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THE BALLAD OF THE WALLED-UP WIFE

NOTES ABOUT ITS STRUCTURE AND SEMANTICS

The ballad about the walled-up wife is familiar to all Balkan peoples and to the Hungarians. It has attracted the interest of folklorists since last century. A number of studies, articles and two monographs have been devoted to it<sup>1</sup>. The books by G. Megas and I. Taloş contain carefully collected bibliographies, as well as reviews of different opinions and investigations. They give a good idea also of the methods of investigation used and the main conclusions reached so far.

The studies by A. P. Stoilov<sup>2</sup> and M. Arnaudov<sup>3</sup> are representative of the investigation of the Bulgarian material especially, although they were written a long time ago. A new investigation is needed which would take into account the numerous recent field recordings as well as the new methods used in folklore study. The present article does not aim to fulfill this role. Rather, it aims to prove the need for such an investigation and to contribute towards it in some measure.

In the course of work, 180 Bulgarian variants were analysed in detail. Of these, 96 are published, and 84 are recordings made in connection with the preparation of a volume to be entitled *The Bulgarian Folk Ballad*. The materials were collected in the period 1970-1981 and are now in the Archives of the Institute of Folklore at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. All the texts were subjected to structural analysis in accordance with the principles outlined below. These principles and the concrete methods of analysis had to be elaborated because of the obvious inadequacy of previous attempts to reveal

1. G. A. Megas, *Die Ballade von der Arta-Brücke. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung.* — 150—Institute for Balkan Studies. Thessaloniki, 1976. 204 p. I. Talos, *Meşterul Manole.* Bucureşti. 1973. 470 p.

2. A. P. Stoilov, *Zazizhdane na zhivi chovetsi v osnovite na novi gradezhi (Immurement of live human beings in the foundations of new constructions).* - *Periodichesko spisanie na Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo.* Sofia XIII, 1902, pp. 179-213.

3. M. Arnaudov, *Vgradena nevesta (The walled-up wife).* - In: *Studii vurhu Bulgarskite obredi i legendi.* Vol. II, 2nd ed. 1972, pp. 221-460. /1st ed. Sofia, 1924/.

the structure of the ballad. The main weakness of these attempts consists in that the investigators did not give sufficient attention to the question of separating the different levels in the structural analysis. And when they had such intentions, they did not carry them out with sufficient accuracy or with sufficient consistency.

## 1.

On the basis of the work done within the Soviet school of thought in the field of structural typological investigations, and, especially, on V. Propp's seminal book, *Morfologia skazki*, the 'obligatory structure-forming elements' were established for all Bulgarian texts that can be attributed to the ballad type 'The walled-up wife', i.e., the aim was to find *the morphological invariant* of the type. The analysis revealed that, disregarding the plainly incomplete texts, the songs invariably display the following elements, or, in other words, that the morphological invariant of the type is:

I. *Agents*: A. Man-husband-father-builder with assistants; B. Woman-wife-mother (suckling mother); C. Child-son-suckling; D. Being (force)-supporter-unifier.

II. *Objects*: E. Building which cannot be completed unless it is linked with the being-unifier; F. Victim.

III. *Actions*: G. Building: a. unsuccessful; b. successful: 1. Realising the need for sacrifice; 2. Immolation-immurement; 3. Transformation into being-unifier.

## 2.

We do not propose to proceed with the structural typological analysis, although all index cards are available. That would mean introducing new facts but no new ideas in this short paper. Rather, we propose to try and use the possibilities of structural semiotic analysis, since in this respect the ballad has been least adequately studied. The reason for this may be in the inherent limitations of the comparative historical method employed by previous investigators. The latter focus their attention mainly on the individual texts and their connections in space and time, only incidentally and almost reluctantly referring to other folk creation. They seem content with a literal reading of the text, unwilling to extend their researches into the field of deep semantics.

A typical example is the debate between G. Megas and K. Romeos concerning the interpretation of the image 'bridge narrow as a hair' encountered in

the Greek ballads<sup>4</sup>. In order to refute Romeos' suggestion that this image is probably related to the idea of a bridge, narrow as a hair, over which the souls of the dead pass on their way to the beyond—an idea familiar from other Greek songs and beliefs—, Megas cites an informant who maintained that this was the actual name of a bridge near his village. Obviously, this is no argument against Romeos' view. Whether the informant is or is not aware of the meaning of a given motif, that is no proof that the motif has no such meaning. It would be logical to formulate the question: why was the bridge near the village named that way? Was it only because it was a narrow bridge, as Megas is suggesting? The point is that Romeos' idea meets with a difficult problem: is the image of the 'bridge as narrow as a hair' a primary feature or was it introduced later under the influence of other songs, as the plot was being elaborated and associated with already existing formulas?

