

rain is predicted. Such forecast or omen was performed in all burn-beating cultures. The drum skin (*kirjokansi*) got a pattern consisting of triangular forms which are employed ornamentally.

A *huuhtha* could yield a 12,000-fold harvest under supreme conditions, but it fell off radically under inferior circumstances. Thus, this rain-forecasting ceremony was of the greatest importance for the amount of crop they got.

Thanks to the extremely good fertilisation in the virgin forest, and to the great rooting ability of the grain, this forest-rye gave more than 10,000-fold in harvest. A cultivation experiment with at least 110-year-old rye seeds in an artificial *huuhtha* has established that harvest can be 12,000-fold: one seed gave a big sod consisting of 160 stalks, 2,3 metres long, each of the straws carrying a spike containing around 75 seeds. These small and dark forest-rye seeds I did find in an old *riihi* that had not been used for rye since before 1880 and my cultivation experiment took place in the years 1988-1990.

Some people still are considered, and consider themselves, to have supernatural gifts, and forecasting of weather is still practised, though only by means of some fragments of the old procedure.

The Finnish *huuhtha* cultivation was an important cultural feature maintaining ethnic boundaries between the Finns and their interacting neighbours, the Swedes and the Norwegians.

Still today several cultural traits sustain the ethnic boundaries to some extent, such as the mentioned ability of weather forecasting, but healing and looking into the future can also be found in the Finnforest today. A few specially talented have the power and skill to manipulate nature, animals and even other people. Some of the manipulations, however, can be acquired and practised by everybody. Many of these strange for us today peculiarities and bizarre rituals can be derived from the complex of burn-beating agriculture.

EAST SLAVONIC WEDDING SONGS: Functional and Structural Characteristics of the Composition of refrains.

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The composition of a work of art depends on the requirements set by the content. Composition, as internal structure and fundamental artistic content,

has a synthesising role to play in the language and the subject matter as well as in the poetical means of expression. Composition plays the leading part in the shaping of the whole work; moreover, it is conducive to its reception and (what is more important in the case of folklore) its regeneration.

The composition of folk songs has long been in the sphere of interest of folklore research.¹ Studying the poetics and style of folk songs the specialists have often resorted to repetition as the principal means of composition. V. Yeryomina sees repetition as 'the primary phenomenon to organise folk songs inwardly'. She points out its equal importance to the poetical and musical aspect.² Folk songs are characterised by various kinds of repetition. The present article is concerned only with repetitions in the text, while repetitions of melody will be neglected.

The repetitions in the poetical texts of songs may concern sounds, single words, hemistiches and whole verses or parts of song, etc. Frequently such repetitions occur irregularly, occasionally. In such cases they have a stylistic or emotional-expressive function. Systematic repetition that in fact forms the basis for the architectonics of the whole text has structural function in addition to the above-mentioned ones. Repetition as a method of composition of folk songs is expressed by refrain.

Until this day refrain as a poetic phenomenon has not been studied sufficiently, although there are numerous relevant works by Russian and Soviet musicologists, literature critics and folklorists.³ For decades now researchers have been interested in the origin of refrains. Scientific arguments have resulted in a number of controversial conceptions. The origin of this poetic phenomenon is not quite clear. The only thing that scientists have unanimously agreed in is that it should be looked for in the ancient songs, especially work songs. This viewpoint is backed up by K. Büchner. He writes in his *Work and Rhythm* that people engaged in hard work, such as wood-cutters, whose every movement requires concentration of one's strength, utter sounds while working. He is of the opinion that such sounds are caused by human physiology. The fact that such utterances make up the main content of ancient songs allows him to assume that 'these songs are, above all, refrains, consisting in nothing but these sounds that are inseparably connected with work'.⁴ In their primary stage of development we cannot really speak about songs in the modern sense of the word. Like speech, a song consisted of inconsequent sounds that were to express the primeval man's lyrical feelings.⁵ V. Shishmaryov also sees ancient refrains historically first as a sequence of rhythm-marking exclamations and then as occasional textual elements, and only after that as permanent ones.⁶ K. Büchner's, P. Meyer's and V. Shishmaryov's assumptions concern the origin of refrains. The scientists' opinion that it was human labour that provided

the source for the development of folk song and refrain as its principal structural element still holds water. Exclamations that helped a man to air his emotions or to regulate the rhythm of movements at work served as refrains, but at the same time they concentrated the very content of the song in them. In the course of further development of the text refrain became an independent element of structure, acquiring a more complicated meaning in content and rhythm. Different forms of presentation of folk songs (in choir, i.e. reciprocal singing of a soloist and a choir or two choirs, more recent monodic performance) caused different kinds of refrains to develop: the first form influenced, above all, internal refrains and those with the repetition of words, while monodic performance affected the development of external refrains.⁷

