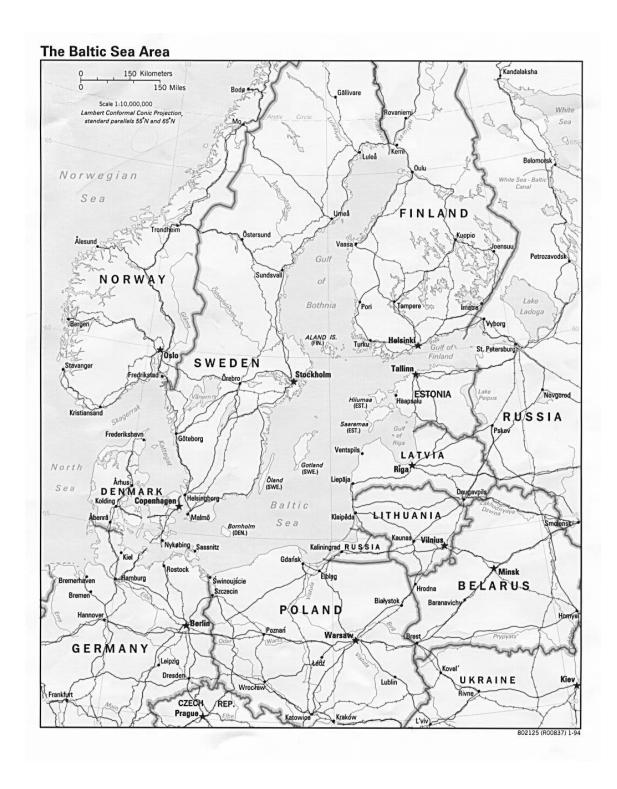


Figure 1. The Baltic Sea Area. Courtesy U.S. Government, Central Intelligence Agency.

In his notes to the Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir's recording of *Forgotten Peoples*, Tormis relates his first introduction to the cultures of the Baltic Finns:

In 1969, I went on an expedition with students from Tartu University and discovered for myself the Livonians, a small group of people whose language is similar to Estonian. The next expedition in 1970 introduced me to the Votians and Izhorians. Hearing these disappearing languages spoken by living people inspired me to research their folk songs. Since then, I have made serious studies of the folklore of the Baltic Finns....⁶

This first expedition, on the Western shore of the Gulf of Riga in Latvia, led him directly to the composition of his first cycle of songs, *Livonian Heritage*, in 1970. He had not yet conceived of the larger collection, *Forgotten Peoples*, and would not until he was well into the twenty-year process of composition. Over the next two decades, Tormis composed five more cycles in the collection:

- Votic Wedding Songs, from songs of the Votian (or Votic) people at the
 Western edge of Russia on the Gulf of Finland.
- *Izhorian Epic*, a ballad in ten movements, and the lengthiest of the six cycles, based on songs from the Izhorian people, from the same region as the Votian people.
- Ingrian Evenings, songs of the Ingrian Finnish people around the tip of the Gulf of Finland.
- Vepsian Paths, a collection of children's and nonsense songs from the
 Vepsian people, who live in and around the adjoining Karelian and, Leningrad regions of Russia.
- Karelian Destiny, songs of the largest of the groups referenced in Forgotten
 Peoples, from the Karelian region of northwestern Russia.

⁶ Veljo Tormis, liner notes to *Forgotten Peoples*, Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir, Tõnu Kaljuste conducting, ECM New Series 1459/60 (1992): 70.

The Peoples

The six cultures represented in the *Forgotten Peoples* collection—Ingrians, Vepsians, Votes, Izhorians, Karelians, and Livonians—are each united by many common elements. They live in roughly the same part of the world, have languages with common roots that make understanding each other relatively easy, and have many of the same cultural norms. Much of their uniqueness, however, can be seen in their music, and through their relationships with the earth and with each other. This distinctiveness should be remembered and cherished, even if the cultures themselves are doomed to extinction through assimilation.

Geographical Distribution and Language Roots

In Figure 1, the reader established an orientation of the modern political boundaries of the Baltic region. The Baltic Sea itself is fed by three main gulfs, the Gulf of Bothnia to the north, the Gulf of Finland to the northeast, and the much smaller Gulf of Riga to the east. Surrounding the Baltic Sea, clockwise from the west, are Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. To the west of the Baltic Sea is Russia, the major force that has dominated events in this region. Sweden, Finland, Latvia, and Russia have all had significant political influence on the cultures being studied.

The Ingrians and the Karelians are the two cultures that represent the largest existing populations of the six. They are also the ones that tend to be defined as much by geography as by cultural unity. Three of the other four cultures are also defined somewhat by their association with either the Karelians or the Ingrians.

Ingria, a term that for us will define a geographical area, is a Russian word, and throughout the complex political history of the region is often referred to as

Ingermanland by the Swedes and Inkeri by the Finns. The designation of Inkeri is probably derived from the River Inkere, also known as the River Izhora, which is the basis of the term Izhorian. Lake Lagoda, situated directly to the east of the Gulf of Finland, is connected to that gulf via the River Neva (also knows as the River Narva). The great city port of St. Petersburg lies at the mouth of the River Neva on the Gulf of Finland. Ingria, while its borders have moved substantially over the years as control passed between Sweden and Russia, is generally considered to be the region surrounding the River Neva on both sides, around the eastern and southern shores of the Gulf of Finland. The Ingrians of today are most closely identified with the Finnish people, and even while other cultures became more Russian-identified in the 20th-century, the Ingrians kept their close ties with the Finns. Ingrians speak a dialect that is close to Finnish, and are usually not considered to have a language of their own.

The Izhorians and the Votes are two tribes that are part of the Ingrian area. The Izhorians are the most closely identified with the Ingrian people. In the early part of the millennium they probably lived along the River Inkere, and were most likely part of the original Karelian people, but migrated westwards towards the Gulf of Finland, deeper into Ingria and into lands occupied by the Votes. The Votes (referred to by the Russians as the *chud*) also made their home in the Ingrian region, and as the Izhorians moved into their territory began to commingle, mostly peacefully, with the neighboring tribe. The Votes lived primarily in the north and west of Ingria, closer to Finland and modern-day Estonia and further away from Russian and Karelian influence. As the reader will see later though, this small distance had little impact on their political destiny.

Dominating this small region of the world, even more so than the Ingrians, are the Karelian people. The Karelians today are by the far the largest of the six cultures in question. Most Karelians today live in and are associated with the Republic of Karelia, which is part of Russia and borders Finland to its east.



Figure 2. The Republic of Karelia in relation to the Baltic Sea countries. Courtesy of the Government of the Republic of Karelia.

However, while Karelia is ostensibly the political homeland of the Karelians (where they make up only a minority of the Russian-dominated population), the Karelian people are spread out over a larger area, westward into Finland and southward and eastward into Russia. Many Vepsians (often referred to simply as *Veps*) in recent centuries made their home in Karelia, while most of the rest settled in and around St. Petersburg on the mouth of the River Neva.

The Livonians are unique among the six cultures for many reasons, primarily because of geographical distribution. While all five of the other cultures in this study are to be found north and east of Estonia, Tormis's home country, the Livonians are found south of Estonia, in Latvia. While generally today the term "Livonian" refers only to a tribe of people, and an insignificant number at that, the northern part of Latvia on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Riga was known as Livonian territory in first half of the second millennium.⁷

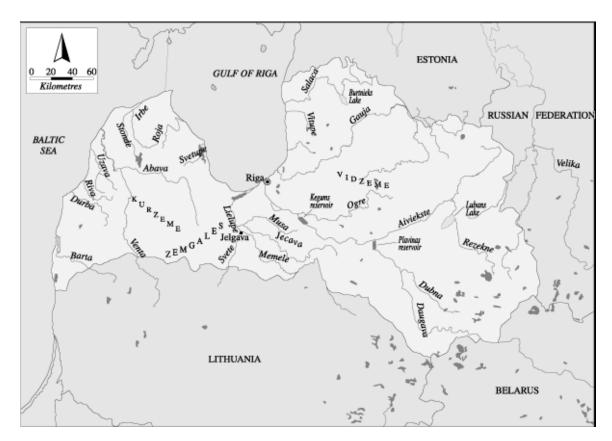


Figure 3. Latvia. Courtesy Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

⁷ Ants Viires, *The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire* (Tallinn, Estonia: NGO Red Book, 2002). [book online] http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/introduction.shtml (9 December 2005). One of the best recent sources for information about the cultures of the former Soviet Union is this book by Viires. Unfortunately, the book is out of print, and attempts to contact the author were unsuccessful. However, an online English-language version of the project exists for 86 different cultures residing in and around Russia.

Today, Livonians are generally to be found in the northern part of the Kurland Peninsula in Latvia, which is the western part of the country that juts into the Gulf of Riga.

All six of these cultures have languages that are closely related to each other. They are each from the Uralic or Baltic-Finnic sub-group of the Finno-Ugric languages. All use a Latin-based alphabet (the single exception a letter in the Vepsian language), and there are countless examples of cross-pollination and loan-words from one language to the other. In some cases, most often in regard to Ingrian, linguists argue whether these cultures should be listed as having different languages at all, or simply extremes of dialects within other languages. However, the general consensus (both for lingual and political reasons) seems to be that these are indeed separate languages, and many of them (especially Karelian) have their own dialects within them, even when the native speaking population has dwindled to near-extinction.

Let us examine the history and present-day situation of each of the six peoples, in the order that Tormis composed his cycles. Through each will be woven the threads of the massive destruction seen by all minority nationalities during the Stalinist regime in the first half of the 20th century. First, are the Livonians, who piqued Tormis's interest in 1969 when he accompanied students from Tartu University to the Livonian lands in western Latvia.

The Livonians

The process of Livonian assimilation into the Latvian culture was a surprisingly lengthy process, encompassing most of the second millennium. The land that was occupied by the Livonians was sparsely populated, as they were mostly a sea-faring

culture and tended to settle in villages close to the coast. Geographically, this became an untenable situation, as more and more people moved in from the European mainland toward the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Riga.

Starting in 1159, the larger community of peoples in the mainland began to take notice of the Livonian territories. While the Livonians were mainly situated along the Kurland Peninsula, they were also in occupation of what would become desirable territory at the mouth of the Daugava River where it empties into the gulf. The Pope began sending bishops to the area, in what was at first a woefully unsuccessful attempt to convert the Livonians to Christianity.

The third bishop to take on this task, Albert, was the first one to be successful, and his success was primarily through force. He arrived at mouth of the Daugava with a full complement of troops, and in 1201 he founded the city of Riga, for which the strategically important gulf would get its name. By 1206 the Livonians had been defeated by Bishop Albert's men. Until 1561 the territory of current-day Latvia was under the governance of the Order of Livonia; however, this name had little to do with the Livonian people, and all natives of the land were equally oppressed during this period of time.

In 1562, after the dissolution of the Livonian Order, there began a period of Polish-Swedish rule until the land of Livonia was surrendered to Russia in 1721.⁸ Russian rule lasted until 1917, which saw the founding of the independent Republic of Latvia. This Republic would last until 1940, when Russia took control for a little over a year,

⁸ Walther Kirchner. *The Rise of the Baltic Question* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1954), 3.

ceding authority to the Germans during World War II, and then taking control again after the war.

Oskar Loorits (whose *Volkslieder der Liven* would form one of the primary sources for Tormis's *Livonian Heritage*), in a 1945 study on the Livonian people, related this story of going to visit the Livonians in Latvia 15 years earlier.

In 1930, Loorits found there about ten Livonians, all of whom felt ashamed of their Livonian origin, looked down upon the Livonian language and were even proud that they had forgotten their mother tongue. An arrogant woman ironically demanded from Loorits one Lat for every Livonian word she would say, another jeered even more disdainfully: "What will one get for this language? Land or a house? Geese or only a hen?" And pointing to her house which was being built she continued: "Does this horse language [i.e., Livonian] give the roof on our house or soft sofas in the rooms?" The woman's son swore in Latvian that he would never learn a word of the horse language, that he was not a Livonian but a thoroughbred Latvian and that he would drive the foolish Livonian patriots from the shore into the sea.

The term "horse language" is a common one among both Livonians and Latvians when referring to the native Livonian language. Both are closely related to Estonian, and as one would expect, all Livonians are fluent in the Latvian language. For much of the 20th century the Latvian people strongly pressured the Livonians to assimilate into Latvian culture, and the term "horse language" seems to have been a deliberate attempt on the part of the Latvian government, particularly during the years 1918 to 1940 when the Livonians lived under the thumb of the Republic of Latvia, to scrub out any nationalistic tendencies on the part of the Livonians. And in 1941, during a very brief Soviet rule before German occupation in what came to be known by Livonians as their

⁹ Felix J. Oinas, *The Livonians* (New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1955), 3.

own "Year of Terror," thousands of Livonians along with their Latvian brethren were loaded up onto train cars and deported to slave labor camps in the province of Siberia.

Assimilation had forced the Livonian language well down the path to obsolescence by the time Loorits made his journey. Church services, schools, and all governmental interactions were held in the Latvian languages, and the youth of the region in the early part of the 20th century were given little reason to learn Livonian. Between the two World Wars there seemed to be a few tentative steps made towards a greater national identity among the Livonians, including the opening of a Livonian Community Center¹⁰ and the forging of greater cooperation with the people of Estonia and Finland. However, the onset of World War II quashed many of these dreams, forcing the quick assimilation of the remaining Latvian people into the larger Latvian community as war caused their migration away from their traditional homes along the sea coast and to the inland areas.

When Soviet occupation began in earnest immediately following World War II, ten years had passed since Stalin made his crackdown on nationalistic identities within Russia, beginning in 1937. No Livonian culture, people, or language was recognized by the Soviet government, and deportations to Siberia were common for anyone suspected of harboring nationalistic feelings, especially during a second wave of forced migrations in the terrors of 1949. These actions by the Stalinist regime will be explored further as the reader examines the histories of the other cultures.

Since *glasnost*, the opening up of the Soviet cultural barriers in the last half of the 1980's, and then the dissolution of the Soviet Union, there have been some attempts to

¹⁰ Viires, The Red Book: The Livonians.

revive the Livonian culture and language. With the founding of the Livonian Cultural Society (what would later become the Livonian Union based on a similarly-named organization that was founded in 1923), there has been a small resurgence of people wanting to learn the language and identify with their Livonian heritage. However, the number of native speakers of Livonian is quite small. During the 1935 Latvian state census, while 944 people were listed as Livonian in heritage, only 790 of them reported knowing the language, and of those only 217 reported that Livonian was in use in their household. By 1970 the number of self-identified Livonians had dropped to a low of just 70. While a minor resurgence has caused the number of Livonians to rise to 135 in the 1990 census, only 35 of those spoke Livonian, and of those there were just 15 fluent speakers, almost all of whom were over 70 years of age. It will take a serious effort on the part of the Livonian people to document and teach their language to younger generations in order to save it.

The Votes (or Votians)

The Votes seem to have been historically a small tribe, but the rapid diminishment of the Votic people during the 19th and 20th centuries has been remarkable. No official numbers exist, because the Votes have not been counted on any official census since 1926, when Russian officials counted 705 self-identified Votes. By 1989, through painstaking count by visiting villages in and around the Ingrian lands, 62 Votic speakers

¹¹ Marija Valda Šuvcāne, *Lībiešu folklora* (Riga, Latvia: Jumava, 2002), 9.

¹² Viires, The Red Book: The Livonians.

were discovered, and of these approximately half were native speakers of the Votic language.¹³

A tendency towards assimilation with the Russians has been the Achilles heel of the Votians for many centuries. At first, this pressure to assimilate was resisted because of the counterbalancing force of the Ingrians and the Finns, especially because the Votic language (even with its borrowings from Russia) was much closer to Finnish than Russian. Votians could adapt to Finnish, Ingrian, Izhorian, and even Estonian with much greater ease than they could adapt to Russian. However, as the second millennium wore on, the Votians ended up being pulled apart by the various forces of Russification and Ingrianization.¹⁴

While language was the primary characteristic of the Votes that drove them to identify somewhat with the Ingrians and Finns, it was their identification with the Russian Orthodox Church that caused them to become even more strongly identified with the Russian people. It was this religious fealty that drove the Votes throughout the 19th century to abandon their own language and the more easily-learned Finnish, and move almost completely to a Russian-speaking culture. By the 1930's, young people no longer learned the Votic language. In fact, of the 62 people discovered by Heinike Heinsoo to speak Votic in 1989, none of them had been born later than 1930 (coincidentally, the same year Tormis was born). Heinsoo states that as of 2005, there were only ten native speakers of the Votic language left alive.¹⁵

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¹³ Viires, The Red Book: TheVotes.

¹⁴ Felix J. Oinas, *The Votes* (New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1955), 2.

¹⁵ Heineke Heinsoo, "Of a Vanishing Language and Identity: Votic," in *Symposium of Language* and Identity in the Finno-Ugric World, University of Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands, 17 to 19

Writing in 1955, Oinas refers to the dramatic influence the Orthodox Church has over the Votians:

The Russian Orthodox Church with its lyrical mysticism has completely won them over. The Church has determined their world conception, their sympathies and antipathies and their attitude towards their mother tongue. The Votes treat those of a different religion like complete strangers. But they almost identify themselves with the nationalities (Russians and Ingrians) who have the same religion as they have. Since the language of the religion is Russian, they do not seem to regret giving up Votic in favor of Russian.¹⁶

Votic early history was a struggle for control of the lands and peoples by a number of different authorities. Sometime in the first millennium they made their way into Ingermanland. From the founding of the city of Novgorod and the state of Russia in the middle of the 9th century, Russian influence has been predominant. The Votic regions were claimed by Novgorod as early as the 11th century; in 1069 the Votes, under the leadership of Prince Vseslav from the Russian city of Polotsk, attacked Novgorod in order to free themselves from having to pay taxes and tributes.¹⁷

The Votes lost this important battle, and Novgorod control was almost absolute (except for some occasional German incursions) until 1478, when Moscow (the Grand Principality of Muscovy) took over the city. From there, and for a number of centuries, records seem to indicate that the Votic people were somewhat large in number, and many references are made to specific Votic lands comprising substantial territories to the northwest of Novgorod. Little changed in the lives of the Votes, except for those killed in

May 2006. [abstract online]

http://www.rug.nl/let/onderwijs/talenenculturen/finoegrischetalenculturen/fu2006/abstracts.

¹⁶ Oinas, *The Votes*, 1.

¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

the battle and others hanged for suspected collaboration with German infiltrators. During the next century, mass conversion of the Votian people to Russian Orthodoxy was primarily on the mind of two Archbishops of Novgorod, Makarius and Theodosius.

Archbishop Makarius complained vehemently about the pagan ways of the Votes, writing to the Grand Prince of Moscow:

"... [they worship] in their sacrifical places the forests, stones, rivers, bogs, springs, mountains, kills, the sun, stars and lakes, and offering to evil spirits secret blood sacrifices of children, throwing into the flames the holy images of saints and seeking in every way to propitiate the devil." 18

A seminal event in the history of the Votic people, as well as the region as a whole, was the Stolbovo Peace Treaty of 1617. Under the terms of this treaty, all of Ingermanland became a province of Sweden, and Lutheranism was one of the main tools of influencing the Ingrians, Votians, and Izhorians away from Russian domination. Many Votes and Izhorians, loyal to their religion and resisting Swedish rule, fled into territory still ruled by the Russians.

A century later, Ingermanland fell to the Russians as a result of the Great

Northern War, fought by Sweden against Russia and a handful of other states. The Treaty
of Nystad in 1721 gave not only Ingria back to the Russians, but also Estonia, Latvia, and
much of Karelia. The founding of St. Petersburg by Peter the Great in 1703 on the Gulf
of Finland at the mouth of the River Neva, eighteen years before the treaty of Nystad,
was of even greater significance in bringing the entire area under Russian dominance. A
significant migration of Russian workers into the region quickly overwhelmed the native

¹⁸ Ibid., 8.

population and began the centuries-long but inexorable decline of the Votian peoples and language.

The Izhorians (or Izhors)

The Izhorians share a similar history to the Votes, and suffered a similar fate.

Only a population of somewhat greater numbers than the Votes has staved off the inevitable extinction of the Izhorian people. Their relationship with the Votians is laid out by Heinike Heinsoo in an abstract to a paper to be delivered to the Finno-Ugric Languages and Cultures Symposium at the University of Groningen in May, 2006:

At first in the beginning of 20th century they changed relatively easily into the Izhorian language. As a result of this language change even in the middle of the 20th century children of one family may have become speakers of different languages: the one married with an Izhorian moved on to speaking Izhorian, the one married with a Votic person retained the Votic language. If the Votes had not Russified, they would have become Izhorians. Living close-by in the neighborhood and mixed marriages turned the scales towards the Izhorian language. The Izhorian language has dominated because of sheer numbers. ¹⁹

Those "sheer numbers" should not mislead anyone, however, as the reader shall soon see.

Discovering accurate numbers about the Izhors, or any of the remaining cultures, is a challenging task throughout the 20th century, particularly around the time when Stalin made a concerted effort from 1937-9 to crush any sort of nationalism. Four Russian censuses were conducted in a 33-year period, in 1926, 1937, 1939, and 1959; the first *glasnost*-era census was conducted in 1989. The 1926 study seems fairly accurate according to most modern scholars, and was not yet infected by the anti-nationalistic bias

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¹⁹ Heinsoo.

that Stalin was to inject into the proceedings.²⁰ The 1926 census lists 26,137 Izhorians, as opposed to 705 Votians.

The results of the 1937 census were suppressed by Stalin, and many of the census-takers were arrested, deported to Siberia, or even executed as traitors to the State. There were many embarrassing details about the Soviet population in this census that Stalin was keen to suppress, most notably a population that was 14 million less than what the government had predicted, after a tortuously difficult decade of famine and purges. Accounting for normal population growth, the number of "excess deaths" during the period between the 1926 and 1937 censuses was on the order of 10 million.²¹

This sort of information was unacceptable to Stalin and had to be discarded, with much upheaval and violence. The Russian government claimed sabotage of the census, and it was not until the 1990's that the complete set of data was released to scholars. Two years after the 1937 census, Stalin demanded another count be made, but even then only partial data of the 1939 census was released, and it included nothing about the Izhorians or other nationalities.

By the time the first post-Stalin census was conducted in 1959, with various nationalities now being counted for the first time in thirty-three years, the number of Izhorians had dropped to just 1,062, and only 820 in the 1989 census, with 302 being listed as native speakers of Izhorian.²² While the Stalinist era was certainly well-known for its bloodiness and persecution of nationalist minorities, it seems clear that the drastic

²⁰ Evan Mawsdley, *The Stalin Years: The Soviet Union 1929-1953* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998), 43.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Viires, The Red Book: The Votes.

drop in Izhorian population from 1926 to 1959 was primarily one of identification.

Understanding the prevailing political winds, most Izhorians at this time listed themselves as Russian, spoke only the Russian language and taught their children only in Russian.

It is a shame, because in the first years of Soviet rule in the 1920's, the situation seemed promising for the Izhorian people. Like the Votes, they had embraced Russian Orthodoxy as their religion, and events seemed to suggest that Izhorian nationalism could co-exist peacefully among the Russians.

In the first years of Soviet power the Izhorians cherished the hope that their persecution would come to an end. And, in fact, the initially enterprising attitude [of the] Izhorians was encouraged: education was improved, an Izhorian written language was created and books were published in it. Unfortunately, this was only a surface phenomenon. Collectivization came and the property of the more prosperous peasants was confiscated while they themselves were deported either to Siberia or to Central Asia. The Bolsheviks railed fiercely against private property and wealth and militant atheists fought against the Church and its followers. In 1937 Russian chauvinists closed Izhorian schools and similarly, the end was signaled for Izhorian cultural and social life... Unfortunately, the Izhorian written language, their native-language schools, textbooks and even teachers were liquidated in 1937.²³

The idea of the "surface phenomenon" was encouraged by Stalin for his own purposes, since he seemingly did not believe what he was saying. Writing in March of 1929, Stalin said that education must be "...compulsory for all citizens of the country, irrespective of their nationality. [Why must there be schools] in the native languages?... Because only in their native, national languages can the vast masses of the people be

²³ Ibid.

successful in cultural, political and economic development."²⁴ Yet it is clear that this positive and seemingly progressive quote by Stalin was a smokescreen for the brutal nationalistic oppression that was to come during the late 1930's. Evan Mawdsley says it best:

Once the 'socialist offensive' was under way it was clearer than ever that the creation of an all-union economy (and state) ran counter to any further nationality-based fragmentation. Russian became the language of planning, as well as of the military and of the central party; alongside nativisation now came the development of Russian as a common language. Education was increasingly standardized. A particularly important step came in March 1938 when in minority areas the local language remained the main teaching language in primary and secondary schools, but Russian was also made compulsory. A stricter definition of territoriality also meant the disappearance of schools for non-Russian groups living outside their titular regions. More significant still, Russian became the general language of higher education. 25

The Stalinist oppression of the 1930's was certainly the final nail in the coffin for the future of most of the languages and cultures under study here. Let us continue to examine the importance of various events of this time while looking at the remaining three peoples.

The Ingrians

After exploring the music and culture of the Votes and the Izhorians, two tribes whose culture and fate were inextricably linked, it seems natural that Tormis should have turned his attention to the Ingrians. As was discussed above, the Votes and Izhorians both lived within Ingria, or Ingermanland. It's important to remember that while Votes and

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²⁴ Joseph Stalin, *Works*, vol. 4, *The National Question and Leninism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), 354.

²⁵ Mawdsley, 68-69.

Izhorians are tribes of people, Ingria refers to a land, a territory. When referring to Ingrians, this generally encompasses both the Votes and the Izhors.

On one level, defining the Ingrians becomes a much easier task, since there is a territorial boundary that can be ascribed to them for much of their history. (The same is true for Karelians.) To ascribe to them a single culture or language, however, is to shoehorn them into a box into which they don't quite fit. Rather than detailing what unifies the Ingrian people, it might be useful to describe what sets them apart from the Votes and the Izhors. First, here are the historical territories of each of the groups.

Map 1. Ingria. (1) Border under the Peace of Stolbova in 1617. (2) Soviet border with Estonia and Finland in 1920. (3) Estonian Ingria. (4) Rosona River.

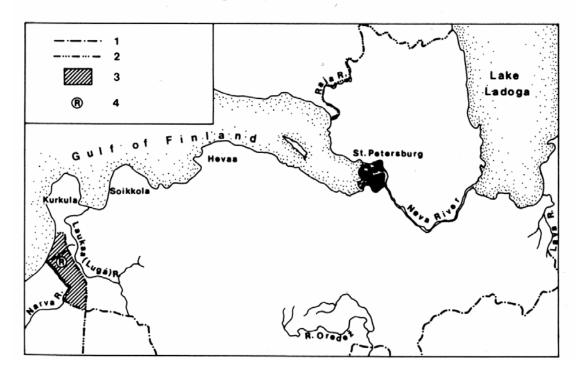
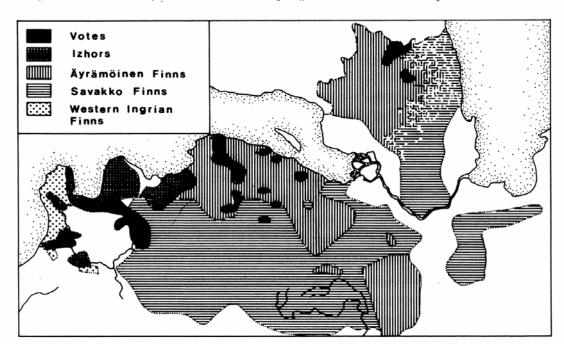


Figure 4. Historical Ingrian borders. From Nenola-Kallio, 15.

This map shows the Ingrian region in geographical detail, with the Neva River and Lake Lagoda featured prominently. Almost all of the territory shown on the map above was settled by Ingrian people.



Map 2. Areas inhabited by Baltic-Finnish tribes of Ingria in the mid 19th century.

Figure 5. Tribes of Ingria in the mid 19th century. From Nenola-Kallio, 15.

This map shows the various tribes of the Ingrian Finns in the middle of the 19th century. One can see the Votians and the Izhors taking up minor swaths of territory as described in the previous two sections. The political history of this territory has also already been described.

Ingrians are generally Finns who migrated from the north, from Finland, whereas the Izhorians and Votians generally migrated from the east. The Ingrians are by and large considered to speak a dialect of Finnish, and not a separate language like the Izhors and Votes. Tormis himself, in writing *Ingrian Evenings*, refers to the lyrics as Finnish poetry. While Izhors and Votes tend to be Russian Orthodox, Ingrians are generally Lutherans.

Strong adoption of the Lutheran religion among Ingrians did not come until late in the 19th century.²⁶

The first population statistics of the area were gathered by Peter von Köppen in 1848, when he counted over 76,000 Ingrians from the three groups: Äyrämöinen from Äyräapää in the Vyborg region, Savakko from Savo, and Western Ingrian Finns.²⁷ Votes and Izhors were counted separately. By the official 1897 census, this number had swelled to over 130,000, but had dropped to 114,831 in the 1926 Soviet census.

Ingrians were not counted as a separate people during the suppressed 1937 census or the official 1939 one. It wasn't until the 1959 census that the data showed a dramatic drop in Ingrian-identified people living in the historic Ingermanland territories and Karelia, down to 16,239. Of these, just over half were native Finnish speakers, and the rest spoke Russian.

Whereas there have been strong assimilationist tendencies among the Izhors and the Votes, both because of their heritage and because of their historical ties with the Russian Orthodox Church, there was much greater resistance among the other Ingrians to Russification in the 20th century. So while a change of identification seems to have caused the majority of the drop in numbers for Izhors and Votes, violence, oppression, and deportation had a much greater hand in the rapid decrease of the Ingrian people. This lengthy excerpt from *The Red Book of the Russian Peoples* details the sorrows that plagued the Ingrians.

²⁶ Aili Nenola-Kallio, *Studies in Ingrian Laments* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tieda-katemia/Academia Scientarum Fennica, 1982), 14.

²⁷ Viires, The Red Book: The Ingrians.

By the middle of the 19th century the Votes and the Izhorians had already firmly shifted into the cultural sphere of the Russians, however, this was not the case with the Ingrians. The oppression of the Russian language and milieu was neutralized by Lutheranism and the proximity of their mother country, Finland.... It took the Soviet Communist regime to exterminate the Ingrians morally as well as physically. Initially substantial rights were promised to the Finns of the Petrograd province, and new hopes were kindled. Educational conditions improved, and Finnish became more widely used in cultural life....

The violence began in 1928 with compulsory collectivization. Around 18,000 people were deported from Northern Ingria to East Karelia, Central Asia and elsewhere in order to frighten others into accepting collective farms. A further 7,000 were deported to the Urals and to the coast of the Caspian Sea in 1935, and 20,000 to Siberia and Central Asia in 1936. Four parishes of Northern Ingria were totally emptied of Finns, which was a probable factor in the tension that led to the Finnish-Russian war. All churches and religious societies were closed by 1932 and all Ingrian cultural and social activities were brought to a halt by 1937.... By 1929, at least 13,000 Finns had been killed and 37,000 were suffering in Russia....

In 1942, during the blockade of Leningrad, 25,000 – 30,000 Finns were deported to Siberia. Their resettlement to Finland was allowed by German authorities.... 63,227 Ingrian refugees, including the Votes and Izhorians, had left for Finland by October 31, 1944. Finland had to return them to the Soviet Union after the armistice. 55,773 Ingrians arrived and were scattered.... Some years after the war even those children of Ingrian descent that had been adopted by Finnish families were reclaimed by the Soviet Union.

By the year 1943, only 4,000 Finns remained in Ingermanland.... Only in 1956 were the Ingrians finally allowed to return to their native country.²⁸

Mentioned in the excerpt, collectivization was the process that began in 1929 of bringing villages, independent farms, and households into approximately a quarter of a million collective farms. Each collective farm generally contained somewhere under 100

²⁸ Ihid.

households, and central authority was imposed.²⁹ Wealthier farmers—called "kulaks," a derogatory term that literally means "tight-fisted"—were often deported or put to death, though there remains controversy as to how much support the poorer farmers and peasants gave this movement.³⁰ The process of collectivization was carried out in less than five years. While there was often resistance to the process, the Soviet authority on this issue was unstoppable.³¹ The process of farming and food distribution was one of Stalin's great tools of control of the people. For instance, while the 1933 famine was widespread, the deaths of millions of people in the Ukraine—mostly due to Stalin's enforced policies, exportation of grain out of the region, and refusal to let people leave the area to seek out food elsewhere—allowed Stalin to crush a burgeoning nationalist movement in the region.

Also mentioned above is the Finnish-Russian war, which is more widely known as the Winter War. This was one of the most important battles for the parts of Ingria that were not yet under the control of the Soviet state. On November 30, 1939, four months after the beginning of World War II with the German invasion of Poland, the Soviet Union attacked Finland. Finnish resistance was surprisingly strong, despite being vastly outnumbered by Soviet forces. The fiercest fighting happened in the heart of northern Ingrian territory (which is known today as part of Republic of Karelia, West Karelia, or

²⁹ Mawdsley, 45.