A literal reading of the text may result in ignoring parts of that text when they are unclear from the point of view of the usual direct derivation of the ballad from construction rites. More often than not, the scholars enumerate, at great length, customs in connection with the immuration of a living being in the foundations of a building, argue whether the custom should be interpreted as sacrifice to the 'genie of the place' or as the creation of a spirit-protector of the construction. They do not, however, ask the question, what lies at the root of the rites themselves? Why not assume a third possibility, for instance a myth lying at the root of both the rite and the ballad—or its prototype—, with the link between song and rite as derivative and at the same time strengthening because of the tendency to take the ballad out of the sphere of the fantastic and the miraculous and bring it closer to the realities of daily life?

Thus, attracted by the obvious link between song and construction rites, most researchers seem not to be paying sufficient attention to the song of the little bird in the Greek ballad: "The bridge shall not last unless you wall up a living being; but not an orphan, nor a widow's child; let it be Master Yani's wife!" Or, "but not an orphan, neither a stranger, nor a traveller", "but not a madman, nor a fool", or "but not a blind man, neither a lame man, nor a traveller"<sup>5</sup>. And it is this song that expresses an opposition to the concrete choice of victims (socially weak members of the community or foreigners) for different forms of constructional human sacrifice, probably practised in the past and preserved as legend.

4. G. Megas, *op. cit.*, p. 72, 115.

5. Cf. M. Arnaudov, *op. cit.*, pp. 351, 352, 354, 355.

G. Megas is inclined to explain this contradiction with the demands of artistic form. He believes that sacrificing the loved one is the dramatic element of the piece and that sacrificing the master builder, which would be more just and hardly less dramatic, is avoided because that would bring the action to an end. But then, why is it that the substitution is never effected through the child, not the wife? This would not minimize the dramatic effect while allowing the action to go on. L. Vargyas cites Georgian and Mordovian songs about immurement as well as Central European and East European legends and in both cases a child<sup>6</sup> is walled up.

Why is it that the Balkan variants never use this motif although as a possible ancient practice it must have been familiar, as witness the Greek songs referred to above? Could it be that the reason for the unusual yet invariable recurrence of the wife-victim is to be found in the deep semantics of the plot? It appears to be the case that in the songs about the walled-up wife, the woman-wife-mother has some meaning which does not come from the common rites during construction alone (they are indifferent as to kind of sacrifice), nor does it come only from the requirements about dramatic elements in artistic form.

K. Romeos and I. Taloş put forward the idea of a link with funeral rites and with beliefs about life beyond the grave. On the basis of the image of the bridge as narrow as a hair and some functions of the Greek ballad (it is performed in lamentations and in ritual dancing, 'Roussalya', on the second day of Easter). How can this interpretation contribute to an understanding of the semantics of the ballad type? As a parallel to the Greek 'hair-like bridge', in a group of Bulgarian variants from the Pomorie district (NNo 15, 54, 55, 56, 57, 53) there appears another image: "the bridge over the Tundzha river—a ladder to the sky". M. Arnaudov was not familiar with this group of variants. The image in question does not seem related to the Greek songs known to us and probably did not appear under their influence. Its meaning is: connection, a path to the great beyond, the world of the dead, the world of supernatural beings, of the gods. The image combines the vertical and the horizontal notions about the location of "the beyond"—up in the sky and beyond the river/the sea<sup>7</sup>.

6. L. Vargyas, *Researches into the Medieval History of Folk Ballad*. Budapest, 1967, pp. 178-9.

7. More about this image and its semantics in Bulgarian folklore, in L. Parpulova, *Simvolichni obrazi v Bulgarskia folklor / Symbolic images in Bulgarian folklore*. In *Sbornik v chest na akademik P. Dinekov* (forthcoming).

Somewhat similar notions can be found in another group of Bulgarian variants from the Gyumyurdzhina area<sup>8</sup>. Here the husband walls-up his wife in 'Dimna grada' and consoles her saying that she will turn into a fig-tree and her milk will continue to feed her child. The tree, with its mythical meaning of 'axis of the world', also carries the semantics of the link between the worlds and is synonymous with the ladder in the sphere of mythical semantics. The life-giving moisture trickling from the tree may be reminiscent of one of the essential characteristics of the cosmic tree and the tree of life. And the fig-tree is one of the botanical varieties associated with these two mythical notions.

Clearly, funerary rites, customs and beliefs cannot fully explain the significance, the central position, of the woman-wife-mother in the structure of the song type. They only convince us that the construction which is "built by day, falls at night" is closely linked with specific mythical images and ideas. This confirms our doubts about the derivation of the plot from construction rites, customs and beliefs practiced in life.