Depending on their relations with the poetical text and melody, refrains are divided in various types and categories (according to V. Yelatov's terminology). V. Yelatov, an outstanding Byelorussian ethno-musicologist and author of a number of monographs on folk music, distinguishes two categories of folk song refrains:

a refrain that does not belong to the structure of rhythm syntagma, but is rather an independent tag of the stanza;

a refrain that belongs to the general structure of rhythm syntagma, i.e. is one of its elements.⁸

He thinks that these two categories of refrains differ from each other in their relations to the rhythm syntagma. They represent two historical layers of Byelorussian folk songs. The refrains of the first category are characteristic of early forms of folk song. Their rhythmic independence reflects improvisational style. The other category of refrains corresponds to the higher degree of development of folk songs where the metre is fairly clear-cut and improvisation has resigned its place to a conscious choice of syntagmatic elements.⁹

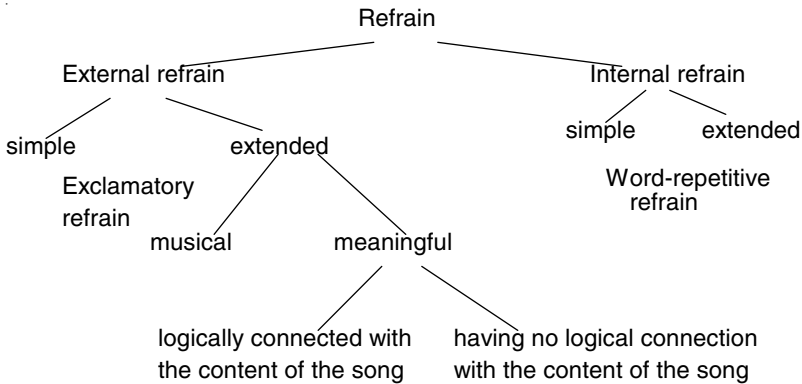
So far, the folklorists do not have an all-encompassing classification of refrain types and classes. This problem could only find a perfect solution with the united efforts of folklorists and ethno-musicologists, since in folk songs word and music are bound inseparably. The lack of a complete solution of problems concerning refrains, as well as an ill-framed set of technical terms have caused controversial interpretations. So, for example, while analysing the refrains of a certain sub-class of Russian lyrical songs (*protyazhennye pesni*), V. Sidelnikov distinguishes 'external refrains', 'word-repetitive refrains', being a subdivision of internal refrains, and 'refrains with sound imagery'. The latter may appear as internal or external refrains, depending on their relation to the text. A. Yemelyanov relies on an analogical pattern in his treatment of refrains in Byelorussian folk songs.¹⁰ N. Kwartsov divides refrains in 'the traditional ones that have no direct relationship to that particular text'¹¹ (V. Sidelnikov

calls them ‘refrains with sound imagery’) and ‘non-traditional ones that are connected with the given text and function as means to convey meaning and expression’.¹² V. Shishmaryov¹³ and V. Yeryomina make a distinction between internal and external refrains.¹⁴

As we have mentioned above, one may find some discrepancy and non-conformity of terminology in various classifications. Despite some disagreement between them, we have to see what unites them: all refrains (‘word-repetitive’ ones, ‘refrains with sound imagery’, ‘Traditional’ and ‘non-traditional’ ones) are divided in two large groups: internal and external refrains.

This pattern may be used, with some corrections, for the classification of refrains of different types of folk song, including wedding songs.

Relying on the above-mentioned work and the analysis of the given material, the following article presents a classification of refrains that occur in the praises and jocular songs that belong to the East Slavonic wedding song cycle. Naturally, we do not pretend to have reached the final solution that would be applicable to all types of song. This classification is grounded on the linguistic analysis of folk song as a verbal and musical phenomenon and relying on mental connections between the refrain and the content of the song. On a diagram the classification of refrains of East Slavonic praises and jocular songs would look as follows:



A comparison of the results of typologisation and classification of the refrains of praises and jocular songs of the Byelorussian wedding cycle with those of the refrains of the Russian and Ukrainian wedding songs of a similar type allows us to ascertain the common and different characteristic refrains of the nations in question.