³⁰ Alec Nove, ed., *The Stalin Phenomenon* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 36.

³¹ For more information on how strongly the peasant classes supported the revolution in the early years, see: Tracy McDonald, "A Peasant Rebellion in Stalin's Russia: The Pitelinskii Uprising, Riazan, 1930," in *Contending with Stalinism: Soviet Power and Popular Resistance in the 1930s*, ed. Lynne Viola (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 84-108.

the Karelian Isthmus), along what came to be known as the Mannerheim Line, stretching from Lake Lagoda to the Gulf of Finland.



Figure 6. The Mannerheim Line. Courtesy Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finnish-Russian_War.

As a result of this war, while the Russians sustained heavy losses, Finland was required to cede the territory surrounding Lake Lagoda to the Soviet Union. This formed the final piece in the puzzle of what was to become modern-day Karelia, as the reader shall discover below.

The Vepsians (or the Veps)

The Veps are tied to the Karelians, and to the Karelian lands, in much the same way that the Izhors and Votes are tied to Ingria. They have become strongly Russified over the 20th century, and currently have little sense of a national identity, although there are some organizations, such as the Vepsian Cultural Society founded in 1989, that are trying to reverse that trend. It's possible that they might yet succeed, since there still do remain a few thousand native speakers

While many of the six cultures under study have had clear Russian influence, this is most clearly demonstrated in the Vepsian people and their language. The Vepsian language, like all the others, uses the Latin alphabet. However, it borrows one character from the Cyrillic alphabet, "π," which is used quite prominently in the texts of Tormis's *Vepsian Paths*. This character represents a palatal voiced nasal (similar to the IPA [nj] found in the middle of "onion" or "canyon"). While it is potentially also used in the Votic language, its appearance is rare, where it is common in Vepsian.³² Not too much should be read into this; Vepsian, like Izhorian and Votic, are primarily spoken languages. A system of spelling using the Latin alphabet, and the one borrowed character from Cyrillic, wasn't created until 1932 with the publication of a primer.³³ The closest language to Vepsian is Karelian, even though all Vepsians also know Russian.³⁴

³² Paul Ariste, *A Grammar of the Votic Language* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Publications, 1968), 9.

³³ Viires, The Red Book: The Veps.

³⁴ Felix J. Oinas, *The Vepsians* (New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1955), 20.

The Vepsians' historical home is in the land between Lake Lagoda and Lake Onega, to the northeast of Lake Lagoda and firmly in the modern-day territory of the Republic of Karelia.



Figure 7. The Republic of Karelia and surrounding lakes. Courtesy Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karelia.

Like the Votes and other peoples of the regions, they fell to the rule of the Grand Principality of Muscovy, for the Vepsians in 1485. From there, Russian history is Vepsian history, as they have been ruled by Russia continuously since that time.

The 1926 census listed 32,773 Veps. By the 1979 census, there were only 8,094, with 38.4% native speakers of the Vepsian language.³⁵ This is not nearly as dramatic of a drop-off as in some of the other cultures under consideration, but certainly enough to fear for the extinction of the Vepsian language and culture. The 2002 census listed 8,240 Vepsians living in Russia, a slight increase, leading to some optimism for the future of these people.

The Karelians

As the map below shows, Karelia is a huge swath of land on the border of Russia and Finland. Most of the history of this territory is defined by the struggle between the Russians and the Swedes/Finns to keep control of this land. The map indicates modernera borders, and as one can see, most of Karelia is under Russian rule, and a little under Finnish rule.

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³⁵ Viires, The Red Book: The Veps.

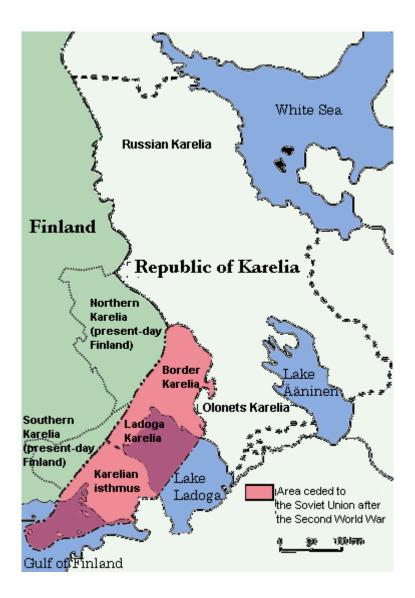


Figure 8. Modern borders of Karelian regions in Russia and Finland. Courtesy Karelian Association.

The ancestral homeland of the Karelian people, like that of the Veps, is what is considered today to be Olonets Karelia, between Lake Lagoda and Lake Onega (called Lake Ääninen above). From there they migrated northwards towards the White Sea and westward into the territory of modern Finnish Karelia. From the earliest days of the Novgorod Republic the Karelians were under their influence, and were converted to the

Russian Orthodox faith as early as the 12th century.³⁶ Tributes were first paid to Novgorod in 1137, but the Karelian people were still independent.³⁷

The Treaty of Nöteborg in 1323 between Novgorod and Sweden/Finland defined one of the earliest borders of Karelia, a north-south line running from the Gulf of Bothnia southward between the Lake Lagoda and the Gulf of Finland. Most of the territory of Karelia was given over to Novgorod, while a handful of provinces came under Swedish control. Peace, however, was not to be found easily, especially after the Grand Principality of Muscovy conquered Novgorod in 1478 and put all of non-Swedish Karelia under Russian rule.

The 16th century was one of constant struggle between the Swedes and the Russians in the Karelian areas. Most of these hostilities did not come to an end until after the Ingrian War and Stolbovo Peace Treaty of 1617, which established virtually all of Karelia as being under Swedish/Finnish rule. This led to a century of a different kind of conflict, one centering on religion as much as territory. The Karelians were mostly Russian-identified at this point, as they were predominantly Russian Orthodox and there was a concerted effort by the Swedish government to impose Lutheranism on the Karelians. For the next hundred years, migration was the norm as people moved to Russian- and Swedish-controlled territories, depending on their religious and cultural affiliations.³⁸

The Treaty of Nystad in 1721, ending the Great Northern War, returned all of Karelia to Russia. This dramatically tilted the balance of power in the region, and allowed

³⁶ Viires. The Red Book: The Karelians.

³⁷ Felix J. Oinas, *The Karelians* (New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1955), 4.

³⁸ Ibid., 8.

Russia direct access to the Baltic Sea once again. The political situation was mostly stable for the next two hundred years, but the 19th century saw a dramatic awakening of a national consciousness among the Karelian people. Even though Karelians had generally been Russian-identified, an emerging identity as separate from the Russians and actually closer to the Finns began to arise, in resistance to progressively stronger attempts to Russify the Karelian people. The writing of the Kalevala, discussed below, was a seminal event in creating a separate, nationalistic Karelian identity.

In 1920, the Treaty of Tartu, mainly dealing with Estonian independence, confirmed the border between Finland and Russia, just three years after Finnish independence and the Russian Revolution in 1917. This made what was a "purely administrative border between Finland and Russia [into] a political border between two states." A large part of Karelia once again became ruled by the Finns, though this lasted just 20 years until the start of the Winter War (1939-40). While the Soviet Union suffered heavy losses during this four-month engagement, they did receive back most of the Karelian lands. The Continuation War (1941-44), fought against the backdrop of World War II and so named because most Finns considered it a continuation of the Winter War, resulted in no border change between Russia and Finland in the Karelian territories.

Of course, Karelians are not simply defined by borders; they are defined by language and culture. The constant tug-of-war between Finland and Russia and the subsequent migrations of people into and out of Karelia, in both directions, has had a profound impact on the Karelian culture and language.

³⁹ Anneli Sarhimaa, "The Divisive Frontier: The Impact of the Russian-Finnish Border on Karelian," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 145 (2000): 169.

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The vast majority of people today living in Karelia are ethnic Russians, and ethnic Karelians make only about 10% of the population. ⁴⁰ The 1989 census lists approximately 41,000 native speakers of Karelian in the Republic of Karelia, and about 20,000 speakers in other parts of Russia. ⁴¹ Almost all Russian-side Karelian speakers also speak Russian. A number of attempts in the 1930's to Russify the Karelian language by making it conform to a written Cyrillic alphabet were unsuccessful. Today, there is a resurgence of interest in the Karelian language in Russian-side Karelia, with the publication of textbooks and a newspaper in Karelian, as well as school courses being offered to teach the language and the culture. ⁴²

In the Finnish Karelian provinces, there is less hope. Many Finnish linguists in the 1920's and 1930's considered Karelian little more than a dialect of Finnish, and little effort was expended to preserve the uniqueness of the "border Karelians." For the generation born in these decades, Finnish became their native language. Finnish was also the official language of the provinces. Because of the similarity between Karelian and Finnish, assimilation of the Karelians into Finnish culture was almost total within a generation. There is little sense today of national identity among the Finnish-side Karelians, as opposed to a weak but present nationalism among Russian-side Karelians. Finland does not keep any census records as to native speakers of Karelian.

Since being designated an autonomous Republic in 1989, there have been continuing calls among a minority of the Russian-side Karelian people for independence,

⁴⁰ Viires, The Red Book: The Karelians.

⁴¹ Sarhimaa, 155.

⁴² Ibid., 175.

⁴³ Ibid., 173.

and some native Karelian-speakers desire reunification with Finland. Considering how small a percentage of the population of Karelia is Finnish-identified, reunification seems unlikely. However, it remains to be seen how capable the Russian-side Karelian speakers are to holding on to their native language when they are a decreasing minority within their own lands.

Anneli Sarhimaa, writing in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, sums up the modern Karelian question well, and in doing so, puts forth an understanding of why studying the Karelian language is important. By extension, this reasoning can easily be applied to all six of the cultures being studied.

In addition to its general linguistic and political interest, there is also a social and humanitarian call for the study of Karelian. After all, we are here speaking about a European language that up to the mid-1930's was spoken as a native language by some 160,000 people. For more than seventy years the Karelians were deprived of their rights to a community-wide use of their national language, and even of developing a literary standard of their own. The current attempts to revitalize Karelian may well be unsuccessful in the long run. Nevertheless, it is something that the Karelians themselves are ready to struggle for, and it should therefore be supported in any reasonable manner. The contribution of dialectologists is needed as well: numerous cases all over the world have shown that a language that has been exhaustively studied has better chances of survival than a language that has not been investigated by trained linguists. Despite the lack of long literary traditions, Karelian is a language among languages—not a (substandard) vernacular, or a group of more or less Finnish-like dialects. It is a language of a nation that has never been acknowledged as such but has through the ages been mistreated by changing authorities. The language of the Karelians deserves to be not only duly documented, but also thoroughly investigated.⁴⁴

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⁴⁴ Ibid., 176-7.

Folklore and Song

Among the six cultures in question, and among the Balto-Finnic people as a whole, there are many similarities in the cultural traditions, such as singing, poetry, storytelling, wedding and funeral customs, holidays, celebrations, and so on. There are different flavors that make each one unique, but when one steps back and looks at the cultures of the people that make up modern-day Latvia, Estonia, Karelia, and somewhat less southern Finland, one can easily see the threads that tie these people together, as much as they separate them from Russia, Finland, and Sweden, and the countries to the south of the Baltic Sea.

It is hard to separate the impact that the lives of the people have had on their songs from the impact that the songs have had on their lives. Certainly these influences flow both ways. Song, mainly because of its intimate connection with language, can have a way of uniting a people, especially when under siege from bordering cultures. Veljo Tormis believes that songs have a profound influence on the people who sing them.

Nowhere is this influence clearer than in the Kalevala.

The Kalevala

No other piece of literature or poetry has had the impact in the Baltic region of the Kalevala over the last five centuries. The Kalevala was published in two versions by Elias Lönnrot, the first in 1829, and the second, standard edition in 1849. Lönnrot was a passionate collector of Finnish folk poetry, and got most of his material from Karelia. Left with a substantial collection of short works, Lönnrot believed that he had actually found parts of a larger, epic poem that dealt with Finnish mythology, creation myths, and the struggles of the gods. By the time Lönnrot finished with his second edition, the

Kalevala stood at fifty poems, mostly interconnected into the longer epic saga that he had envisioned.

The publication of the Kalevala had an immediate effect on literature, song, and art in the Baltic region and elsewhere. Jean Sibelius, composer, referred to it as one of his great sources of inspiration, and J.R.R. Tolkien called it the most important basis for his *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. But even more than art, the Kalevala had a profound impact on the Finnish national identity and struggle for independence. It quickly became known as the "Finnish national epic," and brought the situation of a relatively unknown people (at the time) to the world's attention. Many historians and scholars mark the publication of the Kalevala as the most important step towards Finnish independence, because of its creation of an awareness of a self-identity and nationalism among the Finnish people.

The example of the Kalevala leaves little doubt that as much as people affect the art that is produced, art and music can also affect the people. The Kalevala, because of its enormous popularity, had an impact on all of the other folk poetry and song in the Baltic region. Recitations of the Kalevala were often sung to improvised and repetitive melodies, much like the *runo* songs discussed in the introduction. The Kalevala has a definite and continuous meter, a trochaic tetrameter, such as this example from the first line of the second stanza in the first poem, *Ensimmäinen runo*:



Figure 9. An example of the Kalevala meter in 4/4 time. Illustration by the author.

Given the general cadence of the Finnish language, and the Kalevala poetry in particular, more often the text would be spoken with the last two beats elongated:



Figure 10. An example of the Kalevala meter in 5/4 time. Illustration by the author.

These meters are generally referred to as "Kalevala meter." While this was a natural meter for many Baltic singers to use when singing in Finnish-derived languages, it seems that the publication of the Kalevala moved more and more poetry and song to this rhythmic structure.

The Baltic Singing Tradition

Singing, particularly unaccompanied solo singing on improvised words and repetitive melodies, seems to have always been an important part of the Balto-Finnic culture. In the introduction the *regilaul* or *runo* song was discussed, a particularly Estonian variety of the improvised solo song, but one that bears much resemblance to the music of the other indigenous peoples of the region. Songs and lyrics were rarely written down, and they evolved and changed over time. Many songs, like the laments (discussed below), were only intended to be sung once, at the time that they were performed, to never again be repeated by another. These were the types of songs that were personal, heartfelt, and not ever sung by anyone other than the singer who created them, and not beyond that moment of original performance.

The folk music of the Baltic region was generally a tradition carried on by the women, or by children. Solo unaccompanied singing generally reflected everyday life. For instance, farming and seafaring are historically the dominant trades of this region. Flax is one of the primary crops, and there are whole sets of songs (particularly from

Estonia) devoted to the hope that the flax will grow tall. Songs of the sea and herding are also very common. Through these songs, listeners can discover much about the lives of common people, particularly through the latter part of the 20th century, when ethnologists and anthropologists from regional universities went forth to record and document the lives of the dying cultures and languages. From these studies, particularly those conducted from Tartu in Estonia, we have a wealth of songs and lyrics, as well as other cultural records, to study and preserve.

Karelia proves an exception to the rule about women being the primary singers. In Karelia, singing was often done by the men.⁴⁵ Perhaps this is why so much of Karelian poetry, such as the Kalevala, is epic in scale and often relates deeds of magic and the gods. However, this is not to say all singing in Karelia is done by the men; far from it, as the reader will see when discussing the lamenting tradition below.

Among the Vepsians, singing has been a very common way of passing along folklore. Like the Karelians, the Vepsians have shown a strong collectivist tendency, a predisposition towards community instead of independence. The most common folk song form among the Vepsians is that of the *chastushka* (*uacmyuuka*), a Russian term that comes from the word *uacmumb*, meaning to chatter or to speak very quickly. These are generally four-line songs with the same simple melody (possibly periodic) used for all of the lines. They generally have an ABAB or ABCB rhyme scheme, and tend to be moralistic in nature. Because of their close relationship with the Russian form, Tormis did not use the *chastushka* in composing *Vepsian Paths*. Instead, he chose to set children's songs that were recorded by the linguist Marje Joalaid; while there is not much

⁴⁵ Oinas, The Karelians, 72.

of it to take from, they are some of the few sources that we have of music that is undeniably Vepsian.⁴⁶

Because of their geographical location as a coastal people, many Livonian songs are traditionally about the sea. The sea is a living creature in Livonian folklore, populated with gods, fairies, and all manner of creatures. So is land-based nature, but it is the sea that seems to hold their collective heart in their songs. Offerings to the "sea-mother" and "sea-father" are made at the launching of a new boat, with wine or other liquor being poured into the sea and songs and prayers being sung to the sea spirits.⁴⁷ There is much cross-pollination between the Livonian and the Latvian songs, and occasional examples of the same song set to texts in the two different languages can be found. Children's songs also form a vital part of the known Livonian singing heritage, and the first four of Tormis's five songs from *Livonian Heritage* are based on melodies for young people.

In 1923 singing became one of the primary ways that Livonians tried to resist Latvianization, through the founding of the first Livonian choir as part of the Livonian Society and the creation of song festivals on the Livonian coast of Courland. Soviet occupation ended these endeavors as all nationalistic culture was discouraged. In January 1972 a courageous step was taken by some Livonians to reform a Livonian choir in Riga, called *Livlist*, a group that is still active today. In 1972 this was an act that could still have invited arrest, but the Livonians were willing to risk prosecution as a step towards saving their culture and language from extinction.

⁴⁶ Veljo Tormis, *Forgotten Peoples: Vepsian Paths* (Helsinki: Edition Fazer, Warner/Chappell Music Finland Oy, 1996), 57.

⁴⁷ Oinas. The Livonians. 48.

⁴⁸ Viires, The Red Book: The Livonians.

⁴⁹ Information on *Livlist* can be found online at http://folklora.lv/kopas/livlist/en.shtml.

The Ingrian region, including that of the Votic and Izhorian people, may be the richest of all in singing tradition. We have extensive archives of folk poetry and songs; the largest number of these works comes from a Finnish anthology of folk songs, *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*, which contains 6,500 pages of Izhorian songs. ⁵⁰ This collection was completed in 1931, and during the early part of the century, as has been mentioned before, there were some hopes that Ingrian, Izhorian, and Votic culture could be kept alive. In fact, long before the well-known Estonian quadrennial singing festival began, the Ingrians had their own singing festival, occurring roughly every four years beginning in 1899. Alas, all of this came to a dramatic end in 1937, as the time of terror in Stalin's regime began, closing the native-language schools, shutting down the preservationist societies, and stamping out native culture all over the Russian territories. Today, there are still societies trying to preserve these cultures, including the Izhorian *Shoykula* society, which also sponsors a choir singing music in the Izhorian language. However, the path to re-establishing these native cultures and languages is rocky, at best.

The Lamenting Tradition

Among all of the cultures studied by Tormis in the *Forgotten Peoples* cycle, but most especially among Karelians and Ingrians, there exists a tradition of lamenting, especially among the women. Laments are composed for many different occasions, but funerals and death rites seem to be where laments are used the most. The duty of a lamenter during specific rites is an important obligation.

Lamenters emphasize that lament is a serious duty, not to be taken lightly; each lament is a "work of sorrow," improvised anew

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⁵⁰ Viires, The Red Book: The Izhorians.

for each particular occasion. When the lamenter "cries with words," she uses a special language appropriate for the dead, a ritual language full of metaphor, alliteration, parallelism, and nonreferential syllables, sung to a sigh-like descending melodic line, and suffused with the icons of crying.⁵¹

Like most of the music collected by Tormis, laments are improvised, and are sung from within a core of great sorrow and pain. It is a kind of "stylized crying" that the singer uses to bring out not only her own grief, but the grief of others around them.

The Karelian Lament

The clearest example of a lament for the death of a loved one comes from the fifth song of *Karelian Destiny*. In this piece, the narrator (presumably the mother) is singing about the death of her child. One four-bar melody, with modifications, is used to sing each quatrain of text. In a solo situation, these melodies would not be sung in an identical fashion. Instead, the singer would use different types of vocal affect to relate the melody to the specific words and emotions of each line. Tormis follows this principle by setting each quatrain very differently and appropriately to the words.

It is easy to see this song as an improvised work, as the text meanders through many different pathways and ideas, with only a few unifying characteristics to bring all of the text together. By doing this, the singer allows herself to explore many different and complex emotions associated with the death of a child. The lyric starts with the mother addressing her child directly, when the listener doesn't yet know that the child is dead.

Aa, aa, allista,Aa, aa, little duckie,aa, aa, allinpoikaista,aa, aa, little duckie,lii, lii, lii, lii, lii, lii, lii, lii little birdie,

⁵¹ Elizabeth Tolbert, "The voice of lament: female vocality and performance efficacy in the Finnish-Karelian *itkuvirsi*," in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 181.

lii, lii, linnun poikaista.

lii, lii little birdie.

...

Makavuta maksaistani, uinuttele udraistani puun luvalla, muan luvalla, Rock, my little honey baby, hush! and go to sleep, my baby. We have asked the tree's permission,

the land's permission,

kaiken kartanon luvalla. even the Master's permission.

(Complete texts, with acknowledgements of the translations, are available in Appendix A.)

The texts of most Balto-Finnic folk songs, and almost exclusively the texts that Tormis chose to collect, are secular in nature. Here, however, there is one of the few examples of God and even the Virgin Mary being called upon to watch over the child.

Tule Jumala tuutuseh, käy Jumala kätkyveh pienen lapsen piänalasih, vakahasen vuattijoihen. Neitsyt Maaria emoni, äiti rakas armollini, tule tänne tuutusehe, Come, O Lord, into the cradle, come, O Lord, into the cradle, onto the little baby's pillow, into the little one's clothes.
Virgin Mary, dear mother,

our Lady merciful,

tule tänne tuutusehe, tule tänne kätkyvehen.

come, O come into the cradle, come, O come into the cradle.

...

Aa, tuuti, aa, aa.

Õnhan sullekin rauhan maa Nurmi-Tuoman tupasissa, Kaikkivallan kartanoissa. Aa, hush-a-by aa. You have gone to rest now into the chambers of death, into the halls of All-Father.

Retreating into metaphor, what is possibly the most emotionally wrenching passage in the lament comes from a verse about a fox who has lost her child.

Rebo itköö rerettelöö, The fox is weeping, in despair, allapa vuoren voivotteloo: grieving at the foot of the hills:

"Where have you gone, my poor sonny, kannetuni kartunut?"

Mehtämiespä siihen vastaa:

"Where have you gone, my poor sonny, where are you whom I have born?"

A fairy of the woods he gives an answer:

"Turun miehen turkkiloina, "He's a trader's furry coat, kauppamiehen kaglustoina, pi(i)sarin pitkinä hihoina." he's the long sleeves of a clerk." Heittibö rebo reeretyksen, The fox stopped despairing,

vuoren alla voivotuksen, stopped grieving at the foot of the hills, kun sai kuulla, mis on poika, when he heard where his sonny had gone,

kus on katalan kannetuni. the son born of poor parents.

Finally, the piece ends with a remarkable set of parallel lines, describing the burying of the child, and echoing the final line from the fox's story.

Tuonen toukoja tekeepi, Tuonen maita karhitsoopi, pajupehko parran piällä, kuusenjuuret kulmien piällä, lepänjuuret leukaluilla, koivunjuuret olokapäillä. Musta multa peittehenä, kalmalauta kattehena. Siel on miun polosen pojat, katalan itseni kannetuset.

The crops will grow where my little one is, the soil will be harrowed where my little one is, a willow-tree will grow on the beard, a spruce will take root on the eyebrows, an alder will take root on the chin, a birch will strike root on the shoulders. The black soil will cover like a rug, the casket boards will be like a roof. There will lie the son of the poor one,

the son born of poor parents.

These "lullabies of death",52 are quite common in the Balto-Finnic lamenting tradition. While some listeners might find them ghoulish or in poor taste, these songs give rise to a very personal, almost tangible grief.

The Ingrian Lament

Ingrian laments, under whose tradition we include the laments of the Votes and the Izhorians, differ from Karelian laments in a number of important ways. Karelian laments, because of their strong association with Kalevala-meter poetry, tend to be sung in very strict trochaic tetrameter. Ingrian laments, on the other hand, generally follow a looser style, with less parallelism and less reliance on metaphor to express the grief. Both styles tend to succumb to an overuse of alliteration, possibly as a memory device, but in practice the unifying characteristics between the two styles are much greater than what divides them. This has been especially true as Kalevala poetry has become more popular and sung throughout the Balto-Finnic region.⁵³

⁵² Nenola-Kallio, 106.

⁵³ Ibid., 255.

A good example of an Ingrian lament is the seventh Song from *Izhorian Epic*.

This movement tells the sorrow of a young woman who has become unintentionally pregnant, certainly to a man who is not her husband. It is unclear whether the death at the end of the lyric is solely that of her unborn child, or whether she has decided to commit suicide

En miä laulella luvannud, iloella en ensigää. Jovvuin noor miä nooristoho, noor miä noorien sekkaa. Käsettihe laulamaha. panttihe pajattammaa. Laidoin miä suuni laulamaha, itseni iloittammaa. Suu lauloi, süän murehti, silmäd vettä viirettiid. Silmäd vettä viirettiid ja posed lainehi lattood. Vakka on süttä miun vatsassani. siigla süttä süämessä. Vaik en verga kellegähä, en kaihoo kahellegaa. En miä verga velloilleni, sirguda siarellee. Engä kaippaa kaimalleni, en konneele koomal-...

Ku miä kaippaan kaimalleni ja konneelen koomallee. kooma nii kogo külälle. kaima kaigelle väel. Jovvuin metsähä kesoilla, kesk kesoil varil aial. Siis kaihoon kattaajapuille, leboin oksille läkkään. Leboin oksille läkkään ia koivun oksille konneel. Koivun oksille konneelen, kiven juuri kirjuttee. Nood ei verga kellegähä eik kaihoo kahellegaa. Tusad kaik tuuloidan meroille. halud kaik lasen lainehe. Siis ei tunne üksigähä, ümmerrä üheksängää.

I never promised to sing, nor in the least to make merry. But I was Young among the young and Youth amidst the other youth. I was made to sing and compelled to recite. I set my mouth to sing and prepared myself to make merry. My mouth was singing, my heart was worrying, my eyes they shed tears. My eyes they shed tears and my cheeks they rose up in waves. There's a scuttle of coal in my belly, a sieveful of coal in my heart, although I tell no-one nor complain to anybody. I do not tell my brother, I do not breathe to my sister nor do I complain to my kinsmen nor confess anything to my godparents.

If I complained to my kinsmen or confessed anything to my godparents, the kinsmen would tell the whole village the godparents to all the folk around. I'll go to the woods in summer, in the hot midsummer time. There I complain to the juniper-trees and tell the alder boughs. I tell the alder boughs and confess to the birchboughs. I confess to the birchboughs and write on the base of a stone. These will tell nobody nor complain to anyone. I let the wind of the seas carry away my grief and pass all my troubles to the waves. Then no-one will know, nine won't note the truth

The Wedding Lament

Surprisingly, other than for the death of a loved one, the lamenting tradition is strongest at weddings. For most of the recent history among all of the cultures being studied here, a woman was considered the property of her husband, and wedding rituals were often constructed in a way as to make it explicit that the husband was gaining not just a wife, but a slave. ⁵⁴ Girls usually married young, often around the age of 12 and marriage, in addition to being a joyous occasion, was often filled with fear on the part of the girl. Usually she would go from a life of relative ease where her needs were generally taken care of, to a life where she was expected to be the primary homemaker and provider for her husband, children, and often elderly parents and grandparents. This was a hard transition for many young girls to make, and a tradition arose where the girls would sing songs of mourning for their old life as part of a wedding ceremony. ⁵⁵ Wife-beating was acceptable, and this was even sung about in non-lamenting wedding songs, such as from this fifth song in *Votic Wedding Songs*, which details advice for a new groom.

Elä lüü ühessä süüssä, eläko kõikkinaa kahõssa, a lüü süüssä tšümmenessä, ku rikob parvõõ patoja i tõizõõ tinatooppija, kõlmõttõmaa vaskilaatkoi. Siiz vass lüü sisaruttani, siiz vass peeksä peenüttäni, õlki varrõssi valõlõ, niitti siimassi sitele.

Don't hit her for one sin, don't hit her for two sins, but hit her for ten sins, when she has broken many pots another lot of tin mugs and another of copper bowls. Only then you may hit my sister, only then you may spank my little one, take a straw for the whip handle, tie some thread for the lash.

⁵⁵ Nenola-Kallio, 113-180.

⁵⁴ Oinas, *The Votes*, 22.

From the Karelian custom, the twelfth song of *Vepsian Paths* is a traditional wedding lament in Kalevala meter. Note the strict parallelism in use, as one might expect from a people so culturally and linguistically related to the Karelians.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, pit'kas pöüdös ajabad. Лаske, лаske ajabad, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

Ana, s'ötäe, voika, don't weep, en mä sindaiž anda.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, look, dear i

Лaske, лaske ajaba, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

l'ävän taga ajabad.

...pололе jo ajabad. Лaske, лaske ajabad, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

...pertiižhe jo astubad. Лaske, лaske astubad, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

...stoлan taga ištubad. Лaske, лaske ištubad, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

...käskobad jo soptaashe. Sopt'e, sopt'e, tütriin'e ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

...n'äge me i män'iimae. Лаske, лаske män'iitae, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda. Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, along the field they're driving. Let them drive, let them drive, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, they're driving behind the stable now. Let them drive, let them drive, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

...they're already in the yard. Let them be, let them be, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

...they're entering the chamber now. Let them enter, let them enter, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

...they're sitting at table now. Let them sit, let them sit, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

...they're asking me to get ready. Get ready, my daughter, get ready. don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

...see, we're already going. Go go, you go don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

From the Ingrian style tradition, the third song of *Izhorian Epic* details a wedding lament in a much looser structure, with a great deal of alliteration but little use of constant meter or parallelism. Unlike the previous song, which detailed a conversation

between daughter and mother, this lament shows an argument between two sisters, one berating the other for her failed attempt at beating back the suitors who were coming to claim their bride.

Marojani, oidai, Marojani, Marojani, sisojani. Kuin miä saoin tään kessooja, oidai, tään miä vootta, tään miä vootta vongoittelin: "Tiimmä linnan liivigolle, oidai, Kaarossan vaa, Kaarossan kölän kaulle Sinn ei tunne koisoid tulla, oidai, piippumiihed, piippumiihed pistiellä." Siä vaa vaiden vastaelid, oidai, siä vaa vaiden. siä vaa vaiden vastaelid: "Miul o miikka miissassani, oidai, ja on kirppi, ja on kirppi kirssossani.

Miä lüün koisoid koolluksihe,

piippumiihed maaha pissän."

oidai, piippumiihed,

Maroi, my sister, oidai, Maroi, Maroi, my sister! I was telling you all last summer, oidai, and wailing the whole, and wailing the whole year through: "Let us build our abode in the sands, oidai, let us build it. let us build it in the Kaarosta village street. That's the place where the suitors won't come, oidai, and the pipe-smokers, and the pipe-smokers will not reach." But you replied, oidai, but you, but you replied: "I've got a sword in a bushel, oidai, and a shield, and a shield in the chest. I'll put the suitors to death,

oidai, and bury the pipe-smokers, and bury the pipe-smokers deep."

The first six of Tormis's selections from *Votic Wedding Songs* are joyous, other than the discussion of wife-beating. There are songs about the dowry, the cook, washing of the bride, and so on. The last song begins with a dark and minor melody, but a seemingly joyous text, with the bride reminiscing about her carefree and lazy days as a child. However, the singer laments that now her lot in life is reversed, and urges other girls not to get married.

Menin marja muilõõ mailõõ, lintu muilõõ liivikkoilõõ, kana muilõõ kallaizilõõ, toomi tõizilõõ vezilõõ. Makazin vähepi muita, tein tüütä enep muita, tšäin tšüläz vähep muita, siištši en kuulu kunniaasõõ.

Isä pillinä piteli, vello kantõ kantõlõnna. To other places I, little berry, went then, to other sand-dunes I, little bird, flew to other shores I, little chick, stepped, to be a bird-cherry on another bank. I sleep less than the others, I work more than the others, I go visiting fewer than the others, despite that I'm not respected.

I was the flute of my father, I was the zither of my brother. Pantii pilli piinaa päälee, kantõlõ rihee uhzõlõõ.

Õi, tütöd, sulasõsarõd, sulad sullitud omenad! Elkaa menkaa mehelee, elkaa menkaa ležželee! Elkaa menkaa mehelee! The flute was left on the doorpost the zither hanging on the door.

Oh, maidens, my good sisters, you apple-cheeked girls!
Do not get married,
never marry a widow!
Do not get married!

Motifs and Structural Elements of the Text

In Balto-Finnic poetry, while each culture has its own unique essentials in crafting the lyrics of the folk songs, there are a number of common elements that unite these texts. Before beginning a musical analysis of the music itself, the reader should look at some of these common elements in the folk poetry.

