

on the window-sills to commemorate the deceased, and the organised souls' visiting time celebration at the Time of the Yellowing of the Leaves (on October 15, 1988, about 20,000 people gathered in Tartu St. Mary's Cemetery for the celebration).

Literature

¹e.g. Göseken, H. *Manuductio ad Linguam Oesthonicam. Anführung zur Öhstnischen Sprache*. Reval, 1660, p. 83; Helle, A. Th. *Kurtzgefasste Anweisung zur Ehstnischen Sprache, in welcher mitgetheilet werden: I. Eine Grammatika, II. Ein Vocabularium, III. Proverbia, IV. Aenigmata, V. Colloquia. Zur Anleitung, Mit Fleiss zusammen getragen und nebst erwecklichen Sendschreiben J. J. Rambachs, an den Editorem, mit einer Vorrede herausgegeben von Eberhard Gutsleff. Halle, 1732, p. 303; Hupel, A. *W. Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehtland. II. Riga, 1777, p. 144; Westrén-Doll, A. "Abgöttere" zu Ausgang der schwedischen und Beginn der russischen Zeit. In: Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft 1925. Tartu (Dorpat), 1926, p. 17.**

²Hautala, J. *Vanhat merkkipäivät. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia* 229. osa. Helsinki, 1948, pp. 335-354; 356.

³Šmits, P. *Latviešu tautas ticējumi*. III. Riga, 1940, pp. 1666-1667; IV, Riga, 1941, pp. 1951-1965.

⁴Viidalepp, R. *Rahvajutustaja rahva hulgas. In: Etnograafia Muuseumi Aastaraamat XVI*. Tallinn, 1959, pp. 283-284; 293-295; Viidalepp, R. *Das Erzählen der Volksmärchen als arbeitsfördernden magischer Ritus. In: VII. Internationaler Kongress für Anthropologie und Ethnologie. Moscow, 1964, pp. 7-8; Oinas, F. Mõista, mõista, mis see on. In: Vargamäe tõde ja õigus. Esseed. Välis-Eesti EMP, 1984, p. 166; see note 3, Šmits IV, 1965.*

⁵Vilkuna, K. *Finnisches Brauchtum im Jahreslauf*. FFC No. 206, Helsinki, 1969, pp. 288-291.

SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE FOLK MUSIC OF VATKA AND KALMEZ UDMURTS

Marina Hodyreva. Izhevsk, Udmurtia

Already in ancient times the Udmurts of the North and north-western regions of the republic and the Kirov district have been divided in two: the tribes

of Vatka and Kalmez. These endogamous groups differ in language, as well as material and spiritual culture. These can evidently be explained by differences in their ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

The archaeological information tells us that the Kalmez group was formed on the Kilmez (Udm. Kalmez) river approximately in the middle of the I millennium AD. It is the outcome of the Azelin (on the Vatka) and Mazunin (on the river Kama) cultures.¹ The Vatka tribe was evidently formed on the central and upper parts of the Vyatka (Udm. Vatka) river, on the basis of North Azelin culture.² The population of the Azelin culture took part in the formation of both the Vatka and the Kalmez tribal unions. The peculiarity of the material and spiritual culture of the Kalmez group originates mostly in the bearers of the Mazunin culture. It is confirmed by two facts: First, the toponyms derived from the ethnonym *Kalmez/Kalmash* are to be found in the central Kama area, besides the Kilmez basin, i.e. on the territory of the former Mazunin culture.³ Second, in north-western Bashkiria (near the estuary of the Belaya river) we come across a Bashkirian tribe called Kalmash. Evidently these are the successors of the Permian Kalmez group which later was Turkicised under the influence of the Volga Bulgarians.⁴ Third, the folk tradition of the Kilmez and Cheptsas (Udm. Chupchi) areas tell us about contacts between the Vatka and Kalmez tribes, but the traditions of South Udmurtia refer only to Kalmez Udmurts. We can bring an example of the clash between the Kalmez Udmurts and the Sudya clan. It has been written down by G. Potanin:

The village of Sudzya (or Sudya) is named after the heroic giant Sudzya. Giant Sudzya made war to Kalmez and he came upon him with his people. Sudzya pulled out two birch-trees, tied them together with a rope, and hurled on the road, by which Kalmez was approaching. Seeing this, Kalmez said to his people, 'We cannot fight this giant,' and they turned back.