Let us, therefore, turn to the mythical notions and texts of a cosmogonic nature. There we find both the bridge and the big construction (town, church, monastery) used as images with an indisputable mythical semantics, meaning the 'centre of the world', and thus related to the semantics of the world axis, or, meaning the cultivated, ordered world, the cosmos, as opposed to the wild, unordered world, chaos. I. Dobrev<sup>9</sup> has shown this in an excellent manner with reference to Bulgarian Christmas- and some Easter songs. Of special interest are the Christmas songs which picture Christ as the builder of bridges for sinful souls. This shows that Bulgarian folklore was familiar with the symbolic interpretation of the bridge. In some Ukrainian Christmas songs, God, saint Peter and saint Paul are presented as demiurges. And in the Bulgarian Christmas songs *Master Petur* cuts down the wonderful tree, 'bozhur durvo', to make the gates of Heaven. In the Bulgarian variants of 'The Walled-up Wife' from the South-Eastern parts, the name Pavel predominates as the builder of the mysterious construction, but there are also obvious traces of the name Petur (in the abbreviated forms Peicho, Pencho, Becho). The

8. Cf., M. Arnaudov, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-40; *Narodni pesni ot severoiztochna Bulgaria /Folk songs from North-East Bulgaria/* compiled by R. Katsarova, I. Kachulev and E. Stoin, Sofia, 1962, No 875, Svetlen, Popovo district (settlers from the area around Soflu, now in Turkey).

9. Ivan Dobrev, *Proizhod i znachenie na praslavyanskoto konsonantno: diftongichno sklonenie /Origin and significance of the protoslavonic consonantal and diphthongal declension/*, Sofia, 1982, pp. 43, 64-66 (*Master Petur*), 73, 79, 82, 88, 92, 101, 106-107, 183, 193-194, 199-202, 209-210.

name Petur is regularly present as the name of one of the two brothers of Master Pavel, when they are mentioned at all. There seem to be traces of it in the name of the wife—Petranka (Petruna, Petriyka). In how far the appearance of these names in the ballad is a reflection of a later christianised folk cosmogony it is difficult to say. But there is no doubt that the similarity merits attention.

Also, I. Dobrev points out interesting parallels with the bridge Bifrost (“the shaking road”) from ancient Scandinavian mythology, and with the construction of the walls of Midgard<sup>10</sup>. We find similar images in Iranian mythology where the souls of the dead, on their way to “the beyond”, pass over the bridge Chinvat which is shaking. A comparison with cosmogonic imagery confirms the impression that the construction in the songs of the type of “the walled-up wife” was associated with mythical constructions.

Such an association is suggested by the victim’s curse: that the bridge shakos and that the travellers fall off the bridge. This feature of the Bulgarian variants is seen as due to the influence of Greek songs<sup>11</sup>. Similarity to mythical constructions may be seen in the variant from the Belogradchik area<sup>12</sup>, the master builder bets God to build a town; in the variant from the Shumen area<sup>13</sup>, sacrifice is needed to complete the dome of the construction, which is a borrowing from the ballad type “God is building a monastery”. Mythical constructions may explain the peculiarities of the construction in the Tetovo variant<sup>14</sup> (with walls from copper coins and windows from gold), and the gold walls in the variant from the village of Hahnovo/No 76, the Rhodopes/. They remind us of the construction in the Christmas night with gold poles and silver stakes, as the Sun-fosterfather and the Moon-fostermother light for the master builder; of the church that saint Georgi started building with copper coins and completed with gold coins<sup>15</sup>.

It has been pointed out that the construction of Midgard was the price for the hand of the goddess Frigg. The bridge Chinvat was guarded by the maiden Modgud. Yet the connection with the ballad of the walled-up wife is remote. The motif with Frigg reminds one more of the fairy tales where the

10. F. Buslaev, “Skazanie Novoi Eddy o sooruzhenii sten Midgarda i serbskaya pesnya o postroenii Skadra. - Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovestnosti. I. *Russkaya narodnaya poezia*. 1861, pp. 301-307.

11. M. Arnaudov, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

12. V. Stoin, *Ot Timok do Vita*. Sofia, 1928, p. 953, No 3631.

13. M. Arnaudov, *op. cit.*, p. 348, p. 421.

14. M. Arnaudov, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

15. I. Dobrev, *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 210.

hero must build a bridge, a road, a palace, in order to win the king's daughter.

M. Eliade suggests that the plot of "The walled-up wife" is based also on some cosmogonic legends about the creation of the world from the body of a giant, specifically pointing out those variants in which this primordial being is a woman<sup>16</sup>.

According to the Soviet folklorist L. Baiburin, "...on the plane of semantics, constructional sacrifice was linked with the whole complex of beliefs about the sacrosanctity of the house, about the possibility to "derive" it from the body of the victim, about the mutual transcoding between sacrifice, house and structure of the world"<sup>17</sup>.