Simple external refrains are short emotional exclamations consisting of one or two phonemes or syllables (e.g. *Gu! Ee-ee-ee! U-gu! Ee-gu!*) *Exclamatory*

refrains are mostly placed at the end of each stanza. They may end each single stanza of the song:

*Klyon bulo chi ne derevo,
Smorodina chi ne yagoda? Gu-u-u!
Smorodina chi ne yagoda,
Kalinova chi ne vitochka? Gu-u-u?*¹⁵

or only the last one:

*Scho na hati zillya...
Scho na hati zile,
A v hati vesile,
A v hati vesile,
Na dvori boyari,
Yak mak protsvitayuts. U-gu!*¹⁶

The role of exclamatory refrains in the architectonics of the song, their melodic and musical-rhythmical structure is fully understandable. In the first praise the refrain at the end of each stanza finishes the syntagma of the song and thus stresses the division of the text into stanzas. In the second case, refrain finishes the whole song both musically and compositionally.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in Byelorussian calendar songs, mainly those of spring and harvest, which make use of the same type of refrains.

A spring song:

*Oi, vvasna, vvasna vyasyolaya,
Narasla trava zyalyonaya. U-u-u!
Da uzvesyalila use gorachki, dalinachki!
Dze parabochki, tam dzevachki. U-u-u!*¹⁷

A harvest song:

*Zashumela zyalyonaya dubrouka,
A na zahadze sontsa.
Au-u-u!
Zabalela u malaitsa galouka,
chto chuzhaya staronka.
Au-u-u!*¹⁸

It is quite difficult to determine the concrete communicative function of such refrains in a song, as an exclamatory refrain does not convey any meaning. However, the determination of such a function confirmed the existence of refrain in the song types in question. In one of his previous works, *The Fundamentals of Rhythm in Byelorussian Folk Songs*, V. Yelatov¹⁹ stated that this refrain type was characteristic of spring and harvest songs, but he did not mention the functional significance of refrains, pointing only at their emotive charge.

‘It is as if they discharge a cloud of seething ardent emotions that the context of the stanza cannot contain within itself. It looks like a final motif presented by the performer to demonstrate his technique, and his lung capacity and the loudness of his voice above all.’²⁰

Evidently such an explanation is insufficient. Such ‘ardent emotions’ are not merely due to the musical ability and technical skill of the performer. Rather its cause may arise from the characteristic peculiarities and regularities in the usage of these songs that are difficult to explain; and their poetical expression is not an end in itself, but shaped by the agency of several different factors. A folk song (like any other folklore text) is essentially different from a work of fiction or any other form of verbal activity. According to K. Chistov, the difference between them consists in the fact that a folklore text is generated in everyday life, evoked by it, and functions within it. It is especially conspicuous in case of custom-related folklore, which is characterised by especially strong contextual links.’²¹

Contextual links, the functional significance of the wedding songs should be looked into to study the source of these songs, their peculiarities of plot and type or poetical characteristics. The mutual relationship between the poetical text of the songs and their functional significance have been in the focus of attention in former times as well. V. Yelatov’s work touches upon them in connection with the analysis of the melodies of calendar songs of spring. He considers the main function of spring songs with their content of spells to be magic.²² ‘They were meant to animate the nature, in order to make it a participant in the ritual and to imitate a dialogue with the nature.’²³

Such a truthful, but too superficial reasoning overlooks several points and limits the functionality, which in turn has its impact on the artistic composition of these songs. The specificity of the *paklikalny* songs of the spring-welcoming tradition (*gukanya*) consists in the presumption of a (personified) character to whom this song is addressed by a person or a group of persons. Thus, the presence of two parties is presumed: the sender and the addressee. Here an involuntary comparison with wedding songs comes into one’s mind - the opposition between *the familiar* and *the strange*. In addition to what was said above, exclamatory refrains both in spring and harvest songs functioned as signals. These signals were transmitted from one group of singers to another or from the precentor to the choir. In such cases a loud exclamation ensured the continuity of the choirs’ singing, at the same time drawing the attention of the audience on what was performed. To some extent the combination of magical and communicative functions brought about the need to include some elements in the song that were not associated with its content, but played a crucial role in its form.

