

Relics of Lithuanian Polymusic: An Analysis of Three Cases

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Abstract

This article discusses three different cases of Lithuanian polymusic, all connected to the rites of passage. They are all in some way related to the lamentation tradition of funeral and wedding rituals. During funerals polymusic can be heard in the interweaving of laments and Catholic hymns. Instances of polymusic that occur at weddings are more numerous and varied when singing-lamenting, singing-playing instruments, or lamenting-singing-playing and so on are combined during one ritual act. A comparison of polymusic at Lithuanian weddings with examples from other nations offers possible interpretations as to the meanings of the Lithuanian examples in a ritual context. In the third, atypical case of polymusic, different genres – a so-called lament and a song that resembles a dancing tune – are heard not in parallel, but alternately. On one hand, it would seem that such a performance appears to go against the concept of polymusic, but on the other, the form of alternate singing is considered to be the source of polyphony. Thus, the author argues that this case can also be considered alongside other examples of polymusic (especially since two different wedding actors perform the two “pieces” of different genres in the alternating singing example).

A rather long time ago, while taking part in folklore expeditions, listening to archival sound recordings of traditional Lithuanian music, or studying the literature (mostly descriptions of various feast days), I noticed a rather rare and strange phenomenon: the sound of several different musical genres in one traditional situation. I had encountered similar phenomena in ethnomusicological literature about the cultures of other nations, yet for a long time it failed to attract my interest.

In the second half of the 20th century, researchers from Western countries¹ (musicologists, ethnologists and other specialists) noticed various phenomena that they considered to be ‘polymusic’. ‘Polymusic’ is a neologism coined in 1991 at a seminar of the French Ethnomusicology Laboratory of the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS). It was then defined by the acoustician Gilles Léothaud (n.d.) as being “the total result of the simultaneous, deliberate presence of several autonomous musical entities, without any coordination in time” (Rappoport 2013: 10). However, since these were usually evaluated as coincidental and interpreted as “cacophony or incoordination” (Basset 1995: 103) the term used to have a negative connotation.

It should be noted that in the 1970s a similar phenomenon in East Slavic countries drew the

attention of ethnomusicologists. First of all, wedding folklore – and then, more specifically, wedding laments either performed together with songs or in a collective lament (Engovatova 1997) – became an object of interest. The polymusic of Russian (and other East Slavic polyphonic cultures) is called ‘exceptional forms of collective singing’ (*особые формы совместного пения*), and is analysed in depth in the works of Margarita Engovatova. The essence of such polyphonic forms, according to this researcher, is the performance of two or more musical texts (in the semiotic sense of the word) simultaneously. This results in a new text with a more complicated structure, which acquires a special functional and semantic charge. As Engovatova points out, each of the subtexts that comprise such a text may traditionally circulate as an independent piece as well. Performers consciously combine them, while the specificities of the new text may be more or less realized (*ibid.*). Engovatova’s insights are especially important for our research into Lithuanian instances of polymusic in wedding contexts (see cases II and III).

Examples of polymusic studies in the tradition of Belarus are to be found in the work of Zinaida Mazheyko, Tatyana Berkovich and others. Belarusian researchers began paying attention to the distinctive musical-ritual phenomenon “Borona” (*Борона*) that is practised in the region

¹ See e.g. Elkin 1967 [1938]; Lomax 1968; Schaeffner 1968; George 1996.

of Paazer'ye.² According to the type of sonic space / time organization, "Borona" is the most complex of all the ritual-play forms of singing in the Paazer'ye region of Belarus (Berkovich 2012: 42).³ The sonic space / time of this act is based on the most symbolically important elements of the song system, among which are various seasonal, calendrical and family cycle melodies as well as ritual and non-ritual melodies. Thus the organizational basis here is the musical component which is "read" in a specific way in the context of ritual-play modelling of space and time. As a musical text, "Borona" most thoroughly reveals the "hypersemantic" (Albert Baiburin) ritual complex. According to Berkovich, "Borona" recreates ritual chaos, graphically speaking – the sacrifice that is given to order and norms – the essential, original characteristics of calendrical traditions. Because of this, what is especially meaningful in this process is that it contains the playful-laughter "inversion" element understood by ethnophores as harkening back to archaic attempts to guarantee the continuity of life through laughter (Berkovich 2012: 42). "Borona", Berkovich argues, marks the highest degree of playful semantization of the space of ritual calendar songs (ibid.: 46).

The French ethnomusicologist Dana Rappoport introduced the term polymusic to wider use in academic literature when she began an in-depth study of polymusic phenomena and described their essential characteristics: "There is a special kind of musical performance, surprisingly widespread throughout the world, which involves a particular use of sound in space and time: various musical acts are performed simultaneously and deliberately in the same space" (Rappoport 2013: 9). At the perceptual level, the resulting sound, according to Rappoport, "is impressive to behold: not merely an overlapping of heterogeneous sounds, it often entails an astonishing array of harmonics" (ibid.: 10). She defines the concept

of polymusic "as a phenomenon in which two or more groups simultaneously perform different tunes, derived from the same or different genres, but without temporal/rhythmic coordination, and without the intention of playing a single piece of music together but rather of playing separately, side by side", and asserts that such examples exist almost everywhere in the world. The researcher emphasizes that polymusic "is neither heterophony nor polyphony, as, generally speaking, such forms are built with organized parts shaped into a whole" (ibid.).

Other ethnomusicologists began to use Rappoport's (1999) term 'polymusic'. Leila Qashu researches polymusic in the context of the wedding music of the Arsi Oromo (Qashu 2009); Filippo Bonini-Baraldi, Emmanuel Bigand and Thierry Pozzo perceive expressions of polymusic in western musical culture, claiming: "It is worth to note that polymusic is not particularly exotic, since it is also common in western musical practices such as free-jazz, carnivals and techno parades" (Bonini-Baraldi, Bigand, Pozzo 2015: 276). Ardian Ahmedaja, in his discussion of the use of concepts such as 'polyphony', 'multipart music', and the German *Mehrstimmigkeit* among researchers of traditional polyphonic music, draws attention to the importance of the concept of polymusic in contemporary research into polyphonic music performances (Ahmedaja 2016).⁴

It is often the case that polymusic is closely connected with situations (mostly ceremonies) "in which different types of music are juxtaposed" (Rappoport 2013: 33). Having analysed the temporal and spatial aspects of Indonesian polymusical examples, Rappoport came to a conclusion about the exceptional importance of their ritual context: the existence of ritual polymusical performance means that such music is never simply a form of entertainment, but may convey various meanings, according to the ritual⁵ (ibid.: 41). As an exceptional musical-semantic

² The forms of antiphonal-canon or simultaneously sounding contrasting layers performed during a ritual act comprise a musical-semantic alternative to the monodic culture that is based on "purely" linear thinking (Berkovich 2012: 46).

³ The aggregate of melodic intonations of ritual songs called 'Borona', based on various combinations of song texts in one space/time, represents a class of 'special forms of collective singing' (according to Engovatova 1997).

⁴ Furthermore, *polymusic* was suggested as a key concept at the Fifth Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Multipart Music held in China in 2017: "the intention here is to lead a possibly broader discussion about specific uses of sound in space and time and about performances of different musical acts simultaneously and deliberately".

⁵ It may be a tool of power for regional and familial hierarchies; it may emphasize the belonging to certain territories and reaffirm the space between them, etc.

expression, polymusic is particularly important in funeral rituals (this can be considered a universal phenomenon found in various nations). Philip Yampolsky (Yampolsky 2015: 168–169) has also revealed specific instances of polymusic in funerary contexts in Eastern Insulindia. This article will discuss the phenomenon of Lithuanian polymusic in funerary contexts, amongst others.

Rappoport also drew attention to processes of Christianizing the old ritual music in Indonesia.⁶ In the new contexts, according to Rappoport, polymusical performance sometimes disappears. “Instead, performers follow the Western stage format, with only one musical group being heard at a given time. However, polymusical performance may still happen at syncretic rituals featuring the mixing of Catholic and traditional elements” (Rappoport 2004: 383).

Ethnomusicologists’ insights about the various polymusical phenomena are especially important for researching, understanding and interpreting instances of Lithuanian polymusic for the first time. It is worth noting that all three phenomena of polymusic discussed in this article are considered to be an important part of rituals, both funerals and weddings, which are the rituals of passage. Researching them requires a holistic approach that analyses the relationship between various musical folklore genres not only from a musical perspective, but one that also takes into consideration the ethnographic, sociocultural, religious and other contexts. This research employs structural-semantic and typological comparative methods along with an interpretative-hermeneutical analysis.

All of the instances of Lithuanian polymusic that interest us are in some way connected with laments and the lamenting process performed during funerals or weddings. Therefore, it is important first to explain concisely the Lithuanian lamenting tradition.⁷ The Lithuanian lament tradition was an important part of the life cycle of the individual and of the ritual life of the community, where it maintained a role in funerals, weddings, and perhaps other areas as well. These traditions are rooted in a pre-Christian past, and yet persisted through the process of Christianisation up to the present day (Černiauskaitė 2006). Lithuanian laments (“crying with words”, Lithuanian *verkti su žodžiais*; *verkti žodžiais*, *žodeliauti*) are improvised poetry performed generally by women with a recitative melody and astrophic form.

Both historical sources from the 13th to the 17th centuries and the contemporary comments of singers from villages in the region of Dzūkija (in southern Lithuania, where the lament tradition is still practised) show that lamenting was a mandatory part of the ancient ritual of escorting the dead to the “other world”.⁸ Bearing in mind this idea of the lament as a necessary part of the funeral ritual, several functions of lamenting can be identified (information, communication, protection, therapy and others):

- 1) signal (information) – the first loudly vocalized lament upon stepping out of the house (outside) is the sound signal to the community and informs the other world;⁹
- 2) the symbolic escorting of the soul (it is believed that the soul is able to leave the body only after it has been properly lamented);

⁶ These insights will be important when discussing the first case of Lithuanian polymusic in this article.

⁷ Lamenting over the deceased is characteristic of rituals honouring the dead in many countries throughout the world. “As a folklore genre, laments are part of the song tradition of the community, and they often represent an archaic dimension, both musically and poetically. Funeral laments (*dirges*) in particular were also part of religious tradition, in that they reflected communal concepts of death and the fate of the dead, as well as relations between the living and the dead” (Nenola 2002: 73).

⁸ In funeral ceremonies nowadays lamenting no longer seems necessary, it appears “annoying” – especially to people of the younger generation. Nevertheless, lamenting the dead is still considered necessary by the majority of people: “now lamenting isn’t popular, but I’m not one to follow trends...I know how, so I lament. They say that whoever had more funerals is better at crying with words. I have a very big grievance that I wasn’t allowed to lament over my sister (her daughters wouldn’t let me) [...] My sister’s funeral was just fine, but not according to how we do it” (Stasė Jankauskienė, b. 1933, Kazokiškės village). This comment and other mourners’ notes were recorded by Rasa Norinkevičiūtė (NAA). See also: Norinkevičiūtė 1999, 2007.

⁹ For example, in the village of Raitininkai, Alytus region, “[f]rom the house where someone died, someone close to the deceased would step outside (usually women) and loudly begin to lament. They would do this only in the daytime. If the sick person dies at night, then the lament waits until dawn. It is a signal to everyone that someone has died there” (Ulčinskas 1995: 118).

- 3) symbolic initiation: the deceased, having crossed over to the world of the ancestors, becomes the communicator between two worlds;
- 4) protection (lamenting protects the deceased over the course of one of the most dangerous ritual transitions; it also protects those performing the rituals (the mourner and community) from various marginal manifestations of the deceased):
 - lamenting during funeral rituals at a specific time and place;
 - forbidden to say the deceased's name while lamenting;¹⁰
 - very loud lamenting during moments of ritual culmination;¹¹
- 5) communication – lamenting as a verbal and non-verbal (sonic) code for communicating with the other world (it is believed that the dead understand only lament (i.e. not spoken) language):
 - between the whole community and the world of ancestors;
 - mourner (as medium) communicates with the world of ancestors (requesting to “open the gates”, “accept the new guest”, “to seat him on the bench of the deceased” and so on);
 - mourner's (personal) communication with the deceased;
- mourner's communication with formerly deceased relatives through the currently deceased who functions as a medium;¹²
- mourner's communication with all deceased relatives during memorials for the dead and calendrical holidays (one-way communication);
- mourner's communication with the dead in everyday life (intrapersonal communication where the information and emotions are processed “inside oneself” for therapeutic purposes);
- 6) resurrection (the desire to bring the deceased back to life), awakening, life affirmation:
 - addressing the deceased during the lament, awakening¹³ them and inviting them;¹⁴
 - using wooden wind instruments (trumpets/bugles) during funeral rituals; here we can draw a comparison between the loud sound of playing the instrument with the action required to do so: to blow/breathe;¹⁵
 - “laughter” at the moment of lament (as though it were a “lament-laugh”; for comparison Izaly Zemtsovsky (Zemtsovsky 1987) uses the term *плачесмех*, and Tatyana Bernshtam (Bernshtam 2008), Lada Stevanović (Stevanović 2009) and others also offer interpretations of laughter at funerals; more will be said about this later;

¹⁰ “After the death of her husband, the wife does not say or lament ‘my dear husband’, or his name, but rather says ‘oh head of mine [head of the household]’” (Anelė Karmonienė, b. 1915, Vidutinė village, Švenčionys district; ŠRR: 85).

¹¹ Historical sources reflect precisely this specificity of lament performance: “However many people are in a family, that is how many laments are sung, or rather screamed” (Lepner 1744: 124 (LPL); cit. from: Balys 1981: 141), “up until then all the women howl” (PDP: 104). 20th century village residents give a similar account drawing attention to the fact that the mourners used to yell really loudly; that sound would swell and grow louder if several mourners stood together and wailed in their own way: “the five of them standing together lamented so loudly, that you couldn't hear anything else, just a ringing in your ears” (Bronė Verseckienė, b. 1936, Tiltai village); “with a raised voice they shout ‘oh you, mother of mine, oh you, my dearest’” (Ulčinskas 1995: 124).

¹² As Jankauskienė asserts, when lamenting the mourner “speaks” with all those who have departed before, asking them to welcome the new member of the family to the other world: “So when my sister died, then [...] I asked Rimas [her son] that he would greet and welcome my sister, and open the brass gates for her...”.