Base and Precious Metals

Metals—gold, silver, copper, tin, steel, and iron—are frequently sung about in Balto-Finnic secular songs. Metals of every type were important, and valuable in the Baltic region, whether precious or base. We see this both in metaphor and in actual use. Gold and silver are often used in symbolic pairings, such as from the second song of *Izhorian Epic*:

Idin kiven kirjavaksi,I wept until the stone got motleykannon karjuin karvaseksi.and cried until the tree got coloured.Tuli kuldoi kutsumaha,A golden one came to bid me home,hoppija veättämähä.a silver one to take me away.En mänd kullan kutsugilla,I didn't listen to the golden one's biddinghoppijan veädähillä.nor did I let the silver one take me.

Kuittermoin tüär kuttoho,
Kuldoikangasta kuttoho,
hobijada helgüttähä.
Taittui üksi kuldoilanga,
helgähti hoppijalanga.
The daughter of the Moon is weaving,
she's weaving a golden cloth,
she's letting the silver glitter.
The golden thread snapped,
the silver thread glittered but once.

Or this passage from the first song of *Vepsian Paths*:

Tšitškoht'em, tšiberoht'em, astuhtagam, mänehtagam, joksehtagam, олеhtagam kuudaižiimu kujoižiimu, rahaižiimu randaižiimu. My sister, my little cricket, let us go awhile, let us stride awhile, let us run awhile, let us stand awhile on the golden paths, on the silver slopes.

Other times the metal is more practical in nature, such as this passage from the

first song of Izhorian Epic:

"Seppüeni, selvüeni, taoid enne, taoid egle, tao i tänägi päänä, tao miul rauttaine harraava, teräksiist piid panneele, varsi vaskine valleele."
Seppüeni, selvüeni, tagoi rauttaisen harraavan, teräksiist piid panneeli, varren vaskisen valleeli.

"Smith, my deft smith, you have forged of yore and the day before would you not forge today as well? Forge me a rake of iron and fix it with prongs of steel and cast the handle of copper." Swift, the deft smith forged a rake of iron and fixed it with prongs of steel and cast the handle of copper.

However, there are things even more important than metal. The second song of *Karelian Destiny* is about Annikkini, maid of the island, who is wooed by progressively more desirable suitors.

Annikkini, šuaren neito, istu šuaren sillan piässä, vuotti mieštä mielehistä, šulhaista sulasanaista. Mieš merestä näyttelehe: rautašuini, rautapäini, rautahattu hartijoilla, rautakintahat käjeessä, rautakihlat kormanošša: "Annikkini, šuaren neito, tuletko minun mutšoksi?" "Enkä tule, enkä ole, ei ole šiätty, eikä kiätty, eikä toitsi toivotettu, eikä koissani luvattu!"

Annikkini, maiden of the island, sat at the end of the island's bridge, waiting for a man to please her fancy, for a honeysweet groom.

Lo, a man is rising from the foam iron-mouthed, iron-headed, an iron cloak over his shoulders, the iron gloves in his hands, the iron rings in his pocket:

"Annikini, maid of the island, will you be my bride?"

"No, I will not, no, I cannot, my kin did not give me, my kin did not tell me, nor did they promise me twice,

The first suitor is made completely of iron, and each subsequent suitor brings an even more important metal: next copper, then silver, and finally gold. However,

Annikkini refuses to marry each one. Finally, a suitor shows up who is "bread-mouthed,

nor did they give their consent."

bread-headed, a bread cloak over his shoulders, the bread gloves in his hands, the bread rings in his pocket." With an understanding beyond her years that bread is more important to a long and healthy marriage and life than even gold, Annikkini chooses to marry this last of the suitors.

Alliteration and Beginning Rhyme

Alliteration abounds in Balto-Finnic poetry, often where the first vowel after the initial consonant is the same, to create what is referred to as an *initial rhyme*, as opposed to an ending rhyme. Of course, ending rhymes are prevalent as well. One clear example of the initial rhyme can be found in the final song of Vepsian Paths:

Tatkool'e se tagraižed, da mamkool'e se maksaižed, tšitškool'e se tširuižed da veikool'e se veruded. heimoožiil'e heenhuded da sussedool'e suugaižed.

The stork's back goes for my father, the livers for my mother, the grease for my sister, the blood for my brother. the feathers for the kinsfolk, the wings for the neighbours.

The alliteration is generally not pedantic, in that there are usually words with other initial consonants interspersed within the lines, as in these lines from the seventh song of *Izhorian Epic*:

Laidoin miä suuni laulamaha,

itseni iloittammaa.

Suu lauloi, süän murehti, silmäd vettä viirettiid.

Silmäd vettä viirettiid ja posed lainehi lattood.

Vakka on süttä miun vatsassani,

siigla süttä süämessä. Vaik en verga kellegähä, en kaihoo kahellegaa. En miä verga velloilleni, sirguda siarellee.

Engä kaippaa kaimalleni, en konneele koomal-...

Ku miä kaippaan kaimalleni ja konneelen koomallee, kooma nii kogo külälle,

I set my mouth to sing

and prepared myself to make merry.

My mouth was singing, my heart was worrying,

my eyes they shed tears. My eyes they shed tears and my cheeks they rose up in waves. There's a scuttle of coal in my belly, a sieveful of coal in my heart,

although I tell no-one nor complain to anybody. I do not tell my brother, I do not breathe to my sister nor do I complain to my kinsmen nor confess anything to my godparents.

If I complained to my kinsmen

or confessed anything to my godparents, the kinsmen would tell the whole village kaima kaigelle väel.

However, the alliteration can sometimes be highly virtuosic, and extend throughout an entire song, with little or no repetition, as in this third song from *Votic Wedding Songs*:

Kuhõõ viivüd, velvüeni? Kuhõõ viivüd. vävüeni? Vai siä viivüd viinaateelee, kavassuid kapakkateelee? Humalaza hupsuttelid, tapõid täitä tankissani, napid nahkapöksüissäni. Sellä viivüd, velvüeni, sellä viivüd, vävüeni! Lankoiseni, lintuiseni! Mi siä laulad, lappahuuli, kolkutid, nenä kovõra! Et siä õõ koossa kõrkõassa! Lammas määkib, pää märännü, läpi va laõttomaa läävää, koir va haukub, kolmihammas. läpi va vittsõizõõ väräjää.

Where were you tarrying, my brother? Where were you tarrying, my son-in-law? Were you having a drinking bout, staying too long in the tavern? Drunkenly you capered about, killed the fleas in your coat, picked them from your leather trousers. that's why you tarried, my brother, that's why you tarried, my son-in-law? My sister-in-law, my little chirper! What's that you're singing, you dangling lips, what are you clattering, you crooked nose! You don't come from any mansion! Your sheep's baaing, the scabby head, in a roofless stable, your dog's barking, the three-toothed one, through a gate of twigs.

Sequence and Parallelism

Sequences are prevalent throughout the poetry of the *Forgotten Peoples* collection, where a line or a verse is repeated with only one or two ideas from the line changed, or where one line follows another in some logical sequence. We have seen this already, both in the use of sequential numbers and in the tale of Annikkini, maid of the island, where only the metal of her suitor is changed from verse to verse. The idea of sequences fits very well with the repetitious nature of the melody and the improvisatory nature of the singing.

In *Votic Wedding Songs*, there are two clear examples of the sequencing of individual lines, one from the first song:

Õjavesi se õnnõssi, jõkivesi se jõvvussi, merivesi meeloizõssi. a lähevesi lähössi. The water from the brook is for luck, the water from the river for strength, the water from the sea for wisdom, the water from the spring for success.

And the other from the second song:

Laki lahnaasoomussiissa, silta pantu sipulissa, hukka on mereetšivessä, arina anõõmunissa. The ceiling's made of bream scales, the floor's made of onions, the stove's built of sea pebbles, the hearth it is of goose's eggs.

In the sixth song of *Ingrian Evenings*, the singer uses a two-layer sequence of times of night and her relatives to convince her lover to come and court her in the daytime. Notice how the singer also uses alliteration, choosing a verb with an initial letter that mostly matches the initial letter of the relative in question:

Älä tule illalla, siskoni tuntee, siskoni sinulta oven i suljee.
Älä tule aamulla, äitini näkee, äitini ajaa sinut käpälämäkee.
Älä tule yöllä, isäni kuulee, isäni sinut i rosmoksi luulee.
Tule vaan päivällä kaikkien nähten, sitten sun kanssasi maailmalle lähten.

Do not come at evening, my sister will know you. Straight from the doorway my sister will throw you. Do not come at morning, my mother will face you. Into the forest my mother will chase you. Do not come at nighttime, my father will meet you. Then like a robber my father will treat you. When it is day come and everyone sees you, Then I will follow wherever it'll please you.

Sometimes sequences take the form of a question-and-answer session, with each new question following from the previous answer, like in the American folk song,

There's a Hole in the Bucket. For instance, we see this structure in the fourth song of

Livonian Heritage:

Kus sa sjeda võõita saadõ? Vanaääma buundlast utab. Kus se vanaääma saabõ? Keerabiz niiemõ näänast utab. Kus se keerabi niiemõ saabõ? Mõltsiz ruuogõ ladast utab. Kus se ruuogõ lada saabõ? Uuomõgkastug tämmõn aandab. Kus se uuomõgkastug saabõ? Tõva joggõ puoistõ utab. Where do you get the butter from?
I'll take it from the grandmother's churn.
Where does the grandmother get it from?
From the udder of a piebald cow.
Where does the piebald cow get it from?
From the head of a green bulrush.
Where does the bulrush get it from?
From the dew in the morning.
Where does the morning dew get it from?
From the bottom of a deep river.

There are a number of these questioning songs in *Vepsian Paths*, most clearly this one from the fifth song:

Anda, kägoi, bardaštain! Give me some of your beard, cuckoo! Kuna siniiž bardain'e? What do you need my beard for?

Vikatehen viheлtä. To sharpen my scythe.

Kuna siniiž vikatehud? What do you need a scythe for?

Hiin'äin'e nittä. To make hay.

Kuna siniiž hiin'äin'e? What do you need the hay for?

Lehmain'e s'öttä. To feed the cow.

Kuna siniiž lehmain'e? What do you need the cow for?

Maidoin'e l'üpstä. To get milk.

Kuna siniiž maidoin'e? What do you need the milk for?

Kašain'e kiittä. To make porridge.

Kuna siniiž kašaine? What do you need the porridge for?

Korain'e s'öttä. To feed the dog.

Kuna siniiž koirain'e? What do you need the dog for?

Õravain'e nutta. To bark at a squirrel.

Kuna siniiž oravain'e? What do you need a squirrel for?

G'ärmankaлo vedä, To take to market, barõšad otta... and get a good price...

To see more examples of sequences where only a few words are changed from verse to verse, it is suggested that the reader look at the first and twelfth songs in *Vepsian Paths* and the first song in *Karelian Destiny*, the lyrics of which are in Appendix A.

Musical Analysis

There are 51 separate pieces that make up the six cycles of the *Forgotten Peoples* collection. A thorough musical analysis of each movement is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The text will, however, describe moments of musical interest in each movement, and through this analysis have an understanding of Tormis's *a cappella* compositional style. Often these works are dealing with a single repetitive melody of two to four measures in length, and Tormis has a host of techniques and tricks that he uses to increase the musical interest of each movement.

In order to help trace Tormis's musical development over the twenty-year period of composition from 1970 to 1989, the reader will examine these six cycles in order. It is important to remember, however, that it wasn't until the end of composing the final cycle, *Karelian Destiny*, that Tormis conceived of the six cycles as one collection. Any similarities among the six cycles can be ascribed to Tormis's compositional style, rather than any conscious attempt to unify the cycles with common musical elements. Some cycles are simple, without much analytical interest (*Vepsian Paths*) while others are rich and complex, with fascinating melodic and harmonic developments (*Karelian Destiny*). While they might stand better alone as cycles instead of together as a collection, they form in their entirety a wonderful overview of Tormis's compositional style and growth over 20 years, as well as a testament of his devotion to the secular *a cappella* choral form.

Musical examples are printed with the permission of Fennica Gehrman Oy, Helsinki (2006).

Livonian Heritage

Livonian Heritage (Liivlaste pärandus) is the first of the six Forgotten Peoples cycles. The lyrics of this cycle were collected by Herbert Tampere, an Estonian folklorist, working from additional sources by Oskar Loorits and Emilis Melngailis. The five movements of this cycle are typical snapshots from the life of a Livonian, including waking up with the dawn, a farming scene, a lullaby, and a drinking song. The first four movements are all children's songs.

Livonian Heritage is one of the most accessible cycles in the collection. The notes are relatively easy to sing, and the droning nature of each of the movements allows for

choirs of even relatively modest skill to perform music that is sonorous and engaging to the Western ear.

Movement 1: Waking the Birds

Voicing: SSAATTBB/sstt

In the opening of this movement we can see a typical characteristic of Tormis's writing throughout the collection, the drone, or the pedal tone.

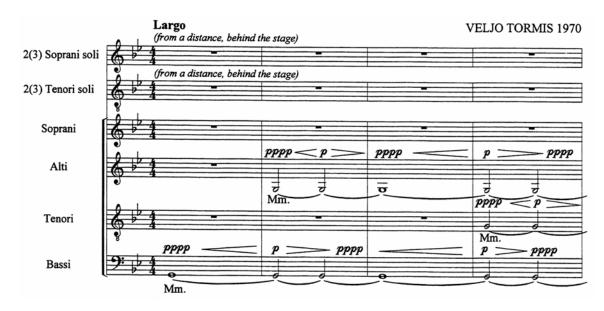


Figure 11. Livonian Heritage, page 3, first system.

Tormis creates forward motion with his drones by staggered changes in dynamic, as well as different registrations by having each voice enter and drop out at different times. The first melody is then introduced by the tenor soloists.



Figure 12. Livonian Heritage, page 4, last system and page 5, first system.

This melody is a slight variation of the Kalevala meter, with an added tag at the end of, "Tšitšor, tšitšor!" The Tšitšor bird is so named because of the sound it makes, and the two measures at the end of the melody are meant to imitate this sound. The melody is nominally in G minor, but the A-flat in the melody that causes it to shift between Aeolian and Phrygian modes. The idea of the A-flat is then echoed by another voice after each occurrence of that melody, further obfuscating the mode of the piece.

A second melody, related to the first but without the A-flats, is then sung in parallel seventh chords in root position by the upper three voices, over a pedal tone.



Figure 13. Livonian Heritage, page 8, first two systems.

The melody is sung by the second sopranos and first altos. The obscuring of the mode with the A-flats is left entirely to the basses, which have the drone. The two versions of the melody are sung at different times throughout the movement. Tormis expands the tonality even further by moving to ninth chords, using the A-flat as the fifth of a D-flat ninth chord (now a tritone away from the original G minor), and E-naturals.



Figure 14. Livonian Heritage, page 15, last system.

Movement 2: At Pasture

Voicing: SSAATTBB/sat

Obscuring the mode of a repetitive and tonal or modal melody is one of the hallmarks of Tormis's compositional style. Usually he is dealing with a single melody over the length of the entire movement. *At Pasture* is the greatest exception to this, as he works in five different melodies to create an aural scene of pastoral life in Livonia.

The first melody is introduced alongside a continuous D-flat ninth chord. The text is still in the Kalevala meter of the first movement. The melody seems to be in A-flat major, but the D-flat chord, combined with the fact that the D-flat is the highest note of the melody, seems to suggest D-flat as the tonal center.



Figure 15. Livonian Heritage, page 18, first two systems.

When the second melody enters, Tormis keeps the harmonic focus squarely on the D-flat ninth, but the melody has entered another key, bringing in a moment of polytonality that is rare for Tormis. These calls from the herdsboy to his flock should probably be taken out of rhythm, as the compositional notes indicate for the melody to be sung by an offstage soloist and there is no poetic meter to follow.

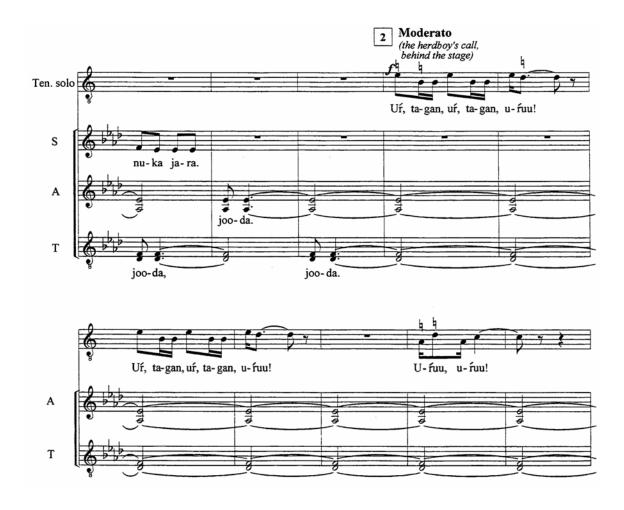


Figure 16. Livonian Heritage, page 19, last two systems.

The third melody is very childlike, with the constant repetition of sol-mi that is so common to youthful melodies. Only three notes are used, and the switch from trochaic tetrameter to dactylic tetrameter allows Tormis to switch to a sing-song, 6/8 meter. This third melody seems to be in A-flat major, consonant with the continuing D-flat ninth chord. However, at the end of this third melody the second melody reappears, this time a major third higher and still bearing no relation to the continuing harmony.



Figure 17. Livonian Heritage, page 20, first three systems.

The three melodies intertwine while the D-flat ninth chord continues. The next time the third melody enters Tormis has repeated it note-for-note as before, except one half-step higher. By doing this Tormis maintains the child-like character of the melody, while instituting a harsh polytonality.

In the fourth melody, Tormis maintains the original four notes of the drone harmony but sets them to rhythm in an imitation of the buzzing of black flies and the cow tails swatting them. At the end of this Tormis modulates to a new tonal center, F major.

However, he immediately sinks back into polytonality with the entry of the fifth melody. The altos have the melody here; notice the relation of the alto line at square 10 to the third melody. The soprano line contains the harmonic interest.

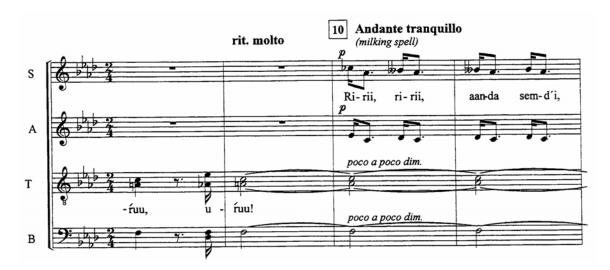


Figure 18. Livonian Heritage, page 25, second system.

Movement 3: Shrovetide

Voicing: SSAATTBB

This song about Shrovetide mummers performing is very childlike. It begins with a simple refrain in D minor, exhorting the mummer children to sing and dance.



Figure 19. Livonian Heritage, page 27, first system.

Then, once again, Tormis obscures the melody in B-flat major with parallel seventh intervals. The middle voice alternates between unison with the melody and notes a major second lower, remaining on the B-flat or a C, while the bottom voice follows the top voice strictly by diatonic sevenths. The only time this rule is broken is when the melody dips down to F, at which point all three of the voices sing F.

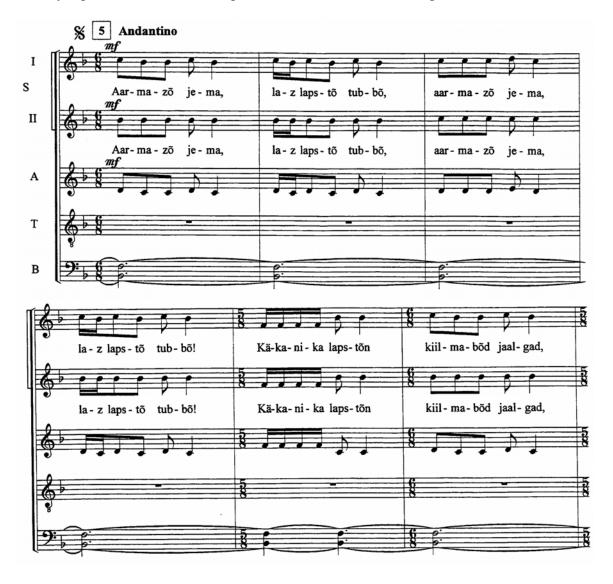


Figure 20. Livonian Heritage, page 27, last system and page 28, top system.

Movement 4: Wee Winkie Mouse (Lullaby)

Voicing: SAATBB

This movement is a lullaby, a question-and-answer song similar to the American folk song, *There's a Hole in the Bucket*. There are only two different forms of the same melody here, both set in G Dorian with the raised seventh note. Tormis is loathe to interrupt the soothing, rocking nature of the melody so he builds the harmonic interest through drones very slowly and carefully, by adding a voice at a time. By the end of the movement he has established four distinct rhythmic layers.



Figure 21. Livonian Heritage, page 36, bottom system with two melody lines.

Movement 5: Sang the Father, Sang the Son

Voicing: SSAATTBB

Here, Tormis introduces his first melody clearly in the major mode, a rollicking drinking song in 6/8 meter.

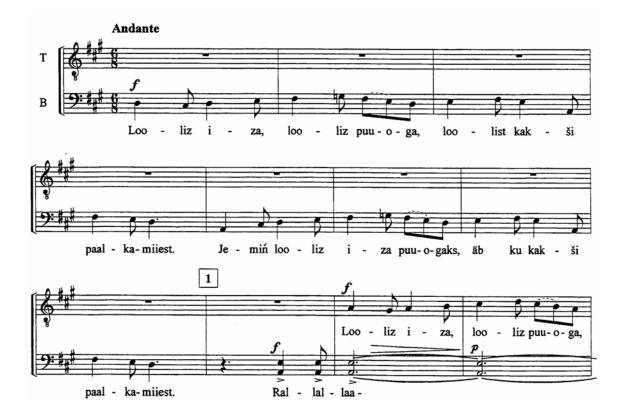


Figure 22. Livonian Heritage, page 37, first three systems.

He does not alter this melody at all, other than to make abrupt key changes from D major, to A, to G, to E, and finally to B. In harmonizing this melody, he tends to use the same ninth chords, with the same voicing, that he used in the second movement. Note that the ninth chords are always built on the subdominant of the key, again as in the second movement.

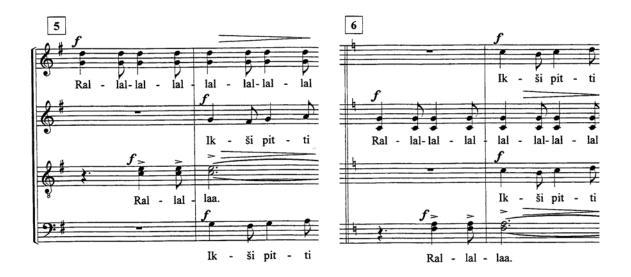


Figure 23. Livonian Heritage, page 40, second system, first two bars and page 41, first system, bars 2-3.

Finally, at the end of the piece he throws in a bookend, a reference back to the opening of the cycle, with a lengthy two-page drone sung by all the voices where the pitches of the notes stay the same but the voices get louder and softer.

Votic Wedding Songs

Votic Wedding Songs (Vadja pulmalaulud) is a collection of six joyous songs about a young couple getting married. A seventh is added at the end, a wedding lament (described above) sung by the bride herself. All of the poems used for these settings are in the Kalevala meter.

Movement 1: The Ritual Whisking of the Bride

Voicing: SSATBB

In many cultures in and around Ingria, one of the traditions on the morning of the bride's wedding is for her to strip down in front of her female relatives, stand in a pot of water while the pot is still on a warm stove, and be bathed with rough cloths and implements. That is what is going on in the first movement, as the bride is bathed (or

"whisked") with twigs and switches. Traditionally, this is also the time where the bride would sing a wedding lament, since this is the last time that she would be alone with her female relatives. However, no lament is part of this movement.

This movement is very simple, with a continuous droning harmony throughout the movement of the first three notes of the G major scale. These are also the only three notes of the melody, so Tormis is making do with a limited palette of pitches.

Here is our first example of "continuous melody." Tormis is often working with melodies that are repetitive and only a few measures long. In this case, basically the same two measures of melody are repeated over and over. Tormis often uses this to his advantage by crafting a minimalist style that refuses to let the melody die, even for the brief time it would take for the singers to take a breath. If one looks carefully at bars 5-8, one can see that the sopranos are divided, with each voice taking one instance of the two-measure melody but overlapping for one beat. When performed with care by the choir, namely with the entering part growing louder on the first two notes and the exiting part growing softer, the melody can be made to sound seamless.



Figure 24. Votic Wedding Songs, page 3.

Movement 2: Arrival of the Wedding Guests

Voicing: SSAATTBB

This movement expands the melody by one note, now using the first four notes of the scale. Rather than sticking with G major, Tormis transposes the melody on every occurrence, from F major, to B-flat, to C. The melody is closely related to the melody of the first movement, and the listener will find that each of the first six movements uses a variation on the same melody. Much of the time Tormis chooses to set the melody in a continuous fashion, but in this case he allows his singers to break the phrases with short breaths.

When the melody is introduced in its complete form in the second measure, the key signature shows that the harmony will cause the melody to be heard in Mixolydian mode, rather than in major. For instance, while no A-flats appear in the melody, they're quite prominent in the tenor line.

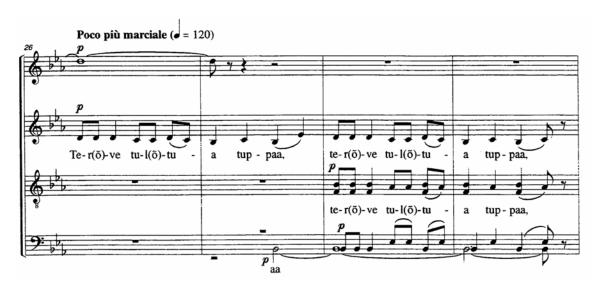


Figure 25. Votic Wedding Songs, page 7, first system.

The listener will hear this often throughout the cycle.

Movement 3: Mocking Song

Voicing: SAATB

In this song, the bride's family good-naturedly makes fun of the groom and vice versa. The melody has basically the same construction as in the previous movement. The harmonic underpinnings are also similar, with the melody being heard in Mixolydian mode.

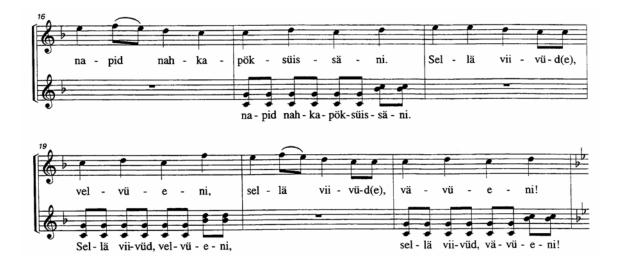


Figure 26. Votic Wedding Songs, page 10, systems 4-5.

Tormis cycles through four different key centers in this movement, working through the flat keys around the circle of fifths, starting with a tonal center of C, then F, then B-flat, and finally E-flat to end the movement.

Movement 4: Distributing the Dowry Chest

Voicing: SSAATTBB/sa

For the fourth movement, with the bride singing about how happy she is to be receiving all of her dowry gifts, Tormis retreats into a form of the melody that uses only three notes. Instead of whole steps separating each note, as in the first movement, half steps separate the bottom note from the middle note, and the middle note is the tonal center. Two soloists sing continuous repetitions of this melody a fourth apart, occasionally overlapping where parallel fourths can be sung.



Figure 27. Votic Wedding Songs, page 20, first system.

We see here again the rhythmic layering of the drone voices, which was first made note of in the fourth movement of *Livonian Heritage*. With one small exception, the choir never wavers from its assigned notes. Each section sings in interlocking perfect fifths. The bass is built on a B-flat and F, the tenor starts one whole step lower than the first bass's note on E-flat, and so on. The only exception to this pattern is that while the second sopranos have a D-flat, the first sopranos sing a major third higher, on F. This is rectified in the last note of the movement, when the first sopranos move to an A-flat.

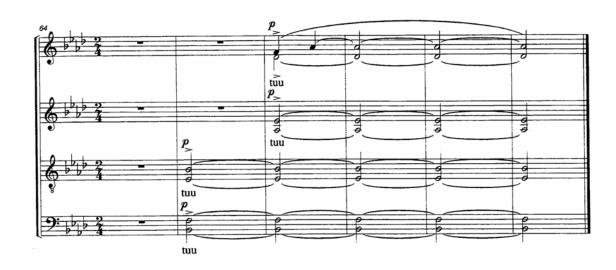


Figure 28. Votic Wedding Songs, page 21, first system.

Movement 5: Instructing the Newly-Weds

Voicing: SSAATBB

A man instructs his brother and a woman instructs her sister on how to behave in marriage. Unfortunately, the man's advice to his brother is just when and where it is appropriate to beat his new wife, so the discerning conductor could be forgiven for skipping this movement.

The melody is based upon three notes, now each a whole step apart like in the first movement. Rather than being based in the Mixolydian mode, however, the key signature indicates the mode of the melody to be Lydian. There are no accidentals in the piece, and the melody never wavers from its tonal center of C. The melody is sung in the continuous, overlapping style by the altos that was seen in the opening movement.

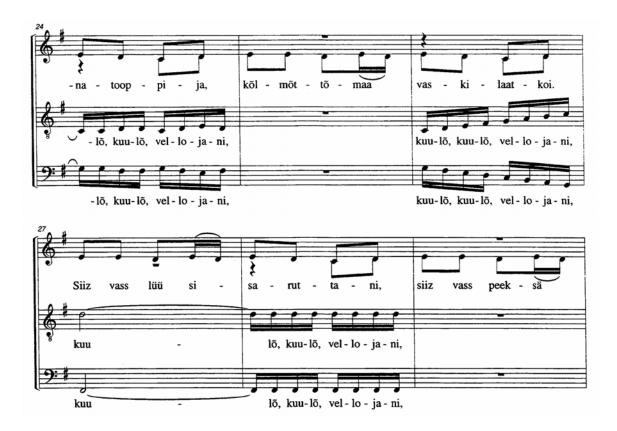


Figure 29. Votic Wedding Songs, page 23, systems 2-3.

The tenors and the basses begin the movement by singing on a unison E. From there, the harmony varies, but in a strict pattern as the two voices move in diatonically opposing directions at all times. In the second half of the piece the traditional drone reasserts itself, with the two bass notes and tenor note separated by perfect fifths and alternating between only two chords, one built on G and one built on A.

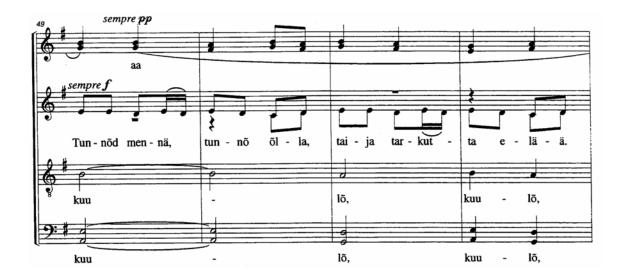


Figure 30. Votic Wedding Songs, page 25, second system.

Movement 6: Praising the Cook

Voicing: SSAATTBB/sab

Working with the same melodic pattern as in the first and fifth movements, Tormis constructs a new pattern to bring this melody to life. He gives the two-bar melody to each of the voices, built on different tonal centers: the basses on E, the tenors and sopranos on A, and the altos on D, the only three notes in A major that have whole steps between the first three notes of the scale. He then offsets the pattern. The second basses begin, and one bar later the first basses enter. The second tenors are offset by a bar and a half, and the first tenors by half a bar. The second and first altos line up with the basses, and the sopranos with the second basses, but each on different tonal centers. The result is an active and rhythmically engaging setting that seems to have been written to resemble the growing chaos of a kitchen or a festive dining hall, going along with the text of praising the good work of the chef.

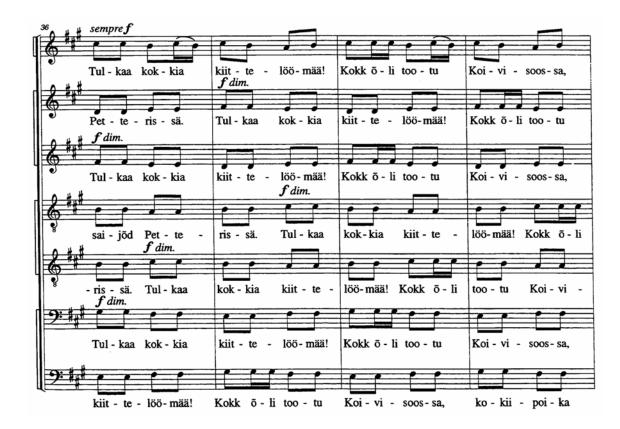


Figure 31. Votic Wedding Songs, page 31, last system.

Movement 7: When I, Little Chick, Was Growing Up

Voicing: SSAATTBB/opt. satbb

This movement bears little resemblance to the other six, either melodically or harmonically. It more resembles the compositional style of the later four cycles, especially by its more unusual rhythms in the harmonic lines and the chromatic motion. Notice that in the first six movements there is only one accidental, in movement 2, and that was just to make a brief shift melodically up a perfect fourth.

The wedding lament is an old and venerable (though dying) tradition in the Ingrian lands, of which the Votes are a part. As Aili Nenola-Kallio writes, "... in ten

years' time there will be no [Ingrian] living who would be able to compose a lament."⁵⁶
Tormis, in composing a cycle of wedding songs, seemed eager to bring to life one of these laments, in a very different style than his previous movements. The text is sorrowful, with a woman describing her happy life as a maiden and her miserable life as a married woman. It ends with the exhortation to her fellow women, "Do not get married!"