G. Potanin remarked: 'I have also heard about the Kalmez people, because this is the name used by the Votyaks of the Elabuga district to denote people living north of Malmzyh and Mozhga. They differ in their language, clothing and houses.'⁵

We still do not know when the Vatka Udmurts began to disperse on the Cheptsas river. In late 12th - early 13th century the first Russian settlements appeared on the Vyatka and Udmurts began to move to the middle and upper parts of the Cheptsas in increasing numbers.⁶ As we can see from Udmurt legends, the Kalmez Udmurts reached even the left bank of the Cheptsas at that time. This is confirmed by the observations of the archaeologists made on the basis of pottery finds of the right and left banks of the Cheptsas.⁷ The relations between these two Udmurt tribes were not peaceful; on the contrary, conflicts

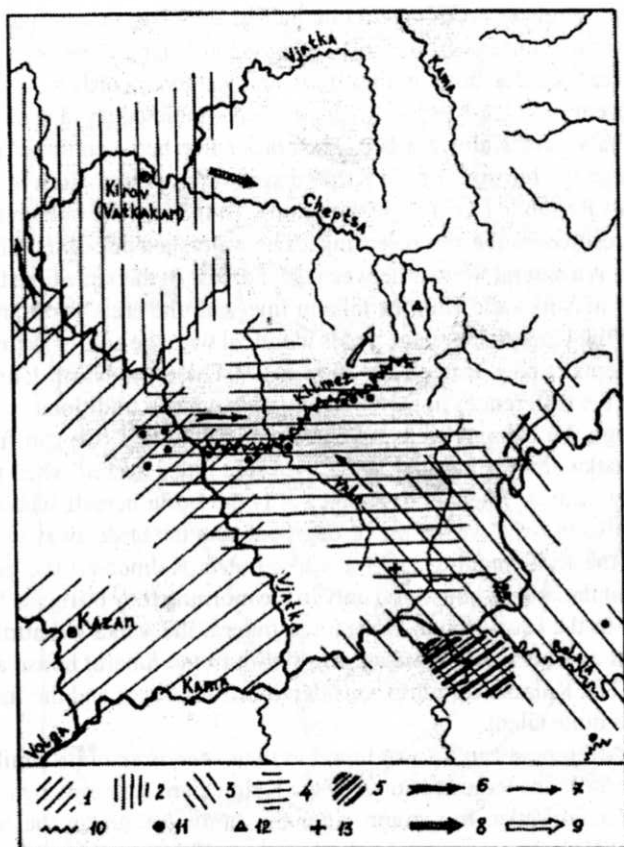


Illustration 1

1. The archaeological culture of Azelin, 3 - 5th cc.
2. The area of formation of the Votka tribes.
3. The archaeological culture of Mazunin, 3 - 5th cc.
4. The area of formation of the Kalmez tribes.
5. The diffused Bashkir Kalmash area.
6. The direction of the diffusion of the Azelin population.
7. The direction of the diffusion of the Mazunin population.
8. The direction of the diffusion of the Votka tribes.
9. The direction of the diffusion of the Kalmez tribes.
10. Hydronyms based on the root *Kalmez* (*Kalmash*).
11. Toponyms based on the root *Kalmez* (*Kalmash*).
12. The site of recording of the legend about the Vatkan-Kalmez tribal conflict.
13. The site of recording of the legend about the Sudya-Kalmez tribal conflict.

were quite frequent.⁸ From the second half of the 17th century massive resettlement of the Udmurts from the Vyatka to the Cheptsya region began. This process is reflected in both oral tradition and written records.⁹

At present only the Northern Udmurts have retained an idea of their division into Vatka and Kalmez tribes. The border-line between these two groups runs through the territory of the Kirov district (Zuyev and Unin regions) and the Udmurt Republic (Krasnogorsk region). To the east the border-line is less clear as a result of numerous resettlings. The watershed line of the Cheptsya and the Kilmez is a natural frontier between these areas. At the same time the present settlement of Vatka and Kalmez falls in line with the area North and Central dialects of the Udmurt language and is identical with the area of distribution of Lower Cheptsya and Kalmez folk costumes.¹⁰ The older North Udmurts still remember the differences in their origin, language and traditions.

Although the Udmurt wedding customs are identical, we can find differences in Vatka and Kalmez. In Vatka the bride hides herself when the bridegroom first comes, whereas in Kalmez it is the bride herself who opens the gate. In Vatka the relatives of the bridegroom take the bride away without any dowry on the first wedding night already, but in Kalmez all the guests stay overnight at the bride's house and only in the morning they bring the bride with the dowry to the bridegroom. During the funeral the Vatka Udmurts sing funeral songs as well as sad Russian songs both in the funeral house and in the cemetery. The Kalmez Udmurts considered this improper and the funeral ceremony was quite silent.