¹³ As Olga Freidenberg points out, they invite the dead to come; however this arrival should be understood not literally, but rather as an epiphany, a rebirth: “In Rome the deceased was loudly invoked by name, and this invitation was accompanied by ritual weeping (*conclamare*); later, this came to be understood as resurrection as one of the main elements of laments” (Freidenberg 1997: 96).

¹⁴ “The deceased hears it. I mentioned the most beautiful words, so that they would come back to life. You read from their life, and pray, that they would respond through you. I will beg and give away everything, just so that they would come back to life. And when I myself will go there, then at least they will extend a hand to welcome me over.” (Jankauskienė, b. 1933, Kazokiškės village).

¹⁵ Playing wooden wind instruments (trumpets) is practised in funeral traditions of a variety of nations (western Ukrainian (Hutsul), Moldavian, Romanian (Bukovina) and others). In northern Lithuania in 1880 village musicians played three wooden trumpets during the Mass in the Kupiškis cemetery, as well as during the actual funeral of the deceased (BLKP: 499).

- 7) psychotherapy – one of the most important functions of the ritual;¹⁶ according to Baiburin, this acquires special significance in cases when the community encounters crisis situations (natural disasters, deaths of community members, and others). The collective unity and its normal functioning winds up in danger (Baiburin 1993: 31). Ritual lamenting helps both the entire community as well as the mourning individual to manage the crisis situation.

It is well known that one of the most important aims of weeping is a therapeutic, stress-reducing effect on the psyche, both for the mourner and listener. There is a widely known saying: “cry it out – you’ll feel lighter”. After weeping, one feels emotional relaxation that helps to calm stress. Nevertheless, funeral laments, when compared with the usual physiological crying (sobbing), are different. The differentiating characteristics include: formulaic repetition of intonation-melodic motifs; conscious use of certain paramusical elements; imperative emotional anguish expressed through words chosen spontaneously, on the spot, that is to say, *here and now* as though one were “talking” with the deceased.¹⁷ It is no coincidence that the village residents of Dzūkija say they are going to funerals to listen to “how beautifully they lament”. A “beautiful lament” (a moving lament with expressive words) uttered at a funeral brings everyone to tears,¹⁸ even the greatest sceptics. Thus, thanks to masterfully executed laments (and especially beautiful,

well-chosen words!) all participants of the funeral feel the release of especially stressful emotions;¹⁹

- 8) socialization is a ritual function, according to Baiburin, that integrates and connects members of a community (Baiburin 1993: 31). During funeral rituals, people feel united through shared emotions and collective moods (which is not the case in everyday life); they interact not only among themselves, but also re-establish the relationship between ancestors and descendants, between the past and the present.

Without a doubt, while on the one hand all of the above-mentioned functions contradict, duplicate or enhance one another, on the other hand the expression of just one or a few of them would not be clear without the relationship with the other functions and would not reflect the essence of the old lamenting tradition.

Having briefly discussed the principal features of the lamenting tradition, we can now move on to analyse three different cases of polymusic.

Case I: laments-hymn during a funerary ritual

This authentic situation, thanks to a lucky coincidence, was recorded during a folklore expedition of the Lithuanian Music and Theater Academy to the region of Dieveniškės (when a local resident informed us about a forthcoming wake for a recently deceased village elder).²⁰

¹⁶ Emile Durkheim was one of the first to discuss the psychotherapeutic effect of rituals.

¹⁷ Jankauskienė: “when they didn’t let me lament over my sister, I thought I wouldn’t be able to take it, there was such a heaviness on my heart. It pressed down on my heart. How I didn’t say everything I had to, so then it became even harder for me. But when I cried with words, it was as though a heavy stone was lifted from me. After all, why do doctors say ‘cry it out, you’ll feel lighter?’ Not to mention crying it out with words.”

¹⁸ Tears mentioned in laments and funerary-themed songs, according to the mythologist Daiva Vaitkevičienė, are understood to be a special symbol – a mythical key that opens the earth for the deceased (for instance: “I broke through the earth with sorrowful tears” LTR 3795/4/), and lamenting itself is understood to be a means of opening the gates of the earth (the gates of the world of the dead) (for instance: “When nobody cries, they say: nobody’s crying, there is no one to unlock the earth”, LTR 2631/25/) (Vaitkevičienė 2007: 166).

¹⁹ “There are people who are very sensitive...one lamented so hard that you couldn’t stand it. She talks it out, makes everyone feel sorrow and everyone weeps” (Kęstutis Jarusevičius, b. 1964, Kančėnai village). “When they cry with words, then more mourners turn up because pity gets a hold of them, and they bring everyone to tears. One sees the other crying, so then they also begin to cry” (Ona Juonienė, b. 1930, Doškony village). “If they bring them to tears, then weeping is fitting. And it’s meaningful for oneself.” (Jacinta Čirienė, b. 1936, Žiūrai village). “When they cry with words, then they bring tears to everyone’s eyes” (Kristina Paulauskienė, b. 1920, Žiūrai village). “At least I get a good cry when someone laments with words” (Marija Mortūnienė, b. 1933, Lynežeris village).

²⁰ Recorded by Daiva Račiūnaitė and Liuda Liaudanskaitė on July 7, 1990.

Against the background of a lengthy church hymn²¹ (~15 min.) one can hear the laments of two mourners. At certain moments all three musical pieces resound together, even though both mourners lament not in parallel, but taking turns, that is to say, one after the other, and only occasionally does one begin her lament before the other has finished hers. Such a phenomenon is considered to be an original combination of several “languages” with each other in terms of:

- musical genres: laments and hymns;
- linguistic specificities: Lithuanian (first mourner), Belarusian (second mourner), Polish (hymn);
- Religious affiliation – pre-Christian (lament) and Christian (hymn) traditions.

Before analysing this concrete case of polymusic recorded in Žižmai village, it is important to discuss the geographic placement of the village and its specific surroundings, which form a distinctive local ethnic music. Žižmai is a linear settlement in the region of Šalčininkai, in the territory of Dieveniškės, located in the protrusion or “peninsula” of Lithuania that is surrounded on three sides by Belarus. Dieveniškės²² is also colloquially called Lithuania’s “appendix”. This is an ancient region scattered with villages hardly influenced by civilization which are now becoming empty.

At the end of the 19th century the region of Dieveniškės was ethnically Lithuanian (even though as early as 1866 a school that taught only in Russian was established there). In the middle of the 19th century a language that was not one of the pure Slavic languages (Russian, Polish or Belarusian) but a mixed language called “simple-speak” (*po prostu*²³) became widely used

among Lithuanians in this region. Lithuanians who used this as a second language were equally able to understand a Polish-speaking priest or manor-lord, and a Russian-speaking Tsarist official. In this peninsula of Lithuania assimilation with Belarussians has long been occurring and continues to take place as the number of ethnically mixed families, in which the dominant language is usually *po prostu*, grows.

The Polish occupation of the Vilnius region from 1920–1939 greatly influenced the local ethnic, political and sociocultural situation, especially in terms of the Polonisation of Lithuanians: in the territory of Dieveniškės, Lithuanian schools were closed, the use of the Lithuanian language was forbidden, and so on.²⁴ During the years of Soviet occupation, the establishment of Polish or Russian schools was encouraged and the residents, adapting to the situation, usually chose to send their children to Russian schools and use Russian in everyday life (Korzeniewska 2013: 170–171).

Thus, multilingualism in Dieveniškės has existed for a long time. The linguist Aloyzas Vidugiris’s research shows that not only is multilingualism characteristic of this area, but so is a rather wide transitive worldview and scale of self-consciousness (which incorporate the widest contrasts). “The ethnic concepts of ‘Polish’ and ‘Lithuanian’ prove rather contingent and do not carry much meaning for the majority of people in the village who know how to speak both Lithuanian and Belarusian.” (Vidugiris 1995: 438–439). Katarzyna Korzeniewska comes to a similar conclusion through her observations that any sort of forced assigning of ethnicity to the residents of the area would be wrong. This is because even though the residents are able to clearly identify

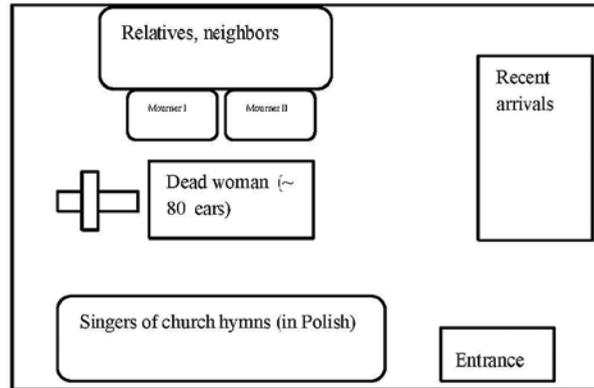
²¹ The hymns (Lithuanian *giesmės*) in this paper are Catholic folk chants chanted during funerals, commemorations of the deceased, Lent, church holidays, and other occasions. These traditions of chanting are not directly related to the activities of the church, and they are practised without the participation of a priest. One of these is singing in the outdoors by a crucifix during the month of May (Lithuanian *Mojavos*). Other meanings of the word ‘hymn’ (*giesmė*): 1) in southeastern Lithuania (Dzūkija and eastern Aukštaitija) – a ritual (work, calendar ceremonies, wedding) song; 2) in northeastern Lithuania (Aukštaitija) – polyphonic song *sutartinė*.

²² Dieveniškės is part of a larger administrative unit – East Lithuania, which is also called Vilnius region or *Vilnija*.

²³ *Po prostu* or ‘simple-speak’ is a mixture of Polish, Belarusian, and Russian languages that is spoken by residents of the Vilnius region. Closer to Vilnius, there is a strain that is closer to Polish and is commonly called *tuteišiai* (meaning local), while near the border with Belarus, where the influence of the Belarusian language is more pronounced, they call it *po prostu*. It is worth noting that Catholics who speak Belarusian consider themselves to be Polish. The name of the language itself indicates a hierarchical structure – that there is a “simple” as well as a “higher” (Polish) language (Savukynas 2011: 63).

²⁴ Researchers from many different fields have written a great deal about the dramatic history of this region and its residents’ painful experiences (Martinkėnas 1968; Misius 1995; Vidugiris 1995, etc.).

Fig. 1. Location of ritual participants in the home of the deceased woman (author's drawing).



themselves with either one or another nation according to their own criteria (such as language), it is worth noting that they feel much closer ties with “ethnic others” and neighbouring residents. (Korzeniewska 2013: 170–171). Furthermore, the words ‘Polish’ and ‘Catholic’ are used as synonyms in this region and their meanings are often confused. According to many informants, Polishness arises “as a matter of fact” from being Catholic (Korzeniewska 2013: 159).

For a researcher, as an outside observer, the multilingual polymusic phenomenon might appear unusual; for the residents of Žižmai village, however, this is a completely natural situation which expresses the specific local consciousness. The first mourner is the childhood friend (~80 years old) of the deceased elder, who was of Lithuanian origin; she lives in the same village and laments in Lithuanian. The second mourner is the daughter (~60) of the deceased elder who married a Belarussian and lives in Belarus, and thus laments in Belarussian. The Catholic community of the village (regardless of the nationality of its members) sings a hymn in Polish – just as it is sung in church.

In the religious sense there is also a strange combination of two different phenomena: older pre-Christian beliefs and Christian (Catholic). It is important to recall that according to the

pre-Christian worldview one must lament the deceased while sending them on their journey to the other world, and this was done by close family members, or professional lamenters who were specialists in their field: “maybe it was the fashion of the times that everyone had to cry. Earlier everyone had to cry. If you don’t know how, then you have to ask someone else to cry for you” (Genovaitė Rūsteliënė, b. 1926, Tiltai village); “It’s shameful if you don’t weep with words. And you must. After all, it’s the last time you see them” (Elena Dusevičienė, b. 1933, Gruožininkai village); “You must weep with words, it’s beautiful. They say, oh how beautifully they buried her – they wept with words a lot” (Ona Seniūtienė, b. 1921, Taučionys village).

As time went on and the relics of the old worldview combined with Christianity (Christianity was brought to Lithuania in 1387), the attitude toward the lamenting tradition changed. Once there were no longer professional lamenters, the process of lamenting for the deceased lost its usual role and was rejected for not complying with Christian ethics (Korzeniewska 1995: 16–18). Thus sources from the 15th century mention mourners of old funeral rituals who were punished by the government for practising lamentation.²⁵ It is believed that even in the middle of the 17th century

²⁵ For instance, the Prussian mandate of Bishop Michael Junge in 1426 established a penalty of three marks for lamenting the dead, and the 1639 *Recessus generalis* of Insterburg (*Recessus generalis der Kirchen Visitation Insterburgischen und anderen Littawischen Embter im Herzogthumb Preussen*), after witnessing that Lithuanians allow the mourners to dress the dead and for this they are given meat, wheat, clothes and the like, decided that mourners who lament must be punished as though they were criminals (BRMŠ: 484).

Lithuanians very reluctantly allowed clergy to become involved in the funerals of their deceased. For this reason, the clergy, pursuing their own interests, introduced the singing of hymns for the deceased in church – in contrast to the lamenting of the deceased at home, and in doing so they also set the price for such services (Vyšniauskaitė 1964: 523).

The Church's condemnation of lamenting rituals was not coincidental: it sought to convince the community of believers that death is God's blessing – a joyous ending to a difficult and sin-filled life – and therefore considered the lamenting of the deceased as a sin. Understandably, as such a worldview gained traction, loud lamenting resembling screaming became the least acceptable practice: "One could barely hear the hymn singers over the mourner's wailing" (Buračas 1996: 13). According to village folks, lamenting at wakes is sometimes forbidden even today, and the priests participating in funerals claim that the deceased needs prayers and church hymns and not laments that resemble physiological weeping.

Regardless of the differences in worldview discussed above, the lamenting of the deceased during funeral rituals continues to play a role in Dzūkija. Sometimes, upon hearing the first addresses of the mourner to the deceased, the usual funeral ceremony "breaks down". The hymns go quiet, and all those around become subject to the mourner. Thus, even though it is hard to believe, even contemporary funeral rituals are to some extent "led" by the mourner, even if only from the sidelines. Nevertheless, lamenting is usually coordinated in various ways with the Catholic hymns and prayers without which funerals today are unimaginable: "and when the older women begin to sing hymns and lament everything gets mixed up. Like how back in the day they used to lament for a full half hour" (Ona Banuškevičienė, b. 1937, Taučionys village). Some of the mourners explained that they try to lament in the spaces between hymns, so as not to get in the way of the hymn singers. This is how Jankauskienė teaches her niece to lament: "[...] most importantly, don't listen to anyone, just wait those words that come to you. And if the hymn

singers start to sing, then you stop weeping. It's their turn [...]".