The impact of the function on the form of the song, as illustrated with the examples of spring and harvest songs, applies also to wedding songs.²⁴

Simple exclamatory refrains are being widely used in the Ukrainian wedding praises and jocular songs, as well as in other songs accompanying the traditional complicated wedding ceremony.²⁵ Other types of refrains occur much less frequently in the above-mentioned wedding songs. Exclamatory refrains are by no means typical of Russian and Byelorussian wedding songs.

The function and spell-like quality of these songs has brought about a musically elaborated refrain, which usually is represented by different variants of the lexeme *lyuli-lyuli*:

*Oi, lyalyu; Lyoshanki-lyuli,
Leshanki mai; Oi, lyuli, lyuli, lyuli;
Lyuli da lyuli, lyushantsy moi!, etc.*

The wide distribution of similar-sounding refrains such as *lyuli, lado, lel', lyali* among different European nations testifies to their old age. For instance, I. Zhdanov finds that they may have originated under the influence of the hymn refrains.²⁶ L. Kulakovsky considers them to be repetitions of Old Slavonic god names.²⁷ V. Yelatov explains that the name-refrains must have had a logical meaning, an attempt to come into contact with various pagan deities. As time went by, the original subject of these appeals was forgotten and they were used as regular emotional refrains.²⁸ Such an explanation points out the magical nature of these appeals. Their aim was to ensure fertility in the fields, among the cattle and in the family, to conduce to the welfare of the family and to drive away evil forces. When the magical meaning of these appeals was lost, they were perceived as mere poetical means.

There is seldom a musical refrain in the songs of praise, and even less in the jocular songs. Very often do refrains occur in the Russian lyrical and ritual wedding songs. Probably the praises and jocular songs have lost their refrains in the course of development, but it may also be that it has never been characteristic of them, as songs that were magical by nature had no need to support their functions with a refrain.

The most common of the external refrains of these songs are extended meaningful ones. They have, as a rule, a concrete, lexically understandable meaning:

*Da Dunai moi Dunai, tihoi moi Dunai;
Druzhenko molodenki, Druzhenko horoshenki;
Chadno, chadno v pole
Dymno, dymno v chistom;
Roza moya, vinograd zeleny, etc.*

Meaningful refrains can be divided in two groups according to the relations

between the refrain and the 'story' of the song. They virtually make up the ideological axis of the whole song:

Kak na druzhenkah sibirki iz nemetskogo sukna!
Druzhenki horoshie, druzhenki prigozhie
Druzhenki vezhlyvye, druzhki privetlivye!
Kak na druzhenkah zhiletu ryta barhata!
Druzhenki horoshie, druzhenki prigozhie!
*Druzhenki vezhlyvye, druzhki privetlivye!*²⁹

A musical refrain may consist of a repeated part of the main verse (as in the given example) or the verse as a whole. An extended internal refrain occurs in Byelorussian and Russian praises, but hardly ever in Ukrainian songs. Such a refrain is not typical of the architectonics of jocular songs, although there are examples of it in the analysed material of all three nations.³⁰

Such refrains make the general idea of the song more concrete. They are mostly used in songs that are addressed to the most respectable wedding guests: to the groomsman, the best man, the matchmaker. Such praises and/or jocular songs have another important role in addition to their main function of eliciting a reward for their flattery. They create a general festive wedding atmosphere and help to establish a very welcome feeling of communication between the wedding guests.

Another group of meaningful extended refrains is formed by those refrains that have no connection at all with the song text.³¹

Cherez rechku-rechenku
Tut lezhit doschechenka.
Oi tsvetochek alenki,
Rozovy, golubenki!
Tut nikto ne hazhival,
Nikogo ne vazhival.
Oi tsvetochek alenki,
*Rozovy, golubenki!*³²

The usage of this group of refrains differed from place to place. The Byelorussian song of praise *A hto u nas haroshy* was sung without any refrain in the Liosnesi region, district of Vitebsk, whereas in the Postavsky region the refrain *Ai lyuli, lyuli* was used with the subsequent repetition of the second half of the verse. In the ethnic Byelorussian territory of the Ustyatsky region, Pskov district, the same song was performed with an extended musical refrain *Lyoshanki-lyuli, lyoshanki mai*.³³ In N. Kolpakov's publication³⁴ has a frequent Russian meaningful refrain *Roza moyu, vinograd zeleny*.