The melody is in B Phrygian, with a prominent descending stepwise line. It is two measures long, though slight variations happen in the second measure. Tormis sets it in his continuous style, but this time, instead of giving the singers an entire bar to rest, he only gives them a single beat to breathe before they rejoin the melody. A rhythmically varied and somewhat chromatic set of harmony lines help to separate this movement from what came before. The E-flat to D chromatic motion, seen below in the soprano line, sets up a sorrowful sighing motive and provides sharp contrast to the high point of the B minor melody heard in alternating measures.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 245.



Figure 32. Votic Wedding Songs, page 35, last two systems.

When the choir makes its final declaration at the end of the movement, "Do not get married," Tormis sets it with the most advanced occurrence in the cycle of what can be considered traditional, classical Western harmony, albeit with parallel motion. He even uses a D-sharp to end this B minor movement with a Picardy third.

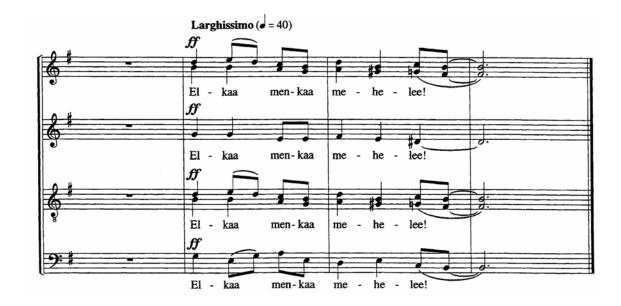


Figure 33. Votic Wedding Songs, page 38, last system.

Izhorian Epic

Izhorian Epic (Isuri eepos) is a lengthier work than either of the previous two cycles, comprising what could be considered an epic in its own right. It begins where many great epics begin, with the creation of the world, and proceeds through scenes from Izhorian life, both mythical and mundane. Many, but not all, of the lyrics are crafted in the epical Kalevala meter.

Narration features prominently in this cycle, as a single orator often speaks above the singing of the choir. While no lyrical English translation is provided for the singers, English text is present for all of the narration, and an editorial note in the score makes clear that all narration should be recited in the language of the audience. As was discussed earlier, the Baltic singing tradition was mostly carried forward by the women, and this cycle is no exception. Most of the narration is done by women, and most of the lyrics are written from a woman's perspective.

Movement 1: The Creation

Voicing: SSAATTB/narr.

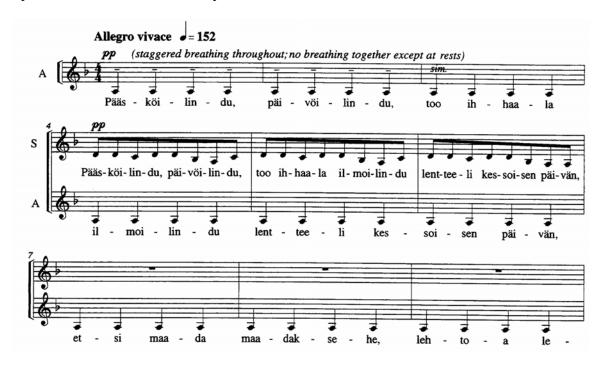


Figure 34. Izhorian Epic, page 3, first three systems.

This pattern is broken only once, just after the narration. The sopranos and the tenors sing what are in essence staccato quarter notes, repeating the same two Izhorian words over and over, translated to "Smith, my deft smith." This is also the only moment in the piece where the E is sung, and the tension provided by this new pitch and the violin-like strokes in the upper part of the soprano and tenor register makes this the climax of the movement.

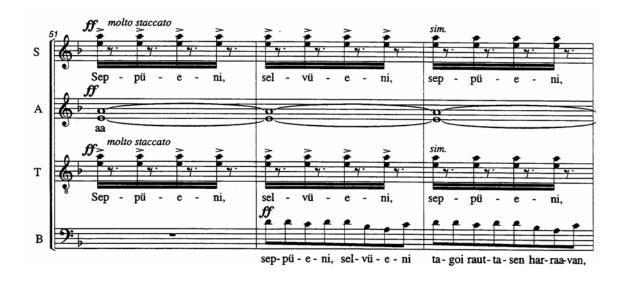


Figure 35. Izhorian Epic, page 5, last system.

Movement 2: The Call of Three Cuckoos

Voicing: SSAAAATTTTBBBB/narr.

In this semi-mythical tale about a young girl narrating her wanderings, Tormis begins simply enough with a four-note melody and a pulsing V – I harmony that occasionally modulates to other key center. The melody for the first half remains in F-sharp major, and is a four bar phrase containing two sets of two bars, in Tormis's continuous melody style. While the lyric is in the basic Kalevala meter, the melody in 3/4 gives this a more lilting quality.



Figure 36. Izhorian Epic, page 10, third system.

One of Tormis's favorite devices is to use whole-tone scales, or stacks of chords made up entirely of whole steps. Here we see this built out in a number of different ways. First, while the narration is going on, the basses continue the text in the same rhythm of the melody, but on only one pitch. They begin on the root, and new voices stack on top of the root note until all six possible notes in the whole tone scale have been sung.



Figure 37. Izhorian Epic, page 11, last four systems.

The women begin on the next whole step up, the F-sharp again, and it seems clear that the listener is going to hear another stacking of whole tones. While it begins this

way, where the listener would expect the fourth note to come in (a B-sharp or a C-natural) Tormis instead gives us a B-natural, and uses this as a way to re-introduce the melody, now in B major instead of F-sharp major.



Figure 38. Izhorian Epic, page 12, systems 4-5.

With B now as the starting note, Tormis stacks the chords downwards instead of up, and since F# and B are not part of the same whole tone scale, we end up with all twelve tones in a short period of time. This contrasts nicely with the previous movement that used only five notes.

Movement 3: Wedding Song

Voicing: SATB/a/narr.

The third movement, not in the Kalevala meter, is a type of wedding lament. In this tale, a younger sister is expressing her dismay that she was unable to convince her older sister to run away, where the matchmakers and suitors could not find them. The older sister replies with threats to kill any man who comes for them.

This is a short, strophic piece with seven verses. The meter reflects a more carefree attitude towards the rhythm. Like in the first movement, there are only five notes

to harmonize this E minor melody (D – E – F-sharp – G – A), and the harmony simply progresses between E minor and D major.



Figure 39. Izhorian Epic, page 17.

Movement 4: A Son or a Daughter?

Voicing: SSATTBB/s/narr.

This is a distressing movement, set simply to a heart-wrenching melody. A girl is born during a time of drought, and when the mother shows her to the father, the father rejects the girl. He says that he wants a ploughman, and orders her to throw the daughter into the river.

The melody is again based on four notes, the first four notes of the G Mixolydian scale. It is six measures in length, with constantly descending lines. Except for when the narration is happening, Tormis never varies from the pattern of a measure of rest followed by the six-measure melody. Each seven-measure segment is harmonized by different sustained chords and voicings. With each occurrence of the melody, there is one or more of the "sighing" motives, a descent of a half step that the listener first heard in the last movement of *Votic Wedding Songs*, the lament.



Figure 40. Izhorian Epic, page 18, last two systems.

Movement 5: The Conscript

Voicing: SSATBB/narr.

This is the first of two consecutive movements narrated by men, a tale of a soldier drafted into the King's army. Following the pattern of previous movements, the melody only has four notes and is mostly repetitive. However, Tormis throws a great deal of variation in at the beginning, as no repetition of the four-bar melody (again, 2 + 2) is quite the same.

Once the first narration enters, the melody settles down into a more predictable pattern. The same four measures are generally repeated over and over, but for the first time in the *Forgotten Peoples* collection Tormis alters the melody with a lowered second, a C-natural in B minor.

The meter of the piece is mostly in 4/4, but the second measure of each four-bar phrase is in 3/4. The listener doesn't quite get a handle on this at first, but gradually Tormis uses this meter to make a sort of parody of a march. The annunciated single *tüm* at the beginning that the basses sing expand, one extra beat at a time, until the march-like character is established after the first narration. Written twelve years after Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, this seems to echo Britten's grotesque 7/4 military march in the second movement.



Figure 41. Izhorian Epic, page 25, third system.

In the example above, Tormis again uses the continuous overlapping melody, but this time with the tenors in the top of their range and the altos in the bottom of theirs. The overlap is brief, only one eighth note, and because of the difference in tone color between the two sections Tormis does not seem to be implying that the performers should try to make this seamless. Instead, he uses another overlapping technique later on, where each section is given a rest only long enough to get a new breath, but then is expected to reenter.



Figure 42. Izhorian Epic, page 27, second system.

The linear chromatic motion of the harmonizing lines is a hallmark of Tormis's sound, which the reader saw once before and will see again numerous times as a technique to keep a repetitive melody interesting.

Movement 6: O, Poor Boy that I Am!

Voicing: SSSAAATB/narr.

This is a jocular song about a man afflicted with three torments. The women, almost in mockery of the man's distress, begin this piece in imitation of a six-stringed zither. The altos sustain E major chords, while the sopranos alternate between E major and F-sharp minor, creating dense six-note blocks.

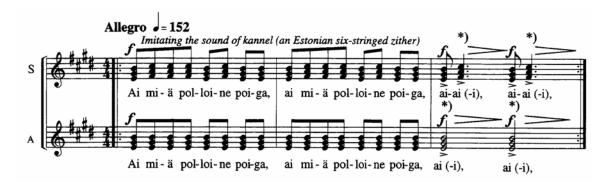


Figure 43. Izhorian Epic, page 29, first system.

The men sing a simple five-note melody underneath the nagging of the woman, on three different tonal centers (F-sharp, B, and E). While there is not a great deal to say about this piece analytically, the effect of the sonority at the end deserves a brief mention.

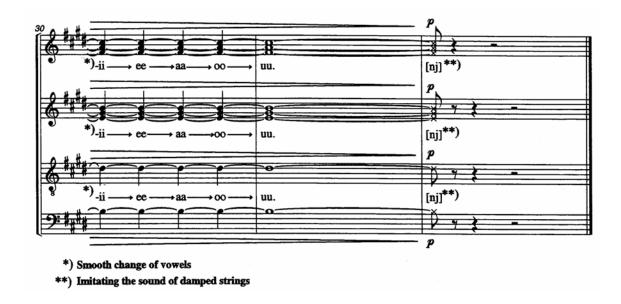


Figure 44. Izhorian Epic, page 31, last system.

All seven pitches of the E major scale are sung, with only the B duplicated at the octave. The complex set of overtones that are struck when sung perfectly in tune, with no vibrato, make for a fascinating sound. Tormis takes it one step further by attempting to imitate the sound of strings being slowly damped by changing the vowels, until the sound is finally closed off at the end.

It is worth noting here that a double vowel is simply a lengthening of a single vowel; unlike in English, the sound of a vowel does not change when there are two of them. A common mistake for English singers to make when singing Baltic or Finnish-derived languages is to pronounce "oo" as in "boot," where it should be pronounced like "hot."

Movement 7: My Mouth Was Singing, My Heart Was Worrying

Voicing: STB/a/narr.

Laments, songs of great grief, were generally not written down, and were almost always improvised by the singer. Turning to Aili Nenola-Kallio once again, she says this about lamenters:

...lamenters compose then in their own heads and after their own lives. Rarely does one encounter two lamenters whose laments are identical ⁵⁷

The song is about a young woman who is carefree, who was told not to sing and make merry. However, she ignores the warnings and finds herself in serious trouble. It seems to clearly be an allegory about an unintended pregnancy and the grief and shame the secret brings with it.

Tormis collected this melody from a singer named Katja Aleksandrova from the Soikkola peninsula. The melody spans an entire octave, and is basically repetitive, but with variation in each melody. Tormis decided to allow this melody to speak for itself, through a soloist, with only the barest unchanging harmonization underneath sung on a hum. A narration is given to be sung *ad libitum* wherever the speaker decides it is appropriate.

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⁵⁷ Ibid., 213.

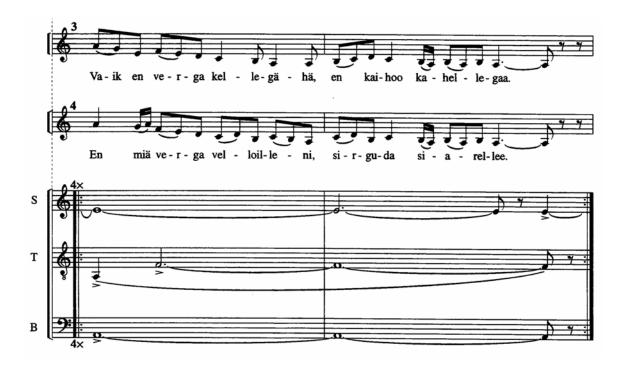


Figure 45. Izhorian Epic, page 33, first system with two melodies.

Movement 8: The Sword from the Sea

Voicing: SATB/narr.

The eighth movement shares many similarities with the previous movement. A harmonic structure sung on "uu" underlies a repetitive melody (sung by the sopranos) throughout the entire movement. However, where the previous movement was very simple in its construction, the harmonic motion of *The Sword from the Sea* is quite complex.

The melody is constructed from putting together three different bars into phrases of varying lengths. The two types of bars that make up the structure of most of the melody are very similar, both descending stepwise from C down to G-sharp. A third type of bar ends each phrase, with a glissando at the end from A down to F-sharp. The tonal center of the melody is A, and it never wavers from this center, even as the harmony changes in very complex ways underneath it. The F-sharp throws the mode of the melody

into question, especially considering the harmonization that opens the movement; the lower three voices begin the piece on an F major chord. Considering that the F-sharp ends every phrase, and that is the only time in the melody the F-sharp appears, it is constantly unsettling to the ears. So rather than getting comfortable with the melody, as Tormis seems to want the listener to do in the previous movement, here he seems to be working for a sense of discomfort.

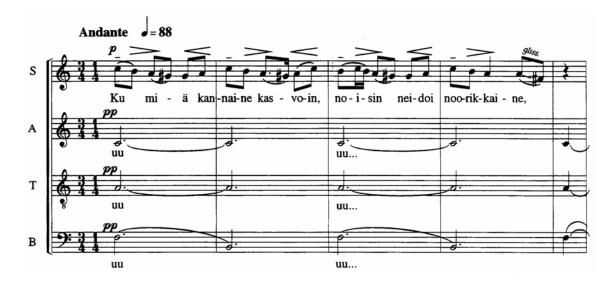


Figure 46. Izhorian Epic, page 36, first system.

The harmony is generally pulsing in two bar phrases, one chord per bar. Most of the time Tormis uses a consonant triad (major or minor) on the first bar of the phrase, and then writes something more dissonant on the second bar. For instance, in the example above the first bar has an F major chord, and in the second bar the bass moves from the F to the B while the upper two voices sustain their A and C. Starting in bar 17, the F major chord alternates with an A diminished triad. In bar 26, this harmony modulates to a D major chord (while the melody stays the same), with the bottom note moving between D and G-sharp, just like in the opening two bars of the piece.

The harmony proceeds to grow more complicated, and especially during the text, "A very strong wind sprang up, a wrathful wind of the seas," which is the only section where the harmonizing voices sing lyrics from the poem.

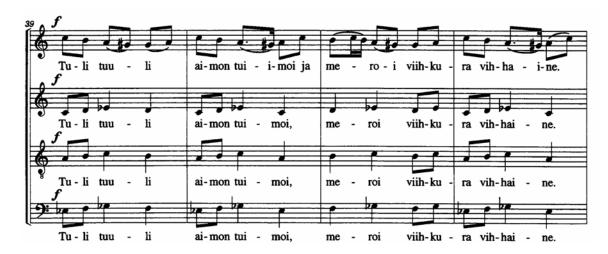


Figure 47. Izhorian Epic, page 39, first system.

Here we see another trait of Tormis for the first time, parallel lines in different keys. The altos sing in C minor, the tenors in A minor, and the basses in E-flat minor, but all sing the same notes otherwise. The tritones between the two men's lines are particularly effective in portraying the storm brewing.

Movement 9: The Spell against the Snake

Voicing: Hissing chorus/t

This is a very brief speaking piece, with a male narrator/singer reciting a curse on a snake while the choir imitates the sound of the snake underneath.

Movement 10: Undarmoi and Kalervoi

Voicing: SSAATTBB/narr.

This lengthy and eclectic tale about two mythological children, Undarmoi and Kalervoi (Undarmo and Kalervo), is a story that has links to the Kalevala itself. The simple two-bar melody, constructed out of the first five notes of the minor scale and set in the traditional Kalevala meter, is generally sung by the men with a progression of chords above it, mostly in standard harmonic progressions.

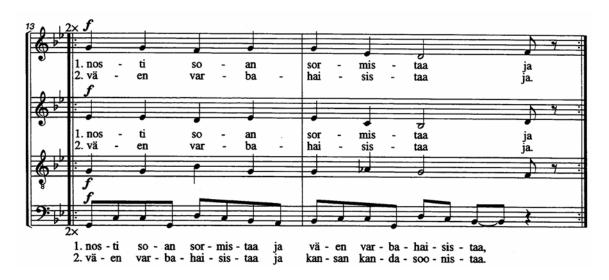


Figure 48. Izhorian Epic, page 46, last system.

The clear triadic progressions and consonance of the harmony stand in sharp contrast to what was heard in the eighth movement. As the piece progresses, Tormis eschews contrary motion in favor of the parallelism that we first heard in the eighth movement, but only using major chords in the process.

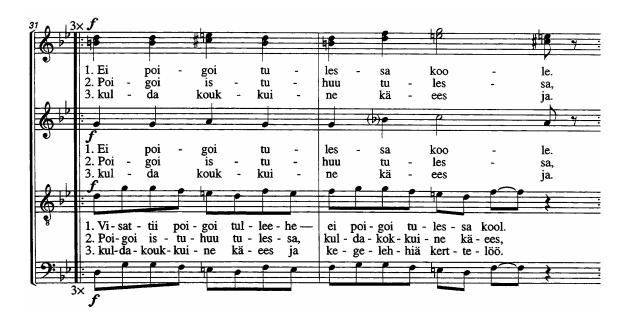


Figure 49. Izhorian Epic, page 49, bottom system.

Parallel major chords are something the reader will see much more of in the upcoming *Forgotten Peoples* cycles.

Ingrian Evenings

Ingrian Evenings (Ingerimaa õhtud) is one of the simplest, and most accessible, of Tormis's Forgotten Peoples collection. Rather than the overtly mythical nature of Izhorian Epic, Ingrian Evenings sets a number of light, personal scenes that can take place in a day in the life of a typical Ingrian village.

There are a number of characteristics that make this cycle unique among the six. First, there is a conscious attempt at a musical structure among all nine movements, which often segue directly from one to another seamlessly, and the ninth movement gathers themes and ideas from many of the previous eight. Many of the melodies, while generally as repetitive as most of the melodies that Tormis uses, are interspersed with nonsense syllables set to a similarly repetitive scheme but different from the main

melody. The performers are encouraged to sing not in the usual formation, but in small groups around the stage, and to engage in limited movement throughout the piece.

In addition, there is a lyrical English translation provided in the music, instead of the more literal translation found in the back of the book for each of the other five cycles. This lyrical translation was created by Keith Bosley, a renowned poet and translator who is most known for his excellent 1989 English-language edition of the Kalevala. The translation is faithful to the rhyme scheme, alliteration, and meter of the original Ingrian poetry, and provides a solid alternative for choirs to singing Ingrian. For the performances submitted along with this dissertation, the Master Singers of Virginia sing *Karelian Destiny* and *Livonian Heritage* in their original languages, but use Bosley's English translation in *Ingrian Evenings*.

Ingrian Evenings is also the easiest of the six cycles to learn and sing. Musically, the only cycle as simple as this one is *Vepsian Paths*, and use of English in *Ingrian Evenings* removes a serious stumbling block for many amateur choirs. It is also a good piece to consider for choirs with a strong women's section but somewhat lacking in the men's parts, either in quality or in numbers. Most of the movements are constructed with rhythmic layering, and the men generally sing a continuous ostinato pattern in support of the melody.

Movement 1: Röntyshkä (A dance song) I

Voicing: SATBB/ss

The first movement of *Ingrian Evenings*, with a young girl singing about her present and future joys, contains all of the features described above. A soprano soloist, together with a second soloist or group of sopranos, introduces both the main C major

melody and the nonsense melody. The piece begins with the primary soloist singing brief snatches of the tune, until the entire melody is heard in Tormis's continuous overlapping manner with the secondary soloists. The tenors and basses are singing their own drones and ostinato patterns.



Figure 50. Ingrian Evenings, page 5, first two systems.

With an enormous, audible intake of breath the choir launches into homophony. There are eight verses to be sung to the same music, and Tormis uses a new technique to make this melody continuous. The nonsense melody part of each verse is eight bars long, and Tormis asks the choir to breathe during the first bar on the first verse, the second bar on the second verse, and so on. (In the example below, there are verses 2-8.) During each

breath the intake of air is supposed to be audible to the audience, and the choir should continue to pronounce the nonsense text while inhaling.

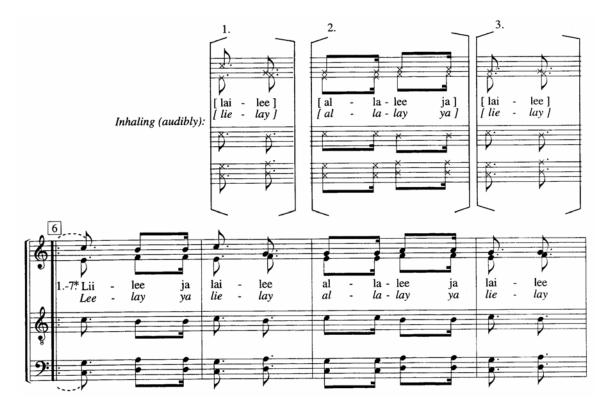


Figure 51. Ingrian Evenings, page 8, bottom system.

After these eight verses finish, the music returns to its initial pattern. As the movement is coming to a close, Tormis has the basses move to the ostinato pattern of the second movement, to make the transition between movements more seamless.



Figure 52. Ingrian Evenings, page 13, top two systems.

Movement 2: Röntyshkä II

Voicing: SAATB/s

The melody of the second movement, a flirtatious song about a girl's desires to find a lover, follows easily from the previous movement. They share the same key (C major to A minor) and the same rhythm, and a similar pattern of four measures of the main melody followed by four measures of the nonsense melody.

There are fourteen separate verses in this movement, each with the same ostinato pattern underneath. The soloist sings two measures of the melody, then the sopranos sing the melody from the same verse as the soloist, and finally the altos sing the nonsense

melody for four bars. Fourteen verses is quite a lot of text to get through, and might be considered overly repetitious by some choirs (and some audiences). The Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir, under the direction of Tõnu Kaljuste (to whom *Ingrian Evenings* is dedicated) solves the problem by removing two of the verses. The Master Singers of Virginia solved the problem by having the sopranos sing the next verse after the soloist, rather than repeat the words of the same verse, which reduces the amount of repetition from fourteen times to seven but still allows for all of the verses to be sung.

Movement 3: Röntyshkä III

Voicing: SAATB

This movement can be seen as pitting the men against the women. The women are scolding the men for their drinking habits, while the men have an ostinato pattern that sounds very much like they are laughing at the women for what they are saying. When the Master Singers of Virginia performed this piece, the men and women faced each other on the stage, separated by about ten to fifteen feet, and visually taunted each other while singing.

The melody is once again a combination of main-text melody, this time for six bars, and eight bars of nonsense melody. Unlike in the first two movements, Tormis does not overlap the lines to form a continuous melody. He sets the women in three part harmony, with the lowest part singing a constant E, and he asks them to stagger breathe instead of breaking for a breath after each phrase. The men have the ostinato once again, but for the first time the basses and the tenors sing the same notes (an octave apart), as if united in their opposition to the women.

When the piece ends, everyone sings together the laughing motive of the men. Finally, there is a rest and a fermata, which is the first moment of silence in the cycle.

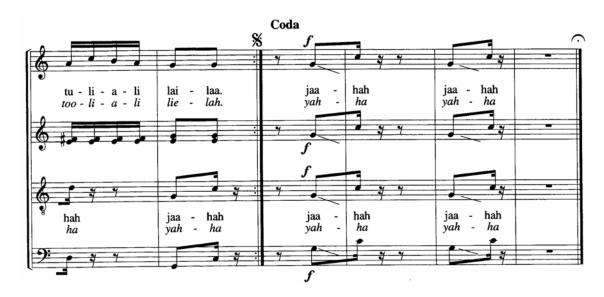


Figure 53. Ingrian Evenings, page 21, first system.

The movement ends in C major, where the first movement began, and since all three of the first movements are interlinked they make for a performable excerpt on their own.

Movement 4: Chastushka (A jocular song) I

Voicing: SAAAATB

Each line of this melody, in G Mixolydian, begins with the same word, "and," or "ja" in Ingrian. Unlike the previous movements, there is no nonsense part of the melody. The sopranos sing of romance in this five-note melody, while the altos echo on a subdominant triad with the added second. The men have their own ostinato pattern, in parallel octaves but with different rhythms to help keep the motion of this languid melody moving forward.



Figure 54. Ingrian Evenings, page 24, first system.

It is interesting to note that in the third verse listed above (the fourth verse of the movement overall), there is a repetition of a verse from the first movement, helping to show just how interchangeable these melodies are.

The movement ends with an *attacca* transition to the next movement, the men staying on a constant D in preparation for the G major key of the next movement.

Movement 5: Chastushka II

Voicing: SAAATB

This is the only movement of the nine sung from a man's point of view, and with the melody given to one of the men's parts, the tenors. It is about a man singing of life on board a ship. The sopranos sing the nonsense part of the melody, while the altos alternate between dominant and subdominant triads in their own ostinato pattern. The basses, meanwhile, alternate between tonic and dominant root notes.



Figure 55. Ingrian Evenings, page 27.

Movement 6: Roundelay

Voicing: SSSATB

The sixth movement is similar to the fifth in construction, although the results sound quite different. The altos sing a melody in B minor, two measures of the main melody followed by four measures of nonsense syllables. The melody spans an entire octave, the widest range of any of the melodies so far. The tenors and basses alternate between dominant and tonic root notes, much like the previous movement, and the sopranos alternate between major subdominant and dominant triads, with a brief major chord on the submediant at the end of every phrase.

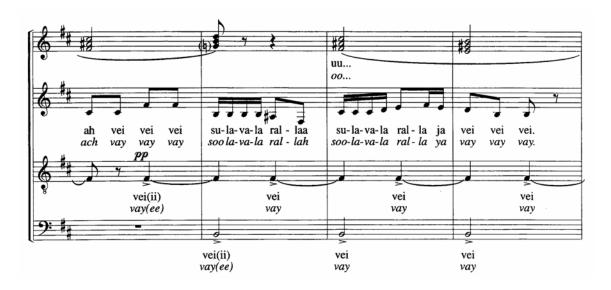


Figure 56. Ingrian Evenings, page 32, top system.

Movement 7: Röntyshkä IV

Voicing: SATB

In much the same way as Tormis phased in the breathing in the first movement, he phases in the ostinato pattern and the melody in this movement. The sopranos sing the E minor melody about a girl who falls in love with a young man who is called off to the army. The altos sing the text on a constant E. The tenors and the basses sing in thirds, from the low G and B to the high C and E, moving one diatonic step up or down each bar.

The women's pattern lasts 18 measures and they sing it to ten different verses. The men's pattern lasts 20 measures, and they sing it nine times. Each totals 180 measures, and the phasing approach allows the climax of the men's ostinato pattern to take place at a different point in each melody.

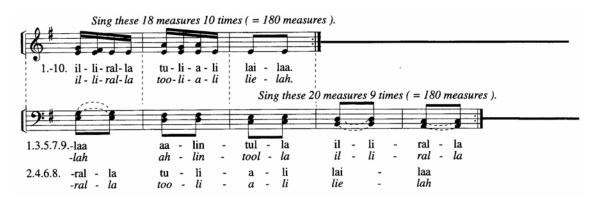


Figure 57. Ingrian Evenings, page 37, second system.

Movement 8: Röntyshkä V

Voicing: SATB

A woman sings about a forbidden love that she has with a local boy, and scorns the villagers who look down on her for her scandalous actions. There is no harmonization in this movement, only the melody. The sopranos sing the main part of the melody, which is just an alternation of two notes (B and C-sharp) while the rest of the choir sings the nonsense syllables over an entire octave in E major. Tormis marks the nonsense line *sussurrando*, "whispering," as if he wants the choir to sound like they are gossiping about the young lovers. In the second half of the piece, the tenors join the sopranos in the melody and the nonsense lines increase to *forte*, giving the idea of a shouting match to follow the whispering campaign.

Movement 9: Ending and Going Home

Voicing: SSSSSAAAAAATBB/s

The final movement is a pastiche of moments from previous movements. First is the section from the first movement with the eight verses and the phased breaths, performed identically as before, except in E major instead of C major to match the key of the eighth movement. Then the men make an instant modulation to C major in order to re-establish the original key, while the opening melody returns.



Figure 58. Ingrian Evenings, page 46, first system.

At this point the women split into four groups, except for the soprano soloist from the first movement, who forms her own fifth group. Each group sings melody and nonsense syllables from the previous movements, while the men transition to the appropriate ostinato patterns that go along with each melody. Each group of women is

asked to walk offstage when they begin singing their melody, but to continue singing once they get offstage, so that they are heard in the background, out of phase with what's happening onstage. The men stay on stage while this is happening to keep the rhythm firm for each new group of women.

The first group of women to depart sings the melody from the first movement, the second the melody from the second movement, the third group from the third movement, and the fourth group from the seventh movement. Each one of these melodies is in their original key of C major or A minor, which prevents severe dissonances as each group moves offstage. The words that each group sings to their melody are the same: "Now the song is over and the sun it is descending. Now the game is over too, but love is neverending." Once all four groups are offstage, the men depart, leaving the soprano soloist from the first movement alone on stage. She sings those same words to the melody of the fourth movement, finally singing her last notes from offstage while everyone else dies away to nothing.

Vepsian Paths

Tormis, in his introduction to *Vepsian Paths* (*Vepsa rajad*) in the English-language version of the score, writes about how the material for this cycle mostly comes in fragments, with few fully-developed songs and very little musical literature of the Veps available to him. While at times the melodies of this set of fifteen songs do seem somewhat fragmented, we see in *Vepsian Paths* a growth of Tormis's *a cappella* writing style, using a wealth of techniques available to him that reaches its final climax in the next series, *Karelian Destiny*. We also see some of the rhythmic and dynamic techniques

that were present in *Livonian Heritage*, but have not been explored as much in subsequent cycles.

These songs are, with a few exceptions, generally light-hearted and fun to sing, and could mostly be considered children's songs. Many of them end with the word *kaik* or *sjo*, which both mean approximately, "that's it" or "that's all," as if the singer is not certain about how or where to end the piece. While the melodies are light and easy, a couple of the arrangements are not, with tricky rhythms, tone clusters, polymeter, and quarter-tone singing throughout the cycle. Many of the other arrangements are extremely simple, short, and warrant only a few sentences of analysis.

Movement 1: My Sister, My Little Cricket

Voicing: SATTBB/ss

Vepsian Paths begins simply enough, with a poem containing the same words in each verse, except for the final two lines. Tormis composes the piece with the same music set to descending keys. The men and the altos begin with a staggered invocation of sorts, progressing through four vowels until landing on a closed "uu" sound. The key of the beginning of the piece, as well as the key of the melody, is D-flat major. However, the chord that is being sustained is a D-flat dominant ninth in third inversion, causing tension right from the start. This tension is never released throughout the movement.



Figure 59. Vepsian Paths, page 3, first system.

There is a prevalence of ninth chords throughout *Vepsian Paths*, much like in *Livonian Heritage*. The melody, which is generally one repeating bar with the occasional alteration, is sung in a fast 5/8 meter. The drone harmony, rather than just being sustained plainly underneath, emphasizes this meter with an accent and a decrescendo at the beginning of each bar.

For every subsequent verse, the music moves down a whole step, to B major, then A major, and finally G major. The pattern of a dominant ninth chord in third inversion as the harmony remains continuous throughout. However, rather than using the dominant as a standard modulating chord to the next key on the circle of fifths, Tormis uses the altered note (in the first instance, the C-flat) as the pivot note to the new key. He even has the melody line sing the note once, so that the last bar of the old key contains all three notes of the melody in the new key.



Figure 60. Vepsian Paths, page 4, last system.

Movement 2: The Maid Striving to the Boat

Voicing: SSAATTBB

This rowing song has undertones of sadness in it, as a girl wants to get in a boat with her mother but the mother says that she has no room for her daughter. A parable of growing up, Tormis offsets the melody by a beat against a rhythmic rowing pattern in order to keep what is otherwise a simple song from being monotonous, or comfortable.