In reality, it is at a certain moment of culmination during the wake that one laments without regard to the hymn singers or other onlookers (such moments may include when relatives arrive, when the coffin lid is closed, and others):

Oh how I wept when I was eleven years old, people would come to listen to it. I didn't pay attention to anything, neither the hymn singers, nor the priest (and the priests were not very fond of laments). Well, at that time Nikodemas Milžinas was the priest, so he even said: "don't, don't close the coffin yet. Let little Stasė lament a bit more, she laments so beautifully." (Stasė Jankauskienė).

At such moments singular, unrepeatable, emotionally moving polymusic "pieces" naturally emerge – or, rather, what emerges is a rather lengthy polymusical act which is similar to the case of the Žižmai funeral that we are analysing.

Returning to the hymn sung at the Žižmai village funeral, it is important to note that it was sung in the older style – loudly without aestheticizing or "culturing" the sound, as is often done today when sentimental pieces are performed as a genre of new funeral music.²⁶ The singing of hymns in this way – loudly – with the "full throat", according to Aušra Žičkienė, was the common and usual way of singing hymns up until the start of the 20th century. Only after the Lithuanian professional music situation became more established and the choral tradition began were Christian hymns deliberately taught (first and foremost, in churches) according to a different hymn singing style (Žičkienė 2004: 76).

Thus, regardless of the fact that the layers of music in the funeral ceremony of Žižmai village discussed above differ in their origin, structure and forms of expression, they are connected by the same intention – paying respect to the deceased and escorting them out of this world. In this case, the "attunement" reflects the multidimensional self-consciousness of the local residents. This creates the conditions for the coexistence of different religious and cultural layers and their polymusical expression over time.

²⁶ For more on the characteristics of different musical layers of contemporary funerals see Žičkienė 2004.

Case II: lament-march-song-hymn during a wedding ceremony

Especially important for our research are the old (dating from the first half of the 20th century) descriptions of weddings that bear witness to the polymusical phenomena that occurred during wedding ceremonies. There are a large number of such descriptions that mention the combination of several different genres from Aukštaitija (north-east Lithuania). For instance, the Finnish professor Aukusti Robert Niemi documented such moments of weddings in the region of Biržai in 1910:

The bride was veiled at home while sitting on the bread barrel upon which a pillow had been placed. The mother combed the bride's hair with a brush. The bride lamented, the bridal party (women) sang while brushing her hair: "She is combing my little head/ ripping out my strands of hair/ braiding them/ I will no longer braid them/ they are taking away my wreath/ I will no longer wear it". (Niemi 1996: 405–406).

In another instance, describing similar rituals in the region of Kupreliškis, we find only a short mention of this: "the women *sang* and caused the bride to lament"²⁷ (Niemi 1996: 409).

During the wedding the bride would lament a great deal and frequently, reflecting various moments of the wedding. According to Ona Slavinskienė-Burokaitė (b. 1901 in Kupiškis), the bride wept "when asking her mother to place the wreath upon her head on Sunday morning"; "upon the arrival of the groom"; "when dragging [the bride] out from under the sheet"; "as her father leads her to the house"; "during the wedding-master's first drink";²⁸ "during the toast to the mother of the bride"; "departing for the church"; "arriving after the wedding ceremony" and at other moments.²⁹ As Emilija Baltrukienė-Vaičiulytė (75 years old, Rokiškis) recounts, "it used to be that the bride laments when the relatives and neighbours gather money offerings for the bride and when she is being taken to the other side. I myself didn't weep, I just heard others lamenting when I was little. It was the fashion then to lament." (AM 517a).

Often, the need for the bride to lament on the eve of her wedding is emphasised – "in that case she won't lament once she's married". For example, in Mordvinian (Erzyan) wedding rituals there were special "bridal evening laments" (чокишнэ лангонь урьнимат) that took place every evening after the matchmaking deal was set. Girls and young women would attend such evenings, and men were not allowed (Shamova 2016: 19–20). In Croatia, before the groomsmen arrived, a "mournful wedding" (*plač-pir*) was held in the house of the bride, during which the bride lamented. The ethnolinguist Aleksander Gura points out that this custom was the basis for the common saying "weeping like during the 'girls' night'" (Gura 2012: 734). As the researcher notes, the girls' singing of sorrowful songs during the girls' night often takes on the symbolism of lamenting the "deceased" bride; for example, in the Arkhangelsk, Novosibirsk, Pskov and Smolensk regions this evening was for singing hymns over the bride (*отпевать [невесту]*), i.e. "sing sorrowful songs that lament the bride" (*ibid.*: 421).

According to the researcher of Lithuanian folklore Bronė Stundžienė, tradition forced the bride to lament herself (for example during the girls' night, when meeting the groom, upon leaving for the wedding ceremony, and later when entering her husband's home, and so on), and she was brought to tears by other women singing special songs (Stundžienė 2010: 32). The ritual of bringing the bride to tears during the wedding while still at the bride's family home when parting with her parents is common in the wedding traditions of many nations. For example, in North Udmurtia wedding "lament" melodies, *ныл бӧрдьитон голос/крэзь* ('melodies that bring the bride to tears'), are closely related to the tradition of lamenting. Analogical genres exist in the song cultures of Karelia (*itketysvirret*), northern Russia (*кливить невесту* – i.e. to bring the bride to tears with sad songs), and Tatar – both Kriashen and Misharen (*кыз елату*). The terms that stem from the causative verbs 'bring to tears' (in Udmurt *бӧрдьитыны*, in Karelian *itettää*, *itkettää*), align with the wedding situation: the

²⁷ Actually, lamenting itself is not mentioned here, but is only presumed from a comparison with other descriptions.

²⁸ *Užgėros, užgertuvės* drink, drinking down – a ritual drink to the bride's health, giving her gifts upon agreeing that the wedding will take place.

²⁹ Recorded by Jonė Žebrytė in 1974; MFA KTR 335.

songs are sung to the bride so that she would begin to weep, because otherwise she will be unhappy once she is married (Nuriyeva 2014: 128). Not many such 'melodies for bringing to tears' survive in Northern Udmurtia, where they have been replaced by lyrical songs and ballads of more recent origin. In the ritual context the 'melodies for awakening the bride's tears' are performed collectively in the style of *крезь*, and are essentially laments over the bride (ibid.: 189–190). In the region of Voronezh (Russia), a special song full of tragedy entitled *River (Река)* is sung to a bride who is an orphan, and at that moment the bride must lament or weep (Sysoeva 1999: 8). In Northern Udmurtia a "mournful" farewell/parting song titled "You will stay, you will stay..." ("Кылѣд ук, кылѣд ук..."), or in certain local traditions an improvised "melody for awakening tears", *Ныл бӧрдытон крезь*, is sung (Nuriyeva 2014: 257).

At Lithuanian weddings special songs intended to bring the bride to tears are sung at different moments of the wedding rituals with the aim of provoking the bride to weep/sob (to cause her to enter a special state of lament).³⁰ These are sung either before the lamenting or simultaneously during the lament.³¹

It is interesting to note that in the Lithuanian tradition, as in those of various other nations, two different phenomena are often mentioned together: the bride's weeping, that is to say physiological crying with tears, and the bride's lamenting (wailing) (or others' lamenting for her). To tell the truth, when analysing various descriptions of weddings it sometimes remains unclear whether the bride is crying (with tears) or lamenting. It could be the case that both of these

expressions exist together, supplementing each other, or sometimes alternating.

One way or another, lamenting becomes a particular acoustic code of the ritual.³² As is well known, a wedding ceremony accompanied by laments expresses the ritual of the bride's separation from her home, relatives and girl friends (who symbolize the period of girlhood). To use Arnold Van Gennep's terminology, it marks the periods of separation and liminality/threshold (*limen*) characteristic of a rite of passage (*rites de passage*). According to Van Gennep (2019), the period of separation coincides with the rejection of some sort of stable state. Once the individual lacks stability (is separated from the stable "centre"), they become a liminal figure. The qualities of a bride as a "liminal" figure are expressed in various ways. One way is through ritualized speech, or laments. Wedding laments are one of the effective social and psychological procedures that help the bride in her "liminal" passage: the symbolic death of the bride is conveyed through special language models (Albedil 2014). According to researchers, ritual lamenting cleanses, regenerates and sanctions the passage because it is based on an understanding of a temporary death (Sultangareeva 2006: 157–159). Expressing final farewells to one's native home and family is a common theme of wedding laments of various nations, which clearly emphasizes the motif of social death (Sultangareeva 2018: 74).³³

Actually, during the bride's "separation" period sometimes it was not the bride herself who lamented but a special wedding lamenter (*подголосница*), who not only eased the psychological state of the bride but also oversaw

³⁰ The author was able to record in 2014 the personal account of the singer Vilhelmina Elskienė's (b. 1932 Kupiškis) own wedding. After singing a sorrowful song "The wind blows from all the sides" she added: "During the wedding they sing...when the women sat down, when they started to sing, I couldn't keep it together, I screamed loudly from afar and lamented how I had to leave my home, my parent's home, on the second morning and on the last day..." (when she finished singing this song, the singer grew sad and was on the brink of tears).

³¹ Numerous researches on the wedding rituals of various nations show that similar combinations of song-laments exist in other nations' traditions as well. For example, in Mordovian (Erzyan) weddings, laments were usually combined with other genres of folklore. Liliya Shamova believes that these wedding songs and laments can be analysed as a common generic-stylistic layer (Shamova 2016: 20).

³² According to the researcher of rituals Albert Baiburin, the common tendency of rituals to be extremely visible, for the ideas and images expressed therein to be easily grasped, usually depends on the advantage of visual elements (gestures, objects, actions) over acoustic ones. Nevertheless, there are rituals and their fragments in which sound symbols clearly dominate, including the ritual lament over the bride or the deceased (Baiburin 1993: 208).

³³ In the area of Kupiškis, after bidding farewell to her family and relatives, the bride gets into the carriage lamenting: "may these wheels fall apart, may the black earth open up, may I not make it to the holy church on this morning". These words of the lament resemble those of a spell or curse. The motif of the "earth opening up" is rather common in funerary laments as well, and it expresses the mourner's communication with the world of the dead.

the correct execution of the ritual (Kuznetsova 1993: 18–19).³⁴ In northern Russia, it could even be said that a special lamenters' (*подгословицы*) institution existed. The function of the lamenter was to help the bride weep and lament.³⁵ As the researcher Valentina Kuznetsova asserts, others taking part in the ritual act such as the mother, godmother, sisters and friends of the bride also lamented. In this case lamenting became a form of communicating with the bride while she is in the "liminal" state. This form of communication is delimited by the ritual – once the "ritual" time ends, communication returns to the usual norms.³⁶ The language of lament enacts the primary content of "separation" in wedding ceremonies (Kuznetsova 1993: 20).³⁷ In Lithuanian weddings as well it was not just the bride who lamented, but also the women and girls who were closely related to her who did so (though hardly any data about this has survived). For example, in Dzūkija the wedding was initiated by the lament of the maid of honour (*Žičkienė* [s.d.]). The laments of the bride's mother, sister, or bridesmaid during the wedding were called *priverkimai* ('crying over').³⁸

Having explained the ritual context of wedding laments and their meanings, it is time to return to the phenomenon of polymusic and its component parts at weddings. As already mentioned, a large number of descriptions have survived that bear witness to the distinctive coexistence of several different components – songs (hymns)-laments-marches – at weddings.³⁹ The simultaneous performance of such different musical texts (in the semiotic sense of the word) results in the creation of a new text with a more complex structure, which, according to Margarita Engovatova, acquires a special functional and semantic charge (Engovatova 1997: 50).⁴⁰

We find a great deal of similar polymusic moments in the photographer Balys Buračas' descriptions (Buračas 1993) of the Kupiškis region wedding ceremonies from 1935. For example: "the bride is seated at the table...her father takes her by the hand and leads her across the porch/entry way into the house. The bridesmaids escort her, and the bride *laments*: 'Dearest little father of mine, why are you taking me so young and leading me out on this sweet morning?'"⁴¹ (Buračas 1993: 340).

³⁴ In northern Russia the wedding mourner who laments in place of the bride has various titles: *заплакальщица, плакальница* (in Tersk by the White sea), *плачя* (northern Dvina), *плакущая, плакуша, причитальщица, причитальница* (Vologda district), *голошельница* (Pinega) and so on (Kuznetsova 2000: 111).

³⁵ In the Arkhangelsk area such a mourner is an elderly woman who has spent much time around the bride whom she taught to lament, and who laments during the wedding. In Northern Dvina, two more (or at least one) other mourners were invited to the wedding in case the bride's laments were not expressive enough. In Pinega, a "special woman" would be invited "for the bride's tears" who knew the old ritual songs (laments). On the Tersk coast of the White Sea the mourner would lament instead of the bride, and all of the participants of the wedding would weep, while the bride simply "died from screaming" (Kuznetsova 2000: 111).

³⁶ Wedding laments may be considered the ritual language of the bride (and in part of all those representing her "side" – relatives, friends and bridesmaids).

³⁷ Brides-to-be were supposed to study lamenting – the ritual language of weddings – from a very young age. They would hear them during weddings, and would try them out while herding animals (for example there was a tradition during Pentecost to choose a bride and groom from amongst one's friends and dance out a wedding with all of the rituals and laments). As their real wedding drew near, they would go and study with experienced lamenters. Similarly, Mordvinian girls were also taught wedding laments while still children: when they were 7 or 8 years old, they would attend all of the weddings and listen to the bride's laments. Moreover, they also played with dolls and would imitate and act out wedding rituals with them. During the spring holidays it was common for young people to act out a mock-wedding where each was assigned a certain role in the wedding – the master-of-ceremonies, the bride, and others (Shamova 2016: 21).

³⁸ The term *priverkimas* comes from the verb *priverkti* which means 'to recite the words of a wedding lament': "the [bride] would lament, over her father and mother" (Varėna); "the bride goes over to her garden and laments over it" (Vilkaviškis); "on Saturday she laments over the parents as well" (Dieveniškės) (LKŽ el).