Bulgarian folklore is familiar with the theme of the creation of the world from the body of a woman: the eyes of the dead 'samodiva' (fairy) become lakes, her body grows into a tree, her hair—into clover<sup>18</sup>; on the spot where the innocent slandered sister was killed by her brother there appears a church-monastery<sup>19</sup>. A maid warns her loved one not to fell a tree because he would thus cut her body, not to drink water because he would thus drink her tears<sup>20</sup>. Of particular interest is the song recorded in the village of Beguntsi, Plovdiv district, in 1975, now in the Archives of the Institute of Folklore. It is about a maiden who wants to accompany her sweetheart in the army but he refuses because when her body would be 'uzun kyupriyka' (narrow bridge), her eyes—wells, her hair—a forest, she would allow the whole army to pass, drink and lie in the shade, but him. Again we can see that despite the similarities between some images and themes, the connection with 'the walled-up wife' is quite remote.

We propose to look at the marriage theme and symbolism. There are numerous examples of mythical symbolic constructions there. Let us take, by way of an example, the song about the maiden walled-up in a tower by her brothers who want to protect her from the marital intentions of a young man. At her request, storms and rains destroy the tower, she is released and marries the young man. This song has been referred to in studies of 'the walled-up wife' because of the clearly expressed theme of the immured woman. However, no special attention has been paid to the dominating marriage theme, nor to

16. M. Eliade, *Master Manole and the Monastery of Arges*. - In: *Zalmoxis. The vanishing God*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London. 1972. pp. 164-190.

17. A. Baiburin, *Stroitel'naya zhertva i svyazannie s neyu ritual'nie simvoli u vostochnih slavyan*. - In: *Problemi slavyanskoi etnografii*. Leningrad, 1979. p. 162.

18. *BFC*, vol. 4, p. 137, the Byala Slatina area.

19. *BFPF*, vol. 4, p. 370, the Veles area.

20. *BFC*, vol. 7, p. 491, the Elin Pelin area.

the relationship between the structures of 'the maiden in the tower' and 'the walled-up wife'. The idea of violent immurement is realised by means of a different structure. It is a maid that is walled-up and it is her brothers that wall her in and not her husband or her husband's brothers. The immurement is followed by the destruction of the building, and marriage, unlike the walled-up wife who remains for ever in the building and her only worry is how she would feed her child. In similar songs we see a maiden who builds the tower herself, walls herself in, and from the inside negotiates with the matchmakers. These songs seem to be linked with the customs and rites related to premarital (or during initiation rites) ritual separation of maids<sup>21</sup>. The common characteristic features of the songs of the two types are that immurement is followed by destruction of the building, the unmarried state is succeeded by the married state. They should not be confused with the songs about 'the walled-up maiden' which developed from the ballad of 'the walled-up wife' as a result of its increasingly closer connection with the common customs and beliefs related to the construction of new buildings<sup>22</sup>.

We propose a deep semantics for the songs of the type 'maiden in the tower, with identical structuring of images and actions, which can be found explicitated in a wedding song from the district of Demir Hisar (Thrace). It is sung as the bride is being braided:

When they were braiding your hair, young one,  
Was your brother by you, young one,  
Was he holding a thin kerchief, young one,  
Was he building two buildings, young one?

He was, dear girls, he was,  
He was building, dear girls, two buildings.  
There came, dear girls, my two brothers-in-law,  
They wrecked, dear girls, the two buildings,  
And then, dear girls, they took me away.

(*BFC*, vol. 5, p. 517)

21. Cf., L. Parpulova, *Bulgaro-ukrainiski paraleli v sistemata na folklorната simbolika. /Bulgarian-Ukrainian Parallels in the system of Folk Symbolism/*. - In: *Materiali na Bulgarskata delegatsia za IX. Mezhdunaroden kongres na slavistite v Kiev*. (forthcoming).

22. Cf., *Knizhtsi za prochit*, Solun, VII-IX, 1891, p. 212; *CFC* 46, p. 53, No 77, *Koprivshitsa*; *CFC* 50, p. 138, No 28, *Ruzhdene*, Drama area; *AIF*, Corna Banya, Sofia area, 1974, rec. by L. Bogdanova.



If we borrow A. van Gennep's<sup>23</sup> terminology, this is clearly a 'rite of passage' with a ritual separation (immuration, imprisonment in a building), followed by ritual integration (destruction of the building, release). The main characters are also clearly shown: the bride's brothers, at the first stage, and the bridegroom's brothers, at the second stage.

In a song performed during the making of the wedding bread or banner in the village of Sitovo in the Rhodopes, the bride is rocking in a swing over yards and over bridges and the bridegroom rocks the swing (*BFC*, vol. 5, p. 504). Here the bridge and the swing are unified in location on the basis of their mythical semantics: mediators found on both sides at the same time, metaphors of the transition itself. The bridge has a similar metaphoric role, and, in addition, it shakes, in a song performed when the bride gives the presents, in the Plovdiv area.