Some differences can also be found in their otherwise quite similar calendar traditions. In the Resurrection Day the Kalmeziens set up swings. This was not practised in Vatka. In autumn, after the summer work in the fields was finished, the Kalmez Udmurts organised a *nyl syuan*, i.e. 'girl's wedding', which reminds one of the Kalmez custom of *pörtmaskon* practices in the western parts of the Udmurt Republic, and the Erzian girls' beer-house custom called *teiteren piyan kudo*.¹¹

Besides the ethnographic, linguistic, toponymic and archaeological data, the fact of two different tribes is proved by folk music. To clear up the differences in folk music, we launched an expedition into the region of contact of these tribes – the Vatkan villages of Sibyr and Astarkhan and the Kalmez villages of Udmurtsky Porez, Malyi Polom (Udm. Oiyl), Klyuch (Udm. Izgurt) in the Unin region of Kirov district; the Vatkan village of Kychino (Udm. Kychagurt) and the Kalmez village of Malagurt in the Krasnogorsk region of the Udmurt Republic.

We can notice an upsurge of interest in the study of ethnic regions in the present-day Udmurtian ethnomusicology.¹² Here belongs the comparative ty-

pological study of Vatka and Kalmez song tunes, since in the archaic ritual songs each Udmurt ethnic group has retained its different melody stereotypes.

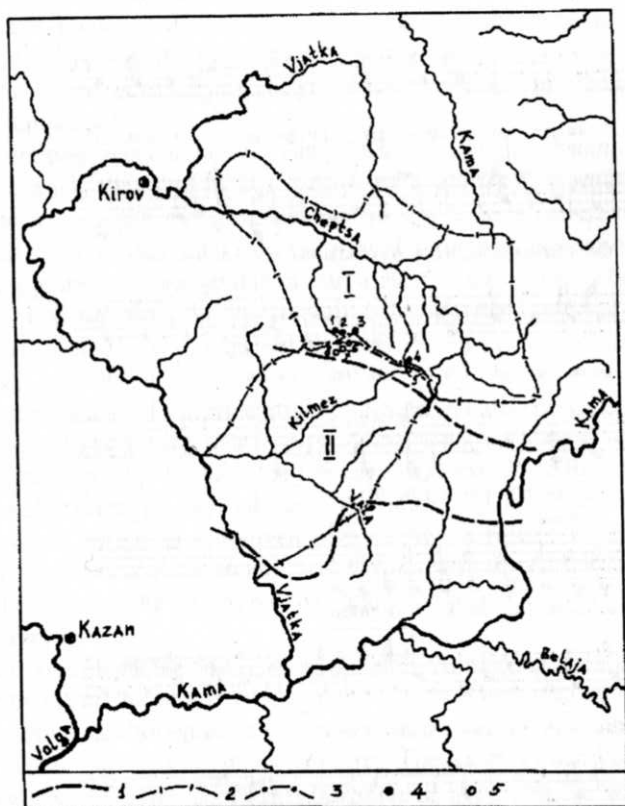


Illustration 2

1. The distribution of the Udmurt dialects (acc. to V. Kelmakov).
 2. The distribution of the Udmurt folk costumes (acc. to M. Atamanov and S. Lebedeva).
North Udmurtian (Lower Cheptsá, Upper Cheptsá).
Kalmez.
 4. The Vatka Udmurt settlements in the contact area.
 5. The Kalmez Udmurt settlements in the contact area.
- Numbered settlements:
- Vatka:** 1. Astarkhan, 2. Sibyr, 3. Udmurtsky Survai of the Unin region, Kirov district, 4. Kichino of the Krasnogorsk region, Udmurt Republic.
- Kalmez:** 5. Malagurt of the Krasnogorsk region, Udmurt Republic, 6. Klyuch (Izgurt), 7. Maly Polom, 8. Udmurtsky Porez of the Unin region, Kirov district.

of refrain; this feature is common both to Votka and Kalmez Udmurts. Therefore we may conclude that it is an archaic phenomenon that has emerged at the period of the Ananye common culture (8 – 3rd century BC), which is linked with the Old Permian population. The archaic nature of the tradition has also been confirmed by linguists' observations about the survival of some unique lexical elements and word forms that can be traced back to Permian common culture and language.¹³

There were two songs in the Votka and Kalmez wedding ceremony: one of the bride's lineage, the other of the bridegroom's. On the first wedding day singing begins after the bridegroom's relatives have been entertained. The Votkans start singing when the bride has poured wine from the samovar. The bridegroom's godmother and godfather start a short wedding tune called *syuan krez vakchi*. The Kalmez Udmurts take up the same tune when the bride has presented to the bridegroom's godparents a *dzuch mummy/ dzuch ai*, i.e. a long festive towel.