The rowing motif is set up on a ninth chord on the subdominant in second inversion. Each voice is assigned a different melody, as if to mimic the various sounds that are made when rowing across the water. While the rowing rhythm is in 4/4, the melody, which is eight beats long, adds an extra beat to the end in order to offset the melody by one beat at each occurrence. (Note that when looking at the score, the altos are written above the sopranos.) Like some of the melodies in *Ingrian Evenings*, the tune is harmonized in oblique motion, with the second sopranos singing a C below the melody throughout.



Figure 61. Vepsian Paths, page 9, first two systems.

Movement 3: The Heavenly Suitors

Voicing: SSAATTBB

In the first movement, the listener heard a succession of dominant ninth chords. In the second movement, like in most of *Livonian Heritage*, there were ninth chords with the seventh missing. In the third movement, *The Heavenly Suitors*, the ninth chords are a combination of major, minor, and dominant, all in second inversion. Instead of staying static, like in the first two movements, here the ninth chords progress in parallel by diatonic steps, beginning on a chord built on the subdominant (as we have come to expect

from what we have seen of Tormis's writing) while the sopranos sing the melody in two parts.



Figure 62. Vepsian Paths, page 12, last system.

Up until now, Tormis has tended not to be much of one for altering rhythmic and harmonic patterns once they are established. The second movement ends with just a slight change to the dynamics, and no change at all to the notes or rhythms of the harmony. The first movement simply ended, somewhat awkwardly, with nothing to differentiate the ending of the final verse from any of the previous three verses. In some of the rest of this cycle, but especially the next, Tormis becomes more inventive with his endings, breaking patterns and establishing new musical ideas to emphasize what is new in the text.

In this movement, during the first four verses a young girl says how she will not marry the beings who her father wants her to marry: the sun, the moon, the stars, and the cloud. However, the fifth verse is quite different from the first four, as the young girl agrees to marry the dawn. After she says that she will marry the dawn, Tormis transitions the voices into parallel triads instead of ninth chords, while the same notes remain in the

bass line. The final chord returns to a ninth, a major ninth built on the subdominant note. However, the voicing is unlike anything we have seen before in previous instances of Tormis's ninth chords, with the strong tension of the half step between the two tenor voices. Always before, Tormis has separated the half step in his major ninth chords by an octave.

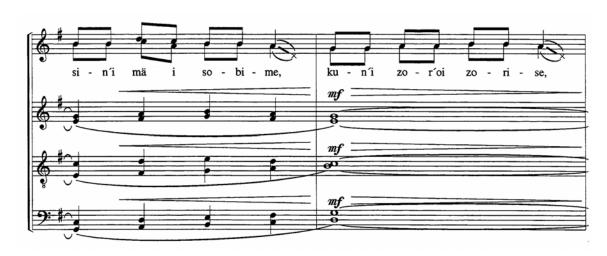


Figure 63. Vepsian Paths, page 14, second system.

Movement 4: I Went to Kikoila

Voicing: SAATTB/sb (Miniature 1 of 8)

This odd song is almost indescribable, both textually and musically. The melody is repeated eight times, sung by a bass and a soprano soloist *two* octaves apart, which is a strange texture to encounter. On every other occurrence of the melody, the entire soprano and bass sections join the soloists for just the last three notes, on the word that represents the action of giving the narrator the next item. Because of the construction of the language, each of these words rhyme, giving unity to each of these choral declarations.

This movement is the first of a miniature set of eight pieces that take less than one minute to perform, each of which will have a correspondingly brief analysis.

The melody is in B-flat minor; the key signature indicates B-flat Dorian, but there are no G-naturals or G-flats in the piece to confirm either way. In every other occurrence of the melody the altos and tenors begin on an F in unison and move downwards, forming a chord of fourths as the harmony.

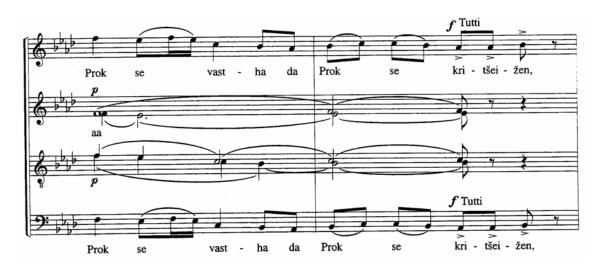


Figure 64. Vepsian Paths, page 15, last system.

Movement 5: Cuckoo and Cuckoo

Voicing: SATB/b (Miniature 2 of 8)

This is a song written for bass soloist and chorus. The soloist sings in the repetitive two-bar melody that we have come to expect, while the sopranos, altos, and tenors hold an open fifth above him. In response to the soloist's statements, the choir exclaims *Kuku ka kuku*, or *Cuckoo and cuckoo*. When the lyrics change from the parallel pattern of question and answer, the soloist begins speaking rapidly instead of singing, and ends with the first occurrence of the word *Kaik*, or *That's all*. Tormis writes a downward portamento for the soloist, and he will use the portamento many more times throughout the cycle.

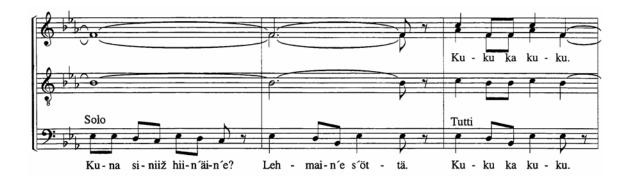


Figure 65. Vepsian Paths, page 18, last system.

Movement 6: I Went for the Water

Voicing: TTB/a (Miniature 3 of 8)

This trifle of a piece is a fitting way to set a trifle of a lyric as well. Of this set of eight smaller pieces embedded in the middle of *Vepsian Paths* this is the shortest, taking approximately 15 seconds to perform. The alto soloist sings a melody of three notes (G, A, and B-flat) towards the bottom of her range. The men, descending from unison in the same manner of the harmony voices in the fourth movement, hold these same three notes (in the same octave) as the drone. The melody is not repetitive; each measure, while only using the given three notes, is different from all of the others.

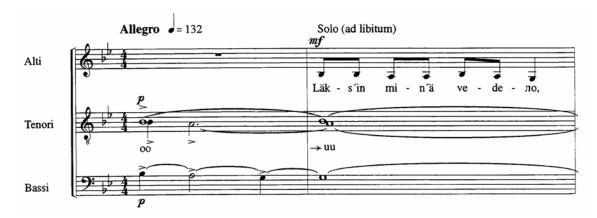


Figure 66. Vepsian Paths, page 21, first system.

Movement 7: Pussy-cat

Voicing: SSAATBB/t (Miniature 4 of 8)

A flowing, arching melody sung by the tenor soloist is offset by a highly effective imitation of a cat. The basses and tenors imitate the rumbling sound of the cat's purr, through low alternations of an open fifth and a set of three notes set apart by whole steps. The men are asked to close immediately to a rolled "rr" sound in the word *murr*. The women sing *n'äu* in interlocking fourths, also towards the bottom of their register, in imitation of the cat's meow.

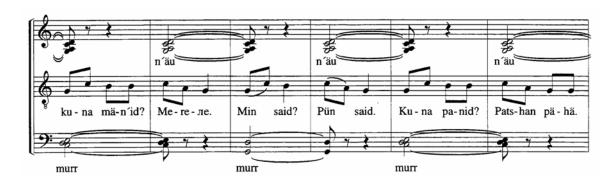


Figure 67. Vepsian Paths, page 22, second system.

Movement 8: To Sing You a Little Song

Voicing: SSATTBB/a (Miniature 5 of 8)

The cluster harmony used on this piece is made up of the notes of the G pentatonic scale, starting on D and then building up one note at a time. The melody of this children's tune is not quite strictly pentatonic, because of the use of a C in the melody on two occasions.

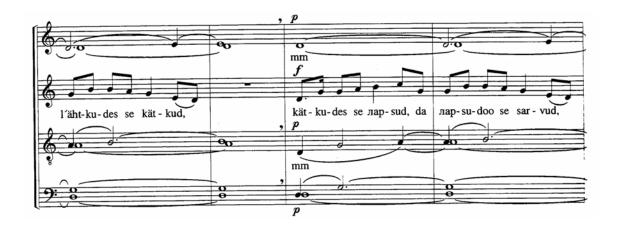


Figure 68. Vepsian Paths, page 23, second system.

Movement 9: Where Did You Sleep Last Night?

Voicing: SSATTB (Miniature 6 of 8)

Typically, in any of Tormis's compositions from *Vepsian Paths*, he arranges the work so that the melody remains in one voice. However, in this question-and-answer song (much like the fifth song, *Cuckoo and Cuckoo*) Tormis allows the women and men to exchange the simple two-measure melody back and forth, often overlapping the melodies by a bar to compress a long text in a shorter period of time. While one part is singing the melody, the other part sings unison E's alternating with close-position triads, the men on a G major chord in second inversion and the women on a D major chord in root position.



Figure 69. Vepsian Paths, page 24, third system.

Movement 10: What Are They Doing?

Voicing: SSSAAATB (Miniature 7 of 8)

The most intriguing aspect of this work is the voicing of the sopranos and altos. Both parts are split into three separate voices singing triads in root position. Every phrase begins with the sopranos and altos singing the same triad, always beginning on F major. Then the altos shift downward by a diatonic step on the second note in the melody, causing the six notes in the B-flat major scale from E-flat to C to be sung at the same time, much like we heard in the sixth movement of *Izhorian Epic* in imitation of the zither. The voices then proceed in parallel motion along the melodic curve, so that each note of the melody is surrounded by five other notes in close position. As the melody continues the two lines occasionally phase back together, to form pure triads, but then just as quickly phase out again, with the altos always one diatonic step below the sopranos. Meanwhile, the men simply have a repeated ostinato pattern of octaves and major seconds.

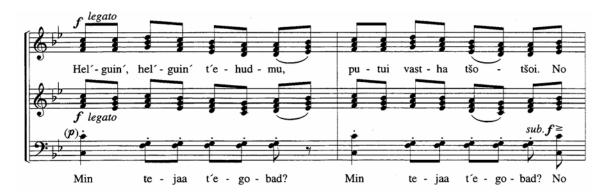


Figure 70. Vepsian Paths, page 26, second system.

Movement 11: The Ox Climbed a Fir Tree

Voicing: SATB (Miniature 8 of 8)

This final movement of the eight miniatures has the same silliness of the previous movements, about an ox who crashes from a fir tree, and segues rather abruptly (as children's stories often do) into a story about a woman's new and terrible family. The setup is simple, with the women and the men singing major seconds an octave apart.

Notice that all of the seconds are indeed major, and the lines end back on unison C's at the end of each phrase. Peppered throughout are spoken syllables and portamenti downward, both of which become more and more frequent as the tempo speeds up.



Figure 71. Vepsian Paths, page 28, third system.

Movement 12: Forced to Get Married

Voicing: SATTB

Like a later movement in *Karelian Destiny*, the central harmonic motion of this movement comes from the constant rising of the key signature, from G major to D major one half-step at a time. This is a wedding lament, with a heartbreaking text about a girl who is being married against her will. As the moment gets closer and closer she keeps asking her mother to not let them take her away, and her mother always answers by saying, "[Do whatever it is they ask you to do], I'll never give you away." However, Tormis focuses not on the sadness of the text, but the increasing urgency of the girl as the time of her wedding gets closer over the day. The tempo gets faster as the movement progresses, and the constant rising of the key signature conveys a strong sense of desperation.



Figure 72. Vepsian Paths, page 30, first two systems.

The men form the basic harmony of the work, alternating between root-position triads on the subdominant and dominant chords of the key. The sopranos link to the next key signature by singing a portamento on a rising octave, on the fourth of the original key. This subdominant note carries over into the new key signature, forming the first note of the new melody on the third. During the time this note is held, and before the new melody enters, the men move up a half step to give the listeners a foundation in the new key.

Movement 13: Lulling

Voicing: SATB

This is a simple lullaby, set on three separate rhythmic levels to sing a child to sleep. The men form the foundation of the piece, with alternating open fifths and thirds. The sopranos have a lulling motive with the descent of the sixth to the fifth, while the altos sing the melody.

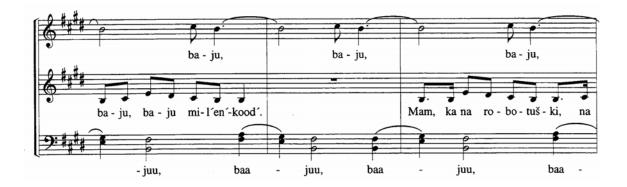


Figure 73. Vepsian Paths, page 36, second system.

Movement 14: The Only Son

Voicing: SSATBB/ssat

Like the third movement of this cycle, this movement and the next exhibit the much greater inventiveness that permeates the final cycle in the collection, *Karelian Destiny*. While the B minor melody generally follows the same pattern each occurrence, no two melodies are quite the same. Tormis also intentionally distorts the meter of the melody, and the whole piece, and puts in bar lines as a convenience without marking the changes.



Figure 74. Vepsian Paths, page 38, second system.

For the first half of the piece, the women and the tenors hold the same generally the same note, a B minor triad in root position with the added fourth. The basses begin on

a B, and then start descending a half step at a time, to A-sharp and A. Occasionally all of the harmony notes dip downward by a half step, and then return to the original note, always when the soloist is breathing.

Then the basses split into two voices a major second apart, G-sharp and A-sharp, and continue to descend by half steps until reaching F-sharp and G-sharp. Then the basses move to a minor third apart, on an E and a G, while the upper two women's notes move up a diatonic step. This gives us an E minor ninth chord, the first ninth chord in the collection in quite a while.

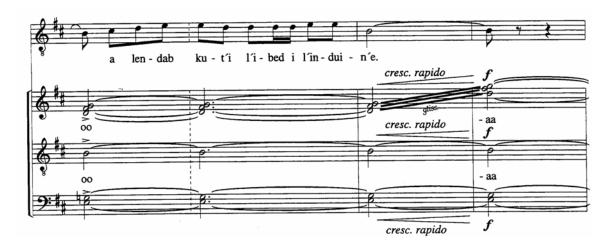


Figure 75. Vepsian Paths, page 40, second system.

As one can see, Tormis continue to makes great use of the portamento, which the sopranos perform in octaves in both directions this time and two other times in the movement.

As the piece winds down, the women and tenors return to their original notes, while the basses expand further to an open fifth built on a low G, then move to a fourth on a low F-sharp. Meanwhile, in a moment unique to the entire *Forgotten Peoples* collection, Tormis asks the soloist to sing C-sharps a quarter-tone lower than normal, possibly to emphasize the singer's despair at being taken away from his mother.

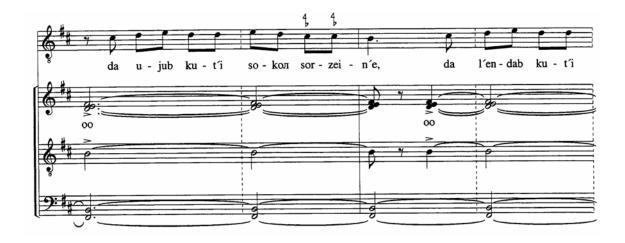


Figure 76. Vepsian Paths, page 42, second system.

Movement 15: Toot-toot Herdsboy

Voicing: SSSSAAAATTTTBB/satb

In this final movement, the longest of the fifteen, Tormis once again uses the aleatoric features dominated the final movement of *Ingrian Evenings*. The general pattern for this movement is that the four soloists each sing a different melody, starting at specific times and given general guidelines for their tempo. These melodies are repeated as necessary until the final entering voice finishes its melody, at which point the choir sings its next section. Unlike the final movement from *Ingrian Evenings*, none of these melodies come from movements earlier in the cycle.

The choir simply sustains notes while the soloists are singing. Each set of notes is derived from the choir's melody, different from any of the soloists' melodies. At each choral entry, voices sustain one note of the four-note melody, which is why it takes four singers in most of the voice parts to sing the movement.

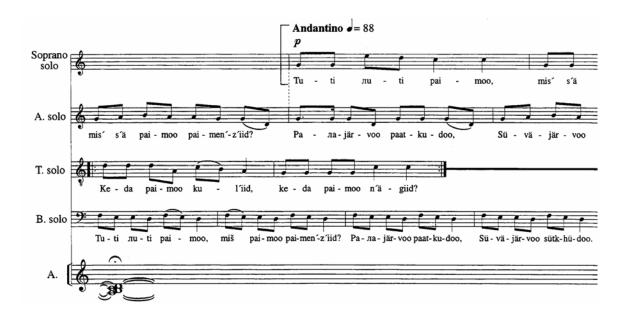


Figure 77. Vepsian Paths, page 44, first system.

Each choral entry differs in terms of how the notes are sustained, but they all have the same tonality. The soloists use the same pattern of entry each time (bass, tenor, alto, then soprano) but vary the tonality. The first, third, and fourth sets of solo entries begin on G and D, while the second set is performed up a whole step, beginning on A and E.

After the fourth set of solo melodies, the choir has a longer explication on a new melody, followed by a final set of solo melodies, this time introduced in reverse order (soprano, alto, tenor, bass). Finally, the choir's last statement is followed by, appropriately enough, all of the voices singing *Kaik*, or *That's all*.

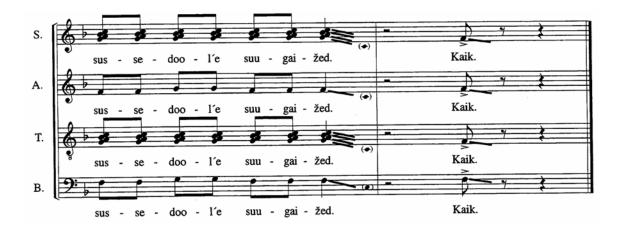


Figure 78. Vepsian Paths, page 56, last system.

Karelian Destiny

Karelian Destiny (Karjala saatus) is the masterpiece of the Forgotten Peoples collection. As befits the cycle based upon melodies of the culture least likely to disappear anytime soon, these settings are sweeping, majestic, and profound. Especially in the final two movements, Tormis is at his most compositionally adventurous. While the melodies are repetitious like in the other cycles, Tormis abandons all harmonic repetitiveness from one phrase to another. No two phrases are exactly the same, and except for in the first movement, the strophic settings differ substantially from verse to verse. Karelian Destiny is also an achievable work to perform for choirs of moderate skill, and is the most musically satisfying of all the cycles.

Movement 1: The Weeping Maiden

Voicing: SSAATTBB

This text, like all of the texts in *Karelian Destiny*, is in the Kalevala meter, set in 5/8. The 5/8 meter is more for the convenience of the singers and the underlying harmony, since each line of the text is really set in 5/4. It is a strophic text, with three

similar verses about a grieving girl who is asking her father, and then her mother, to take her into their boat with them. Each parent in turn refuses, saying they must take their boat to other lands. In the third verse, the girl meets a young man who agrees to take her with him.

This four-measure melody is set in G minor. Tormis begins each verse *piano*, and increases the dynamic level throughout each verse gradually until it reaches *forte* where each parent or the young man begins speaking to the girl. Each verse contains the melody six times (the first time extended by two measures), and each instance of the melody is set in octaves in different voices: SB, TB, ST, A, ST, and AT. On the third verse, the final melody is sung instead by the tenors and the basses, to indicate the young man speaking to the girl. By spreading the melody around to all of the voices, which he also does in the fourth and fifth movements, Tormis does not cast a single voice as the character role in the narration, as he did so often in previous cycles.

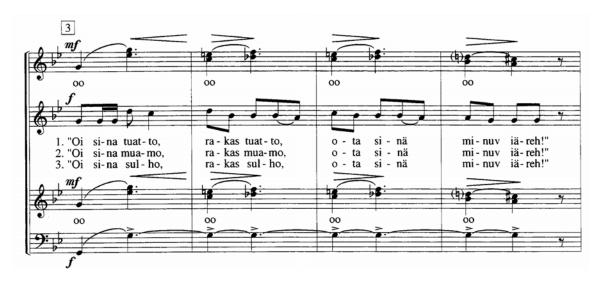


Figure 79. Karelian Destiny, page 5, first system.

Each verse is accompanied by two patterns in the voices that do not contain the melody. The first is a pedal G, which begins with an octave leap and occasionally

contains a dip down to an F-sharp at the seams in the melody. The remaining voice (or in one case, voices) sings in parallel major thirds. Each measure begins with a major third between the split parts of that voice, and then moves either up or down one half-step on the third beat of the measure. The constantly shifting harmony of parallel major thirds moving by half steps helps keep the melody from becoming monotonous, as the G minor tonality is never allowed to settle in.

Movement 2: The Suitors from the Sea

Voicing: SSATTB

This is a wondrous text, a strophic song in five verses. Annikkini, maiden of the island, seeks a young man for her pleasure. In each verse, a man rises from the sea, adorned in precious metal. Each of the first four verses has the man wearing items made of progressively more valuable metal: iron, copper, silver, and finally gold. To each man, Annikkini says no. The fifth man to rise from the ocean is arrayed entirely in bread, and it is to this man that Annikkini gives her consent.

In terms of tonal centers, this movement is structured much like *Forced to Get Married* from *Vepsian Paths*. The five verses of the song are set in keys that are progressively one half-step higher, starting in B-flat major and ending in D major. The modulation from one key to another is fascinating. The melody, which is repeated every two measures, starts in the new key with the first five pitches identical to the melody in the new key, enharmonically spelled as necessary. The sixth pitch, rather than going down by a minor third, goes down a major second, and then everything is settled into the new key. Technically, the root tone of the original key is the pivot note which becomes the seventh of the new key. What this means for the singer is that there is a very easy

modulation occurring, where the melody makes sense in both the old key and the new key for the first five notes.

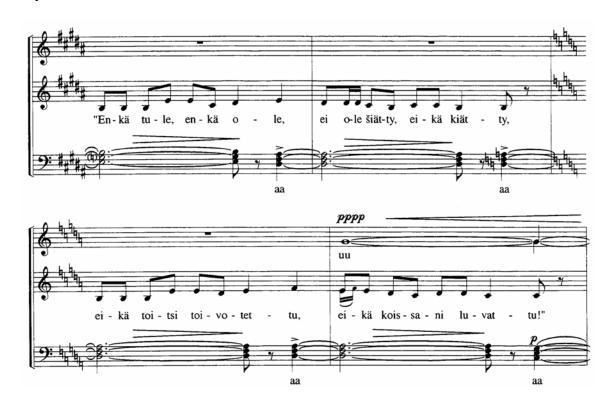


Figure 80. Karelian Destiny, page 11, first two systems.

This chart shows the solfege syllables used in the third example above.

	1 st	2^{nd}	3^{rd}	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th
Old Key	Do	Do	Do	Fa	Fa	XX	XX	XX
New Key	Ti	Ti	Ti	Mi	Mi	Re	Mi	Fa

It is an elegant way of handling the key transition while keeping the melody continuous. No accidentals are necessary, and the melody seamlessly flows from the first key to the next.

The sopranos have an ostinato pattern that begins each key with a held note on the fifth, and then the first sopranos alternate between the fifth and the upper root while the second sopranos remain on the fifth. This remains consistent through the first four verses.

The men have the harmonic interest in this movement. At the beginning of each movement, the men have close-position triads in root position, starting on the tonic. This then moves stepwise in parallel motion, up to the minor chord on the supertonic and back down to the major chord on tonic. At a point in the middle of each verse the bottom note moves down by a half step, creating a triad in second inversion, and then these second inversion triads begin moving in parallel motion up and down. When the text comes to the point when the man from the ocean asks Annikkini to be his bride, the men return to root-position triads, this time with a *minor* chord built on the subdominant, which is there to prepare the ear for the new key, since this will be the new mediant chord. The chord descends by a half step, forming the mediant chord in the old key, then descends another half step to the supertonic chord, forming the supertonic chord in the new key. This last chord comes at the beginning of the melodic key change, and is sustained throughout the two measures of the key transition, and finally returns to the tonic in the new key to begin the next verse.



Figure 81. Karelian Destiny, page 10, last two systems.

One thing that is important to note about the men's harmonies is that they are never exactly the same twice. Each verse puts its own subtle twists on the rhythms of the men, when the switch to second inversion and root position chords happen, and when the modulating triads are heard.

On the fifth verse, the ostinato of the soprano line changes. While the men have root position triads the sopranos continue as they have before. However, when the men switch to their second inversion triads, the women begin singing in parallel perfect fourths. The top note of the fourth is two octaves above the bottom note of the men's

triad, and the note a fourth below that is a new note in the chord, an additional second within the triad.

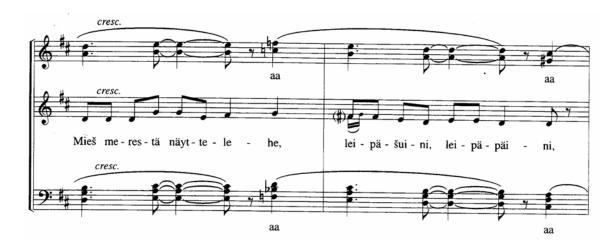


Figure 82. Karelian Destiny, page 16, first system.

After the final melody is over, the sopranos and men continue to sing for four measures. The men begin on a root position triad on the tonic, and then move upwards to the supertonic and the mediant. Finally, as was heard in each of the five verses, the men move to the minor chord built on the subdominant, which ends the movement.

Movement 3: As a Serf in Viru

Voicing: SSAATBB/t

While the first two movements had a melody set in 5/4 (with a 5/8 meter in the first movement), this movement is set in alternating 5/4 and 4/4 meters. This tale of the role reversal of a slave and his master in the afterlife is sung by a tenor soloist, the first solo in the cycle up until now. In this movement, and in both of the subsequent movements, each line of text (with basically the same melody) is numbered in order to help the singers keep track of where they are in the movement. Every two-measure melody is basically the same, but with significant variations on some occurrences.

The harmonic underpinning of the tenor melody evolves throughout the first 29 lines. The altos sustain a drone on a whole step, on the subdominant and dominant notes of G major. The other voices alternate between a major ninth chord build on the tonic and a major seventh chord (a ninth if we include the D in the alto) on the subdominant. All of this progresses in quarter notes. At the fifth line of text the rhythm becomes more active, adding some eighth notes.

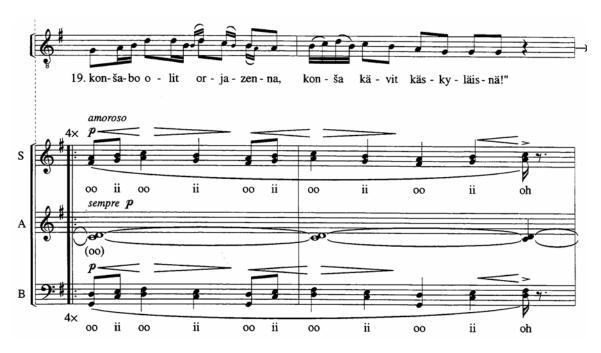


Figure 83. Karelian Destiny, page 22, last system.

At the thirteenth line of text, two new chords are added to the pattern, a dominant seventh chord and a minor seventh chord on the submediant. The rhythm becomes more and more active as the twenty-first line of text begins. After the twenty-ninth line of text we see the first two-bar section since the beginning of the movement with no melody present, and Tormis changes the harmony to what is technically a dominant eleventh chord built on the root. It does not function that way, of course. The sopranos and basses both still have thirds, and the altos still have a major second. The sopranos hold on a B

and a D while the altos and basses climb by diatonic steps until reaching their destination.

To maintain the whole step between voices, the second altos wind up on an F-natural instead of an F-sharp.

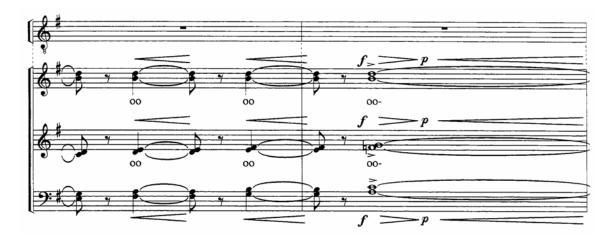


Figure 84. Karelian Destiny, page 26, second system.

Finally, the piece ends as it began, with the same opening harmonies.

Movement 4: Oak-feller

Voicing: SSSAATTBB

This movement is set in 4/4 time, with two different two-bar melodies that are used throughout. Generally the melodies are set in the continuous fashion that have been seen in previous cycles, with half of a section singing each of the two measures, overlapping by a few notes. The real interest in this piece comes with the evolution of the harmony, and it is worth a thorough analysis.

The C minor melody is first harmonized by perfect fifths in the men's voices, first on the tonic and then on the subtonic. At the beginning of the fourth line, each statement of the fifth collapses briefly for an eighth note into a third, and then expands back to a fifth. In the sixth line of text, the third is added to make a root position chord. The triads

quickly progress upwards by diatonic steps to the subdominant, but much as the second movement in a major key used a minor subdominant chord, this movement in a minor key uses a major subdominant chord.



Figure 85. Karelian Destiny, page 30, bottom system.

In the eighth line of text, the triad rises one more step to the minor chord built on the dominant.

At the tenth line of text, the men's harmonies remain the same, and the altos join the harmony with a rising line from the root to the fifth, adding a G to the men's F major chord. However, the F becomes the subtonic chord and the G the tonic note as the melody changes to G minor.



Figure 86. Karelian Destiny, page 32, first system.

After the eleventh line of text, the harmonies cease and a drone on a low G begins in the bass line. The altos and tenors sing the melody in fifths at the bottom of their ranges, one in C minor and the other in G minor, which create a foreboding sound so low in the register. At the fourteenth line the sopranos join the bass ostinato, with a perfect fourth built on D and G.

Starting at the sixteenth line, the men sing the melody in octaves in G minor, and the women begin singing four-note chords in close position, second inversion. Each of the women's chords is major, starting with a C major chord, then D, and finally E-flat. This evolves further after the eighteenth line, when the women change to parallel dominant seventh chords. The tenors join, singing the same note as the upper sopranos so that the dominant seventh chords are in second inversion. The first chord is a D dominant seventh, followed by E-flat. Then the tenors split into two notes, the chords move to first inversion, and the harmonies continue with dominant seventh chords built on F, G-flat, and A-flat.

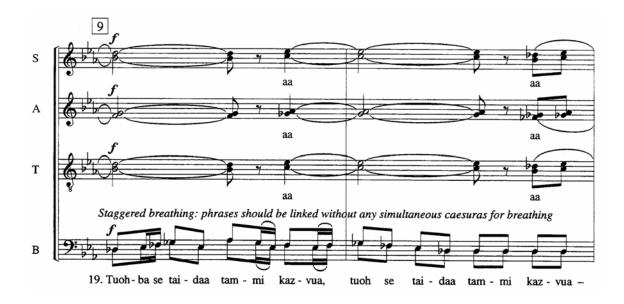


Figure 87. Karelian Destiny, page 36, second system

The melody at this point is sung in D-flat minor in the basses, which modulates up a fourth to F-sharp (enharmonic of G-flat) minor in the twenty-third line. The seventh chords continue after the twentieth line, but now with a new wrinkle: the seventh chord built on A is actually a major seventh chord. As the harmonies continue every other chord is a dominant seventh chord (B, A-flat, G-flat), but each time the root note returns to A, the seventh chord is major. This puts the second altos in the unfortunate position of having to move from a G-flat to a G-sharp, and while this is only a whole step, singing the seventh in parallel dominant seventh in the middle of the chord is tricky enough, and making this change can be challenging for the altos to accomplish.

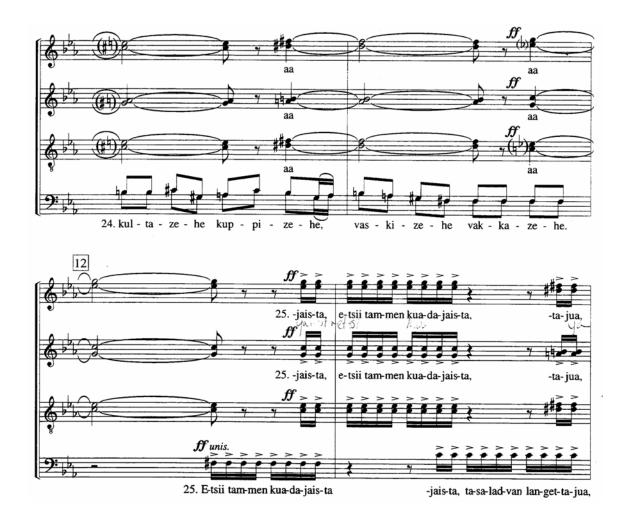


Figure 88. Karelian Destiny, page 38, first two systems.

After the twenty-fourth line, the final B dominant seventh chord resolves up a half step to a C minor chord, *fortissimo* approaching the climax of the movement. A brief "shouting match" then ensues between the basses and the rest of the choir, alternating bass single notes with chords. It begins with the basses singing F-sharps (from their previous F-sharp minor melody) and the rest of the choir singing C minor chords, the root a tritone away from F-sharp. Then the basses move up a tritone to the C while the rest of the choir sings B dominant seventh chords.

The twenty-sixth line is built on the harmonies that the men had earlier in the sixth line, with parallel triads moving upward by diatonic steps. This ends on a tone cluster on the twenty-seventh line, when the melody returns to C minor for the first time.



Figure 89. Karelian Destiny, page 39, first two systems.