The groom's brother is leading the bride  
/ along the bridge,  
All the bridges start shaking.  
The groom's brother speaks to the bride:  
'Don't, Magdana, do not shake!  
Wait till you start shaking  
Before father-in-law, before mother-in-law.'  
(*AIF*, No 3, vol. I, p. 25, Tsalapitsa)

There is another interesting song which pictures the life of the married woman. In it the infant-suckling is invariably present:

Dark prison before the eyes,  
Heavy iron in the arms.  
The dark prison—the husband,  
The heavy iron—the child.

(*BFC*, vol. 5, p. 588)

This song is performed at setting off to bring the bride, in Ser / Macedonia/. It presents the young bride-mother locked in a prison, and the prison is decoded as married life.

To sum up, some songs present the creation of the world from the body of a woman, sometimes explicitly decoded as bridge, i.e., mediator. Others,

23. A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*. 7. Imp. 1975, 198p. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago.

connected with ideas about the world of the dead and about death, present the bridge as a metaphor of the transition from the world of the living into the world of the dead; or, they present death as integration-immuration in the town, the building of the world 'beyond': God builds a monastery<sup>24</sup>, 'samo-diva' builds a town<sup>25</sup>, the dead build heaven<sup>26</sup>. Still others, probably associated with initiation rites, present the passage from childhood to marriageable age as walling-up in a tower/town and release from it. Still others connect the bridge and the town with wedding and married life.

It is obvious that most of these notions are associated with the so-called 'rites of passage': marriage and childbirth, initiation, funerary rites. However, none of them has a monopoly over the mythological images of the bridge, town, big construction immuration. Rather, these images are employed in each of the said ritual complexes to mark either the transition itself or one of its stages. Immuration turns out to be an action of ambivalent semantics: on the one hand, it is the equivalent of separation, on the other—of integration, creation of something new - cosmos, family.

Let us return to the invariant of the plot under discussion. It will be seen that both in regard of the agents and of the objects of the actions, the structure comes closest to the use of these images in marriage symbolism. This may explain why in a song from Tetovo (this song has baffled scholars persistently) the bride gladly agrees to be walled up in the building with walls of copper and windows of gold which her husband is erecting only asking him to leave a small window for her face so that passers-by may watch her.

The Greek variants commonly have the motif about the fate of the heroine's two sisters walled up in bridges or in a church and a monastery. If the interpretation of the semantics advanced here is valid, this motif expresses the inevitability of a woman's fate: to be transformed into the foundations of a new construction, a new world, a new family. This, no matter how noble, is not always very pleasant, as is shown in that Bulgarian song about a woman's married life.

The Bulgarian variants of the walled-up wife type never use the motif about the fate of the three sisters, although it must have been familiar to the folk singers in the South. They prefer to develop the plot further with the motif of the child-suckling, which is not present in the Greek songs. Both motifs logically derive from the deep semantics of the plot. With the 'three sisters'

24. *BFPP*, vol. 4, p. 95.

25. *BFPP*, vol. 4, p. 54.

26. *BFPP*, vol. 4, p. 101.

the connection is more direct, while with the "childsuckling" the situation is more complicated. It probably involves the belief, shared by the Bulgarians and other peoples, that the marriage is complete only after the delivery of the first child<sup>27</sup>.

The theme of the child-suckling in the Bulgarian variants often has a continuation, usually in prose, which tells about the milk trickling from the construction; or, that a brew from the white traces of this milk can be used as a cure by women who have no milk; or, that on certain days the water in the river under the bridge turns into milk, and so on. Clearly, the fact that the wife is a suckling mother is rather important and receives special motifs.

We do not maintain that there is necessarily a direct link between the walled-in suckling mother and the customs, well known to anthropologists, of separating the mother for a shorter or a longer period after childbirth<sup>28</sup>. Still, we would like to draw attention to these parallels as well.

Could it not be that such ritual separation gave rise to the thema of the walled-up wife-mother (suckling mother), just as the ritual separation of girls probably gave rise to the theme 'maiden in a tower'? Another interesting detail is the motif of the 'child nurtured by nature', attached to the plot of 'the walled-up wife'. We encounter this motif in the songs about marriage between shepherd and 'samodiva'<sup>29</sup> (the samodiva flies away after the delivery of the first child), and about the mother who joins the samodivi, leaving her child behind<sup>30</sup>. Another parallel which, although it is not directly linked with the plot of 'the walled-up wife', evidently points to similar notions, can be found in the folk tale 'The children with the wonderful features' /AT 707/. The children are put in a basket and thrown into the river, the mother is buried alive up to the waist and released only when the children grow up and return safely<sup>31</sup>.