The wedding songs of the bridegroom's lineage (*syuan krez*) go on through the whole wedding ceremony. The lively and festive nature of their tune differs from the dilatory melody of the bride's lineage. It is explained that the bridegroom's family welcomes new labour in the household, whereas the bride's family is sad to part with a beloved person. At the bride's departure the Kalmezians sing lyrical Russian and newer Udmurtian songs, but the Votkan people still remember the traditional long and slow *vesyak krez kuzyo* song of the bride's family.

The form of both Votka and Kalmez songs of the bridegroom's lineage is influenced by the organisation of the text into stanzas. The stanza of the Votkan tunes corresponds to the 3-part melostanza, whereas the last one is the repetition of the second in a slightly modified form. The Kalmez melodies are free variations of melodic formulas that are based on the interrelations between the pitches of the one-line supporting tones.

The analysis of the support systems of the Votka wedding tunes reveals three types of melodies. These correspond to the melodies of the Votka bridegroom's lineage, the Votka bride's lineage and the Kalmez bridegroom's lineage. All three types are characterised by the presence of three supporting tones in the fourth-second relationship. The roots of this system can be in the archaic sound system of two supporting scale degrees, which developed at the Old Permian period. As the mode structures developed, it became necessary to fill them with diatonic degrees: the lower auxiliary tone was added to the upper supporting tone and the upper auxiliary note to the lower supporting tone.¹⁴ So, a melody system with a range of a fourth or a fifth emerged. Melodies with this sound system belong to the archaic Old Permian musical culture. The Kalmez

Syuan krez vakchi ('the short wedding tune of the Votka bridegroom's lineage') FA UIIJAL 86/1 < Kirov district, Unin region, Astarkhan village – M. Hodyreva, T. Vladykina < Darya Edigareva, b. 1925 (1988).

Syuan krez vakchi (Musical score for three voices, tempo $\text{♩} = 80$)

1. S'u - an pot - tom, gur karom, šu - o - me oi, oi, oi, jai, jai, e, jai, jai.
oi, ne, šu - o - me oi, jai, jai.

2. S'u - an pot - tom, gur karom, s'u - an pot - tom oi, pe, pe, oi, oi, jai, jai.
e, e, e, e, oi, jai, jai.

3. S'u - an pot - tom, gur karom, s'u - an pot - tom oi, pe, pe, oi, oi, jai, jai.
e, e, jai, jai, e, jai, jai.

Syuan krez ('the wedding tune of the Kalmez bridegroom's lineage') FA UIIJAL 86/2 < Kirov district, Unin region, Udmurt Survai village – M. Hodyreva, T. Vladykina < Nina Alypova, b. 1925 (1988).

Syuan krez (Musical score for one voice, tempo $\text{♩} = 80$)

Ja - le šu - om ka - rom no, o ok, ok gi - ne no ja - le no
og ka - rod uk ja - le de no oi e šu - vo - me no(i).
E ke (i)e ja - le no ok ka - rom ja - le - de no oi, oi, oi e no(i)
oi, ei, ei, ja - le šu ok ka - ro - me ja - le no og šu - vom
ja - la de no oi, oi, oi, ei, ei uk

Udmurts have retained more melodies with a narrow sound stretch than the Vatkans. The Vatka ritual songs reveal a stronger tendency of widening of the sound stretch and the structural complexity. These characteristics belong to the newer layer and can be explained by close contacts between the Vatka Udmurts and the Russians.

To conclude, we can point out one joint feature of Vatka and Kalmez wedding tunes – the tendency to a lowering structure of intonation. Many researchers link this tendency with the general psycho-physical peculiarities of intonation. The descent from the upper supporting tone to the lower one is supposed to be the characteristic feature of the Zyrian and Permian Komi, as well as the Udmurt tunes.¹⁵ Apparently the lowering of melody originated before the separation of the primeval Komi and Udmurt cultures.¹⁶

So we may say that there are several similar features in the Vatka and Kalmez wedding tunes. These common features that appear in the Zyrian Komi, Permian Komi and Udmurt folk tunes are characteristic of the Old Permian common culture. On the other hand, the Vatka and Kalmez wedding tunes are typologically not identical, the reason being that their folk tradition was formed on the basis of different archaic cultures. The traditions of Vatka are grounded on the Azelin tribal culture, and those of Kalmez on the Mazunin tribal culture.