³⁹ Unfortunately, there are no sound or visual recordings in which all of these components resound together (alternately or mixed together), except for in one play that reconstructs a wedding from the Kupiškis region – *Ancient wedding of Kupiškis residents*). Thus, all one can do is imagine how such stylistically disparate genres could combine.

⁴⁰ As Engovatova notes, such texts usually emerge in ritual or ritualized situations – first of all, in life cycle ceremonies (funeral and wedding), but also in calendrical rituals.

⁴¹ Lament by V. Burkauckienė from Račiupėnai village.

It should be noted that the “components” of polymusic – singing songs and hymns, laments (wailing), and musicians playing a march – can be the musical foundation of several important ritual moments. In some cases, three different components are mentioned:

- song (hymn)-lament-marches:

When led to the house, the bride laments. Musicians play her “an escorting” (*lydėtinis*) march. As she walks across the entryway, the matchmaker breaks out the hymn “Hail Mary” (“*Marija, būk pagarbinta*”, Ave Maria) and sings the hymn until the bride is seated at the table. In the meantime, the bride, while seated at the table, laments: “The tables are already covered and set, already all the guests are invited...”⁴² Once everyone has a seat at the table, the musicians play the toasting (*užgėros*) march, which is called the lamenting kind (*raudotinis*): “remember, sister, for yourself, remember, young one, for yourself. what you said about me, when you drank wine for me, and promised yourself to me.”⁴³ (Buračas 1993: 340).

At the moment of meeting the bride the musicians greet the bridal party with a greeting march. The young people and musicians escort the bride up to the door of the entry-way. The bride refuses to get out of the carriage. As they approach the door, the bride laments: “Come outside, my dear father, come greet me so young, come and ask where I rode during the night. Come outside, dear mother, you who raised me, come and ask, where I made merry the whole night long...”⁴⁴ Once the bride begins to lament, the father and mother come out to greet her. [...] As the father and mother greet the bride, the young people *sing*: “Flick flick flickers the lantern/ good evening/ is everyone here lying down/ is

everyone here asleep? / come out, dear mother/ raise the gates to the yard...”⁴⁵ (ibid: 357).

In other cases, only two components of polymusic are mentioned:

- march⁴⁶-song:

During the ritualized removal of the bride’s wreath, the groom’s best man removes the wreath and with all the ribbons places it upon his own head. Then the musicians play “the sorrowful” march. The youths sing “Weep, sister, green rue, weep for your wreath of rue” (“*Verk, sesiula, žalių rūtų, rūtų vainikėlio*”) or this “sorrowful” song: “oh you rue, rue/ green rue,/ why did you wither, little rue/ while still green?” (ibid.: 375–376). The musicians play the so-called “escorting” march. The youths sing: “the dawn is dawning, the sun is rising/ Already it is time for me to leave, / Even though I enjoy being here...”⁴⁷ (see “The dawn is dawning, the sun is rising” / “*Aušť aušrala, tak saulala*”⁴⁸ (LLDK, V 1745)) (EXAMPLE 1).

Similar march/song combinations existed in the wedding rituals of the region of Jurbarkas (western Lithuania):⁴⁹ “when the [dowry] chest is hoisted onto the carriage they played the march, and the groomsmen sang: ‘Oh I’ll go, I’ll leave/ I won’t stay here, / This is not my home...’” (Niemi 1996: 426).

- lament-song(hymn):

Just when the bride takes a break from sobbing the ritual laments, the youths sing “escorting” (*lydėtinės*) songs. There are several “farewell” (*atsisveikinimas*) and “escorting” (*išlydėjimas*) songs in the Kupiškis area. The most important of them are: “The dawn is dawning, the sun is rising” (“*Aušť aušrala, tak saulala*”), “The horses are already harnessed” (“*Jau žirgėliai sukinkyti*”), and “Farewell, dear

⁴² Lament by D. Lisienė from Svideniai village.

⁴³ Sung by A. Krūpelis from Kupiškis.

⁴⁴ Lamented by D. Šlapelienė from Rakučių village.

⁴⁵ Sung by D. Lisienė.

⁴⁶ Actually, sometimes what the musicians play (what genre of music) is not specified. For example, in one of the oldest descriptions of a wedding in *Wedding Sequence (Svodbinė rėda)* by Antanas and Jonas Juška, published in 1880, they write: “The couple is escorted to their wedding with ‘horns, with a goat horn, with zithers, with violins, and with sorrowful songs’” (Juška 1955 [1880]: 332).

⁴⁷ Sung by O. Juodakienė from Marmoliškis homestead.

⁴⁸ Published in ADSIM 50, sung by Ona Juodakienė, age 74, in Panevėžys district, Kupiškis region, Marmoliškis homestead; Ona Mažeikienė, age 76, in Kupiškis region, Smilgiai village; Domicelė Šlapelienė, age 75, in Kupiškis region, Rakučiai village. Transcribed by A. Nakiene in 2003.

⁴⁹ Niemi learned about them from an elderly woman who was living in Vabalninkas district, and had moved there from the Eržvilkas area.

Ex. 1. "The dawn is dawning, the sun is rising" / "Aušt aušrala, tak saulala" (LLDK, V 1745).

♩=60

Aušt auš-ra - la, tek sau-la - la, jau mon ma - tas iš - va - žiuot,
do mon mie - la čio - nai būt. Pa - lū - kė - kit, mie - li bro - liai,
do aš ai - siu pas tė - vė(li), ta - tu - šė - liui pa - si - klo(niot).

① 4 5 6 ② 3-5 ③ 4-6

girl, farewell young one" ("Sudieu, mergėla, sudieu, jaunoja") (Buračas 1993: 376).

Sometimes instead of a song a church hymn can be sung:

They dressed her in ritual attire and led the bride into the house. Her father leads her by the hand. While being led, the bride resists, kisses her father's hands and laments. All of her bridesmaids lead her, and behind them follow the groomsmen. Escorting the bride, one of the elders sings the hymn "Mary, be thou blessed" ("Marija, būk pagarbinta"). The bride laments the entire way: "Father, my old one, where are you leading me so young? [...] Thank you, dear father, for raising me, teaching me tasks, but I won't give you thanks for giving me away so young to these cold-handed hardships"⁵⁰ (ibid.: 369).

- lament-march:

In the region of Kupiškis

across the whole village the bridal party rides to the sound of the *march*. On the way to the

church the musicians play the *march*. While riding across her village the bride laments and wails thus: Bless me, open fields and high hills. Bless me young ones, wide roads and all you paths which I used to walk when I was young. Bless me, bright sun and all the stars of the heavens...⁵¹ (ibid.: 347).

Wedding musicians in Vidiškiai (Ukmergės region) play the bridal escorting march "The horses are already harnessed, and standing at the gates", and the bride laments as she says farewell: "They are leading me away, dear father, with one name, one last name. You'll await for me, dear father with two last names..." (ibid.: 426).

From Buračas's descriptions we can see that the sorrowful, or the escorting march "The horses are harnessed" ("Jau žirgeliai pakinkyti") is played by the musicians at various moments throughout the wedding: when the couple rises from the table, when they leave the house, while the bride laments as she goes to bid farewell to her rue garden, gets into the carriage, as well as over the course of the entire trip from the house to the actual wedding ceremony (EXAMPLE 2).

⁵⁰ Lament byby D. Šlapelienė.

⁵¹ Lament by V. Burkauckienė.

Ex. 2. Wedding March “Sit down, Young Sister” / “Sėskis, sesute, sėskis, jaunoji”, part II: “The horses are harnessed” / “Jau žirgeliai pakinkyti” (ADSIM 51).

It is important to draw attention to the fact that this march, resounding at the moments mentioned and in parallel with the laments,⁵² is based on the song “Sit down, sister, sit down, young one” (“Sėskis, sesute, sėskis, jaunoji”) (V1744), which is especially popular throughout Lithuania (and exists in different versions).⁵³ Therefore, instead of a march, a song is often sung; in the region of Kupiškis, for example, as the groom departs the bridesmaids sing: “The horses are already harnessed/ standing at the gate/ get ready sister/ prepare yourself young one...” (ibid.: 393). In the majority of wedding descriptions this song is mentioned as “forcing” the young one to

weep: “They sang this song when the bride was preparing to head over to the groom’s homestead. We would bawl like crazy at weddings. And the bride, when we sang it, would burst into tears” (“Already the horses are harnessed” / “Jau žirgeliai pakinkyti”; LTR 4511(304)); “They sing while bringing her to the in-laws home, already after the wedding, having said farewell to her parents, while standing near the carriage. The bride always weeps” (“The horses are harnessed” / “Jau žirgai pakinkyti”; LLD XXIII 4; Kalvarijos district); “It’s a wedding song. On the bride’s side of the house the girls and uninvited guests sing as they gather to see her off before she is driven away. They

⁵² According to the research of the ethnoinstrumentologist Gaila Kirdienė, the musician would play any kind of a march to provoke sorrow in the bride in the Rokiškis region (Kirdienė 2009: 35).

⁵³ Around 700 variations of this song are recorded. As Rimantas Sliužinskas notes, most of these variations were recorded in Aukštaitija. The variations of its melody are quite stable and they hardly differ from each other across disparate ethnographic regions. Variations of the song were recorded in Polish-speaking districts of Lithuania, as well as in multiple regions of Poland. Here the melodies are similar to the Lithuanian ones: the melody line varies, but its meter, rhythm and the unique structure of its verses remain the same (Sliužinskas 2006: 161–162).

dedicate the song to the bride. The bride sits at the table and weeps." ("Hush, don't cry my girl" / "Cylėk neverkie, mergela mano"; LLD XXIII 11; Seirijai district).

Based on these and several other descriptions of weddings, we can argue that as the moment of culmination nears – the moment of seeing the bride off to the wedding – it was imperative to bring the bride to tears and make her cry. This was accomplished with songs of sorrow, intended to bring the bride to tears, and with the escorting (sorrowful, escorting) marches.⁵⁴ According to a musician from Ukmergė, E. Ratautas,

the neighbours get together and bring the bride to tears – she must weep, even though she may be very happy to be getting married, but it is still necessary that they make her cry: through music, through songs [...]. They play some sorrowful march on the way to the wedding to squeeze tears out of the bride.

Sometimes, if the bride is not showing signs of weeping, according to V. Gogelienė, they would sing the following stanza: "The bride sits and doesn't weep/ maybe we must place an onion before her?" (Kirdienė 2009: 33–34). It is quite likely that weddings sometimes required outside assistance, such as from an onion, to bring the bride to tears.⁵⁵ Similar practices took place in Russia: if the bride wasn't in the mood to weep, she would rub her eyes with onions, or her relatives would deliberately insult her to make her cry (Olonec province, Zaonezhye), or they would

bring her to tears using sad songs and laments about the hard life she will lead at her mother-in-law's house (Jaroslav province) (Gura 2012: 734).

Singers from Kupiškis recall how mothers taught their daughters who were getting married: "lament, dear child, during your wedding so that you won't have to lament in life" (Zulonas 1980: 164).⁵⁶ Similar explanations for the mandatory lamenting during weddings are common in traditions of other nations as well. For instance, in the south-west Czech Republic they would say this about the bride: "Whoever doesn't weep before her wedding, weeps after it".⁵⁷ The bride must lament in Udmurt weddings, or else, according to informants, "her life will be unfortunate" (Shamova 2016:124), and it was also said: "If you don't weep at the table, you will lament by the post" ["Жок сьöрын ке öд бöрдды – юбо сьöрын бöрдод"] (Nuriyeva 2014: 257), and so on. According to Bashkir customs, when escorting the bride to her husband's house, the bride was forced to lament by saying: "If you don't cry in your father's house, you will weep in your husband's home" (Sultangareeva 2018: 74). Moreover, it was not only imperative for the bride to weep but for all those attending the wedding as well. The necessity to weep at the moment of departing from home, according to researchers, is a relic of old traditions related to the belief in the magic of tears (ibid.).⁵⁸

In one case, as we have seen, all the genres of polymusic mentioned above, even if they reflect a different musical (and without doubt

⁵⁴ Such a juxtaposition of march-lament characteristic of weddings is preserved in the ethnographic play *The Ancient Wedding of Kupiškis Residents* directed by Povilas Zulonas (the premier took place in 1966, and the play was very popular in Lithuania, where it was performed over 670 times). Two planes of action and emotion can be seen and heard during the play at several moments: the bride's lament combines with the music performed by the other attendees at the wedding (in the scene "Matchmaking Morning" one can hear the bride's lament over a march playing in the background at moments such as when the wreath is removed from the bride, when she leaves for the home of the husband, and when collective songs resound while the bride wails, not wanting to leave her native home). The moods of the songs sung by the wedding guests and the bride's laments do not contrast with each other – sorrow becomes the uniting factor. A wider dissonance in mood appears between the laments and instrumental music, according to Lina Petrošienė (Petrošienė 2013: 99–100).

⁵⁵ Hired mourners would use an onion to bring themselves to tears during funerals: "So that they would lament more sorrowfully, they say that the mourner would rub her eyes with garlic or an onion. For this reason, we now say: Beer, mead – for the hymn singers/ Onion, garlic, pepper, radish – for the lamenters" (Buračas 1996: 12).

⁵⁶ Such lessons reflect a theme of many Lithuanian sayings: "If you don't weep at your wedding, you'll weep sitting in the corner" (by the hearth, or behind the door and so on).

⁵⁷ In Russia there is a saying: "if you don't lament at the table, you'll lament by the post; it is deemed that the more the bride weeps the better the wedding" (Gura 2012: 734).

⁵⁸ According to Buračas who described the wedding of the Kupiškis region, "the bride grows so sorrowful that even if she doesn't want to, she will lament with tears. So that she wouldn't run herself completely ragged, the matron of honour and her bridesmaids hush and comfort her. When the bride laments, she brings everyone else to tears as well."

ritual) language, do not contrast with each other emotionally, but rather complement each other. In this case, the bride's "sorrowful song" or the "sorrowful march"⁵⁹ fits the emotions of the lamenting bride – they bring her to the state of lamenting, or else sound simultaneously (or sometimes alternately) with her wailing. Although these genres are consciously deployed by all who are taking part in the wedding for the single purpose of bringing the bride to tears, most likely there is no special musical attunement (choosing a common tone, pitch or tempo).⁶⁰ The march, with its quadratic structure,⁶¹ creates a lyrical mood that sounds in the background of the sorrowful songs or improvised laments (which tend to be especially expressive and intense, resembling screaming and wailing during moments of climax) such as the lament asking for the parents' blessing, "Bless me, dearest mother" ("Bagaslovyk mani, miela motinėla")⁶² (EXAMPLE 3).