The structure and position of meaningful refrains in a song may differ. In most songs the refrain is repeated after each stanza. Russian praises and jocu-

lar songs may begin with a refrain, which in this case forms a part of a short introduction. Other types of refrains may also serve as introduction.³⁵ Often the refrain is placed at the end of the song (the so-called final refrain) and so it may be treated as a continuation of the song.

*Esche po moryu, moryu sinemu, da i za Dunai,
Da chto po sinemu moryu po Hvalynskomu, da i za Dunai...*³⁶

Very common in the Ukrainian songs of praise is the double final refrain:

*Oi z-za gori chorni hmari, ta rano-rano,
Oi z-za gori chorni hmari, ta ranesenko...*³⁷

Quite frequent are praises and jocular songs with an internal refrain. There are two types of internal refrains that are used in wedding songs: simple (with a repetition) and extended ones. In the first type the last word of the song is repeated once (in Russian songs) or two or three times (Byelorussian songs).

Unlike external refrains with an unchanging structure and content, the internal refrain has a new content in every verse. Only its musical and rhythmic aspect are immutable.

*Litala galubka i pa lamu,
Pa lamu i pa lamu.
A za yoi galubchik u slyadu,
U slyadu, u slyadu.*³⁸

Sometimes the grammatical form of the last word is changed:

*A u mahu, u mahu zhuraviny buiny,
Ai, buiny, buiny da buinyoshanki.
Ai, u dankavi da i ribyaty durny,
Ai, durny, durny da i durnyoshanki.*³⁹

Such a refrain makes the word more prominent on the general background of the song, accentuates the idea, emotion or situation.⁴⁰ The last word of the verse bears often the most momentous meaning.⁴¹ A simple repetition refrain can be met only in Russian praises and jocular songs. The structure of the second internal refrain consists of two elements: musical refrain and word repetition.

*A u galuba, a u galuba zylytaya galava,
Oi lyuli, to-ta lyuli, zylytaya galava.*⁴²

The repeated phrase may be a part of the main verse (as in the above example) or the whole verse. Extended internal refrain can be found in Byelorussian and Russian praises, but it hardly ever occurs in Ukrainian songs. It is not typical of the architectonics of jocular songs, although there are examples of it.⁴³

The structure *musical refrain + part (component) of the main verse* is equally typical to Russian and Byelorussian praises. At the same time the structure

musical refrain + the main verse as a whole occurs more frequently in Russian songs of praise. Sometimes a meaningful refrain may be in the role of an extended internal refrain:

U, rano, rano. ⁴⁴

A ty Zdunai moi, Zdunai. ⁴⁵

To sum up, refrain is the most important element of East Slavonic wedding praises and jocular songs. Refrain divides the text into stanzas and enriches its verbal and musical power of expression, makes the meaning of a single stanza or the whole song more precise, enhances its reception and memorisation. A comparative analysis made it clear that in spite of the structural and functional similarity of the refrains of East Slavonic wedding songs, the songs of each nation under discussion have their own ethnic characteristics. So, for example, the external musical refrain which is quite common in Russian and Byelorussian songs is hardly ever used in the Ukraine. External articulated refrains with a meaningful message are characteristic of the structure of Russian praises and jocular songs. The characteristic peculiarity of the architectonics of the Ukrainian wedding songs are simple external refrains (exclamatory refrains).

Translated by Kai Vassiljeva

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THE 13-17TH CENTURY VILLAGE CEMETERIES OF SOUTH ESTONIA IN FOLK-TRADITION AND BELIEFS

Heiki Valk. Tartu, Estonia

In spite of Christianisation of the country and the establishment of the Church organisation in the beginning of the 13th century, the deceased were buried simultaneously at churchyards and local village cemeteries in Estonia up to the late 17th and early 18th centuries.¹ The local grave-fields are usually situated on small sand or gravel hills, not far from medieval and also contemporary villages. The distance between them and the cultural layers of medieval settlement places is mostly between some 100/200 and 600/700 metres. Though some of the village cemeteries have grown out of Late Iron Age ones, most of them have still been founded in the Christian period – in the 13th century or later. The village cemeteries are very numerous in Estonia, particularly in the