Translated by Ume Kelam and Kai Vassiljeva

Literature

¹Semenov, V. K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya basseina r. Cheptsy po dannym arkhologii. In: *Materialy po etnogenezu udmurtov*. Izhevsk, 1982, pp. 56-60.

²Atamanov, M. Iz istorii rasseleniya vorshudno-rodovykh grupp udmurtov. In: *Materialy po etnogenezu udmurtov*. Izhevsk, 1982, p. 126; Atamanov M. Udmurtskaya onomastika. In: *Udmurtia*. Izhevsk, 1988, p. 19.

³Atamanov, M. Udmurtskie toponimy basseina Vyatki. In: *Sovetskoe finno-ugrovedenie*. 1983, No. 2, pp. 115-125.

⁴See Note 2, Atamanov, 1988, p. 21.

⁵Potantin, G. U votyakov Elabuzhskogo uezda. In: *Izvestiya obshchestva arkhologii, istorii i etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom universitete*. III (1180-1882). Kazan, 1984, p. 193.

⁶See Note 2, Atamanov, 1982, pp. 117-118; Atamanov, M. Rasselenie udmurtov po dannym etnotoponimii. In: *Problemy etnogeneza udmurtov*. Izhevsk, 1987, p. 95.

⁷See, Note 1, pp. 56-60.

⁸Gavrilov, B. *Proizvedeniya narodnoi slovesnosti, obryady i poveriya votyakov Kazanskoi i Vyatskoi gubernii*. Kazan, 1888, pp. 148-150.

⁹*Vatka no Kalmez. Udmurt kalyk legendaos no predanios.* Izhevsk, 1971, pp. 90-93; see Note 6, Atamanov, 1987, p. 95.

¹⁰Kelmakov, V. K voprosu o dialektnom chlenenii udmurtskogo yazyka. In: *Permistika: voprosy dialektologii i istorii permskikh yazykov.* Izhevsk, 1987, pp. 26-50; Atamanov, M., Lebedeva, S. Kostyumnye komplekxy udmurtov v svyazi s ikh etnogenezom. In: *Problemy etnogeneza udmurtov.* Izhevsk, 1987, p. 137.

¹¹Chuvashov, M. Teiteren' piyan' kudo ('devichi dom piva') u erzyan. In: *Muzyka v obryadakh i trudovoi deyatel'nosti finno-ugrov.* Tallinn, 1986, pp. 284-311.

¹²Boikova, E. *Ob arealnom issledovanii yuzhno-udmurt'skogo pesennogo folklor.* Izhevsk, 1990, pp. 96-106.

¹³Pozdeev, P. Russkie zaimstvovaniya v pesennom tvorchestve udmurtov. In: *Problemy izucheniya finno-ugorskogo folklor.* Saransk, 1972, p. 74.

¹⁴Shergina A. Obshcheperskie korni v pesennom tvorchestve komi-zyryan, komi-permyakov i udmurtov (k probleme razvitiya zhanrov komi pessennosti). In: *Natsionalnoe i internatsionalnoe v komi literature i folklore.* Syktyvkar, 1982, pp. 132-133.

¹⁵See Note 14, pp. 135-136.

¹⁶Op cit., p. 138.

SYMBOLIC HEALING IN HUNGARIAN ETHNOMEDICINE

Mihály Hoppál. Budapest, Hungary

To understand the attitude of traditional folk medicine it is necessary for us to review the main types of the methods of healing. In the literature we find two approaches. One holds that, at a specified historical moment, the empirically based knowledge receives ritual reinforcement; while according to the other view, only about a quarter of the herbs used in folk medicine possessed any real curative property; the real effect was exerted by the process of healing, by the rite itself, the power of psychic influence. It must be clearly seen, however, that traditional folk medicine is an area of culture where methods of healing based on the accumulated experience of generations and the apparently irrational flimsy and notions dictated by beliefs blend in almost equal proportion. Only when looked at from outside does the belief system, with its own inner dynamics, appear incomprehensible; the internal connections organise the elements into a pattern, and, once the connections are understood, the elements