In other cases, the music creates a stark contrast to the laments, for example when the musicians play the welcoming march (greeting the wedding guests at the gate), while in the background the bride begins to lament as she nears the door, but refuses to get out of the carriage and laments: "come out, dear father, to greet me so young..." (Buračas 1993: 357).

In any case, the different "musical texts" sounding simultaneously – lament, song, hymn, and march – are considered the symbolic "language" of the separate actors or social groups involved in the wedding. As the interpersonal/inter-group communication processes that were discussed above take place (according to the transactional model), the bride communicates

through the "language" of lament (at times so do her mother, friends, and bridesmaids). The bridesmaids, relatives of the bride and other representatives of her side "speak" mostly with songs (more rarely through hymns); and the hired wedding musicians "speak" by playing the march. Here we can recall the paradox that Dana Rappoport points out as characteristic of polymusic: "the groups are together without being together. They are together in the flowing of time, but not together in the pulse, pitch and segmentation of their music" (Rappoport 2013: 40).

The different ritual identities of the separate participants of the wedding are expressed not only through distinctive "languages" but also through their different spatial distributions during the ritual, which has important cosmological significance.⁶³ There is often a tension of opposites: for example, the musicians play beside the gate while the bride laments without stepping out of the carriage; the uninvited guests sing at the threshold while the bride laments as she sits at the table;⁶⁴ the bride laments as she is led into the house while the musicians play outside; and so on. It is true that sometimes different "languages" are heard in the same space, as when the carriage is heading towards the church with everyone seated inside it, the musicians playing the march along the entire way while the bride laments as she crosses her village.

Such forms of polymusic are more often than not the result of a rite of passage. According to Engovatova, these forms are most frequently seen in these types of rituals, especially in their middle and most dynamic phase, in the "cosmic centre" of

⁵⁹ Note that over the last several decades it was customary to escort the newlyweds with songs while musicians played. Most likely that is how marches, played solely by musicians came into being, but these originated from songs such as "Sit, dear sister, sit, young one" ("Sėskis, sesute, sėskis, jaunoji"), "Spin spin the circle" ("Suk suk ratelį") and others.

⁶⁰ Engovatova comes to a similar conclusion from materials of eastern Slavic musical folklore, that the differentiating characteristic of new texts in many cases is the heterochronicity and heteropitch of the subtext combinations. While maintaining their specificities, the subtexts form an internal opposition, thereby creating essentially a new musical chronotope (Engovatova 1997: 52).

⁶¹ As is well known, the march is defined by its strict, energetic rhythm, duple time with strong metrical accents, and a regular repetition of musical phrases. The melody is usually simple, with a quadratic structure.

⁶² Lament by O. Slavinskienė-Burokaitė, recorded by Žebrytė in 1974.

⁶³ This is a separate question, which we will not discuss in greater detail here.

⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that even in the frame of one single case of polymusic we can find clearly defined oppositions – indeed, not one, but several. Engovatova claims that this is determined by the polysemantic nature of traditional texts, as well as techniques of bricolage. Drawing on examples of the wedding traditions of Northern Russia (the bride's and mother's canon of laments together with the quasi-canon of wedding songs), the following oppositions can be detected: bride/her relatives, family; bride/girls; groom's relatives/bride's relatives; and so on (Engovatova 1997: 54).

Ex. 3. Lament "Bless me, dearest mother" / "Bagaslovyk mani, miela motinėla".

♩ = 216

Ba-ga-slo-vyk ma-ni, mi-la mo-ti-na-la o-tė-vė-li,
 Šiuo-dien a-y-tė-lis di-de-lan ke-lio-nan ein-va žiuo-ju...
 Ba-ga-slo-vy-ki-t, vi-ni ma-no gi-mi-na-las, ku-rie šis a-y-tė-lis su-tin-ko,
 Ba-ga-slo-vy-ki-t, vi-ni su-nie-dė-liai ei-sa-me-da-lan...
 Ba-ga-slo-vy-ki-t, vi-ni ta-ke-liai, ku-rieš kas-dien vaik-i-tė-vė (fau).
 Ba-ga-slo-vy-ki-t, vi-ni me-dė-liai, ku-rie ša-liuo-fat,
 Ba-ga-slo-vy-ki-t, se-siu-las, ir... su ku-riom ša-lė-las rū-ta-las ne-oro-fom,
 Ba-ga-slo-vy-ki-t, bro-la-liai, ku-rie o-tas-dien tam-puk-ty-ly bus-ta...
 Su-sim-ki, mo-ti-na-la, die' ma-ni ša-lių rū-tė-lių kerot-kė-lis,
 Ku-rieš aš, jau-mo-ly-ta pa-r ni-mi ga-vo juo-vas die' te-las gra-žiai ir ma-šiš-ja.

the ritual. It is at these times that the main weight falls on musical language: the ability to forge such texts “allows it to take centre stage as it tests the values of the model world, and symbolically resolves its contradictions” (Engovatova 1997: 54).

Case III: enacted wedding “lament”-dialogue

The final case of Lithuanian polymusic that we will analyse is rather special. On the one hand, it does not match any of the main criteria for polymusic – the sound of different pieces simultaneously (let us remember Rappoport’s argument that there is a special kind of musical performance: “various musical acts are performed simultaneously and deliberately in the same space” (Rappoport 2013: 9). On the other hand, in the phenomenon we analyse two pieces of differing genres and styles (lament and song) can nevertheless be heard, only not simultaneously, but rather antiphonally, in alternation.

Here it is worth remembering that many researchers consider forms of antiphonal singing to be the source of polyphony,⁶⁵ and that they are considered to be especially ancient, universal and characteristic of a majority of musical cultures.⁶⁶ The well-known researcher of polyphony Joseph Jordania considers such forms to be forms of social polyphony: “most of the so-called ‘monophonic cultures’ (such as Chinese, Australian Aboriginal, or most American Indian music cultures) have traditional forms of social polyphony (group singing)”.⁶⁷ So antiphonal and responsorial singing, as Jordania claims, is an integral part of the polyphonic tradition. Such

singing is considered by the researcher “as one of the crucial elements of the hypothetical ‘primordial’ or ‘proto-polyphony’ of our hominid ancestors” (Jordania 2006: 470). A great number of examples of such relics of polyphonic or call-and-response singing have survived in Eastern Lithuania.

However, the case under analysis here is not considered to be the archaic call-and-response form of singing typical of Eastern Lithuania, which is characterized by a strict two-part symmetry in its structure, in which: 1) the group repeats the melody (aa(a₁)) and text (AA) sung by the leader; 2) the group repeats the melody with a different text (AB); 3) the group extends the musical thought with the same text (AA) but a different melody (ab); 4) the group replies to the leader with a refrain (AB):⁶⁸ a) with the same melody (aa), b) with a different melody (ab). The piece that sounded during a wedding which we will be analysing is more like a playful “collage” which combines two different genres into an integral antiphonal performance: the wailing of laments (performed solo, but occasionally in groups) and song (performed by groups, and occasionally solo).

This piece is well documented in comments by singers: “They sing it everywhere. If there are more singers, then some sing the daughter’s stanzas, while the others sing the mother’s. That’s how two groups of singers are formed”;⁶⁹ “This is a wedding song that is sung upon greeting the bride who is brought over to the husband’s house. The song is led either by the bride herself, or else by a woman with a good voice (who is sometimes even dressed up as a bride), and the

⁶⁵ The choral singing of our ancestors, according to Joseph Jordania, “was most likely based on the antiphonal and responsorial alternation of two groups, or of a soloist and a responding group. This is a true universal feature for both polyphonic and even monophonic cultures and there is hardly a human musical culture on our planet without any elements of the deep-rooted tradition of responsorial singing.” (Jordania 2006: 390).

⁶⁶ Responsorial singing is very widespread and very well documented in all regions of Africa (ibid.: 51); group antiphonal singing (*uta kake*) and call-and-response forms are quite usual in the Ryukyu Islands, Japan (ibid.: 201); Rie Kôchi discussed leader-and-followers singing resembling “call-and response” in traditional Ainu choral singing (Kôchi 2012: 105–106; 2014); Blaeva mentions the responsorial alternation of the soloist and the *ezhu* in Adyghean traditional polyphony (Blaeva 1989) [*ezhu* (‘everybody’) – the traditional term for the drone of Adyghean traditional polyphony]; etc.

⁶⁷ According to Jordania, “there is no culture without traditional forms of group singing. One of the true universal phenomena of human musical cultures – antiphonal dialogue between two parties (two soloists, two groups, or more often between a soloist and a group) is the most basic and widespread form of social polyphony” (Jordania. *What is polyphony...*).

⁶⁸ This is characteristic of the amoebic singing of East Lithuania, which is closely related to polyphonic *sutartinės* (for more see Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 2002).

⁶⁹ “Oh, mother” / “Oi, motula” (LLD XI 307), sung by Pranė Barisienė-Marmantavičiūtė, age 50, Seirijai region, Alytaus district, recorded by Z. Slaviūnas in 1940.

other participants sit at the table and reply”;⁷⁰ “The bride sings the first verse while sitting in the carriage as it departs for the groom’s parents house, and then all the gathered girls and women answer with the second verse as a choir. And so on: who will lift the flax, pound it, comb it and so on. All the tasks involved in the labour of making flax are named”;⁷¹ “That’s how you can rhyme all the tasks without end. It’s a wedding song”;⁷² “When the bride enters the house, then one of the ‘gipsies’ begins to wail: ‘Who is going to wash the spoons / For my dear mother?’ and the group responds: ‘I myself, daughter of mine, I myself, my guest...’”⁷³

Based on these and other commentaries, it can be argued that the piece is most likely related to the Lithuanian wedding tradition of greeting the newlyweds with crossdressers who occupy their places at the table instead of them. At such moments special songs were sung: the “fake newlyweds” sang about the bride’s parting from her parents as well as other songs.⁷⁴ These pieces were most popular in south-western Lithuania (Dzūkija and Suvalkija), while only a few variations were recorded in Žemaitija and Aukštaitija. Here is one example typical from Dzūkija (LLD XI 307) (EXAMPLE 4).

Upon analysing all of the variations of the piece, one notices that its structure and content (“pain of flax”⁷⁵) indicates that it is closely related

to ritual texts. In the 40 notes included in LLD XI it is indicated as a wedding song (28) sung by crossdressers (6) who have occupied the place of the wedding couple at the table or when they are returning from the wedding ceremony; alternatively it can be sung by the wedding party as they escort the bride to the husband’s home or as she arrives there. The song is enacted (role-played): one of the women sings the “bride’s” text, while everyone else replies to her together; sometimes it is referred to as a *game* (LLD XI: 300). For example, “Dear mother, my heart” (“Motinė širdelė”)⁷⁶ (LLD XI 308) includes the following annotation: “it is played at gatherings, young people’s get-togethers, and weddings” (EXAMPLE 5).

This variation is very similar to several specific *sutartinės* (a polyphonic round-type of singing) (“The lazy one naps” / “Snaudala snaudžia”, SIS 284;⁷⁷ “The Sleepy one sleeps, tuto, tuto” / “Snaudatės snaudžia, tūto, tūto”, SIS 1398; “Little bride, the sleepy one, tuto” / “Marčiutė snaudalė, tūto”, SIS 1397⁷⁸), which are interrupted by a wedding-lament type of “lamenting”. These atypical *sutartinės* originate from games and dances that were performed during calendrical holidays (similar games were also played during collective spinning evenings).

However, let us return to the “fake” bride’s laments during the wedding. The commentaries

⁷⁰ “Mother, my heart” / “Motula širdelė” (LLD XI 312), sung by Agota Žuraulienė-Saulevičiūtė, age 60, from Margionys village, Marcinkonys district, recorded by R. Šukys in 1967–1978.

⁷¹ “Who, Mother” / “Kas tau, motula” (LLD XI 313), sung by Ona Grigaliūnienė, age 40, Žasliai, Trakai region, recorded in 1938.

⁷² “Who, will help my mother” / “Kas mano motulai” (LLD XI 314), sung by Ona Balčiūnienė-Karužaitė, age 61, Naujienos village, Valkininkai district, recorded in 1947.

⁷³ “Who will help my mother” / “Kas mano motulai” (LLD XI 315), sung by Alesia Čaplinskienė, age 55, Gudakiemis, Merkinė district, recorded in 1935.

⁷⁴ These songs are published in the fifth volume of *Wedding Songs* (LLD XI) in the chapter “False Bride”; V 1529.

⁷⁵ The motif of a “plant’s life” that reflects the life cycle and suffering of cultivated crops is common to many nations. In Lithuanian folklore it is related to flax, rye, poppies, hops, hemp, and other plants. The most popular is the “plot” of the life of a flax plant, commonly called ‘pain of flax’ – *lino mūka* or ‘flax’s suffering’ – *lino kančia* (for more on this see Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene 1999; Toporov 2008: 235–251; Kensminienė 2006 and others).

⁷⁶ Sung by Barbora Viščiulienė, age 64, Tarpučiai village, Marijampolė district, recorded in 1949.

⁷⁷ Note: “Both men and women play. They sing in chorus as they walk in a circle formation. The soloist, with head in hands, stands in the middle of the circle, laments, and at that time the other players stand. Once the soloist finishes lamenting, they take a token from each player – either a hat or scarf. The tokens are then distributed according to a simple order. The judges are from the choir” (recorded in 1935, Rokiškis district).

⁷⁸ Note: “All of them stand around in a circle while one ‘sleeper’ sits in the middle beside a spinning wheel, and with her head hanging low and sad, she spins thread. Two women stand near her and stroke her head, face, while the circle sings: ‘the sleeper sleeps’ and so on. When they finish singing, the sleeper lifts her head and begins to lament with gusto and screams: ‘sisters you liars’ and so on, while those two women continue to comfort and stroke her. Once the lament is finished, she laughs, shakes it off, and runs out into the circle. It ends there.” (recorded in 1939, Kupiškis district).

Ex. 4. Wedding song “Oh, mother” / “Oi, motula” from Dzūkija (LLD XI 307).

♩ = 190 Rubato

es¹] - Oi mo - tu - la, kas li - ne - lius iš - ra - vės?

es¹] - Be ta - vo ra - vė - ji - mo bus li - ne - liai iš - ra - vė - ci.