From here, the movement unfolds symmetrically from how it began. The basses and the rest of the choir alternate once again, with the basses on a C and the rest of the choir a tritone away on F-sharp minor chords. Finally, the basses unite in harmony and

rhythm on with the other voices on a B major chord, which resolves upward by half step to a C minor chord, the D-sharp enharmonically respelled as an E-flat.

The women return to their four-note chords in second inversion, alternating between C minor and B-flat major. On the twenty-ninth occurrence of the melody the basses sing in F minor at the bottom of their range, which the tenors then join a perfect fifth above in C minor, echoing the tenors and altos in the twelfth line. From here, the women begin alternating A-flat major ninth chords and B-flat dominant ninth chords, ending on an A-flat major seventh chord in first inversion.

Movement 5: A Lullaby

Voicing: SSAATTBB/a

This heart-wrenching lament, cast in the style of a lullaby, about the death of a child ends *Karelian Destiny*, as well as the entire *Forgotten Peoples* collection, and might be the finest of all of the movements. There are a number of different melodies used throughout, both in 4/4 (written in 2/4) and 5/4, and the harmonic evolution is at least as interesting as that of the previous movement.

The movement begins with the alto soloist, alone, singing to her child in C minor. On the third line of text, the other altos join her, in a drone that alternates between a G and an A-flat. On the fifth line, the basses join, singing rising scales on the first five notes of C minor, while the tenors take over the alto line and all the altos sing the melody. Beginning on the ninth line, the basses sing just a drone on a low G, while the tenors add an F-sharp to their continuing line.

On the eleventh line is the first of many modulations, this time to E minor. The tenors and the basses now have the pedal tone in octave G's, while the sopranos sing the

melody. The altos, splitting into two parts, harmonize the melody with a submediant chord, the major dominant, a fully diminished seventh on the leading tone (missing the third), and the tonic. Starting in the thirteenth line, the key changes immediately back to C minor. The sopranos take up the pedal tone and altos the melody. The tenors have the same harmonic progression as the altos in the earlier line, but now in reverse order.



Figure 90. Karelian Destiny, page 46, bottom two systems.

The fifteenth line returns to E minor, and is similar to the eleventh line except that the tenors now fill out the chord structure, leaving only the basses to hold the G pedal tone. Likewise the seventeenth line returns to C minor, and is similar to the thirteenth

line, except for the fact that the tenors now have parallel major thirds, ending on the major subdominant instead of the major submediant.

Beginning in the nineteenth line, and continuing for the next four lines, the choir sings in homophony with the melody in the sopranos in G minor. The chords are dense, beginning on a unison but then with mostly seventh chords, starting with parallel octaves between the basses and tenors. The passage ends on a root-position submediant chord, which is important for the next verse. This is one of the longest stretches of standard harmonic progressions that has been seen in Tormis's works.



Figure 91. Karelian Destiny, page 49, last two systems.

The next six lines have the tenors singing the melody, moving up keys by half steps, using the E-flat that ends the previous line to move to E minor, then F minor, and finally F-sharp minor. Each new key begins with the tenors starting on the last note of the previous melody (or the E-flat in the case of the first line), and then instead of moving upwards a perfect fifth, sings a minor sixth in order to stretch a minor sixth. From there, the melody stays in the new key. The tenors are relating the story of the fox, whose child, "the son born of poor parents," was taken to be made into clothing. The altos, taking from the tenors in the seventeenth line, sing parallel major thirds.

In the twenty-ninth line, the choir returns to homophony in C-sharp minor, this time with the melody in the basses. Instead of chord progressions in the other voices, however, they sustain a half-diminished chord on A-sharp, with an added sixth on the F-sharp. The choir is marked *Mistico*, "mystic," *subito pianissimo*, which gives the singers a suitably spooky sound as they relate the mother saying that Death is coming for her baby.

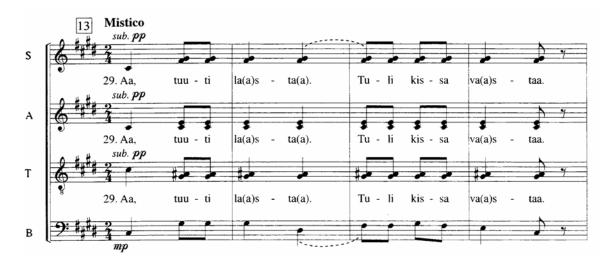


Figure 92. Karelian Destiny, page 51, first system.

The movement begins its finale at the thirty-third line, returning to *forte*, G minor, and a harmonic progression that is similar to what was heard in the nineteenth line. This is repeated, almost exactly, four times. The final time, Tormis slows everything down to a *largo* and then a further *ritard*, as if to emphasize the final line, which is taken from the fox's story, "the son born of poor parents."

Conclusion

While there are many differences in the history of the six Balto-Finnic people under consideration in this project, the similarities of the process of subsumation into large cultures is remarkable. Only the Karelians seem likely to survive into the 22nd century, although there is some small cause for optimism for a few of the other cultures as well. In each situation, Stalinism dealt the most crippling blow, led by twenty years of repressive policies determined to stamp out nationalism at every turn.

Tormis's compositional style evolved substantially over the twenty-year period between *Livonian Heritage* and *Karelian Destiny*, and it is important to keep in mind that Tormis did not envision all six as a single collection until his writing was almost complete. However, there are a few traits that one can see clearly in all of the cycles. The first is a straight-forward approach to the setting of the melody. Tormis believed it was important to not just use the folk songs in his compositions, as other Estonian composers had done before him, but to create settings that brought out the original passion, intensity, and meaning of the songs. Rather than obscuring the almost monotonous repetition of the melodies, he embraced it, using his skill to maintain the listener's interest while continuing the melody almost unchanged.

The other techniques at use throughout *Forgotten Peoples* include rhythmic layering and parallelism. Tormis usually creates repetitive and interlocking rhythmic lines in each of the other voices, complementing and enhancing the unobscured melody. Homophony among all of the voices is rare, used for dramatic effect in only a few places throughout the collection. As verses or lines are repeated, Tormis generally makes subtle changes in each iteration. These changes can include adding or removing a voice, raising or lowering the tonality by a half-step or whole-step, making the other rhythmic lines slightly more or less intricate, phasing two lines of contrasting lengths, or moving a step louder or softer in dynamics. Tormis rarely allows a repetitive melody to remain static.

Musicians reach into the past at almost every performance. Each concert is a slice of life, a snapshot of a period in time that can never be recovered. When we sing Mozart's "Requiem" we bring a little something of Vienna in 1791 to life. But with the "Forgotten Peoples" cycle, we have the opportunity to recreate a culture and language that is all but wiped from the face of earth. We know a great deal about late 18th-century Austrian life, but not nearly enough about the dying cultures of the Baltic Sea region. These pieces should be performed, not with reverence, but with celebration that we have a few memories preserved forever in amber to remind us of who these communities were. Only this way can we be certain that these peoples will never truly be forgotten.

Kaik.

APPENDIX A: The Texts

For the reference of the reader, this appendix contains the complete text of each of the *Forgotten Peoples* cycles, in the original language and with the English translation supplied in the Fazer edition. Reprinted with the permission of Fennica Gehrman Oy, Helsinki (2006).

Livonian Heritage

Lüvlaste pärandus

1. Lindude äratamine

Tšitšorlinkist, tšitšorlinkist, ni um aaiga ilzõ nuuzõ, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Ni teeg maggõnd pitkõ uunda, iiestõ iiezõ, päävast päuvvõ, tšitšor!

Liebist ljestad mäddõ mjerrõ, vooilist ljestad muuzõ mjerrõ, tšitšor!

Jõvad luuomõd mäddõ mõttsõ, sudud, okšid muuzõ mõttsõ, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Jõvad puuošõd mäddõ killõ, kõzzist puuošõd muuzõ killõ, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Kjerdőd neitsőd mäddő killő, laaiskad neitsőd muuző killő, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Tšitšorlinkist, ni tad aaiga urn ilzõ nuuzõ!

2. Karjametsas

Jooda, jooda, pääva, juuoksõ siin, kus öva vežki juuoksõb! Kuliz minnõn viizõz jars, lopiz minnõn nuka jara.

Uŕ, tagan, uŕ, tagan, uŕuu!

Livonian Heritage

1. Waking the Birds

Tšitšor-birds, tšitšor-birds, now it's time to wake, tšitšor, tšitšor!

You have had a long sleep, night after night, day after day, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Fat flounders into our sea, lean ones into another one, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Good animals into our wood, wolves and bears into another one, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Good boys into our village, cruel ones into another one, tšitšor, tšitšor!

Hard-working maids into our village, lazy ones into another one, Tšitšor, tšitšor!

Tšitšor-birds, now it's time for you to wake!

2. At Pasture

Make haste sun, make haste, run to where the river flows! I've worn out my best shoes, I've eaten my last crumb of bread.

Uŕ, go back, uŕ, go back, uŕuu,

Uŕ, tagan, uŕ, tagan, uŕuu! Uŕuu, uŕuu!

Tsiirlinkist loolabõd, kjevadõ tulub. Uud, ääma, kukil', ma lääbõ kaŕŕõl!

Uruu, uruu, Uruu, uruu!

Seel't'a, seel't'a, aarmaz pääva, neme vaalda guuogõmuna. Se ju äb uuo guuogõmuna, se urn aarmaz päävalikki.

Uruu, uruu, ur-ur-ur-ur, uruu, uruu! Uruu, uruu, uhuu, uhuu, uh-uh-uh-uh, uhuu, uhuu!

Tsiirlinkist loolabõd, kjevadõ tulub.

Uud, ääma, kukil', ma lääbõ kaŕŕõl! Aš uudub suur kukil', siz lääb jo koogaz, aš uudub piškiz, siz tään iiž ležgõl.

Uruu, niiemõd kuodai, uruu, urururuu! Pääva lääb luuojõ, õõdõg tulub päälõ, uruu. urururuu!

Bz, bz, bz, bz, tabard sälgõ, bz, bz, niiemõd kuodai, bz, bz, dundurd sälgõ, niiemõd kuodai, bz, bz, bz, niiemõd kuodai, bz, bz, niiemõd kuodai,

bz, bz, niiemõd kuodai, niiemõd kuodai, uruu,uruu!

Ririi, ririi, aanda semd'i, ririi, rirr, aanda semd'i, ririi, ririi, ririi, ririi, ririi, ririi. Uruu!

Laz volg läälam, kiien volg läälam, kooŕapaintõn siien vol' läälam, kooŕapaintõn läälam vol'. Uŕuu! uŕ, go back, uŕ, go back, uŕuu! Uŕuu, uŕuu!

Skylarks are singing, spring is coming. Bake me a bun, dear mother, I'm going to look after the herd!

Uŕuu, uŕuu, Uŕuu, uŕuu!

Clear up sky, clear up, the sun looks like the white egg of a goose. It's really the egg of a goose, it's our dear sun.

Uruu, uruu, ururururur, uruu, uruu! Uruu, uruu, uhuu, uhuu, uh-uh-uh, uhuu, uhuu!

Skylarks are singing, spring is coming.

Bake me a bun, dear mother, I'm going to look after the herd! If you bake a big bun, I'll go far, if you bake a little one, I'll stay near.

Uruu, go home, cows, uruu, urururuu! The sun is going down, night is approaching, uruu, urururuu!

Bz, bz, bz, bz, tails high, bz, bz, go home, cows, bz, bz, gadflies on your back, go home, cows, bz, bz, go home, cows, bz, bz, go home, cows. bz, bz, go home, cows, go home, cows, uruu, uru!

Ririi, ririi, it's milking time, ririi, ririi, it's milking time! Ririi, ririi, ririi, ririi, ririi, ririi. Ufuu!

When you have a hard time, you have a hard time, the herdsboy had a hard day, a hard day had he.
Ufuu!

3. Vastlad

Zingi, pringi, vastalova, ee, vastalova! Zingi, pringi, vastalova, ee, vastalova!

Aarmazõ jema, laz lapstõ tubbõ, aarmazõ jema, laz lapstõ tubbõ! Käkanika lapstõn kiilmabõd jaalgad, kuzuz käängad tääduks, kiilmist jaalgad jära.

Zingi, pringi, vastalova, ee, vastalova! Zingi, pringi, vastalova, ee, vastalova!

Kil tiiedub, kil tiiedub käkanika jagu: kukil' leibõ, kuolm kannõ voltõ, -se um ni, se um ni käkanika jagu.

Zingi, pringi, vastalova, ee, vastalova! Zingi, pringi, vastalova, ee, vastalova!

4. Unehiireke

Kus sa juuokšõd, unnõ iirki, pai-pai-pai-pai? Puud'i kaandam, sounõ kitam, pai-pai-pai. Sa läämatõd souv sizzõl jära. Ma pugub soona lovan ala. Mis sa siiedõ, mis sa juuodõ, soona lovan ala puggõn? Ljeggõ siiebõ, duuńi juuobõ. Sinnõn paaistab maggõ ilzõ. Ma siskabõ niglõks kat'ki. *U se sinnõn siz äb poddõ?* Ma võõidabõ võõidõgõksõ. Kus sa sjeda võõita saadõ? Vanaääma buundlast utab. Kus se vanaääma saabõ? Keerabiz niiemõ näänast utab. Kus se keerabi niiemõ saabõ? Mõltsiz ruuogõ ladast utab. Kus se ruuogõ lada saabõ? Uuomõgkastug tämmõn aandab. Kus se uuomõgkastug saabõ? Tõva joggõ puoistõ utab.

3. Shrovetide

Sing, mummer, dance, mummer, sing and dance, Shrove mummer!

Mother dear, let the children in! Mother dear, let the Shrove mummers in! The children's feet are cold: they peed their shoes wet, now their feet are freezing.

Sing, mummer, dance, mummer, sing and dance, Shrove mummer!

I know, I well know what's a Shrove mummer's share: a small loaf of bread, three mugs of beer, that's what it is, that's what it is the Shrove mummer's share.

Sing, mummer, dance, mummer, sing and dance, Shrove mummer!

4. Wee Winkie Mouse (Lullaby)

Where are you running, wee winkie mouse, pai-pai-pai-pai? To carry the wood, to heat the sauna, pai-pai-pai. You'll suffocate in the smoke. I'll crawl under the platform. What will you eat there? What will you drink? I'll eat some mud, I'll drink some mire. You'll get a swollen belly. I'll prick it with a needle. Wouldn't it smart? I'll smear some butter on it. Where do you get the butter from? I'll take it from the grandmother's churn. Where does the grandmother get it from? From the udder of a piebald cow. Where does the piebald cow get it from? From the head of a green bulrush. Where does the bulrush get it from? From the dew in the morning. Where does the morning dew get it from? From the bottom of a deep river.

5. Laulis isa, laulis poega

Looliz iza, looliz puuoga, loolist kakši paalkamiiest. Jemiń looliz iza puuogaks, äb ku kakši paalkamiiest. Rallallaa!

Kui se ummõ, kustõ tulab, kui nei knaššõ näntõn lääb? Ne aat päägiń voltõ juuonõd, ne aat päägiń mjeta siiend. Rallallaa!

Ikši pitti keeldarikkis, kakši kannõ looda pääl. Kipi siinõ, kipi täänõ, kipi looda Lutkam pääl! Rallallaa!

Titles in Estonian Texts in Livonian, transcribed by Karl Kont

5. Sang the Father, Sang the Son

Sang the father, sang the son, sang the two hired helps. Father and his son sang well together, music better than the hired help. Rallallaa!

What's their secret, how does it come, that their singing goes so well? They've been drinking a lot of beer, they have eaten a lot of honey. Rallallaa!

One barrel's in the cellar, two mugs are on the table. Shove it here, shove it there, shove it to the end of the table. Rallallaa!

Translated by Ellen Sillamägi

Votic Wedding Songs

Vadja pulmalaulud

1. Mõrsja vihtlemine

Tšülpii, tšülpii. Tšülpii, tšülpii, sisoiseni, tšülpii, tšülpii, sisoiseni, kolmõõ koivuu õhsaizõlla, kõlmõõ koivuu õhsaizõlla, viijjee vitsaa varpaizõlla, viijjee vitsaa varpaizõlla.

Õjavesi se õnnõssi, õjavesi se õnnõssi, jõkivesi se jõvvussi, jõkivesi se jõvvussi, merivesi meeloizõssi. merivesi meeloizõssi, a lähevesi lähössi.

2. Pulmaliste saabumine

Avatkaa viroo veräjäd. avatkaa viroo veräjäd, avatkaa viroo veräjäd! Viroo võõraad va tullaa, viroo võõraad va tullaa. Tulõvad Loojaa joukkuinee, Jumalaa pereheinee.

Votic Wedding Songs

1. The Ritual Whisking of the Bride

Whisk, whisk, whisk yourself, my little sister, whisk, whisk yourself, my little sister, with three birch twigs, with three birch twigs, with five thin switches, with five thin switches.

The water from the brook is for luck, the water from the brook is for luck, the water from the river for strength, the water from the river for strength, the water from the sea for wisdom, the water from the sea for wisdom, the water from the spring for success, the water from the spring for success.

2. Arrival of the Wedding Guests

Open the Estonian gates, open the Estonian gates, open the Estonian gates!
The Estonian guests are coming, the Estonian guests are coming.
They're the Creator's kinsfolk, they're God's family.

Terve tultua tuppaa enne nähtüä vättšiä, risitettüä rahvahassa! Terve tupa, kolmi kolkkaa, kolmi kolkkaa, neljä nurkkaa. Laki lahnaasoomussiissa, silta pantu sipulissa, hukka on mereetšivessä, arina anõõmunissa.

Avatkaa viroo veräjäd! Avatkaa viroo veräjäd!

3. Pilkelaulmine

Kuhõõ viivüd, velvüeni? Kuhõõ viivüd, vävüeni? Vai siä viivüd viinaateelee, kavassuid kapakkateelee? Humalaza hupsuttelid, tapõid täitä tankissani, napid nahkapöksüissäni. Sellä viivüd, velvüeni, sellä viivüd, vävüeni!

Lankoiseni, lintuiseni!
Mi siä laulad, lappahuuli,
kolkutid, nenä kovõra!
Et siä õõ koossa kõrkõassa!
Lammas määkib, pää märännü,
läpi va laõttomaa läävää,
koir va haukub, kolmihammas.
läpi va vittsõizõõ väräjää.

4. Veimevaka jagamine

Suuri kiitoz langolõõ, langolõõ, suuri kiitoz langolõõ, langolõõ i passibo kullõlõõ, kullõlõõ, i passibo kullõlõõ, kullõlõõ ävää lahjaa antõmassõ, antõmassõ, ävää lahjaa antõmassõ, lupamassõ i parõpaa lupamassõ, lupamassõ.

Kuhõõ paan va lahjojani, lahjojani, kuhõõ paan va lahjojani, lahjojani'? Paan va kuussi kuumõttõõmaa. kuumõttõõmaa, paan va kuussi kuumõttõmaa, kuumõttõmaa. päivüessi paissamaa, paissamaa.

La ko katson lahjojani, lahjojani. la ko katson lahjojani, lahjojani, onko lahjani lakkaad, -ni lakkaad, onko lahjani lakkaad, -ni lakkaad? Ku on lakkaad, nii on lustid, nii on lustid. Welcome to our home, familiar folk, the christened folk!
Good morning chamber, three corners, three corners, four nooks!
The ceiling's made of bream scales, the floor's made of onions, the stove's built of sea pebbles, the hearth it is of goose's eggs.

Open the Estonian gates! Open the Estonian gates!

3. Mocking Song

Where were you tarrying, my brother? Where were you tarrying, my son-in-law? Were you having a drinking bout, staying too long in the tavern? Drunkenly you capered about, killed the fleas in your coat, picked them from your leather trousers, that's why you tarried, my brother, that's why you tarried, my son-in-law?

My sister-in-law, my little chirper! What's that you're singing, you dangling lips, what are you clattering, you crooked nose! You don't come from any mansion! Your sheep's baaing, the scabby head, in a roofless stable, your dog's barking, the three-toothed one, through a gate of twigs.

4. Distributing the Dowry Chest

Many thanks, my in-laws, my in-laws, many thanks. my in-laws, my in-laws and thanks to you, my honey, my honey, and thanks to you, my honey, my honey, for giving me a good gift, for giving me a good gift, for promising even a better one.

Where shall I put my gifts, my gifts? Where shall I put my gifts, my gifts? Like the moon I'll put them to shine, to shine, like the moon I'll put them to shine, to shine, instead of the sun to shine, to shine.

Let me look at my gifts, at my gifts, let me look at my gifts, at my gifts, are my gifts smooth, are they smooth? Are my gifts smooth, are they smooth? If they're smooth, they're beautiful, beautiful,

ku on lakkaad, nii on lustid, nii on lustid.

5. Noorpaari õpetamine

Kuulõ, kuulõ, vellojani, kuulõ, kuulõ, vellojani! Tunnõd võttaa, tunnõ pittää, taija tarkutta elää. Elä lüü ühessä süüssä. eläko kõikkinaa kahõssa, a lüü süüssä tšümmenessä, ku rikob parvõõ patoja i tõizõõ tinatooppija, kõlmõttõmaa vaskilaatkoi. Siiz vass lüü sisaruttani. siiz vass peeksä peenüttäni, õlki varrõssi valõlõ, niitti siimassi sitele. Elä lüü tšülää kujala, eläko vallaa vainijoila.

Oi, Oto, sisaruveni, oi, Oto, emäni lahsi! Tunnõd mennä, tunnõ õlla, taiia tarkutta elää. Elä nurkkõza nupizõ, elä kolkkõza kolizõ, pööri tšehsi permõnnolla. Tuõb äijäni mereltä, võta kaššõli sellässä, tuõb tšütü tšüntämässä tõmpaa tšennäd jalgassa. Elä oottõlõ tšälujä, tšälül tšäed tšättšüvezä, elä oottõlõ natoja. naod laattii lahioiani. Kuulõ, kuulõ, vellojani! Tunnöd võttaa, tunnõ pittää! Tunnöd mennä, tunnõ õlla!

6. Koka kiitmine

Üvä kokki, kaunis kokki, üvä kokki. kaunis kokki!

Süüka, langod, juuka. langod. elka panka pahassi Süüka, langod, juuka. langod, elka panka kormunasõ. elka panka ribojõsõ!

Üvä kokki. kaunis kokki. keitti supii suuta müütä. pani soolõd meeltä müütä. Kõik õli tootu, kõik õli saatu, saijõd tootu Saarõmaalta, if they're smooth, they're beautiful, beautiful.

5. Instructing the Newly-Weds

Listen to me, my brother, listen to me, my brother! Now that you marry her, take good care of her, know how to live wisely. Don't hit her for one sin. don't hit her for two sins, but hit her for ten sins, when she has broken many pots another lot of tin mugs and another of copper bowls. Only then you may hit my sister, only then you may spank my little one, take a straw for the whip handle, tie some thread for the lash. Never hit her in the village lane nor in the parish common.

Oi, Oto, my little sister, oi, Oto, my mother's child! Now that you marry him, look after him, know how to live wisely. Don't squat in the corner, don't clatter in a nook. twirl in the middle of the floor. When your father-in-law comes back from sea, help him to take off his bag, when your brother-in-law comes back from ploughing, help him to take off his boots, don't count on your sister-in-laws, they're cradling babes in their arms, don't count on your sister-in-laws, they're making wedding gifts. Listen to me, my brother! Now that you marry her, take good care of her! Now that you marry him, look after him!

6. Praising the Cook

A good cook, a handsome cook, a good cook, a handsome cook!

Eat in-laws, drink in-laws, we hope you like our fare! Eat in-laws, drink in-laws, don't stuff it into your pockets, don't stuff it into your puttees!

A good cook, a handsome cook, he made the broth pleasing to the taste, he added just enough salt. Everything was ordered, everything was delivered, cakes were brought from Saaremaa, viinad tootu Viromaalta, oluõd õmalta maalta, peened saijõd Petterissä. Tulkaa kokkia kiittelöömää! Kokk õli tootu Koivisoossa, kokiipoika Poolõsmaalta, ize kokki Inkerimaalta. Üvä kokki, kaunis kokki, üvä kokki Inkerimaalta.

7. Kui ma kasvasin, kanaka

Kui miä kazvõlin, kanainõ, nõizin, neito noorukkainõ viijjee velloo veerüvezä, kuuvvõõ velloo kukkõzõnna, seittsemee minjaa natona, isä kuttsu kullassõni, emä ehto lahzõssõni, vello tširkutti sizossi, velloonaisuvõd naossi, muu pere murukukassi. Makazin rohkapi muita, tein tüütä vähep muita, siištši kuuluin kunniaasõõ.

Menin marja muilõõ mailõõ, lintu muilõõ liivikkoilõõ, kana muilõõ kallaizilõõ, toomi tõizilõõ vezilõõ.
Makazin vähepi muita, tein tüütä enep muita, tšäin tšüläz vähep muita, siištši en kuulu kunniaasõõ.

Isä pillinä piteli, vello kantõ kantõlõnna. Pantii pilli piinaa päälee, kantõlõ rihee uhzõlõõ. Õi, tütöd, sulasõsarõd, sulad sullitud omenad! Elkaa menkaa mehelee, elkaa menkaa mehelee!

drinks were from Estonia, beer from our own country, small buns from Petersburg. Come to praise the cook! The cook was brought from Koivisoo, his help was brought from Poland, he himself from Ingria. A good cook, a handsome cook, a good cook, a handsome cook, he himself from Ingria.

7. When I Little Chick, Was Growing Up

When I, chick, was growing up, when I, young maid, was growing up beside my five brothers, as the flower of my six brothers, as the sister-in-law of my seven brothers' wives, father called me his own darling, mother called me her dearest child, brothers called me their little sister, brothers' wives their sister-in-law, everyone else called me a meadow flower. I slept longer than the others, I worked less than the others, I went visiting more than the others, still, I was respected.

To other places I, little berry, went then, to other sand-dunes I, little bird, flew to other shores I, little chick, stepped, to be a bird-cherry on another bank. I sleep less than the others, I work more than the others, I go visiting fewer than the others, despite that I'm not respected.

I was the flute of my father,
I was the zither of my brother.
The flute was left on the doorpost,
the zither hanging on the door.
Oh, maidens, my good sisters,
you apple-cheeked girls!
Do not get married,
never marry a widow!
Do not get married!

Izhorian Epic

Isuri eepos

1. Loomine

Pääsköilindu, päivöilindu, too ihhaala ilmoilindu lentteeli kessoisen päivän, etsi maada maadaksehe. lehtoa levädäksehe. mädästä munijaksehe. Löüsi mättähän sinniisen, toisen mättähän punnaisen, kolmas kellan karvalline. Valoi vaskisen pessäisen, muni kulttaisen munnaisen. Tuli tuutša, aigoi tuutša, meroin vihkura vihhaine, viiretti pesän vettehe, laski munad lainehesse. Pääsköilindu, päivöilindu, too ihhaala ilmoilindu lensi kiirestää seboille.

"Seppüeni, selvüeni, taoid enne, taoid egle, tao i tänägi päänä, tao miul rauttaine harraava, teräksiist piid panneele, varsi vaskine valleele." Seppüeni, selvüeni, tagoi rauttaisen harraavan, teräksiist piid panneeli, varren vaskisen valleeli.

Pääsköilindu, päivöilindu, too ihhaala ilmoilindu etsi päivöin, etsi toisen, etsi kolmatta vähhäisen. Sai vaa pooled ruskulaista, toisen poolen valgulaista. Mid muud murruja jäiväd, ne muille linduloille ja täheksi taivahasse. Midä löüsi valgulaista, se kuuksi kumottammaa, midä löüsi ruskulaista, päivüeksi paistamaa.

2. Kolme käo kukkumine

Läksin koista kulgomaha, veräildä viirömähä,

Izhorian Epic

1. The Creation

Swallow, bird of the sun, the lovely bird of the skies, a whole summer's day did it fly, looking for land where to sleep, a leafy wood where to lie, a sod where to lay an egg. A blue sod it found and a red sod it found and the third one was yellow coloured. It cast a nest of copper and laid there an egg of gold. A mighty storm broke out and the wrathful wind of the seas rolled the nest into the water and pushed the eggs into the waves. Swallow, bird of the sun, the lovely bird of the skies, swiftly it flew to a smith:

"Smith, my deft smith, you have forged of yore and the day before, would you not forge today as well? Forge me a rake of iron and fix it with prongs of steel and cast the handle of copper." Swift, the deft smith forged a rake of iron and fixed it with prongs of steel and cast the handle of copper.

Swallow, bird of the sun, the lovely bird of the skies, it sought for a day and it sought for another and part of the third day too. It found but a half of a yolk and another half of a white. What other crumbs there remained were left for other birds and became the stars in the sky. The part of the white she found became the gleaming moon. The part of the yolk she found became the shining sun.

2. The Call of Three Cuckoos

I went a-walking from home and a-strolling out of the gate,

isoin uuvesta tuvasta, velloin karjoi kardanosta. Löin jalkkani kivvehe, vaaherpuuhu varbahani Idin kiven kirjavaksi, kannon karjuin karvaseksi. Tuli kuldoi kutsumaha, hoppija veättämähä. En mänd kullan kutsugilla, hoppijan veädähillä. Tulkkaa nooremb velvüeni, eli kerroin keskimäine.

Tuli nooremb velvüeni, tuli nooremb, tuli piinemb, pani hän parin ettehe, takkaaks tammavarsukaisen. Istutti sisoin rekkoihe. sai vaa saanin kolkkaisehe. Löi vaa ruusalla orrooja, helmiroosalla hevoista. Oroi juuksi, matka joudui, regoi liugui, tii lühheeni. Ajoi kuittermoin kujalle, päivöittären tanvahalle. Kuittermoin tüär kuttoho. kuldoikangasta kuttoho, hobijada helgüttähä. Taittui üksi kuldoilanga, helgähti hoppijalanga. Neidoi täüdüi itkömähä.

Neidoi itki, küünel viiri, küünel viiri viil alemmas – sinisilda silmaloilda punaisille poskipäille; neidoi itki, kiiiinel viiri, küünel viiri viil alemmas – punaisilda poskipäildä helkkiville helmoille; neidoi itki, küünel viiri, küünel viiri viil alemmas – helkkivilda helmoilda küünel viiri maada valse.

Tooho kasvoi kolt jokkia, kok mäkkiä, kolt koivua mäelle.
Tooho lensi kolt käkkiä, kolmen koivun oksaselle.
Üks vaa kägi kullin kukkui, toin vaa haasteli hoppehin, kolmas leinin liigutteli.
Migä kägi kullin kukkui, se oli ismarud issoini.
Migä leinin liigutteli,

of my father's new chamber, and my brother's cattle-run.

I hit my foot upon a stone, my toe against a maple tree.

I wept until the stone got motley and cried until the tree got coloured.

A golden one came to bid me home, a silver one to take me away.

I didn't listen to the golden one's bidding nor did I let the silver one take me.

Let my youngest brother come or at least the middle one.

The youngest brother did come, the youngest one, the smallest one. He harnessed a pair of horses and he fixed a filly at the back. He put his sister in the sleigh, he got her into the corner of the sled. He lashed the stallion with the whip, he beat the horse with a pearled scourge. The horse ran fast and the ride went well, the sleigh slid smoothly, the distance shrank. They reached the yard of the Moon, the lane of the Sun herself. The daughter of the Moon is weaving. she's weaving a golden cloth, she's letting the silver glitter. The golden thread snapped, the silver thread glittered but once. The maiden burst out crying.

The maiden cried and the tears did fall, the tears ran down, down from her blue eyes to her red cheeks.

The maiden cried and the tears did fall, the tears ran down, down her red cheeks to the gleaming flaps of her coat.

The maiden cried and the tears did fall, the tears ran down, down from her gleaming flaps and on to the ground.

three rivers and three hills took their source, and three birch-trees on the hill.

Three cockoos came flying to the boughs of the three birch-trees.

The first cockoo was calling like gold, the second one hailed like silver.

the second one hailed like silver, the third one stirred in mourning. The one that was calling like gold

was my dear father.

The one that stirred in mourning

In that place

se oli ehtoisa emmoini. Migä haasteli hoppehin, se oli vedroi velvüeni.

3. Pulmalaul

Marojani, oidai, Marojani, Marojani, sisojani. Kuin miä saoin tään kessooja, oidai, tään miä vootta, tään miä vootta vongoittelin: "Tiimmä linnan liivigolle, oidai, Kaarossan vaa, Kaarossan kölän kaulle Sinn ei tunne koisoid tulla, oidai, piippumiihed, piippumiihed pistiellä." Siä vaa vaiden vastaelid, oidai, siä vaa vaiden. siä vaa vaiden vastaelid: "Miul o miikka miissassani, oidai, ja on kirppi, ja on kirppi kirssossani. Miä lüün koisoid koolluksihe. oidai, piippumiihed, piippumiihed maaha pissän."

4. Poeg või tätar?

Kui miä sünnimaalle sünnüin, onnimaalle annettihe, kaig olttii kaivod kuivanehed, lähtiid i lägähtünehed. Ei ollud millä minnua pessä, eigä vaa millä huuhtehella. Miun emmoine miun i pesi, pesi hää miun i küünelillä.

