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Representations of Holiness and the Sacred in Latvian Folklore and Folk Belief¹

In fond memory of my teacher,
Vladimir Nikolaevich Toporov

The term *svēts*, meaning ‘holy, sacred’ and its derivatives *svētums* (‘holiness’, ‘shrine/sacred place’), *svētība* (‘blessing’, ‘paradise’), *svētlaipe* (‘bliss’), *svētīt* (‘to bless’, ‘to celebrate’), and *svētīgs* (‘blessed’, ‘sacred’) comprise an important lexical and semantic field in the Latvian language. These lexemes are regularly encountered in even the earliest Latvian texts, beginning in the 16th century,² and are no less frequent in Baltic hydronymy and toponymy, as well as in folklore and colloquial speech.

According to fairly widespread opinion, the lexeme *svēts* in Latvian is a loanword from the 13th-century Old Church Slavonic word *svyat* [holy] (OCS — **světs*, *svyatoi* in middle Russian, from the reconstructible Indo-European **h₂en-*)³ [Endzeiņš, Hauzenberga 1934–46].

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² See [CC 1585: 248]; [Enchiridion 1586: 11]; [Mancelius 1638: 90]; [Fürecher II: 469].

³ In the semantics of the vocabulary that preceded *svēts*, there was primarily a link to the **light, clean, brilliant, shining, white and with particular emphasis, sacred**. The Indo-European base **h₂en-* perhaps corresponds to the root **keu-* meaning ‘brilliance, luminescence’, which evidently is linked to the Latvian *spīdēt* ‘to glow, to shine, to sparkle’, *svītra* ‘a strip’, *svēdra* ‘stria, vein, strip’ [Karulis 1992 II: 337–338]. Nevertheless, Toporov notes as a basic meaning the quality of fullness in the Indo-European **h₂en-*: ‘the element **h₂en-to-* (: *k’uei-to-* etc.) signified a growth (swelling) not only of physical mass and material, but also some kind of inner fruitful strength, spiritual energy and its related notifying external form — light and coloured. The appearance of colour in itself, its differentiation into separate colours, their alignment into a row according to the principle of intensification, an arising of luminescence and shining, which at its peak captures not only the eyes, but also a person’s heart and soul, and correlates them to some kind of higher beginning, with superhuman, cosmic energies (“holiness”), connected from the point of view of physical optics to an increase (cf. above the motive of growth, increase of volume) of meaning of a unit signifying the length of light waves’ [Toporov 1988: 29–30].

It is assumed that this lexeme was adopted alongside other vocabulary connected to the Orthodox Church culture, which began to spread in eastern areas of Latvia from the 6th century.

There is, however, another opinion, as cogently argued by Toporov [Toporov 1988: 3–44] and Konstantin Karulis [Karulis 1992 II: 336–338], which states that the Lithuanian *šventas*, the Old Prussian **swents* and *swints* and other vocabulary connected to this root existed in Baltic languages long before the spread of Christianity among Balts.

Rich Baltic hydronymy and toponymy (the river *Sventāja* in the Lielupe district, *Svēte* — a tributary to the Lielupe, *Svitene* and so forth; for an extended list of hydronyms and toponyms on Latvian and particularly Lithuanian territory with the elements *Švent-*, *Svēt-* and *Švint-* see Toporov's article: [Toporov 1988: 281]), and also the presence in Latvian of the verb prototype *svinēt* (see: [Toporov 1988: 231]) also indicates the possibility of the presence of Old Latvian substrata in the Latvian base *svēts*. This is also witnessed by the fact that Latvian Kurzeme dialects have kept lexemes such as *sventelis* (also *svētelis*) — 'stork' (in Latvian literary language *stārķis*), *sventelju dienas* (*svinamie*, *svētījamie*) — 'festival days, specially celebrated' [Karulis 1992 II: 337; Enzelīns, Hauzenberga 1946 II: 615]. The Lithuanian verb *švęsti* — 'to celebrate', 'to sanctify', 'to dedicate', 'to say mass' and 'to sacrifice' also represents a more archaic type than the Slavonic *svętitī* (for more detail on this see: [Toporov 1988: 231]).

None of this, of course, disaffirms the possibility of the Latvian language being aware of Old Church Slavonic terminology. Notwithstanding the ancient origins of the Balto-Slavonic **šuenta-*, the Latvian word *svēts* was indeed, as Toporov notes, borrowed from the Old Russian *svyat(oi)*, since from the Baltic **svent-* we would expect the form **sviet-* [Ibid: 22]. Evidently, the actualisation of the concept *svēts* took place under the influence of Church linguistic culture. A similar opinion is held by Janina Kursīte; she notes that in the course of Christianisation certain words in Baltic languages changed sound and were treated as new arrivals to the language, their meaning mediated by the Church terminology of other Indo-European languages (Greek, Latin, German and Russian) [Kursīte 2007: 319]. Vocabulary connected to **švent-/svent-* has multiple meanings in Baltic (also in Slavic and other Indo-European) languages, and, as Toporov notes, is a characteristic example of a 'situation when a word was not only well known in the pre-Christian era, but also signified an important concept of pre-Christian belief, yet was nevertheless preserved in the Christian era, playing a key role in the new system of concepts' [Toporov 1988: 15].