Tai lai - siu, tai duo - siu sa - vo mie - lų duk - re - tį

in sve - ci - mu ša - la - lį, kur ge - gu - tē ku - kuo - ja,

lakš - tin - gė - tē čil - buo - ja, tį se - su - tės dai - nuo - ja.

as¹] 2. - Oi mo - tu - la, kas li - ne - lius nu - raus?
 es¹] 3. - - - - - nu - mus?
 as¹] 4. - - - - - pa - klos?

1. Daughter:	1. Duktė:
- O, dear mother,	- Oi, motula,
Who will weed the flax?	Kas linelius išravės?
Mother:	Motina:
- The flax will be weeded	- Be tavo ravėjimo
Even without your weeding,	Bus lineliai išravėci,
I will send off, give away	Tai laisiu, tai duosiu
My dear little daughter	Savo mielų dukreį
To a faraway land,	In svecimų šalaj,
Where the cuckoo bird calls,	Kur gegutė kukuoja,
The nightingale warbles	Lakštingėlė čiuľbuoja,
There, the sisters sing...	Tį sesulės dainuoja...
2. Daughter:	2. Duktė:
- O, mother,	- Oi, motula,
Who will harvest the flax?	Kas linelius nuraus?
Mother:	Motina:
- The flax will be harvested	- Be tavo ravėjimo
Even without your harvesting,	Bus lineliai išravėci,
I will send off, I will give away	Tai laisiu, tai duosiu
My dear little daughter	Savo mielų dukreį
To a faraway land,	In svecimų šalaj,
Where the cuckoo bird calls,	Kur gegutė kukuoja,
The nightingale warbles,	Lakštingėlė čiuľbuoja,
There sisters sing...	Tį sesulės dainuoja...

Ex. 5. Wedding song “Dear mother, my heart” / “Motinėle širdele” (LLD XI 308).

- Mo ti - nē - le šir - de - le, kas man li - ne - lius pa - sēs?

b¹] - Dėl ta - vo pa - sė - ji - mo
 bus li - ne - liai pa - sė - ti.
 Tai duo - siu, tai lei - siu
 sa - vo mie - ļą duk - re - ļę
 į sve - ti - mą ša - le - le,
 kur ge - gu - tē ku - kuo - ja,
 lakš - tin - ga - la čiul - buo - ja,

tę ber - ne - liai dai - nuo - ja, tę jau - nie - ji dai - nuo - ja.

“Pain of flax” (a game)

“All of the players stand in a circle. One person stands in the centre with their head in their hands and laments:

- Mother, my heart,	- Motinėle širdele,
Who will sow the flax for me?	Kas man linelius pasės?

Then everyone walks in time with the song in the circle, and the person standing in the centre spins on their own. Everyone (except the centre) sings:

- As for your sowing	- Dėl tavo pasėjimo
The flax will be sowed,	Bus lineliai pasėti,
I will send off, I will give away	Tai duosiu, tai leisiu
My dear daughter	Savo mielą dukrelę
To a foreign land,	Į svetimą šalę,
Where the cuckoo calls,	Kur gegutė kukuoja,
The nightingale warbles,	Lakštingala čiulbuoja,
Over there the young boys sing,	Tę berneliai dainuoja,
Over there the young ones sing.	Tę jaunieji dainuoja.

Then those walking in a circle stand still, and the one standing in the centre stops spinning and laments again:

- Mother, my heart,	Motinėle širdele,
Who will harvest the flax for me?	Kas man linelius nuraus?

And so they go through the whole pain of flax: who will harvest, lay it down, trample it, beat it, comb it, spin it, weave it, sew it.

The one lamenting usually remains the same, although another can also lament.”

on different variations stress that the *bride's* text is sung in a crying manner – *verksmingai* (LTR 1829(842)), it says that she sobs – *verkauna* (LTR 2707(90)), weeps – *verkauja* (LTR 3841(26)), “laments” – *rauda* (LTR 2729(27)), and that this song is intended to bring the mother “to tears” – *pravirkdžyc* (LTR 2324(25, 196)), and sometimes the piece is simply called wailing, lament.

Let us recall that the previous analysis of the ritual context of wedding laments led to the interpretation of it as the bride's – the protagonist of this “rite of passage” – ritual speech, and her special means of communication. By lamenting, the bride bids farewell not only to her family and home, but also to her former social status.

In this case, that is to say in what is clearly a role-playing context, the lament is imitated (let us remember that it is usually the “fake” bride who laments) employing all of the musical expressions characteristic of traditional laments. These include the intonation of a minor third (often descending), *rubato* rhythm related to the accenting or extending of the highest sounds of the third, as well as the manner of performance – weeping, sorrowful: it is sung with “sobbing” (*sriubčiojant*), “snivelling” (*verkšlenant*), and so on. Sometimes the ends of lines are embellished with the ending (*nuraudojimas*) characteristic of funeral and wedding laments such as *ha ha ha*, *kh kh kh* and the like. These characteristic endings merit a closer look.

The peculiar “laughter-cackle” at the end of phrases of funeral laments has long drawn our attention. In examples of laments (both in transcriptions and sound recordings) such a phenomenon is frequent: the lines of the lament end in what seems to be a sob or cackle (it is often difficult to identify them because sobbing phonetically is almost the same as laughter). Thus arises a particular “sob-laugh” (*пласчесмех*).⁷⁹ It is believed that such a “cackle”/“sob” or “sob-laugh” is complemented by special forms of behaviour

and bodily motions during ritual lamenting at funerals, and is not considered to be the emotional expression of the mourner as an individual. The mourner conveys the emotion of sadness to the social dimension, and helps the entire community to mourn together. Besides, we can hardly talk about “real” (natural) emotions in this case – more likely we encounter ritualized emotion which is evoked by manipulating paramusical elements (cries, sighs, moans, sobbing and so on), and thus creates the image of anguish. One of the most powerful paramusical elements is the ending of the lament *ha ha ha* (“sob-laugh”), which sometimes turns into physiological crying (or intertwines with sobbing, sighing and the like). Most likely such an ending was an obligatory element of the lament because it was of a ritual-magical nature. Contemporary sound recordings of laments seem to support this.

During ethnographic expeditions over the last several decades, some singers, upon the folklorist's request to perform, would do so and try to “present” a real lament, always adding the characteristic *ha ha ha* endings, which in their performances resembled artificial cackling (laughter) more than weeping. Moreover, sometimes once the singers finished “lamenting” they would start to laugh, adding: “so there, that's kind of how they used to cry ‘with words’ [lament – D.V].” Apparently, it is no coincidence that such a “sob-laugh” – as a periodically repeated element of the lament – survived in the singers' sonic memory until today despite the fact that the sociocultural context has completely changed.⁸⁰

At this point it is worth remembering an ancient wedding custom – “searching for the bride beneath the sheets”: when the groom arrives at the bride's house, together with all the bridesmaids, the bride runs to hide beneath a large sheet (sewn out of at least three bedsheets). The matchmaker or the best man has to pull the bride out by the hand from under the sheet while

⁷⁹ This term is used by Izaly Zemtsovsky, according to whom similar phenomena exist among the Nenets, Karelian, Tajik (Zarevšan), African (Ghana) and other traditions (Zemtsovsky 2006: 138). It can be argued that the “ha ha ha” is considered a relic of laughter intended to resurrect the deceased – according to Vladimir Propp, “weeping is an equally magical means to help the deceased, or even resurrect him, as is laughter” (Propp 1976: 193).

⁸⁰ It is likely that in laments, which even today end in a descending intonation with peculiar sounds *ha ha ha*, lie the roots of the ancient understanding of tears and laughter as two opposing rudiments of one syncretic act during funeral rituals. Such an understanding of the endings of laments as important elements which help to shake off the extreme psychic stress related to death and emotions of fear by means of laughter, which has persisted among the residents of Dzūkija to this day, supports this hypothesis. Thus it is the proximity of these two elements in the sense of worldview, physiology and articulation that allows one to consider this syncretic phenomenon as “sobbing-laughter.”

the bridesmaids try to protect the bride and offer the matchmaker their hands instead.⁸¹

When the matchmaker grabs hold of one of the bridesmaids and brings her out from under the sheet, the bride, who remains under the sheet, replies (lamenting): “Troublemaking leader, cold-handed guide, you didn’t make the right choice by taking my hand, you made a mistake!”⁸² Once he brings her to the centre of the room, the matchmaker releases the bridesmaid, who then stands before the matchmaker and laments: “Matchmaker, troublemaker, don’t go leading me around by my white hands. I haven’t spun my flax, nor woven it, my mother hasn’t amassed my dowry! ki ki ki!”⁸³ The matchmaker then grabs another one of the bridesmaids from beneath the sheet and brings her out into the centre of the room, while the bride replies from beneath the sheet lamenting with the same phrases. Each of the bridesmaids, when led out from beneath the sheet, laments a little differently. The third bridesmaid laments thus: “Oh my cold-handed hardship you didn’t bother to drown me, so young in the deep sea. I haven’t spun any flax, I haven’t woven any sheets! ki ki ki!”⁸⁴

The bridesmaids’ “lamenting” is acted out,⁸⁵ and is performed by imitating not only the texts and melodies of real wedding laments, but also the characteristic *nuraudojimas* (crying out) at the

ends of phrases such as *ki ki ki*, which, in this case, can be interpreted as a “sob-laugh”. It is therefore likely that the “sob-laugh” *ha ha ha* of the “fake bride” imitating a lament is sometimes used as one of the important means of role play.⁸⁶

Worthy of separate mention are the texts and possible contexts of the “fake bride’s” laments. The majority of “laments” mention all of the steps in the labour of preparing flax⁸⁷ – this story-line of the plant’s “life-cycle” is referred to as *lino mūka* (“pain of flax”) in Lithuania. Here it should be noted that the formulas for the “pain of flax” performance are known in several forms among the people.⁸⁸ Flax is especially important in wedding rituals because it relates to the world of the unmarried girl or bride-to-be, and this is reflected in songs and *sutartinės*. The spinning of flax, weaving of linen textiles, just like the planting of rue and making a wreath, according to Norbertas Vėlius, are among the most important tasks of the bride-to-be, and are understood to be ceremonial acts (Vėlius 2014: 136).⁸⁹ All of this shows that when flax is mentioned in songs, it is “lifted” out of the everyday realm (simply working with the linen) into the sacred (often using the story line of the “pain of flax”), and thereby it becomes a symbol of weddings even in the folklore of other genres.

⁸¹ Elders used to say that the custom of hiding the bride beneath a sheet dates from pre-Christian times. All of the priests used to scold those who practiced this custom, and in the second half of the 19th century, Bishop Motiejus Valancius strictly forbade the hiding of the bride beneath the sheet (Buračas 1993: 338). Nevertheless this custom continued to thrive up through the end of the 20th century.

⁸² Lament by D. Šlapelienė from Rakučiai village.

⁸³ Lament by B. Baseckienė from Kupiškis.

⁸⁴ Lament by D. Šlapelienė (Buračas 1993: 339).

⁸⁵ Actually, in this concrete role play situation, the bride’s lament is interpreted as being enacted (let us remember that laments at weddings are the bride’s “language” for communication).

⁸⁶ The lament ending *ha ha ha* can be heard in the piece “Who, dear mother, will sow your flax?” (CD *Jūs mano kūmužėliai* performed by the folklore ensemble Versmė and soloist Birutė Matuizienė-Miškinytė, b. 1932 in Smalninkai village, Varėna region; nr. 16).

⁸⁷ Occasionally commentary on the polymusic pieces analyzed here includes the note that the piece is sung “during the flax pulling or at weddings” (LTR 3674(87)), “at weddings and around flax” (LTR 1996(76)).

⁸⁸ It exists in stories, legends, fables, songs, *sutartinės*, wedding laments (and their parodies) and in circle games. Besides, it is comprised of certain parts of ritual acts. It is believed that if you get lost, one should “enumerate the pain of flax” as protection from the devil (LTR 3835(1691)); in stories this plot has a sacred purpose in various nations whereby it helps to rid oneself of negative powers (the devil). In certain Slavic territories “the life of flax” text is known as a calendrical ritual song (i.e. in Croatia – midsummer, in the Carpathians – during spring holidays) or circle game wherein the participants pantomime all of the tasks involved in processing flax (Tolstoy 1995: 227). As a chant of rye harvest (*sutartinė*) the sacred text is known in Eastern Lithuania (where it was performed in the spring, paying visits to various sowed crops).

⁸⁹ Vladimir Toporov draws attention to this connection by arguing that the theme of the bride in the “flax” cycle is not coincidental: the possibility of marriage depended on the bride knowing how to grow and process flax – this is seen in the Baltic tradition and in many examples in neighbouring territories (i.e. Kashubia) and beyond (Toporov 2008: 245).

Let us return to the wedding custom we are analysing – the dialogue between the “bride” and “mother” before heading off to the home of the groom. Noteworthy are the variations of the piece which do not mention the “pain of flax” but rather speak of simple housekeeping chores (sweeping the floor, stoking the fire, and others). For example, “Who will help my mother” (LLD XI 315):⁹⁰

When the bride enters the house, one of the “gipsies” begins to wail:

- Who will wash the spoons	- Kas mano motulai
For my dear mother?	Šaukšteliui mazgos?
Chorus:	Choras:
- I myself, my daughter,	- Paci, dukra mano,
I myself, my guest.	Paci, viešnia mano.
If not I, then my daughter-in-law,	Jei ne paci, tai marci,
Lilly daughter-in-law.	Lelijėlė marci.

This continues in the same manner with “make the bed”, “sweep the house”, “wash the table”.

According to Vėlius, such variations⁹¹ are closely related to the lament of a bride leaving her native home from the 16th century documented in the *Sudovian book* (*Sūduvių knygelė*) (LLD XI: 308). This raises the question: perhaps it is not the “pain of flax” but the enumeration of domestic chores that was the “starting point” from which developed the plot line in lament texts when acted out?

Today it is difficult to untangle so many different situations (the bride laments before leaving her home / the “fake bride” laments when bidding farewell to her mother), and just as many different topics of the lament texts (enumerating the stages of the “pain of flax” / naming the

different domestic chores), their relationship and changes over time.