Isoi tuli katsomaha, küsüi hää saunan ikkunasta: "Midä siule Loojoi loi ja midä vaa andoi armoilline? Loiga Loojoi kündäjäistä, andoiga adran kandajaista?" Emoi vaiden vastaeli, vaiden vastaha läkkäisi: "Ei vaa loonud Loojoi kündäj ähä, eig anttand adran kandajaha. Andoi astijan pessiijän, talvipougun pursuttajan."

Isoi vaa vaiden vastaeli, vaiden vastaha läkkäisi: "Vii siä tüttäres vettehe, kanna vaa lapses Laugahasse." was my darling mother. The one that hailed like silver was my nimble brother.

3. Wedding Song

Maroi, my sister, oidai, Maroi, Maroi, my sister! I was telling you all last summer, oidai, and wailing the whole, and wailing the whole year through: "Let us build our abode in the sands, oidai, let us build it. let us build it in the Kaarosta village street. That's the place where the suitors won't come, oidai, and the pipe-smokers, and the pipe-smokers will not reach." But you replied, oidai, but you, but you replied: "I've got a sword in a bushel, oidai, and a shield, and a shield in the chest. I'll put the suitors to death. oidai, and bury the pipe-smokers, and bury the pipe-smokers deep."

4. A Son or a Daughter?

When I was born into my native land and delivered into this happy world the wells had all been drained and even the springs were dried up. There was nothing to wash me with or to rinse me with.

Still my mother did wash me, she washed me with her own tears.

My father came to look at me and asked through the sauna window: "What is it that God has created, our merciful Lord has given you? Has he created a ploughman, has he given you a tiller of land?" But mother answered and said in reply: "God did not create a ploughman nor did he give me a tiller of land. He gave me a washer of dishes and a rinser of winter washing."

But father answered and said in reply: "Throw your daughter into the water, carry her to the Lauga River." Emmoin ei jaksand tooda tehä, hää vaa minnua kandoi kailaisessa, kaksin käsin kätküvessä, viisin sormuisin vivussa.

5. Sõduriks võtmine

Meije vaa kudroipää kunigas, meije valloin vanhemikkoi lennätteli lehtiä ja paugutti paberillooja. Üksi vaa viiri vettä müüdä, toine tuiski tuulda müüdä, kolmannehen postilla porotti kohallehe kontturihe. Midä on kirjaha luettu, paberihe paugudettu? Sidä on kirjaha luettu, paberihe paugudettu: treevudaha soldattia meijen poolen poigoloista, mainidaha madrossia meijen valloin valgoipiistä.

Toottii poigoi noorissosta, noor vaa noorien seasta, hiuksed maha hilloittihe, liiminaista leigoittihe. Viittii oppihe ommeena, viittii marjoi marssimaha.

Poigoi oppihe männöhö pühä aamulla varra.
Lensi toosta joutsenjoukko ja pakkeeni hanhipartti.
Joutsiendi, joomuendi, hanhoin näöllissendi, viikkää miun emoille viisti, saakkaa tii sana isoille.
Hüvä on olla soldattin i kaunoi püssün kandajan i.
Pühäd vaa püssüjä puhassa, ared vaa käyvä ambumassa.
Pühäd süvvää püülihhooja, ared ankkarakallooja.

Ku tulloo vaa soovotta sorriia, lavvantakki valgijaine, külmä vaa löülü külvedähä, vari vasta havvedaha, punapaidoi annedaha.

6. Oh, ma vaene poisike!

Ai miä polloine poiga, jovvuin kolmehe kovvaaha. My mother could never do it.
She carried me in her arms
and cradled me with her two hands
and rocked the cradle with her five fingers.

5. The Conscript

Our King, the curly-plate, our aged ruler shot the sheets of orders, let the papers fly. One slid along the water, another whirled with the wind, a third one was raced by post straight to the office. What was written in that letter and engrossed on that paper? That was written on that paper and engrossed on that paper: soldiers will be drafted from among our lads, sailors will be wanted from among our fair-haired boys.

A lad was chosen from among the young, a Youth out of the other youths. His hair was cropped, his soft hair was all cut. The pet, he was taken to drill, the duck, he was made to march.

As the lad went to a drill
early one Sunday morning,
a flock of swans did fly over,
a flock of geese did take off.
My dear swans,
my dear geese,
take a message to my mother,
pass the word to my father.
It's good to be a soldier
it's nice to carry a gun.
On rest-days you are to clean the gun,
on work-days you go shooting.
On Sundays there's grouse to sup,
on work-days there's fish of eel.

And when the precious Saturday comes, the happy eve of a holiday, a steamy bath is prepared, a hot whisk is steeped, and a red shirt is given.

6. O, Poor Boy that I Am!

O, poor boy that I am, three misfortunes have befallen me.

Jovvuin kolmehe kovvaaha, kaheksaha kargijaha: heboisehe hirnuvaha, venehesse voodavaha, naisseehe kusirippaaha.

Ai miä polloine poiga, kui miä pääsisin kolmesta kovasta, kaheksasta kargijasta? Tuli susi, söi heppoisen, tuli taudi, tappoi naisen, noisi besi, vei venneehen.

7. Suu laulis, süda muretses

En miä laulella luvannud. iloella en ensigää. Jovvuin noor miä nooristoho, noor miä noorien sekkaa. Käsettihe laulamaha, panttihe pajattammaa. Laidoin miä suuni laulamaha, itseni iloittammaa. Suu lauloi, süän murehti. silmäd vettä viirettiid. Silmäd vettä viirettiid ja posed lainehi lattood. . Vakka on süttä miun vatsassani, siigla süttä süämessä. Vaik en verga kellegähä, en kaihoo kahellegaa. En miä verga velloilleni, sirguda siarellee. Engä kaippaa kaimalleni, en konneele koomal-...

Ku miä kaippaan kaimalleni ja konneelen koomallee. kooma nii kogo külälle, kaima kaigelle väel. Jovvuin metsähä kesoilla. kesk kesoil varil ajal. Siis kaihoon kattaajapuille, leboin oksille läkkään. Leboin oksille läkkään ja koivun oksille konneel. Koivun oksille konneelen. kiven juuri kirjuttee. Nood ei verga kellegähä eik kaihoo kahellegaa. Tusad kaik tuuloidan meroille, halud kaik lasen lainehe. Siis ei tunne üksigähä, ümmerrä üheksängää.

Three misfortunes have befallen me, eight mishaps have come upon me: a neighing horse, a leaking boat, a wretched wife.

O, poor boy that I am, how could I escape the three misfortunes, and the eight mishaps? A wolf came and devoured the horse, a disease came and killed the wife, the water rose and carried away the boat.

7. My Mouth Was Singing, My Heart Was Worrying

I never promised to sing, nor in the least to make merry. But I was Young amoung the young and Youth amidst the other youth. I was made to sing and compelled to recite. I set my mouth to sing and prepared myself to make merry. My mouth was singing, my heart was worrying, my eyes they shed tears. My eyes they shed tears and my cheeks they rose up in waves. There's a scuttle of coal in my belly, a sieveful of coal in my heart, although I tell no-one nor complain to anybody. I do not tell my brother, I do not breathe to my sister nor do I complain to my kinsmen nor confess anything to my godparents.

If I complained to my kinsmen or confessed anything to my godparents, the kinsmen would tell the whole village the godparents to all the folk around. I'll go to the woods in summer, in the hot midsummer time. There I complain to the juniper-trees and tell the alder boughs. I tell the alder boughs and confess to the birchboughs. I confess to the birchboughs and write on the base of a stone. These will tell nobody nor complain to anyone. I let the wind of the seas carry away my grief and pass all my troubles to the waves. Then no-one will know. nine won't note the truth.

8. Mõõk merest

Ku miä kannaine kasvoin, noisin neidoi noorikkaine, kasvoi miule kassoi pitkä, kassa pitkä, tukkoi tuima, hius on hiljoi hiinokkaine, pellovaspio pittuusse, meroinba vaahe valgehusse. Mänin miä ranttoihe kesoilla, kesk kesoilla heinajoilla, parahilla paistehilla. Istuisin meroi kivoille, rannoil miä paahelle pammaahin. Odin lavvan polvilleen ja harodin halluised hiuksed haluisille hardijoille.

Tuli tuuli aimon tuimoi ja meroi viihkura vihhaine. Tšulbahti sugoi meroihe. Kallistaisin katsomaa ja painuttaisin ottamaaha. Tšulbahin suoin jälestä kaglast nas kalan kuttuhu, kulgust nas kalan uijuhu. Puuttui vaa miikkoi kaglahan ja sen miä miigoin maalle kannoin isännien ikkunalle, emännien assunnalle. Isännäd ihmettelööd ja emännäd ajattelovad: Kust see miikkoi? Siild see miikkoi. miikkoi on meroista tuudu, avannoist on ammullettu. See on miikkoi miistä süünüd. miistä süünd ja verdä juunud, kalamiihen kaglaluida ja sodamiihen sormiluida

9. Ussisõnad

Küümäläin, käämäläin, musta mado maan allain, kirjava kulon allain, halgi mättähän männijä, luulid puuda purraksees ja paijua pannessaas, koivua kogadaksees, — et tuu püüda purrutkaa, et paijua pannutkaa, koivua et kogannud. Panid siivodan siseest, panid ihmisen siseest.

8. The Sword from the Sea

When I, a chick, was growing up, a young maid, I was not yet of age, I had a long plait of hair, a long plait and a thick forelock and every hair was the thinnest of the thin, as long as flax, as white as sea foam.

I went to the seashore in summer, in midsummer, haymaking time under the pleasant sunshine.

I sat down on a stone,
I sank down on the limestone bank.
I put a board on my knees and let my hair down upon my frail shoulders.

A very strong wind sprang up, a wrathful wind of the seas. My comb plopped into the sea. I bent down to look and stooped to take it up. I plopped in after the comb up to my neck into fish spawn, up to my throat into fish roe. A sword did touch my neck. I carried the sword to the shore. to the masters' yard, to the mistresses' pathways. The masters marvel. the mistresses wonder: "Where has the sword come from?" The sword is from over there, the sword is brought from the sea, from the unfrozen patch of water. This is a sword that has eaten men. it has eaten men and drunk their blood, it has broken the neckbones of fishermen and fingerbones of fighting men.

9. The Spell Against the Snake

Little hisser, little biter,
you black snake of the underground,
pied dweller of the undergrowth,
penetrator of turf,
you thought you were biting a treetrunk,
stinging a willow,
striking a birch.
But no, you did not bite a treetrunk,
you did not sting a willow
nor did you strike a birch.
You bit a dumb beast,
you stung at a human being.

Tuu mettä kiirees pääl, alla vaskisen navvaas.
Kül miä tiijän siun kus kottiis,—hongo hoolmes hoonehees, paju juures siun pessääs, kiven juures siun kottiis.
Vii vihad männessääs, tuu tervüd tullessaas.

10. Undarmoi ja Kalervoi

Mäni miisi kündämähä, maan rajoille raadamaa. Künsi kümmenä vakkoa, ja vakkoi sada vakkoo, ja vakkoi sada vakkoa ühen kannon ümbäril. ühen kannon ümbärille. Halkkeesi kando kaheeks. Halkkeesi kando kaheeksi, sündüi kaksi poigoilast. Üks vaa Unnoissa ülleeni, toine kasvoi Karjalaas. Migä Unnoissa ülleeni, se ülleeni Undarmoiks, migä kasvoi Karjalaasi, se kasvoi Kalervigoiks.

Kalervikkoi kagran külvi Undarmoin oven ettee. Undarmoilla musta uukko kaik söi Kalervoin kagran . Kalervoilla kartsu koira mursi uugon Undarmoin. Undoi suuttui ja vihastui, nosti soan sormistaa, nosti soan sormistaa ja väen varbahaisistaa, väen varbahaisistaa ja kansan kandasoonistaa

Niin katsoo Kalervoin naive oven suusta, ikkunaast: migä sinttäähää sinniine, migä punttaahaa punnain? Sinttäähää sinniine pilvi, punttaahaa punnaine päiv. Niin katsoo Kalervoi itse oven suusta, ikkunaast: ei sint 'tää sinniine pilvi eik punttaa punnaine päiv, sinttäähää sinisinneeli, punttaahaa punnaine kaagl.

Undarmoi sodoi tullooho Kalervoja tappamaa. Bring quickly some honey to rub in under your copper navel. I know well where you live, your dwelling is in a pine hollow, your burrow under a willow's roots, your home underneath a stone. Take away the woe as you go, bring health as you come.

10. Undarmoi and Kalervoi

A man went to plough, to till the face of the earth. He made ten furrows, he managed a hundred furrows. He managed a hundred furrows around a stump, around a stump. The stump split in two, the stump split in two and two boys were born. One of them grew up in Undoila, the other was brought up in Karjala. He that grew up in Undoila came to be called Undarmoi, he that was brought up in Karjala came to be called Kalervikkoi.

Kalervikkoi sowed oats at the door of Undarmoi. Undarmoi's black ewe ate up Kalervoi's oats. Kalervoi's wicked dog tore Undarmoi's ewe. Undoi flew into rage and passion, he changed his fingers into fighters, he changed his fingers into fighters and his toes into troops, his toes into troops and the sinews of his heels into crowds.

Kalervoi's wife stared out of the door and the window:
What is it that looks so blue?
What is it that looks so red?
It's a cloud that looks so blue,
It's the Sun that looks so red.
Kalervoi himself stares out of the door and the window:
It isn't a cloud that looks so blue,
It isn't the Sun that looks so red.
It's the soldiers' coats that look blue,
It's the coats' collars that look red.

Undarmoi's troops are coming to slay the Kalervois.

Tappoi piined, tappoi suured, tappoi vanhad i vakkaad, piined lapsed peittehis ja hullud lapsed hundulois.

Jäi viii hullu hunduloihe, piini lapsi peittehii.
Poigoi istuhuu tudussa, kädüd pärnäin ipärriis, kädüd pärnäin ipärriis ja vibu vingui vaahteriin.
Paidoi päällä aivinain i aivinain ja valgijain.

Tuumajaad, ajattelood i – kuhu pojoin panneeneemm? Kuhu pojoin panneenemma? Viskaamma pojoin tullee. Visattii poigoi tulleehe – ei poigoi tulessa kool. Poigoi istuhuu tulessa, kuldakoukkuine käees, kuldakoukkuine käees ja kegelehhiä kerttelöö.

Tuumajaad, ajattelood i – kuhu pojoin panneeneemm? Kuhu pojoin panneenemma? Viskaamma pojoin vettee. Visattii poigoi vetteehe – ei poigoi veessä kool. Poigoi istuhuu venoissa, kuldaairoist ikäees, kuldaairoist ikäees ja merenvettä soltšikkoi.

Tuumajaad, ajattelood i — kuhu pojoin panneeneemm? Kuhu pojoin panneenemma? Paamma pojoin paimeneeks. Paamma pojoin paimeneksi, sikkoini siguttajaaks, sikkoini siguttajaaks ja vasikkoini vahtijaaks. Poigoi istuhuu kivoilla, luttu suus i lehmäluust. Soitteloo ja loitteloo ja truval truvitteloo.

The big and the small were slain, the old and the meek were slain, little children under blankets and babes in their swaddle.

One babe stayed alive in his swaddle, a little child under a blanket. The boy sits in a cradle, the lime-tree cradle creaks, the lime-tree cradle creaks and the maple bow swishes. He has on a linen shirt, a shirt linen and white.

They think and ponder:
What shall we do with the boy?
What shall we do with the boy?
Let us throw the boy into the fire.
They threw the boy into the fire, but the boy does not die in the fire.
He sits in the fire
holding a golden poker,
holding a golden poker and
rolling firebands.

They think and ponder:
What shall we do with the boy?
What shall we do with the boy?
Let us throw the boy into the water.
They threw the boy into the water, but the boy does not die in the water.
He sits in the boat,
holding golden oars,
holding golden oars and
splashing the salty water.

They think and ponder:
What shall we do with the boy?
What shall we do with the boy?
Let us make him a herdsboy.
Let us make him a herdsboy and let us make him look after the pigs.
Let us make him look after the pigs and watch over the calves.
The boy sits on a stone, blowing a horn of cow's bone.
Playing and whistling and blowing a horn.

Ingrian Evenings

Ingerimaa õhtud

1. Röntyskälaulu I

Täst se laulu ennen lähti, lähtöö nytkin vielä.

Heila laulaa itsekii ja minnuukaa ei kiellä.

Mie oon tässä laulamassa ensimmäistä kertaa. Älkää saako sanomista neulansilmän vertaa. Vaik en ole virren seppä voin mie värssyn vettää. Enkä mie nois virsissääni panettele kettää. Mitä mie käyn laulamaa ko unehutin nuotin. Kyläkattuu kävelleissäin nuottikirjan puotin.

Niin mie tällä iänelläin ko kantelella soitan. Laulullain ja naurullain mie surupäivät voitan. Tälläisiä laulajii ko pari kolme oisi,

saisit myyvvä kylän pojat hanurinsa poisi.

Laulelen ja rallattelen, suremaa en huoli. Ei oo tyttö surevaine, viel on tyttö nuori.

2. Röntyskälaulu II

Nyt se lähtöö toine nuotti, kiännetää jo kolmii. Mie en vieraan heilan kerall rakkautta solmi. Kuin ois kivirappunen, nii siihen tallajaisin. Kuin ois vakituinen heila, sitä halajaisin. Mitä maata kulkemas se tytön heila lienee?

Kuka hänen vieressänsä vihityksi lienee? Rakkaus ko rautalanka, heila älä taita. Älä surusanomia sie minulle laita.

Heila heitti, heittäköö, kai Herra huolen pittää.

Paljon poikii maailmalla, rakastelen niitä.

Niin mie tällä iänelläin ko vettä vierettelen. Louhkii poikii mie suvaitsen, kehnoi kierettelen. Tulkaa hyvät kylän ihmist lauluu kuuntelemmaa. Älkää mänkö ympär kyllää minnuu huutelemmaa.

3. Röntyskälaulu III

Alistulla alkamaa ja aalintulla tuomaa.

Itse hyvä laulamaa ja heila hyvä juomaa. Kuule heitä viinanjuonto, heitä sie se poisi,

Ingrian Evenings

1. Röntyshkä (A dance song) I

This is where the song began and where it starts today

When my lover sings the song he lets me have a say too

I am singing here today but I am only little.

Don't complain about me if I lose a jot or tittle.

Though I am no mighty bard I spin a song out gladly.

In my songs I never speak of anybody badly.

What am I to sing, for I have left my notes behind me?

I have dropped them in the lane where they will never find me.

Here I carol, here I sing and play upon the zither. Days of trouble I defeat with song and joy together. If there were a few more singers, two or three between us,

Then the village boys could stop and sell their concertinos.

So I sing and so I carol, I am far from sorrow. I'm a cheerful girl and looking forward to tomorrow.

2. Röntyshkä II

Now a second song begins, and after it another. I will never tie the knot with someone else's lover. If I had a step of stone upon it I'd be pacing. If I had a steady lover him I'd be embracing. Where oh where on earth a maiden's lover does he tarry?

Who is standing at his side when he's about to marry? Love is like an iron thread: beloved do not bend it!

Do not say unhappy things that make me want to end it!

I've been left alone. All right: let God above protect me

There are lots of boys: I'll look for one who won't reject me.

Here I carol, here I sing and leave my songs to flow by. Lively boys I like, to others I will give the go-by. Come you kindly villagers and hear my jubilation. Do not go about the place and wreck my reputation!

3. Röntyshkä III

Listen to me for a start and you'll hear what I'm thinking.

I am good at singing and my love is good at drinking. Listen, give your boozing up and throw away the bottle. jottei piätäs kivistäisi, pohmelo ain oisi.

Ei se lähe tämä tyttö joka sukelille,

mikä aina suuta antaa joka putelille.

4. Liekkulaulu I

Ja juhannuksen aikana se päivä on ko ruusu.

Ja ei miun heilain heleätä iäntä täl kylällä kuulu.

Ja juhannuksen aikana on päivä lämpymämpi.

Ja viisitoistavuotisen on tyttö hempijämpi. Ja viisitoistavuotisenna tyttö'i tietä mittää.

Ja minkälaiset surupäivät hänen nähhä pittää.

Ja niin mie tällä iänelläin ko kantelella soitan. Ja laulullain ja naurullain mie surupäivät voitan.

Ja hyvä miun on laulella ko helijä on iäni,

ja valta poikii valita ko levijä on liäni.

5. Liekkulaulu II

A rannal kohvii keitettii ja sulatettii voita

A tooval näkkyy tulova ja punaposkipoika.

A laivoil miä oon syntynyt ja laivoille oon lootu. A laivoin kipparin kannen pääl ja ristijäist on jootu

A katsoin laivoin ikkunasta, ruutu oli rikki.

A kultain käveli rannalla ja katkerast too itki.

6. Piirileikkilaulu

Tytöt ne istuvat siliällä sillalla.
Pojat ne kysyvät: saankos tulla illalla?
Älä tule illalla, siskoni tuntee,
siskoni sinulta oven i suljee.
Älä tule aamulla, äitini näkee,
äitini ajaa sinut käpälämäkee.
Älä tule yöllä, isäni kuulee,
isäni sinut i rosmoksi luulee.
Tule vaan päivällä kaikkien nähten,
sitten sun kanssasi maailmalle lähten.

Then your head will ache no more and you I will not throttle.

Here's a girl who will not marry one who likes the boozer.

Who prefers to kiss the bottle, he will be the loser!

4. Chastushka (A jocular song) I

And at midsummer time the sun as any rose is blooming.

And yet my lover's melodious voice I cannot hear it booming.

And at midsummer time the sun is growing ever warmer.

And now a girl of fairest face is looking for a charmer. And yet a girl of fairest face she has no way of knowing,

And just how many days of trouble may for her be brewing.

And here I carol, here I sing and play upon the zither. And days of trouble I defeat with song and joy together.

And good it is for me to sing, for full of tune my voice is.

And there are many boys about, so I have lots of choices!

5. Chastushka II

Ah, on the shore they're making coffee, butter too is flowing.

Ah, to the cabin comes a boy and both his cheeks are glowing.

Ah, I was born aboard a ship, for ships I was created. Ah, on the captain's deck I was baptized, and now I'm fated.

Ah, I was looking through the porthole, but the glass was broken.

Ah, my beloved on the shore with bitter tears was choking.

6. Roundelay

Girls they are sitting upon the floor and talking. Boys they are asking them, "May we go a-walking?" Do not come at evening, my sister will know you. Straight from the doorway my sister will throw you. Do not come at morning, my mother will face you. Into the forest my mother will chase you. Do not come at nighttime, my father will meet you. Then like a robber my father will treat you. When it is day come and everyone sees you, Then I will follow wherever it'll please you.

7. Röntyskälaulu IV

Antakai ko mie alotan virren virkijämmän. Heila ottaa uuven heilan minnuu ilkijämmän. Sorja poika sopotti, jot käy miun heilakseni.

Mie ko tuota turhaks luulin, en olt kuullakseini. Suur ja sorja tytön heila, pitkä hoikka poika.

Vaik ei ommain olekaa, ni onnijain mie koitan. Heila herja on niin sorja, hiukset kikkurassa, hiä on käynyt monta kertoo huoneen ikkunassa. Heila sanoo: siun mie otan, vaikket ole sorja,

kukapas ne ilkijät ja köyhän lapset korjaa. Heila rakas söi ja makas meijen rovatilla, nyt hiä raukka makajaa jo ruunun palatilla.

Sitäviisii tytön pittää poikaa rakastella,

eron tullen pojan pittää perrää pahotella. Vancuks sannoot heilajain, mut se on ihan vale, ei ne kelpaa vancupojat ruunun kiäjen ale. Heila astuu arpalavval – herrat naurahtelliit, voi kuin sorjii sotapoikii ämmät kasvattelliit!

Kuin se käis se sotaherraa luppaa antelemmaa, lähtisin mie heilalleni pyssyy kantelemmaa. Mihin veivät oman heilan, siel on meret suuret,

siel ei muuta olekaa ko hiä ja pohjantuulet.

Heila ko läks sotilaaksi, suattamassa käini. Rautatielle relssin piälle itkemää mie jäini. Jo nyt joutaa huone ramppii pannaa tuvan uksee,

kerta vievät oman heilan sotapalvelukseen.

8. Röntyskälaulu V

Kyl mie tiijän miten suan ämmät kuhajammaa, lähen yhen pojan keral nurkkaa nuhajammaa. Halasin ja salasin ja senki saivat tietää jotta salarakkautta heilan keral pietää.

Kylän ämmät konttii kantaat, kantakoot vaik seulaa.

Tyttö viijään tähän kyllää suuren maantien reunaa

Heila sanoo: tule meille, meil on hyvä ellää, meil on keppi sekä säkki, käy kyläl ja kerrää.

7. Röntyshkä IV

By your leave I'll sing a song, a ditty full of pity, For my love has met a girl who's not by half so pretty. Handsome boy, he whispered, wanted me to be his lover,

But I thought it meaningless, he couldn't talk me over. Large and handsome is her love, a fellow tall and slender.

He may not belong to me but I will make him tender. Rascal lover, he is handsome and his hair is curly, Many times I heard him step below my window early. He declared: I'll marry you although you are no beauty.

Someone has to cast away the dud ones out of duty! My beloved in our beds has eaten and has slumbered, But among the soldiers sleeping rough he is now numbered.

Clever girls have got to love their boys in such a manner.

They will go unwillingly to march beneath the banner. Sissy they have called my love, but what a story this is! For the army could not manage with a load of sissies! My beloved drew his lot, the masters were delighted: Oh what splendid soldier boys the mothers have provided.

Should the warlord let me near the lad I mean to marry, I would go away with him, his rifle I would carry. Where now have they taken him? Towards the deep blue ocean,

There is his alone with just the northern wind's commotion.

When I saw my lover off into the battle's keeping, On the railway track I stood a-wailing and a-weeping. Now the cabin's empty and the bolts I must be shooting,

Since they took away my lover for the Tsar's recruiting.

8. Röntyshkä V

I know how to stir the gossips up into a riot: With a boy I'll go away and love him on the quiet. Oh we had it and we hid it, yet they heard about it, Heard about our secret love and they could only shout it.

Let the village gossips talk and I will do it my way:

I am off towards a village just beside the highway.

Come to us, my lover says, we'll make a merry living; And so we will have to thrive on what the folk are giving.

9. Lopetus ja kotiinlähtö

Mie oon tässä laulamassa ensimmäistä kertaa. Älkää saako sanomista neulansilmän vertaa. Vaik en ole virren seppä voin mie värssyn vettää. Enkä mie nois virsissääni panettele kettää. Mitä mie käyn laulamaa ko unehutin nuotin. Kyläkattuu kävelleissäin nuottikirjan puotin. Niin mie tällä iänelläin ko kantelella soitan.

Laulullain ja naurullain mie surupäivät voitan. Loppuu sekä lopetettaa laulu sekä leikki. Näkkyy se ko näytetää se rakkauven merkki.

9. Ending and Going Home

I am singing here today but I am only little. Don't complain about me if I lose a jot or tittle. Though I am no mighty bard I spin a song out gladly. In my songs I never speak of anybody badly. What am I to sing, for I have left my notes behind me? I have dropped them in the lane where they will never find me. Here I carol, here I sing and play upon the zither.

Days of trouble I defeat with song and joy together. Now the song is over and the sun it is descending. Now the game is over too, but love is neverending.

Vepsian Paths

Vepsa rajad

1.Õekene, sirgukene

Tšitškoht'em, tšiberoht'em, astuhtagam, mänehtagam, joksehtagam, олеhtagam kuudaižiimu kujoižiimu, rahaižiimu randaižiimu. Ukahtagam, haлahtagam, ii ken mišpää n'i kul'ištaiž. Kul'išt', kul'išt' s'ötäe tatkoo suren kasken tšaptessaaze.

Tšitškoht'em, tšiberoht'em, astuhtagam, mänehtagam, joksehtagam, oлehtagam kuudaižiimu kujoižiimu, rahaižiimu randaižiimu. Ukahtagam, haлahtagam, ii ken mišpää n'i kul'ištaii Kul'išt', kul'išt' s'ötäe mamkoo suren paлan rahndessaaze.

Tšitškoht'em, tšiberoht'em, astuhtagam, mänehtagam, joksehtagam, onehtagam kuudaižiimu kujoižiimu, rahaižiimu randaižiimu. Ukahtagam, hanahtagam, ii ken mišpää n'i kul'ištaiž. Kul'išt', kul'išt' s'ötäe veikoo suroo or'hoo küntessaaze.

Tšitškoht'em, tšiberoht'em, astuhtagam, mänehtagam, joksehtagam, олеhtagam kuudaižiimu kujoižiimu,

Vepsian Paths

1. My Sister, My Little Cricket

My sister, my little cricket, let us go awhile, let us stride awhile, let us run awhile, let us stand awhile on the golden paths, on the silver slopes. Let us hop awhile, let us shout awhile so that no one would hear us. But our father heard us, dear father did when chopping wood for burn-beating.

My sister, my little cricket, let us go awhile, let us stride awhile, let us run awhile, let us stand awhile on the golden paths, on the silver slopes. Let us hop awhile, let us shout awhile so that no one would hear us. But our mother heard us, dear mother did when reaping in a wide field.

My sister, my little cricket, let us go awhile, let us stride awhile, let us run awhile, let us stand awhile on the golden paths, on the silver slopes.

Let us hop awhile, let us shout awhile so that no one would hear us.

But our brother heard us, dear brother did when guiding a plough drawn by a big stallion.

My sister, my little cricket, let us go awhile, let us stride awhile, let us run awhile, let us stand awhile on the golden paths, rahaižiimu randaižiimu. Ukahtagam, hanahtagam, ii ken mišpää n'i kul'ištaiž. Kul'išt', kul'išt' s'ötäe tšitškoo tanhaa pöühän vizudes.

2. Venesse pürgiv neiu

Ül'ez katsun, päivoi paštab, anez katsun, venoi soudab. Ken hän nakka soudneze? Da i rodimij mamuško. Oi, mamuško, kandjuško, da ota sinä venoihe! Ene tütöim sijaštein. Da itše ištun pereižes, jougeižed ne n'eneižes, da käduded ne meneižes. Sormuz'il' ni sojadan da piignoižil' ni peradan. Oi, mamuško, kandjuško! Da ene tütöim sijaštein.

3. Taevased kosilased

Andab, andab s'ötäe tatkoo päivoin' taga mehoil'e. En mä mäne, s'ötäe tatkoo, päivoin' taga mehoil'e. pit'kiikš päiviikš paštmha.

Andab, andab s'ötäe tatkoo kudmoin' taga mehoil'e. En mä mäne, s'ötäe tatkoo, kudmoin' taga mehoil'e. pit'kiikš öikš kuštatamha.

Andab, andab s'ötäe tatkoo tähtoin' taga mehoil'e. En mä mäne, s'ötäe tatkoo, tähtoin' taga mehoil'e. pit'kiikš öikš pil'kitamha.

Andab, andab s'ötäe tatkoo pil'voin' taga mehoil'e. En mä mäne, s'ötäe tatkoo, pil'voin' taga mehoil'e. pit'kiikš öikš pimitamha.

Andab, andab s'ötäe tatkoo zor'oin' taga mehoil'e.
Vot, mä mänen, s'ötäe tatkoo, zor'oin' taga mehoil'e.
Kun'i zor'oi zorise, sin'i mä i sobime, kun'i zor'oi zorise,

on the silver slopes. Let us hop awhile, let us shout awhile so that no one would hear us. But our sister heard us, dear sister did when thrashing flax in the barn.

2. The Maid Striving to the Boat

I look up, the sun is shining,
I look down, a boat is gliding.
Who is rowing the boat?
It's my own mother.
Oh mother, my birth-giver,
Take me into the boat!
I have no room there, my daughter,
I myself, sit in the stern,
my feet they are in the prow,
my hands they're holding the oars.
My fingers they're rowing,
my thumbs they're steering.
Oh mother, my birth-giver!
I have no room here, my daughter.

3. The Heavenly Suitors

Father, my dear father wants to give me in marriage to the Sun.
I'm not going to, dear father,
I'm not going to marry the Sun to shine in the sky day after day.

Father, my dear father wants to give me in marriage to the Moon. I'm not going to, dear father, I'm not going to marry the Moon to shimmer in the sky night after night.

Father, may dear father wants to give me in marriage to the Star.
I'm not going to, dear father,
I'm not going to marry the Star to twinkle in the sky night after night.

Father, my dear father wants to give me in marriage to the Cloud.
I'm not going to, dear father,
I'm not going to marry the Cloud to darken the world night after night.

Father, dear father wants to give me in marriage to the Dawn.
Yes, dear father,
I'm going to marry the Dawn.
When the day is dawning
I get dressed,
when the day is dawning

sin'i mä i лаd'ime. Sio.