27. R. Ivanova, *Obrednoto vreme v Bulgarskata svatba /Ritual time in the Bulgarian wedding/ - Bulgarian Folklor 2, 1982, pp. 6-7; A. van Gennep, op. cit., p. 129.*

28. A. van Gennep, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

29. *BFC*, vol. 4., pp. 114, 115.

30. *BFC*, vol. 4, p. 128.

31. A. van Gennep gives interesting data about customs connected with the separation of the mother after the birth of twins: "...all rites of passage become more complex in abnormal cases, especially if the mother has given birth to twins. Among the Basoko, in the Congo, the mother is confined to her cabin until the two children are grown; she is allowed to speak only to members of her family; only her mother and her father have the right to enter her cabin; any stranger who sets foot in it is sold as a slave; and she has to live in complete chastity. The twins are kept apart from other children, and all dishes and other utensils employed by them are taboo. The house they live in is marked by two posts placed

We started from the question about the structure of the type 'the walled-up wife' and arrived at the formulation of its morphological invariant. In its turn, it helped up to reach the conclusion that the deep semantics of the song comes from 'the rites of passage' which use 'the construction code' to express their basic content, and, more specifically, from the complex of rites and beliefs related to marriage and the delivery of the first child.

#### LIST OF USED UNPUBLISHED VARIANTS OF "THE WALLED-UP WIFE"\*

1. Matsa, V., Topolovgrad area, 1972. At harvest time, early in the morning. Stoyana Boneva, 61. *AIF*. L.B.\*\*.
2. Boyana, V., Sofia area, 1973. At the wedding feast. Verka Boneva, 77. *AIF*. L.B.
3. Stoikite, V., Devin area, 1981. Huba Stoeva, 83. *AIF*. S.B.
4. Hursovo, V., Blagoevgrad area, 1978. Katerina Kyuchukova, 67. *AIF*. S.B.
5. Gor na Grashtitsa, V., Kyustendil area, 1971. At the Horo. Tsvetana Chulkova, 65. *AEIM*. S.S.
6. Kremikovtsi, V., Sofia area, 1977. Tsveta Baltiyanova, 71. *AIF*. L.B.
7. Malko Turnovo, Chirpan area, 1980. Ivana Koleva, 66. *AIF*. L.B.
8. Chokoba, V., Sliven area, 1981. At a party ('moabet'). Suba Ignatova, 69. *AIF*. S.B.
9. Lyulin, V., Yambol area, 1972. At harvest time. Stanka Nikolova, 50. *AEIM*. S.S.
10. Mihalich, V., Svilengrad area, 1976. At the Easter horo. Maria Darakchieva, 70. *AIF*. S.S.
11. Ilinden, V., Gotse Delchev area, 1979. At the horo, in winter. Irina Yurukova, 71, *AIF*. S.B.
12. Marten, V., Rouse area, 1980. At a party ('moabet'). Yordan Stoyanov, 80. *AIF*. L.P.
13. Pavel, V., Svishtov area, 1970. Atanasa Georgieva, 59. *AEIM*. S.S.
14. Hrabrovo, V., Provadia area, 1977. Yordanka Boeva, 53. *AIF*. S.B.
15. Kozichino, V., Pomorie area, 1975. At 'sobat'. Petra Shteryuva, 65. *AIF*. L.P.
16. Kyulevcha, V., Shumen area, 1970. Yordanka Ilijkova, 56. *AEIM*. S.S.
17. Tserovo, V., Blagoevgrad area, 1978. At a working bee. Gergana Edipova, 41. *AIF*. S.S.

one on each side of the door and overhung with a piece of canvas. The threshold is adorned with many little stakes which are driven into the ground and painted white. These are the rites of separation.

The transitional period lasts until the children are more than six years old. Then comes the rite of reintegration...".

\* A list of the published variants can be found in I. Taloş (p. 326-335). From that list, No 81 should be excluded—it is, in effect the reprinted text of variant No 20, as well as No No 82-87, which are résumés of published songs and can be found in volume V, not volume VI, of PSSPh.

\*\*The initials stand for the names of field folklorists who recorded the songs, cf., List of Abbreviations.