From the commentary of singers it becomes clear that the bride herself can lament during the parting from her home (- Mother, / Who will sow the flax for you? / - I myself, daughter, I myself / If not I, then my daughter-in-law / - Mother, my heart/ who will harvest the flax? - I myself, daughter, I myself / If not I, then my daughter-in-law...). Notes include: “this is a wedding song that is sung when the bride is brought over to the groom’s home. The bride herself leads the song, or else it is led by a woman with a good voice (sometimes dressed as a bride), and the other participants are sitting at the table and respond” (LLD XI 312); “The bride sings the first verse while sitting in the carriage when she heads over to her groom’s parents’ house, and the women and girls who have gathered respond with the second verse. And so on: who will carry the flax, trample it, comb it. All of the tasks in the toil of preparing flax are named” (LLD XI 313)). The “fake bride” can lament, too (“When the couple returns from the wedding the dressed-up fake bride laments. She sits at the table wailing until the couple pays her off” (MFA KTR 44 (162)). It does not matter who is lamenting (whether it is the real or the fake bride): the text of the lament is usually based on the plot of the “pain of flax”.

Why did this subject matter become essential? Was it perhaps at some point not the fake bride who lamented the theme of the “pain of flax” but the real bride? The lament could have been a symbolic expression marking the end, the culmination of a very important period – preparing to become a daughter-in-law, which was inseparable from amassing a dowry and preparing linen textiles.⁹² Doubtless, its significance may well have been different. Nevertheless, the motif of the “pain of flax” articulated at the fateful moment of a wedding ceremony is not coincidental.⁹³

⁹⁰ Sung by Alesia Čaplinskienė, age 55, Gudakiemis, Merikinė district, recorded in 1935.

⁹¹ Most of these were recorded in Žemaitija (areas of Kelmė, Tauragė, and others).

⁹² Let us recall that the bridesmaids whom the matchmaker drags out from under the sheet instead of the hidden bride all “lament” that they are unable to wed because they haven’t yet “spun enough flax, nor woven shrouds.”

⁹³ Here we can point to a distant allusion to the Sumerian poem “Inana’s Matchmaking” (III–II BC) in which God’s shepherd Dumuzi and God’s farmer Enki get into an argument over who will wed the goddess Inana. Inana’s brother, Utu, the God of the Sun, tries to match her with Dumuzi saying that he will help her spin and process fibre plants. Inana asks for an assistant who would be able to spin threads, even them out, shoot them through the loom, cut them, and so on (here all the tasks involved in preparing linen fibres are enumerated). Utu promises that Dumuzi will do everything, and once he completes the tasks he will be able to take Inana as a bride (Lyczkowska, Szarynska 1986: 114–118). What interests us

One possible presumption is that the performance of laments according to the subject of the “pain of flax” as a parody is a later phenomenon that appeared after the older meanings had been forgotten. In fact, such a canonized text as the “fake bride’s” lament analysed here does not exhibit the improvisational structure of the lament genre (this is one of the reasons why these laments appear “fake”). Moreover, wedding laments are generally far more stable than funerary laments (the latter sometimes, and especially in situations of culmination, are marked by extreme emotional expressions: the vocal intonation becomes unstable, even though remaining recognisable, and the lament turns into a prose text – an exclamation). The wedding laments relate to the symbolic “death” of the bride, and their language is more general and symbolic. Could it be that the wedding lament performed at a moment of ritual climax as the bride leaves her native home (the bride undergoes a symbolic death) “appropriated” a “code” that marked the end of girlhood, i.e. the “pain of flax” plot? Let us remember that the real bride also uses this subject matter: “[...] the bride sings while sitting in the carriage as she is travelling over to her groom’s parents’ place [...] who will lift the linen, stomp it, comb it. All of the tasks around the flax toil are enumerated.” Perhaps this used to not be a lament, but a song? Perhaps only later it became a “lament” imitating the “fake bride’s” bidding farewell to her mother? Either way, the very relation of the lament (and its imitations) with a “plant’s life” (*vita herbae*) cycle appears to be very important.

Of special interest is the fact that such a subject has become not only the basis for the “fake bride’s” “imitation” of a lament, but also

part of the parodies of funeral hymns that have been recorded in various regions of Lithuania. For example, in one such parody characteristic of hymns sung at wakes, the “life” of a buckwheat grain is recited while a second group antiphonally responds “Elm with the pear tree” (“Alksnis su grūšia”) rather than the usual response of hymns “Pray for the soul” (“Melskis už dūšią”)!⁹⁴

1. I planted a buckwheat, I planted a vetch	1. <i>Pasėjau griųkį, pasėjau vikį</i>
Upon the high hill	Ant aukšto kalno
In a white bonnet	Baltam kepaluišy
- Elm with the pear tree.	- Alksnis su grūšia.
2. The buckwheat sprouted, so did the vetch	2. <i>Išdygo griūkis, išdygo vikis</i>
Upon the high hill	Ant aukšto kalno
In the white bonnet	Baltam kepaluišy
- Elm with the pear tree.	- Alksnis su grūšia.
3. I cut down the buckwheat, I cut down the vetch	3. <i>Nupjoviau griųkį, nupjoviau vikį</i>
Upon the high hill	Ant aukšto kalno
In the white bonnet	Baltam kepaluišy
- Elm with the pear tree.	- Alksnis su grūšia.

Numerous Catholic hymn parodies about cabbages have also been recorded.⁹⁵ The basis for their text is the “pain” of the cabbage, wherein the stereotypical story line matches that of songs enumerating the suffering of cultivated plants.⁹⁶

most in this case is the condition of completing all the tasks of preparing flax before receiving Inana’s hand in marriage. Without delving into an analysis of the deeper mythological meanings of this work, we can ascertain that by repeating the sacred wedding ritual here described, one strives to secure prosperity (and, without doubt, a successful crop of cultivated plants). It is believed that a similar wedding ceremony of sacred figures had to be acted out on the eve of the new year by all of the Sumerian rulers (Antonova 1990: 214). Can we perhaps also consider the Lithuanian lament-game analysed here as a distant echo of a divine marriage (which mortals seek to replicate in their wedding rituals)?

⁹⁴ “I sowed a buckwheat”, recorded by the author in Deltuva, Ukmergės district in 1987. The rhythm, rhyme and sound of the comical words (‘elm’ and ‘pear tree’) resemble those of the original religious hymn (‘pray’ and ‘soul’) (*alksnis = melskis* and *grūšia = dūšia*).

⁹⁵ Performance context: “Guys would sing this song on their way back from parties/dances. It sounds like a litany which is sung when escorting the deceased. Men sing it even now” (Jotainiai; recorded in 1936, LTR 1084(82)); “Boys would go out at night and shout those litanies as they walked down the street.” (Piniava; recorded in 1971, LTR 1598(21)).

⁹⁶ “Green Little Cabbage”, sung by Juozapas Kateiva, age 18, Kilučiai village, Biržai district, recorded by Edmundas Jievaltas in 1926 (LTR 68(234)).

1. - Little cabbage, little green one,	1. Kopūstėli žalynėli,
What pain and suffering you've seen	Kokis tu mūkas turėjė,
As I weeded you?	Kai aš tave ravėjo?
- Turn over on your head!	- Verskis par galvų!
2. - Little, cabbage, little green one,	2. Kopūstėli žalynėli,
What pain and suffering you had	Kokis tu mūkas turėjė,
While you grew in the gap?	Kai aš tarpuežy užaugai?
- Turn over on your head!	- Verskis par galvų!

Some of the “cabbage” variations (for example, NMT 91) are marked by an especially accurate parody of the specificity of funeral hymns – long texts, that are freely recited with one breath, followed by a short, drawling sung refrain:

1. - Oh you cabbage, little cabbage,	1. - <i>Oi tu kopūstai kopūstėli,</i>
How much hardship I had as I planted you.	Kiek aš varga turėjau, kol aš tavi pasėjo.
- Turn over on your head	- <i>Verskis par galvų,</i>
- What's it to you, you stupid?	- Kas tau, durniau, darba?

Thus, the cabbage – a plant that became popular in Lithuania rather late (around the 14th century), in contrast to the other cultivated plants that are part of various ritual texts (flax, rye, hemp and others) – easily becomes a comical object and means of parody.

All the examples discussed above would lead one to believe that the lamenting or hymn singing about one or another cultivated plant has deep roots.⁹⁷ The “life cycle of the plant” motif

is like a symbolic “code”, which is very probably well known among all members of traditional cultures, that is ideally suited to evoking the mood of mourning, or to imitating it (either when the bride is actually departing from her home, or when the false bride is imitating this departure; the parodied hymn is sung during funeral processions, and so on). It can be assumed that both the real laments as well as their “imitations” or parodies, which are created based on the plot of the “plant’s life cycle”, can be considered a distant echo of ancient harvest rituals.⁹⁸

By analysing the question of one of the components of polymusic – the lament – we can now consider the polymusic piece (process) as a whole. The structure of the piece is comprised by the bride’s (or false bride’s) “lament” and a happy song that contrasts with it. In this dialogue between the bride and mother, contrasts that occur from a musical perspective include:

- genre: lament/song
- song style: recited, improvised / clearly accented
- rhythm: irregular/regular
- meter: changing/stable (2/4)
- tempo: slow, *tempo rubato* / fast
- melodic range: narrow (third-tonical modal structure) / wide
- key: minor/major
- facture: monophonic / homophonic (monophonic)
- performance: solo (chorus; solo + solo) / chorus (solo)

As we can see, two strongly contrasting components comprise the piece: the lament that represents the world of the bride, and the song representing the mother’s world.⁹⁹ The song seems to be intended as solace for the lamenting

⁹⁷ The motif of the “pain of flax” that interests us figures in the old calendrical myth of old farming civilizations about the god who dies and is reborn. According to Toporov, “in the Baltic tradition the relationship between flax as a plant, as an object of farming (and all tasks related to it), and as a rather personified image of flax as a figure, a subject, is restored.” (Toporov 1990: 305).

⁹⁸ For more on this see Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė 1999.

⁹⁹ It should be noted that the piece seems to be a “conversation” with “mother”; however the “part” of the mother is usually performed not by one singer, but by a whole group. Might this not indicate that it is not the daughter/mother opposition, but rather the symbolic daughter / “previous world of the daughter: mother, home, friends” opposition? Such a presumption is supported by other researchers’ insights as well. For instance, the ethnomusicologist Borislava Efimenkova, in her research on wedding laments in Northern Russia, draws attention to the explicit bride/girls opposition in the contrasts of the musical code in terms of timbre-intonation: the bride “speaks” with weeping intonations (using moans, sobbing, and other means) – while the girls sing harmoniously; and rhythm: the free, *rubato* mood of the bride’s text contrasts the very strict rhythmic picture of the girls’ singing (Efimenkova 2012: 307).

Ex. 6. "Who will help my mother" / "Kas mano motulai" (LLD XI 314).



a¹] - Kas ma-no - mo-tu-lai li-ne-lius nu-raus?
 c²] - Pa-ci, duk-ra, pa-ci, pa-ci, vieš-na, pa-ci,
 jei ne pa-ci, tai mar-ci, lė-li-jė-la mar-ci.

Ex. 7. "Mother, who will sow the flax for you?" / "Motula, kas tau linelius pasės?" (LLD XI 312).



* I ml. 2, 4, 5, 6 psm.

g¹] - Mo-tu-la, kas tau li-ne-lius pa-sės?
 g¹] - Pa-ci, duk-ra, pa-ci, jei ne pa-ci, tai mar-ci, // tai mar-ci.

bride – and this is reflected not only in the text (the answer to the bride’s question “Who will sow, harvest the flax for mother?” is always optimistic in tone: “I myself, daughter, I myself, and if not I, then the daughter-in-law...”) but also musically, since the joyful tone is marked by a rather quick tempo (♩ = 152, 176, 124 and so on). For example, see “Who will help my mother” / “Kas mano motulai”¹⁰⁰ (the lament is performed “solo sobbing”, while the song is sung by the group “choir”) (EXAMPLE 6).

Some of the song melodies are “dance-like”: one such melody, for example, is based on a popular dance in Lithuania called “Little Grey

Bee” (“Bitute Pilkoji”), see “Mother, who will sow the flax for you?” / “Motula, kas tau linelius pasės?” (LLD XI 312) (EXAMPLE 7).

The second part of the piece sung by either a larger or smaller group of singers (“the false couple”, women and girls, all of the wedding guests, and the like) was sometimes accompanied with pounding on the table. In Lithuania a large number of songs that were sung during weddings (as well as at other banquets and large gatherings) involved all those sitting at the table pounding the table either with their fists or with the cutlery

¹⁰⁰Sung by Ona Balčiūnienė-Karužaitė, age 61, Naujienos village, Valkininkai district, recorded in 1947 (LLD XI 314).

Ex. 8. "Mother, who will harvest the flax for you?" / "Kas tau, motula, linelius noraus?" (LLD XI 313).

The image shows a musical score for a Lithuanian song. It consists of four staves of music in G major, 2/4 time. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 88. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff has a tempo marking of quarter note = 88. The second staff has a tempo marking of quarter note = 176. The lyrics are: "8] - Ka - s ta - u mo - tu - la, li - ne - liu - s nu - raus? a] - Oi, aš pa - ti pa - ti, kad ne pa - ti - mar - ti. Jau žir - ge - liai su - kin - ky - ti, pas gon - ke - les pa - sta - ty - ti, vež vež, jau Ma - riu - tę vež."

(for example with spoons).¹⁰¹ It is possible that at some point such pounding and hitting the table once had a ritual or magical significance of protecting the newlyweds and other participants at the wedding from evil forces. In the case that we are analysing, only the crossdressers sing while pounding on the table, both the false couple and their false "wedding party", as they greet the actual wedding couple and their entourage. Over time, the pounding became simply a means of expressing "rowdy" jollity and an aid for a large group of people to sing together.¹⁰² Such a method of performance undoubtedly brought joy to all those taking part.

One of the variations¹⁰³ of the piece stands out because the "bride's" part more closely resembles a lyrical song melody than a lament (and even in the annotations it is mentioned that the "bride sings this while sitting in the carriage as she leaves for her husband's home, and the choir of

gathered girls and women reply with the second verse"), even though the melody is based on the minor third intonation that is characteristic of laments from Dzūkija. Nevertheless, the character of the second part stands in stark contrast to the first part in this piece as well: in the archival sound recording we can hear that the singer is singing very loudly, almost "shouting" the melody, with strong accents on different sounds¹⁰⁴ (EXAMPLE 8).

Noteworthy is the fact that the text of "The horses are already harnessed, standing at the gates" winds its way into the second part, and this is the start of one of the main songs for seeing off the couple ("Already the horses are harnessed" / "Jau žirgeliai sukinkyti"), which we mentioned several times when analysing the second case of polymusic.