4. Läksin mina Kikoilasse

Astuin min'ä Kikoiлаha. рипогітої Ргокоїлана. Prok se vastha da Prok se kritšeižen. kritšeižen min'ä Tamoil'e da Tamoi se tahtheižen, tahtheižen min'ä tšugoil'e da tšugoi se sugassuden, sugassuden ombl'ijале. ombl'ijein'e kindheižen, kindheižen hougon tšapjeižeле, hougon tšapjein'e hougeižen, hougeižen pätšoihe da pätšoi se kivuden, kivuden jogoihe da jogoi se joršižen.

5. Kukku ja kuku

Anda, kägoi, bardaštain! Kuku ka kuku. Kuna siniiž bardain'e? Vikatehen viheлtä. Kuku ka kuku. Kuna siniiž vikatehud? Hiin'äin'e nittä. Kuku ka kuku. Kuna siniiž hiin'äin'e? Lehmain'e s'öttä. Kuku ka kuku. Kuna siniiž lehmain'e?

Maidoin'e l'üpstä. Kuku ka kuku.

Kuna siniiž maidoin'e?

Kašain'e kiittä. Kuku ka kuku. Kuna siniiž kašaine? Korain'e s'öttä. Kuku ka kuku.

Kuna siniiž koirain'e? Õravain'e nutta.

Kuku ka kuku.

Kuna siniiž oravain'e?

G'ärmankaлo vedä,

barõšad otta,

Andrjušenkaло toda tšömä kostäm, hüvä garmoink,

tšömäd botinkad,

pähä šl'äp, vävüd koda t'äp. I get ready. That's all.

4. I Went to Kikoila

I was going to Kikoila, then I turned to Prokoila. On the way I met a Prok and he gave me a spear, I gave the spear to Tamoi, Tamoi gave me some dough, the dough I gave to the pig, the pig gave me a bristle, the bristle I took to the cobbler, the cobbler gave me a leather mitten, the mitten I gave to the woodcutter, the woodcutter gave me a log, I put the log in the stove, the stove it gave me a stone, the stone I carried to the river and the river gave me a ruff.

5. Cuckoo and Cuckoo

Give me some of your beard, cuckoo!

Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need my beard for?

To sharpen my scythe. Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need a scythe for?

To make hay.

Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need the hay for?

To feed the cow. Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need the cow for?

To get milk.

Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need the milk for?

To make porridge. Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need the porridge for?

To feed the dog. Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need the dog for?

To bark at a squirrel. Cuckoo and cuckoo.

What do you need a squirrel for?

To take to market, and get a good price. To buy Andrjushenka

a fine suit,

a good concertina, a nice pair of boots,

a new hat,

a plug for the father-in-law.

Mise ii pereiž. Kaik.

6. Läksin mina veele

Läks'in min'ä vedeло, edeлezo meheло Trikun-Sakun poigan taga, mudaivet g'ömhä, hauginkaлad s'ömhä. Kaik.

7. Kiisu-miisu

Kissoi, kassoi, kuna män'id?
Mereлe.
Min said?
Pün sain.
Kuna panid?
Patsahan pähä.
Ken süi?
Koir süi.
Koirad koukou, kažid kavazлudou, hir't hijamou, haragad havadou.

8. Laulda teile lauluke

Pajatada pajoin'e, kriitsan as se ojain'e, ojaižes se l'ähtkud, lähtkudes se kätkud, kätkudes se ларsud, da ларsudoo se sarvud, sarvudes se maidoin'e. Kaik jo ku i pajoin'e.

9. Kus sa täna magasid?

Tutuin'e, лиtuin'e, kus s'ä t'äлои magaz'id? Ponomar'in pordheiżil', dijakan nit'üizil', papin pidoizil'. Mida kuлub sin'n'apei? Marja tegi ларsen. Kut kutstas ларsen? Tsar' i pan'i Kostjaks. Koza hüppäs', kazi hvat'i. Kuna kazi uid'i? Jogedme joks'i. Kuna jogi uid'i?

To stop him from farting. That's all.

6. I Went for the Water

I went for the water, got married far away to the son of Trik-Sak muddy water to drink there, pike fish to eat there. That's all.

7. Pussy-Cat

Pussy-cat, pussy-cat,
Where did you go?
To the sea I did go.
What did you catch there?
A partridge I caught there.
Where did you put it?
On top of the stove.
Who ate it?
The dog ate it.
The dog got hit with the poker, the cat with the broom, the mouse with the sleeve, the magpie with a sack.
That's all.

8. To Sing You a Little Song

I'd like to sing you a little song, there's a brook underneath a step, in the brook there's a spring, in the spring there's a cradle, in the cradle there's an infant, in his hand he holds a horn, in the horn there's some milk.

And this is the end of my little song.

9. Where Did You Sleep Last Night?

Toot-toot! Toot-toot!
Where did you sleep last night?
On the sexton's front steps,
in the deacon's meadows,
in the parson's fields.
How are they doing in those places?
Marja got a baby.
What do they call the baby?
The Tsar's named him Kostja.
The goat jumped,
the cat grabbed.
Where did the cat go?
She ran along the riverside.
Where did the river flow?

Härgäd jüiba. Kuna härgäd uid'iba? Metsha joks'iba. Kuna mets uid'i? Niitšed tšapl'iba. Kuna niitšed uid'iba? Meheлe män'iba.

10. Mis tefil tehakse?

Min tejaa t'egobad?
Min tejaa t'egobad?
Hel'guin', hel'guin' t'ehudmu,
putui vastha tšotšoi.
No min tejaa t'egobad?
Sur'pä mejaa survob,
järedpä se jaahob,
Timošk kašan keitab,
Vassitš bl'inad paštab,
nudege лиz'ikad pezob,
t'äi pavan pühkib,
soozar haagod 1'ükib,
kana kadjad отвлоb,
kuk veden vedab.

11. Rovis härg kuuse otsa

Sanun saman saiveritšun. kuzen tšupun kuiveritšun. L'ibui härg kuzhe kiviižiiš kindhiiš. saviižiiš sapkoiš. Roimaht' i r'äimäht', vaz'ipada l'äikäht'. Kungaš kul'išt', poigan naitoi. tätren andoi. Uk se utjug, mamš se matjug, tätar se tüht'ig, poig se potatš, itše jeramägel'n'e Isak, Kosak.

12. Vägisi mehele

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, pit'kas pöüdös ajabad. Лаske, лаske ajabad, aла, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e,

The oxen drank it.
Where did the oxen go?
Into the wood they ran.
Where did the wood go?
The maidens chopped it down.
Where did the maidens go?
They got married.

10. What Are They Doing?

What are they doing,
What are they doing at your place?
I roamed about along the road
and there I met a fellow.
What are they doing at your place?
Bighead is grinding,
fathead is milling,
Timoshk is making porridge,
Vassitsh is making girdle cakes,
the bedbug's washing the spoons,
the tick is sweeping the floor,
the flea's carrying the logs,
the hen is sewing trousers,
the rooster's fetching the water.

11. The Ox Climbed a Fir Tree

I tell you a story strange, a dried-up nook of a fir tree. An ox climbed up a fir tree Wearing stony mittens, wearing clayey boots. He came crashing, he came smashing, the tub splashed over. The king heard it, for his son he found a wife. his daughter he married. The old man's scruffy, the old woman bitchy. the daughter snotty-nosed, the son foul-mouthed, I, myself am from Jeramägi Isak, Kosak.

12. Forced to Get Married

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, along the field they're driving. Let them drive, let them drive, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me,

n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, l'ävän taga ajabad. Лаske, лаske ajabad, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, poлоле jo ajabad. Лаske, лaske ajabad, aлa, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, ka1'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, pertiižhe jo astubad. Лаske, лaske astubad, aлa, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, stoлan taga ištubad. Лaske, лaske ištubad, aлa, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, käskobad jo soptaashe. Sopt'e, sopt'e, tütriin'e ana, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

Kušti mamkoo, kušti mamkoo, kal'iž jo s'ä kandoin'e, n'ägehtaške jo s'ä mamkoo, n'äge me i män'iimae. Лаske, лаske män'iitae, ала, s'ötäe, voika, en mä sindaiž anda.

13. Äiutus

Baajuu, baajuu. Baju, baju Tan'en'kood', baju, baju mil'en'kood'. Mam, ka na robotuški, na piikovei robotuški.

Sušutaške ajada da miid'e Tanjan bajuižen look, dear mother, they're driving behind the stable now. Let them drive, let them drive, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, they're already in the yard. Let them be, let them be, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, they're entering the chamber now. Let them enter, let them enter, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, they're sitting at table now. Let them sit, let them sit, don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, they're asking me to get ready. Get ready, my daughter, get ready. don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

Mother, dear mother, you do care for me, look, dear mother, see, we're already going. Go go, you go don't weep, my dearest one, I'll never give you away.

13. Lulling

Lulla, lulla, lullaby. Hush. my little Tanja, hush, my little sweet, your mother has gone to work, she has to do hard work.

Rock-a-bye, rock-a-bye our Tanja' s lullaby

koivuižuu da kor jeižuu, a l'epeižuu da reguduu. Miid'e Tanja vaghein'e vaššišt vagoštme da kuššišt kujoštme.

14. Ainus poeg

Ol'in ku min'a tataлen da таталеп da üks'äin'e ainoz poig se. Da kubaz'i ku tatam min'ei kehkran лоиtеižen se. Tabaz'i ku roditel' i mamoihut se mindei käbedas kädudes se, da vei joks'jan jogerandeižehe se, da siižut'i ku kehkraле da лоиtеižеле se. Kehker лоиtein'e se ujub kut'i sokoл sorzein'e, a l'endab kut'i l'ibed i l'induin'e. Kritšib rodimij roditel' minun mamoihut se: "Siižuškek, siižu sin'ä jas'nij sokoл poigeižen!" Siižuižin ku siižuižin, rodimij roditel' mamoihut, ka ii siižu minun kehker лоиtein'e se, da ujub kut'i sokoл sorzein'e, da l'endab kut'i l'ibed i l'induin'e.

15. Tutu-lutu karjane

Tuti лиti paimoo, mig paimoo paimen'z'iid? (mis' paimoohud paimen'z'iid?) (mis' s'ä paimoo paimen'z'iid?) (mis' s'ä t'ämbää paimen'z'iid?) Ралаjärrvoo paatkudoo, Süväjärvoo sütkhüdoo. Keda paimoo kul'iid, keda paimoo n'ägiid? (Keda s'ä kul'iid, keda s'ä n'ägiid?) (Keda s'ä jo kul'iid, keda s'ä jo n'ägiid?) (Keda kul'iid, keda n'ägiid?) Kul'iin kurgoon' kukurtes, pajulindu patšurtes, viлlindu vitšurtes. Paran'z'iin mä pagnaižen, putui kurgoo kurkuižoo.

Tšapan, tšapan kurgool' kurkuižen. Ma, ana, tšapa, kurkuižoo mä johdaidan. Tšapan, tšapan kurgool' jaagaižen. Ma, ana tšapa, jaagaižoo mä joksaidan. Tšapan, tšapan kurgool' suugaižen. Ma, ana tšapa, suugaižoo mä l'endaidan.

Tuti лиti paimoo, mis' s'ä t'ämbää paimen'z'iid? Ралаjärvoo paatkudoo, Sür jjärrvoo sürjäižoo, in the sleigh of a birch, in a sled of an alder, our Tanja, the tiny one slides on the copper furrow, sleighs along the fir lane.

14. The Only Son

At home I lived with my father and mother, the only son was I. My father, he built me a round raft, my dear mother, she took me by the hand, she took me to the shore of a river and sat me down on the round raft. The round raft it swims like a dear duckie. and it flies like a tender birdle. My mother cries out to me: "Stop, my dearest son, stop!" I would stop if I could stop, mother, my dear one, but there's no stopping the round raft now, it keeps on swimming like a dear duckie, it keeps on flying like a tender birdie.

15. Toot-toot Herdsboy

Toot-toot, herdsboy, where did you, herdsboy, take your herd? (where did you, little herdsboy, take your herd?) (where did you, herdsboy, take your herd?) (where did you take your herd today?) To the shores of Lake Pala, to the meadows of Lake Silva. Whom did you hear, herdsboy? Whom did you see, herdsboy? (Whom did you hear? Whom did you see?) (Whom did you hear then? Whom did you see then?) (Whom did you hear? Whom did you see?) I heard a stork crying, and a nightingale singing, and a blue-tit chirping. A snare I set up there and caught a stork by the neck.

I'll chop off the stork's neck.

Don't chop it off, don't, with my neck I drink!

I'll chop off the stork's foot.

Don't chop it off, don't, with my foot I run!

I'll chop off the stork's wing.

Don't chop it off, don't, with my wing I fly!

Toot-toot, herdsboy, Where did you, take your herd today? To the shores of Lake Pala, to the edge of Lake Sürja, Kondjärvoo konduižoo. Kul'iin kurgoon' kukurtes, pajulindu patšurtes. viлulindu vitšurtes. Paran'z'iin mä радлаіžen. Putui mil'ein kurgoo. Tšapan kurgool' kurkuižen. Ma tšapa kurgool' kurkušt! Tšapad, ka s'ä tšapa! Tatkool'e se tagraižed, da mamkool'e se maksaižed, tšitškool'e se tširuižed da veikool'e se veruded, heimoožiil'e heenhuded da sussedool'e suugaižed. Kaik.

Titles in Estonian Texts in Vepsic to the wasteland by Lake Kond. I heard a stork crying, and a nightingale singing, and a blue-tit chirping. A snare I set up there. I caught a stork in the snare. I'll chop off the stork's neck. Don't chop off the stork's neck, don't! Well, if you must do, then do it! The stork's back goes for my father, the livers for my mother, the grease for my sister, the blood for my brother, the feathers for the kinsfolk, the wings for the neighbours. That's all.

Translated by Ellen Sillamägi

Karelian Destiny

Karjala saatus Tekstid litereerinud Ülo Tedre, Jaan Õispuu ja Kari Laukkanen

1. Nuttev neiu

Itköy neitšo ilavuttau kirjavile kivyizile, kaunehele kallivoizel. Katšou ylääh - päivö paistau, katšou alaah - venoi soudau. Kenen netše venoi soudau. Tuatoin netše venoi soudau. "Õi sina tuatto, rakas tuatto, ota sinä minuv iäreh!" "En voi ottua, alnos tytär - Ven'än verkot veittävänny, Suomen veneh souttavannu, Karjalan kalat kaupittavannu."

Itköy neitšo ilavuttau kirjavile kivyizile, kaunehele kallivoizel. Katšou ylääh - päivö paistau, katšou alaah - venoi soudau. Kenen netše venoi soudau. "Õi sina muamo, rakas muamo, ota sinä minuv iäreh!"
"En voi ottua, alnos tytär - Ven'än verkot veittävänny,

Karelian Destiny Authentic texts (in Karelian), transcribed by Olo Tedre, Jaan Õispuu and Kari Laukkanen

1. The Weeping Maiden

The maiden is weeping, telling her grief to the many-colored rocks, to the beautiful cliffs.

She looks up: the sun is shining, she looks down: a boat is floating.

Whose is this boat a-floating?

This is father's boat a-floating.

"Oh, my father, father dear, will you take me with you?"

"No, I cannot, my only daughter, I'm going to take the nets to Russia, I'm going to row the boat to Finland, I'm going to barter the fish in Karelia."

The maiden is weeping, telling her grief to the many-colored rocks, to the beautiful cliffs.

She looks up: the sun is shining, she looks down: a boat is floating.

Whose is this boat a-floating?

This is mother's boat a-floating.

"Oh, my mother, mother dear, will you take me with you?"

"No, I cannot, my only daughter, I'm going to take the nets to Russia,

Šuomen veneh souttavannu, Karjalan kalat kaupittavannu."

Itköy neitšo ilavuttau kirjavile kivyizile, kaunehele kallivoizel. Katšou ylääh - päivö paistau, katšou alaah - venoi soudau. Kenen netše venoi soudau. "Oi sina sulho, rakas sulho, ota sinä minuv iäreh!"
"Tule tänne, hyvä neitšo, pane jalka portahalle, toinen venon laitaselle."

2. Mere kosilased

Annikkini, šuaren neito, istu šuaren sillan piässä, vuotti mieštä mielehistä, šulhaista sulasanaista. Mieš merestä näyttelehe: rautašuini, rautapäini, rautahattu hartijoilla, rautakintahat käjeessä, rautakihlat kormanošša: "Annikkini, šuaren neito, tuletko minun mutšoksi?" "Enkä tule, enkä ole, ei ole šiätty, eikä kiätty, eikä toitsi toivotettu, eikä koissani luvattu!"

Annikkini, šuaren neito, istu šuaren sillan piässä, vuotti mieštä mielehistä, šulhaista sulasanaista. Mieš merestä näyttelehe: vaskišuini, vaskipäini, vaskihattu hartijoilla, vaskikintahat käjeessä, vaskikihlat kormanošša: "Annikkini, šuaren neito, tuletko minun mutšoksi?" "Enkä tule, enkä ole, ei ole šiätty, eikä kiätty, eikä toitsi toivotettu, eikä koissani luvattu!"

Annikkini, šuaren neito, istu šuaren sillan piässä, vuotti mieštä mielehistä, šulhaista sulasanaista. Mieš merestä näyttelehe: hopiešuini, hopiepäini,

I'm going to row the boat to Finland, I'm going to barter the fish in Karelia."

The maiden is weeping, telling her grief to the many-colored rocks, to the beautiful cliffs.

She looks up: the sun is shining, she looks down: a boat is floating.

Whose is this boat a-floating?

This is sweetheart's boat a-floating.

"Oh, my love, my truest love, will you take me with you?"

"Come over, my fair maiden, set one foot on board, set the other into the boat"

2. The Suitors from the Sea

Annikkini, maiden of the island, sat at the end of the island's bridge, waiting for a man to please her fancy, for a honeysweet groom.

Lo, a man is rising from the foam iron-mouthed, iron-headed, an iron cloak over his shoulders, the iron gloves in his hands, the iron rings in his pocket:

"Annikini, maid of the island, will you be my bride?"

"No, I will not, no, I cannot, my kin did not give me, my kin did not tell me, nor did they promise me twice, nor did they give their consent."

Annikkini, maiden of the island, sat at the end of the island's bridge, waiting for a man to please her fancy, for a honey-sweet groom.

Lo, a man is rising from the foam, copper-mouthed, copper-headed.
a copper cloak over his shoulders. the copper gloves in his hands, the copper rings in his pocket:
"Annikkini, maid of the island, will you be my bride?"
"No, I will not, no, I cannot, my kin did not give me, my kin did not tell me. nor did they promise me twice, nor did they give their consent."

Annikkini, maiden of the island, sat at the end of the island's bridge, waiting for a man to please her fancy, for a honey-sweet groom.

Lo, a man is rising from the foam, silver-mouthed, silver-headed,

hopiehattu hartijoilla, hopiekintahat käjeessä, hopiekihlat kormanošša: "Annikkini, šuaren neito, tuletko minun mutšoksi?" "Enkä tule, enkä ole, ei ole šiätty, eikä kiätty, eikä toitsi toivotettu, eikä koissani luvattu!"

Annikkini, šuaren neito, istu šuaren sillan piässä, vuotti mieštä mielehistä, šulhaista sulasanaista. Mieš merestä näyttelehe: kultašuini, kultapäini, kultahattu hartijoilla, kultakintahat käjeessä, kultakihlat kormanošša: "Annikkini, šuaren neito, tuletko minun mutšoksi?" "Enkä tule, enkä ole, ei ole šiätty, eikä kiätty, eikä toitsi toivotettu, eikä koissani luvattu!"

Annikkini, šuaren neito, istu šuaren sillan piässä, vuotti mieštä mielehistä, šulhaista sulasanaista. Mieš merestä näyttelehe: leipäšuini, leipäpäini, leipähattu hartijoilla, leipäkintahat käjeessä, leipäkihlat kormanošša: "Annikkini, šuaren neito, tuletko minun mutšoksi?" "Šekä tulen, jotta olen, miut on koissani luvattu, vielä toitsi toivotettu!"

3. Orjana Virus

Õlimpa orjana Virossa, käin Virossa käskyläisnä, palkalla paganamualla, vierin (om) mualla vierahalla. Van pahoimpa palkkani maksettihe, viärin (on) väkeni arvattihe. Kannoimpa vettä kappazella, parahalla pakkazella, da aijoin riihessä rebušin, allabo pardizien pabišin. Pojatpo perässä polki, jäljess' oli jalo išändä: kuldakeppini käjeessä,

a silver cloak over his shoulders,
the silver gloves in his hands,
the silver rings in his pocket:
"Annikkini, maid of the island,
will you be my bride?"
"No, I will not, no, I cannot,
my kin did not give me, my kin did not tell me,
nor did they promise me twice,
nor did they give their consent."

Annikkini, maiden of the island, sat at the end of the island's bridge, waiting for a man to please her fancy, for a honey-sweet groom.

Lo, a man is rising from the foam, gold-mouthed, gold-headed, a gold cloak over his shoulders, the gold gloves in his hands, the gold rings in his pocket:

"Annikkini, maid of the island, will you be my bride?"

"No, I will not, no, I cannot, my kin did not give my, my kin did not tell me, nor did they gromise me twice, nor did they give their consent."

Annikkini, maiden of the island, sat at the end of the island's bridge, waiting for a man to please her fancy, for a honey-sweet groom.

Lo, a man is rising from the foam, bread-mouthed, bread-headed, a bread cloak over his shoulders, the bread gloves in his hands,

The bread rings in his pocket:

"Annikkini, maid of the island, will you be my bride?"

"Yes, I will, yes, I can, my kin they gave their consent, and they promised me twice."

3. As a Serf in Viru

I was a serf in Vim,
I worked as a slave
to the pagans,
served in a foreign land.
The wages they paid me were poor,
my money they cheated me out of.
I carried water by buckets,
in the severe cold of the winter,
I toiled for long hours,
a-threshing in the barn.
The boys they counted my steps,
the proud master ordered me about,
a gold cane in his hand,

pitkä piiska kainalossa.
Vieläbä siimalla sivalsi,
kun en jaksan mielin miärin.
Vain sattuipa orja kuolemaha,
raukka nälgäh niändymähe,
kylmäh kuoli, nälgäh niändy,
viluhbo vieri, orja raukka.

Šit vietih Tuonelan tuville. talutettih taivosehen. Tuodihba šit kultani tuoli orja raukal ištuimeksi: "Ištuba tuos nyt, orja raukka, sovittele sohvallesi! Et sie silloin tuolil ištun. etkä sohvalla sobinu. konša olit orjazenna, palkalaisena pahana!" Tuodihba šit kuldani tuoppi orja raukal juodavija: "Juobaši nyt tuos orja raukka, juobaši nyt tuos orja raukka! Et silloin olutta juonut, etkä maistellut mezijä, konšabo olit orjazenna, konša kävit käskyläisnä!" Kuolipa šit jalo išändä, Tuodihba Tuonelan tuville.

Šit tuodih tulini tuoli išännil on ištuimeksi: "Ištubas tuos, jalo išändä, ištuba tuos, jalo išändä! Šait šie šilloin byväl ištuo, hvväl ištuo, hvväl aštuo, konšabo orijia opaštit. konšabo käytit käskyläizie!" Tuodihba šit tulini tuoppi, tulta, tervua tuoppisessa: "Juobas nyt, jalo išändä, juobas nyt, jalo išändä! Šait šie šilloin oltta juuva, konšabo orjija opaštit, konšabo käytit käskyläizie, konšabo orjija opaštit!" Šit kerran taivahan kavulla, orjambo šiellä kulgeissansa – vastah tuli jalo išändä tuolla (on) taivahan kavulla, pitkä kyvnärä käjeessä, verkatorvi (on) kainalossa: "Otabo tuossa nyt, orja raukka, otabo tuossa, orja raukka, palkaksesi parahaksi orjanani olostasi!" "En ota, jalo išändä,

a long whip under his arm.

And whenever I stopped to have a rest, he scourged me with his whip.

But the slave happened to pass away, the poor one starved to death, died of cold, starved to death, the poor slave met his end.

He was taken high up in the heaven, showed into a heavenly chamber. A golden chair then was brought, for the poor slave to sit in. "Take a seat now, poor thing, or settle down on the sofa! You had no time to sit in a chair. you were not fit to sit on a sofa, when you worked as a slave, when you were a serf." A golden jug then was brought for the slave to drink of: "Have a drink now, poor thing, Have a drink now poor thing! You were not given ale to drink, you were not given mead to taste, when you worked as slave, when you were a serf." The proud master then passed away, Was showed into a heavenly chamber.

A fiery chair then was brought for the master to sit in: "Take a seat now, master proud, sit in here, master proud! You had time to sit in comfort, sit in comfort, tread on soft carpets, when you ordered your slaves about. when you told off your servants." A fiery jug then was brought in the jug fiery tar: "Have a drink now, master proud, have a drink now, master proud. You had lots of ale to drink when you told off your slaves, when you ordered the servants about, when you told off your slaves." Once in a heavenly street the slaves they are having a stroll, the proud master is meeting them in this heavenly street, a long ell-stick in his hand, a roll of cloth under his arm: "Take now of this, my poor slave, take of this, my poor slave, I'll pay you good wages because you were my serf." "No, I will not, master proud,

en ota, jalo išändä! Mahoitpa šilloin maksuaksesi, palkan (on) palkitellaksesi."

4. Tamme raiuja

Sizarest oli sillat täyven, veljestä veno punani.
Lähtie heinän niitändöihe, meren rannan ruuvondoihe.
Niitettihe, laitettihe, pandih savoin šuattozilla tuhanzilla tukkuzilla.
Tuliba tuuli Tuuloksesta, tuli tuuli Tuuloksesta, ahava Aanuksen mualla.
Tunkiba heinäzet tulehe, vihandoni valgijahe.

Suvibatuuli tuhkad i vei pohjane porot keriäli. Luajihin poroja vähäzen, Päivän pojan piädä pestä, silmiä hyvän sigiön.

Jäi (on) poroja vähäne, kunne(bo) näidä kuattanohe? Meren selvällä selällä, lagijalla lainehella, kolmen meren kuohuvilla, meren synkähe syvähe.

Tuoh(ba) se taidaa tammi kazvua, tuoh se taidaa tammi kazvua -- tammi tasaladvallini, tammi tasaoksallini, joka oksalla omena, omenassa kuidapyörö, kultapyörözeš kägini. Min kägi kukahtelovi, sen vaski varahtelovi kultazehe kuppizehe, vaskizehe vakkazehe.

Etsii tammen kuadajaista. tasaladvan langettajua. Ei ole tammen kuadajaista, tasaladvan langettajua, nykyzessä nuorizossa, kanzas vaste kazvajassa.

Mies mušta merestä nouzoo. Vähän on kuollutta parempi, katonutta kaunehempi. Tuoba se taidaa tammen kuadua, tasaladvan langetella, no, I will not, master proud, you should have given me my money, you should have paid me my wages long ago."

4. The Oak-feller

The sisters they went over the bridges, the brothers they went in the boats. They went to cut the grass, to rake the hay on the seashore. The grass was cut, the hay was raked up, hundreds of haystacks were piled up, thousands of haycocks were heaped up. A gust of wind blew over the country, a gust of wind blew over the country, a gale swept over the land. It blew the hay into the fire, the meadow's grass into the flames.

The south wind took the ashes, the north wind took the lye. I leached the ashes for a little lye, to wash the head of the daystar's son, to wash the eyes of the lucky-born.

Some of the lye was left, where shall I pour it out? Onto the clear ridge of the waves, onto the open sea, into the roar of three seas, into the gloomy depths.

There an oak-tree might rise, there an oak-tree might rise, an oak-tree with its crown swaying, an oak-tree with its branches growing, on each branch a little apple, in each apple a golden ball, a little cuckoo in that ball. Whenever the cuckoo calls, some copper is spilt, into a golden cup, into a copper chest.

We need a man to fell the oak, to cut down the crown swaying. There is no man to fell the oak, to cut down the crown swaying, among the young of this generation, our people are still growing.

A black man will rise from the sea, a little bit better than death, only a little bit better-looking. He will know how to fell oak, to cut down the crown swaying, ladvoin suurehe suvehe, tyvin puolin pohjozehe.

5. Hällilaul

Aa, aa, allista, aa, aa, allinpoikaista, lii, lii, lii, lii, lintuista, lii, lii, linnun poikaista.

Tule Jumala tuutuseh, käy Jumala kätkyveh pienen lapsen piänalasih, vakahasen vuattijoihen. Neitsyt Maaria emoni, äiti rakas armollini, tule tänne tuutusehe, tule tänne kätkyvehen. Makavuta maksaistani, uinuttele udraistani puun luvalla, muan luvalla, kaiken kartanon luvalla.

Aa, tuuti lu(u)lla, saapi engeli tu(u)lla meijän pienen pikkusen lu(u)llaan, meijän pienen pikkusen lu(u)llaan.

Aa, aa, aholla, aholla kasvaa kukkia. Niitähän se pieni lapsi huviksensa noukkii.

Aa, aa, allinpoika,
pienen linnun poika.
Pienellä linnulla maha täysi,
suurella on hoikka.
Aa, tuutin lu(u)lla,
tuutipa tuuti tu(u)lia.

Aa, aa, allista, aa, allinpoikaista. Aa aa allista, pienen linnun poikaista. Pieni lintu pienellä nokalla lapsia vaan hoitaa.

Aa, tuuti, aa, aa. Õnhan sullekin rauhan maa Nurmi-Tuoman tupasissa, Kaikkivallan kartanoissa. Šiel on hyvä lapsen olla, pienoiseni uinandella kultasessa kätkyvessä, silkkisissä peittehissä. tilting the crown to the south, tilting the trunk to the north.

5. A Lullaby

Aa, aa, little duckie, aa, aa, little duckie, lii, lii, lii, lii little birdie, lii, lii little birdie.

Come, O Lord, into the cradle, come, O Lord, into the cradle, onto the little baby's pillow, into the little one's clothes.

Virgin Mary, dear mother, our Lady merciful, come, O come into the cradle, come, O come into the cradle.

Rock, my little honey baby, hush! and go to sleep, my baby.

We have asked the tree's permission, the land's permission, even the Master's permission.

Aa, hush-a-by, now it is time for Angel to come, into the little baby's cradle, into the little baby's cradle.

Aa, aa, in the field, flowers they grow in the field, my little baby picks these flowers for its pleasure.

Aa, aa, little duckie, little birdie. The little bird has had its fill, the big bird's craw is always empty. Aa, hush-a-by, hush! and go to sleep.

Aa, aa, little duckie.
aa, little duckie,
aa, aa little duckie,
little birdie.
A little bird with a little beak
takes good care of my baby.

Aa, hush-a-by aa.
You have gone to rest now into the chambers of death, into the halls of All-Father.
The little baby is feeling fine, the little baby will have a good sleep, inside of the golden cradle, inside the silken rugs.

Rebo itköö rerettelöö, allapa vuoren voivotteloo:
"Mis on miun polosen poika, kannetuni kartunut?"
Mehtämiespä siihen vastaa:
"Turun miehen turkkiloina, kauppamiehen kaglustoina, pi(i)sarin pitkinä hihoina."
Heittibö rebo reeretyksen, vuoren alla voivotuksen, kun sai kuulla, mis on poika, kus on katalan kannetuni.

Aa, tuuti la(a)sta(a).
Tuli kissa va(a)staa.
Kissapa hyppäsi kiikun päällä, tuutitteli la(a)sta.
Aa, tuuti lasta.
Tuli surma vastaa.
Löi kurikalla kummaista, likkaa sekä lasta.
Tuudin lasta Tuonelah, alla nurmen nukkumah.
Tuonelass on tupa suuri,
Manalass on maja väljä.
Šiel on hyvä lapsen olla, pienoiseni pilpatella.

Tuonen toukoja tekeepi, Tuonen maita karhitsoopi, pajupehko parran piällä, kuusenjuuret kulmien piällä, lepänjuuret leukaluilla, koivunjuuret olokapäillä. Musta multa peittehenä, kalmalauta kattehena. Siel on miun polosen pojat, katalan itseni kannetuset.

Titles in Estonian (and Finnish) Texts in Karelian The fox is weeping, in despair, grieving at the foot of the hills:
"Where have you gone, my poor sonny, where are you whom I have born?"
A fairy of the woods he gives an answer:
"He's a trader's furry coat, he's the vendor's furry collar, he's the long sleeves of a clerk."
The fox stopped despairing, stopped grieving at the foot of the hills, when he heard where his sonny had gone, the son born of poor parents.

Aa, hush-a-by, my baby, a Puss is coming towards my baby. The Puss he jumped onto the swing to rock my baby to sleep.
Aa, hush-a-by, my baby,
Death is coming towards my baby.
The Death he hit the girl and the baby with his heavy washing-beetle.
I'm rocking my little baby to sleep in the meadows of Tuonela, there are high chambers at Tuonela, there are big houses at Manala.
There my baby will have fun the little one will play about.

The crops will grow where my little one is, the soil will be harrowed where my little one is, a willow-tree will grow on the beard, a spruce will take root on the eyebrows, an alder will take root on the chin, a birch will strike root on the shoulders. The black soil will covers like a rug, the casket boards will be like a roof. There will lie the son of the poor one, the son born of poor parents.

Translated by Krista Mits

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