18. Gradina, V., Veliko Turnovo area, 1981. At a working bee. Pena Slavcheva, 82. *AIF*. K.M.
19. Matsa, V., Topolovgrad area, 1972. At harvest time. Yova Gyorgyova, 83. *AEIM*. L.B.
20. Vulcho Pole, V., Svilengrad area, 1976. At the horo at new constructions. Elena Vangelova, 54. *AIF*. L.B.
21. Dubovets, V., Svilengrad area, 1976. At the horo. Petra Dimitrova, 50. *AIF*. S.B.
22. Levka, V., Haskovo area, 1972. At the horo. Elena Andonova, 60. *AEIM*. L.B.
23. Koren, V., Haskovo area, 1976. At the horo. Lenka Marinkova, 60. *AIF*. S.S.
24. Koren, V., Haskovo area, 1976. At the horo. Vanka Karaboideva, 56. *AIF*. L.B.
25. Dositeevo, V., Haskovo area, 1972. At harvest time, in the morning, Mara Uzunova, 60. *AEIM*. L.B.
26. Garvanovo, V., Haskovo area, 1972. At a working bee. Vuchka Vancheva, 55. *AEIM*. S.S.
27. Chernogorovo, V., Haskovo area, 1972. At 'medzhia', out in the street. Vana Gospodinova, 54. *AEIM*. S.S.
28. Filevo, V., Purvomai area, 1972. Kera Nacheva, 61. *AEIM*. S.S.
29. Kurdzhali, t., 1969. Stoyanka Markova, 77. /Born in the village of Chadurlii, Gyumyurdzhina area/. *AEIM*. S.S.
30. Petlyovo, Kurdzhali area, 1976. Vana Bulcheva, 57. *AIF*. L.B.
31. Mudrets, V., Harmanli area, 1981. At sunrise during harvest time. Marina Zhurnalova, 62. *AIF*. K.M.
32. Cherepovo, V., Harmanli area, 1976. At harvest time, before noon. Krustina Bogdanova, 67. *AIF*. L.B.
33. Belopolyane, V., Ivailovgrad area, 1976. At a show horo. Mara Apostolova, 84. /Born in the village of Kyuchebunar/. *AIF*. L.B.
34. Svirachi, V., Ivailovgrad area, 1976. Kera Pehlivanova, 44, and Despina Zangocheva, 36. *AIF*. S.B.
35. Plodovitovo, V., Chirpan area, 1980. Vida Dimova, 58. *AIF*. L.P.
36. Bratya Kunchevi, V., Stara Zagora area, 1972. At a party Elena Avramova, 44. *AEIM*. L.B.
37. Ruda, V., Stara zagora area, 1980. Stoyana Marinova, 56. *AIF*. L.B.
38. Rakitnitsa, V., Stara Zagora area, 1980. Mariyka Stoyanova, 63. *AIF*. L.B.
39. Rakitnitsa, V., Stara Zagora area, 1980. At "sobat". Ivanka Petkova, 67. *AIF*. L.B.
40. Mlekarevo, V., Nova Zagora area, 1981. In the morning at harvest time. Stana Vulkanova, 65. *AIF*. L.P.
41. Radevo, V., Nova Zagora area, 1981. Toward evening at harvest time. Kuna Petkova, 59. *AIF*. K.M.
42. Radevo, V., Nova Zagora area, 1981. At the Horo. Rada Decheva, 67. /Learnt from settlers from Western Thrace, now in Turkey/ *AIF*. K.M.
43. Bozadzhi, V., Nova Zagora area, 1981. At a party. Kosyo Kosev, 70. *AIF*. L.B.
44. Novoselets, V., Nova Zagora area, 1981. At harvest time. Kina Stancheva, 63. *AIF*. S.B.
45. Slamino, V., Yambol area, 1975. At a party. Stoyana Boneva, 63. *AIF*. L.P.
46. Nedyalsko, V., Yambol area, 1972. At the horo. Donka Muradova, 76. *AEIM*. L.B.
47. Zlatinitsa, V., Elhovo area, 1975. At a party ('moabet'). Karamfila Peeva, 67. *AIF*. L.B.
48. Ruzhitsa, V., Bourgas area, 1975. At a working bee. Yanka Kaludova, 56. *AIF*. L.P.
49. Draka, V., Grudovo area, 1975. In the morning at harvest time. Sofia Krusteva, 63 and Maria Stankova, 68 /Born in the village of Arpach, Lozengrad area/ *AIF*. L.B.