Yet another case of that same text winding its way into a piece is a variation of the piece

¹⁰¹ At the end of the wedding the guests request a feast by singing, rattling bowls, cups, glasses and pounding on the table. They sing: "The merciless guests/ won't leave for home/ The hostess and host/ Are really complaining..." (Buračas 1993: 417).

¹⁰² According to the ethnomusicologist Polo Vallejo, Spanish singing while slapping the table with the hands originated from an old custom of baking bread – it was a specific way of kneading the dough (in conversation: Tbilisi, 27.09.2006).

¹⁰³ "Who, dear mother" ("Kas, mano motula") (LLD XI 313), sung by Ona Grigaliūnienė, age 40, Žasliai, Trakai region, recorded in 1938.

¹⁰⁴ "Mother, who will harvest the flax for you?" ("Kas tau, motula, linelius noraus?"), LLD XI 313.

Ex. 9. "Who, mother" / "Kas tau, motula" (LLD XI 316).

- Kas tau, mo - tu - la, li - ne - lius klos?
 - Aš pa - ti pa - ti, kad ne pa - ti - mar - ti.
 - Jau žir - ge - liai pa - kin - ky - ti, prie gon - ke - lių pa - sta - ty - ti -
 veš - ma a - ny - tē - lę.

"Who, mother" ("Kas tau, motula").¹⁰⁵ This piece is distinctive in that the chorus replies to not just one but two "soloists" – different "actors" of the wedding (EXAMPLE 9).

The annotations explain that

one of them leads while crying: "who, mother, will lay down the flax for you?" while the other quickly and freely replies: "I myself, and if not I – then the daughter-in-law". At that point everyone sings: "Already the horses are harnessed, and standing at the gate – we will take mother-in-law." Then the cycle repeats about other tasks in the flax preparation. At the very end she laments: "They will drown you in a spoonful of water", "They will put you in the place of a fire-iron", "They will turn you into a dishcloth" (this ending is lamented by one of the wedding guests).

In this case we are dealing with a very vivid enacted situation in which the "bride" laments, the "mother" consoles her, and the remaining guests remind her of the inevitability of her departure by singing the traditional text "Already the horses are harnessed", while someone from the wedding guests (using the language of lament) at the very

end warns about the unhappy life awaiting the bride at her mother-in-law's place. It is almost as if all this – the daughter's departure as she laments bidding farewell to her mother and her native home, at which time a sorrowful song is sung – were a summary "compressed in time" of a traditional wedding situation, a playful *mise en scene* performed at the table.

Conclusions

The above analysis of three different cases of Lithuanian polymusic leads to the conclusion that all of them are an important part of family cycle rituals (funerals and weddings). The first two are not premeditated, but rather arise at moments of ritual climax. It can be argued that the combination of different texts (in the semantic sense) provokes the situation itself. For example, the wailing of the two lamenting women (the daughter and the neighbour) with a Christian, catholic hymn in the background is related to their first appearance at a wake and an "introduction" in the language of a lament to those gathered, to the deceased, and to all the dead. The essential moment of a wedding is the bride's departure from home, which is a critical

¹⁰⁵ Sung by Ona Surmulavičienė, age 46, Paparčiai congregation, Žaslai district, recorded in 1932; LLD XI 316.

moment of separation that is characteristic of rites of passage, and which unites the bride's lament, the song of her friends or those seeing her off, and/or the musicians' playing all into one musical act. Such a "combination" of different melodies and musical subtexts into one text (the collective sound of the lament, song, and march at once) reflects the particular forms of communication of each of the different participants at the wedding through certain musical "symbols". Similarities to these first two cases can be found in other nations' funerary and wedding traditions.

The third case analysed here is considered to be exceptional. First of all, as already mentioned, it does not fully fit the concept of polymusic understood as "singing at the same time in the same place without being together" (Rappoport 2013: 40). Yet nevertheless, in keeping with the opinion of various researchers who claim that antiphonal (response) performance forms can be considered the origins of polyphony,¹⁰⁶ we can consider the specific "dialogical" singing performed during weddings as polymusic. Regardless of the fact that the texts of the piece here analysed are not performed simultaneously but alternately – one after the other – they reflect the different "worlds" of the participants of the musical dialogue.¹⁰⁷

It is very difficult to decipher the real meaning of this in wedding rituals today. Might the playful situation performed by crossdressers seated at the table (false bride and her "mother") be considered the original instance, or did it develop from the real – ritual farewell – situation over time and become a playful *mise-en-scene*? This case of polymusic requires far more in-depth research that would take into consideration the wider explanatory contexts, but for now this question remains open.

All the cases of polymusic discussed in this article were recorded at a moment when community celebrations were disappearing. It is possible that we will no longer be able to document more variations of the ritual situations considered here. New polymusic combinations will form over time due to a shift in lifestyle and traditions. This is most likely to happen in the funeral ceremonies of *Dzūkija*, where up until today the pre-Christian and Christian worldviews combine in bidding farewell to the deceased in old and new musical codes – laments and sentimental songs.

Translated by Vaiva Aglinskas

¹⁰⁶ Let us recall that researchers of polyphony relate polymusical phenomena with various contexts of collective singing. Engovatova calls them 'special forms of singing in common', Ahmedaja discusses the concept of polymusic alongside 'polyphony,' 'multipart music' and others.

¹⁰⁷ From the existing documentation and sound recordings we are unable to say whether this piece was actually performed the same way all the time – always keeping to the principle of alternating singing (one after the other). After all, many pieces (that is to say both of its parts) are recorded by just one singer. Taking part in weddings and other holiday gatherings, we were able to observe that in some natural situations the other group enters earlier, i.e. while the first group is still singing, and the first group jumps in before the second group finishes singing. Some ethnomusicologists studying the music of the eastern Slavs have drawn attention to such forms of singing in the form of an uninterrupted "chain" (Vyacheslav Shchurov, Margarita Engovatova, Galina Tavlay and others). Tavlay's in-depth research of this phenomenon in Belarus led to the observation that sometimes this type of antiphonal singing transforms into a canon (Tavlay 1996: 110).

Abbreviations of sources

ADSIM – *Aukštaitijos dainos, sutartinės ir instrumentinė muzika / Songs, Sutartinės and Instrumental Music of Aukštaitija*. Phonograph recordings from 1935–1941, comp. and ed. by Austė Nakiėnė and Rūta Žarskienė, Vilnius: Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, 2004.

AM – *Aukštaičių melodijos [Melodies of Aukštaitija]*. Comp. and ed. by Laima Burkšaitienė and Danutė Krištopaitė, Vilnius: Vaga, 1990.

BLKP – Buračas, Balys. *Lietuvos kaimo papročiai [Village Customs of Lithuania]*. Comp. A. Degutis, Vilnius: Mintis, 1993.

BRMŠ – *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai. Nuo seniausių laikų iki XV amžiaus pabaigos / Sources of Baltic Religion and Mythology. From ancient times to the end of the 15th century*. Comp. by Norbertas Vėlius, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1996.

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LLD XXIII – *Lietuvių liaudies dainynas. Vestuvinės dainos, 7: Išvažiavimo pas jaunąjį dainos [Lithuanian Folk Songs Book. Wedding songs, 7: Songs of departing for the groom's home]*. Ed. by Vilma Daugirdaitė and Živilė Ramoškaitė, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2011.

LLDK – *Lietuvių Liaudies Dainų Katalogas [Catalogue of Lithuanian Folk Songs]*. Ed. by Ambraziejus Jonynas, Vilnius: Vaga, 1976.

LPL – Lepner, Theodor. *Der Preusche Littauer*. Danzig: Rüdiger, 1744.

LTR – Folklore Archives of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore.

MFA KLF – Sound recordings on magnetic tapes from the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre Ethnomusicology Department's Musical Folklore Archives.

MFA KTR – Manuscript collections of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre Ethnomusicology Department's Musical Folklore Archives

NAA – Personal archives of Rasa Norinkevičiūtė.

NMT – *Nebark manęs, tėveli. Biržiečių dainos [Don't scold me, father. Songs from Biržai]*. Comp. Augustas Kubilius, Vilnius: Spaudos kontrolės valdyba prie Teisingumo m-jos, 2010.

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Leedu polümuusika reliktid: kolme juhtumi analüüs

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Polümuusika on mõiste, mis tuli etnomusikoloogiasse alles 20. sajandi lõpus, kuid nähtusi, mida liigitatakse polümuusika alla, oli idaslaavi maades tähele pandud juba palju varem – 1970. aastatel. Tol ajal nimetati neid „kooslaulmise erilisteks vormideks“ (*особые формы совместного пения*) ja neid analüüsis oma töödes süvitsi Margarita Jengovatova (Engovatova). Leedu polümuusikat pole etnomusikoloogid seni uurinud.

Etnomusikoloogide (Margarita Jengovatova, Zinaida Mažeiko, Tatjana Berkovitš, Leila Qashu, Philip Yampolsky jt.) tähelepanekud polümuusika erinevatest ilmingutest on eriti tähtsad leedu polümuusika näidete esmasel uurimisel, mõistmisel ja tõlgendamisel. On tähelepanuväärne, et kõike kolme polümuusika juhtumit, mida käsitletakse selles artiklis, peetakse rituaalide – matuste ja pulmade tähtsateks osadeks. Nende uurimine nõuab terviklikku lähenemist, mis tähendab muusikalise folkloori eri liikide vahekorra analüüsi, ja mitte ainult muusikalisest perspektiivist, vaid ka arvestades etnograafilist, sotsiokultuurset, religioosset ja teisi kontekste. See uurimus rakendab struktuurilis-semantilist ja võrdlevat tüpoloogilist meetodit koos tõlgendusliku hermeneutilise analüüsiga.

Kõik meid huvitavad leedu polümuusika näited on mingil moel seotud itkude ja itkemise protsessiga matustel ja pulmades. Leedu itkutradsioon oli üksiknimese elutsükli ja kogukonna rituaalse elu tähtis osa, mis mängis oma rolli nii matustel, pulmades kui oletatavasti ka muudel puhkudel. Leedu itkud („sõnadega nutmine“) on improviseeritud luule, mida esitavad põhiliselt naised ja millel on retsitatiivne meloodia ja mittestroofiline vorm. Nii 13.–17. sajandi ajaloolised allikad kui ka kaasaegsete lauljate kommentaarid Dzūkija küladest (Lõuna-Leedu, kus itkutradsiooni ikka veel praktiseeritakse) näitavad, et itkemine oli kohustuslik osa iidsest rituaalst, millega saadeti surnu ära teispoosusesse.

Itku mõiste ja funktsioonide üksikasjalik vaatlus võimaldab paremini aru saada kolmest analüüsitud leedu polümuusika juhtumist.

Esimene juhtum (hümn-itkud matuserituaalis). Kõnealune autentne situatsioon on salvestatud folklooriekspeditsiooni ajal Dieveniškėse vallas: pika kirikuhümni taustal kõlavad kahe itkeja itkud. Selline kooslus on erinevate „keelte“ omapärane kombinatsioon, mis puudutab (1) muusikaliike – hümn ja lament, (2) keelelist spetsiifikat – poola keel (hümn), leedu keel (esimene itkeja) ja valgevene keel (teine itkeja) ja (3) usulist kuuluvust – eelkristlik (itk) ja kristlik traditsioon (hümn).

Vaatamata asjaolule, et mainitud muusikahid Žižmai küla matusetseremooniast erinevad nii oma päritolult kui ka struktuurilt ja väljendusvormilt, on neil sama eesmärk – väljendada lugupidamist lahkunule ja saata teda viimasele teekonnale õigel viisil (s.t. kõiki traditsioonilisi kombeid järgides). Sel juhul kajastab käsitlus „õigel viisil“ kohalike elanike mitmemõõtmelist eneseteadvust. See loob tingimused erinevate religioonide ja kultuuriliste kihtide koosseiseteerimisele ja nende polümuusikalisele väljendusele läbi aegade.

Teine juhtum (itk–marss–laul–hümn pulmatseremoonias) põhineb pulmakirjeldustel, mis annavad tunnistust polümuusikaliste ilmingute esinemisest pulmatseremoonias. Kui pulmade haripunkt – pruudi ärasaatmine laulatusele – lähenes, oli kindlasti vaja ajada ta pisaraisse ja panna ta valjusti nutma. See saavutati, kasutades just selle jaoks mõeldud *kurbi laule* ja nukraid *lahkumismarsse*. Rituaal, mis pidi ajama pruudi pisaraisse sel hetkel, mil ta oli veel oma kodus, kuid jättis hüvasti oma vanemate perega, on tavaline paljude rahvaste pulmatraditsioonides. Polümuusika sellised vormid on kõige sagedamini siirderituaali tulemuseks. Need vormid esinevad enamasti seda tüüpi rituaalide keskmises, kõige dünaamilisemas faasis – rituaali „kosmilises keskpunktis“.

Peale nende erinevate leedu polümuusika juhtumite analüüsi võib väita, et need kõik on perekondliku tsükli rituaalide (matuste ja pulmade) oluliseks osaks. Esimese kahe juhtumi analooge võib leida teiste rahvaste matuse- ja pulmatraditsioonides.

Kolmas juhtum (etendatud itkudialoogid pulmades), mida selles uurimuses analüüsitakse, on erandlik. Kõigepealt ei sobi see täielikult polümuusika mõistega. Samas, toetudes erinevate uurijate arvamusele, et antifoonilisi (responsoorseid) esitusvorme võib käsitada polüfoonia allikana, võime tõlgendada

spetsiifilist dialoogilist laulmist pulmades kui polümüusikat. Vaatamata asjaolule, et siin analüüsitud žanris ei esitata tekste üheaegselt, vaid vaheldumisi, üksteise järel, esitlevad nad muusikalise dialoogi osaliste erinevaid „maailmu“. Tänapäeval on väga keeruline lahti mõtestada selle žanri tõelist tähendust pulmarituaalis. Kas mänguline situatsioon, kus ümberriietatud tegelased (vale-pruut ja tema vale-ema) istuvad laua taga, võiks olla algne või arenes see aja jooksul tõelisest lahkumisrituaalist ja sai lustakaks „misanstseeniks“? See polümüusika juhtum nõuab palju sügavamat uuringut, mis võtaks arvesse laia seletava konteksti, kuid praegu jääb see küsimus lahtiseks.

Tõlkinud Žanna Pärtlas