50. Vratitsa, V., Aitos area, 1975. In the morning at harvest time. Velika Petrova, 65. *AIF*. S.S.
51. Chernograd, V., Aitos area, 1975. At a party ('moabet'). Dimitra Markova, 56. *AIF*. L.B.
52. Prosenik, V., Aitos area, 1975. At table. Dobra Stoyanova, 52. *AIF*. L.B.
53. Prosenik, V., Aitos area, 1975. At 'sobat'. Stanka Kutsarova, 70. /Born in the village of Dobrovan/ *AIF*. L.B.
54. Medovo, V., Pomorie area, 1975. At 'sobat'. Stoika Krusteva, 65. *AIF*. S.B.
55. Panitsovo, V., Pomorie area, 1975. At parties, weddings, at Shrovetide. Ivanka Lefterova, 53. /Born in the village of Morsko/ *AIF*. L.B.
56. Kozichino, V., Pomorie area, 1975. At 'sobat'. Kalya Stoyanova, 67. *AIF*. S.B.
57. Kozichino, V., Pomorie area, 1975. At 'sobat'. Petra Zheleva, 64. *AIF*. L.P.
58. Dobrinovo, V., Karnobat area, 1975. In the morning at harvest time. Yordana Ivanova, 60. *AIF*. S.B.
59. Zheleznik, V., Karnobat area, 1975. Pena Andonova, 53. *AIF*. L.B.
60. Zimen, V., Karnobat area, 1975. Ivanka Hristova, 55. *AIF*. S.B.
61. Sanstefano, V., Karnobat area, 1975. At table. Ganka Shivacheva, 70. *AIF*. S.S.
62. Trapoklovo, V., Sliven area, 1972. At 'sobat'. Mariyka Andreeva, 66. *AEIM*. L.B.
63. Srednogorovo, V., Kazanluk area, 1980. Gena Paunova, 81. *AIF*. K.M.
64. Boryana, V., Varna area, 1977. At the fair. Nikolina Nikolova, 70. *AIF*. S.B.
65. Bluskovo, V., Varna area, 1977. At a party ('moabet'). Marinka Lazarova, 72. *AIF*. S.B.
66. Golitsa, V., Varna area, 1977. At 'sobat'. Maria Miteva, 67. *AIF*. S.B.
67. Golitsa, V., Varna area, 1977. At 'sobat'. Mariyka Velikova, 43. *AIF*. S.B.
68. Nova Cherna, V., Rousse area, 1980. Yordana Kostandinova, 67. /Born in the village of Cherna, North Dobrudzha/ *AIF*. L.B.
69. Vasil Levski, V., Silistra area, 1980. At a working bee. Stoyanka Miteva, 59. *AIF*. S.S.
70. Davidkovo, V., Smolyan area, 1981. Nevena Ivanova, 55. *AIF*. S.B.
71. Bukata, V., Smolyan area, 1981. Sevda Rushanova, 31 and Zorka Cholakova, 37. *AIF*. S.B.
72. Mogilitsa, V., Smolyan area, 1981. Minka Yurukova, 52. *AIF*. S.B.
73. Mogilitsa, V., Smolyan area, 1963. Ava Karaisenova, 56. *AEIM*. S.S.
74. Mogilitsa, V., Smolyan area, 1963. Safia Peteska, 38. /Born in the village of Arda/ *AEIM*. S.S.
75. Konarsko, V., Yakoruda area, 1979. Mitko Mandzurski, 45. *AIF*. L.D.
76. Hahnyovo, V., Razlog area, 1979. Fatime Kaluchova, 63. *AIF*. S.S.
77. Banichan, V., Blagoevgrad area, 1979. Ilinka Hadzhieva, 65. She learned the song from a Bulgarian-Mohammedan woman from the village of Slashten. *AIF*. S.B.
78. Breznitsa, V., Gotse Delchev area, 1979. At the horo. Tinka Pudarska, 53. *AIF*. L.B.
79. Luki, V., Gotse Delchev area, 1979. At the Easter horo. Elena Gramatikova, 75. *AIF*. L.B.
80. Nova Lovcha, V., Gotse Delchev area, 1979. At the horo. Elena Velikova, 53. *AIF*. E.M.
81. Gaitaninovo, V., Gotse Delchev area, 1979. At the horo. Sarakinya Murganova, 70. *AIF*. Y.K.
82. Luki, V., Gotse Delchev area, 1979. At the horo. Ilinka Popova, 70. /Born in the village of Paril/ *AIF*. L.D.
83. Breznitsa, V., Gotse Delchev area, 1979. Gulub Zaimov, 55. *AIF*. L.D.
84. Boyana, V., Sofia area, 1973. At the horo. Petra Pankova, 71. *AIF*. L.B.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AEIM</i>	Archives of the Ethnographic Institute and Museum (Archiv na Etnograf-skia Institut i Muzei)
<i>AIF</i>	Archives of the Institute of Folklore (Archiv na Instituta za folklor)
<i>BFPP</i>	Bulgarian Folk Poetry and Prose (Bulgarska narodna poezia i proza)
<i>BF</i>	Bulgarian Folk Creations (Bulgarsko narodno tvorcestvo)
<i>CollFC</i>	Collection of Folk Creations (Zbornik narodni umotvorenia)
<i>PSSPh</i>	Proceedings of the Seminar of Slavic Philology (Izvestia na seminarata za slavyanska filologia)
V.	village
E.M.	Evgenia Mitseva
K.M.	Katya Mihailova
L.B.	Lilyana Bogdanova
L.D.	Lilyana Daskalova
L.P.	Lyubomira Parpulova
S.B.	Stoyanka Boyadzhieva
S.S.	Stefana Stoykova
Y.K.	Yordanka Kotseva