The fixing of texts in Latvian, particularly folkloric texts, was rare until the 18th century, so descriptions of current vocabulary in this ancient period will always be an attempt at reconstruction.¹

To reveal the syntagmatic and pragmatic aspects of the concept *svēts* within the bounds of representations of the sacred and the holy in Latvian culture, I will turn to various folkloric and ethnographical data collated in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The associative field of Latvian concepts of the sacred is closely related to representations of **solitariness, territorial and temporal limitation, and silence** (which expresses a demand for respect for one's own and other's living space, and a striving to distance oneself from others). **Silence, calm and peace** have sacred status: the widespread phrases *Liec man svētu mieru!* 'Leave me in peace!' (lit.: 'Give me holy peace') and *svētssvinīgs klusums* 'especially solemn silence' (lit. 'holy sacred silence'). **Anger** can also be sacred: *Iedegties svētās dusmās* 'get seriously angry' (lit. 'burn with sacred anger'). *Svēīt* in colloquial, folksy language signified 'reprimand, abuse, scold' (synonym of the verb *rāt*), which is perhaps built on the principle of contrast [LFV 1998 II: 336].

Finally, 'a holy matter', as in Russian common parlance [*svyatoe delo*] simply means something natural and obligatory, something that simply must be done. Here is the tale of one Russian person who worked from 1970–1990 felling trees in Latvia:

We're sawing trees in the forest, busy with the tractor, hooking it up, and we had to cross a little river. And my main co-worker, Janis, had wandered off somewhere. I'm left guessing where he's got to — dashed off into the bushes and he's gone. By the speed of his movement and the direction it's clear where he was going. And then the tractor drives up, I had to hitch it up. I should have shut up, specially as I was already on the far bank. But next to me was his (Janis's) mate, waiting for him. And some kind of demon gets into me and I say: "A kur Jānis aizgāja?"² And he squints at me, slowly turns his head, no hurry; when answering an important question, it's important to collect your thoughts — "Nu, aizgāja padomāt, tā arī svēta lieta!"³ And that's all! So I had to react like him, sympathetically, slowly nod my head, yes, and agree: yes, that's an important process in a person's life. And not register what had

¹ The first important texts for possible analysis of the practical adoption of the Latvian concept *svēts* are the writings of the Herrnhuter brothers of Livonia in the 18th century, which is a subject for independent research and which I do not intend to deal with in this article. This material is highly specialised: it is connected to the spread of Pietism within Protestantism and to the first appearance of original texts with religious content described in Latvian. The historian of religious culture in 18th-century Latvia, Ludvigs Adamovics, identified the Herrnhut movement as the first true 'assimilation of Latvians to Christianity' (see: [Adamovičs 1939]).

² Where's Janis got to? (Latvian)

³ Well he's gone off to have a think, that's a holy matter too! (Latvian)

actually happened — rushed off into the bushes so no one saw... No, it's important! That's how they see it. [AFM: V.E. Norov, 25.09.2003, Riga].

What struck my informant was above all this reaction: work had reached its peak, but Janis's mate was totally calm and full of respect for the need to fulfil natural needs, as designated here by the euphemism 'holy' (in the sense of 'indispensable', 'obligatory', and also 'something emphasised as separate', 'natural, essential', 'something we must respect in the form it takes', and also 'something private').

At the same time, the sacred is connected to **fullness, abundance** (which entirely corresponds to the archaic meaning of the initial Indo-European lexeme *h&en-* as something 'swollen', 'increased', 'spread' and 'strengthened', see: [Toporov 1988: 17, 29–30], and with the accumulation of all kinds of events and phenomena. The Latvian phraseological expression *Dieva svētība* (*Dieva devums*) '**very many**', '**rich**', '**full**' (lit. 'God's holiness/grace', 'God's gift') can be applied to a harvest of apples, the number of birds in the trees or can be used in the following context: *Nākamam gadam maizes nav bijis, bet ēdēju Dieva svētība* 'There was no bread for next year, but plenty of mouths to feed' [Šmits 1936 XIII: 94].

The connection between these two semantic nexi defining the sacred can be traced in material from both Latvian folklore and fiction, in idiomatic locutions, and in everyday culture — rituals, customs and etiquette.

I will now turn to the question of how, on the one hand, the Latvian language and linguistic map of the world, and on the other, the popular world-view, represent the everyday life of Latvians as sacred.

Primarily, holiness, in folk representations, is not spread evenly, but is concentrated in defined places and at defined times. Evidently, this is directly related to the fact that holiness is a way for people to relate to these subjects, places and times. I will look at these instances separately.

Hierophany: the appearance of deities and sacred objects

One of the important signs of the sacred, judging by Latvian folkloric texts, is its ability to **be suddenly revealed, to emerge**. Hierophany (manifestation of the sacred), 'display' or 'revelation' (the latter term, used by Victor Turner: [Turner 1975: 15–16]), signifies an opening to the gaze in ritual conditions of whatever cannot be expressed or classified in words.

Mircea Eliade, who is particularly interested in the phenomenon of the sacred and its 'display' during rituals in the material of various traditional cultures, notices everywhere the presence of 'epiphanies',

and moreover deduces from hierophany all archetypal actions carried out by people [Eliade 1949].

A significant number of Latvian folkloric texts, particularly those which were apparently produced during ceremonies, describe hierophany as a suddenly occurring metamorphosis, when the ordinary, everyday and profane **become** or **are seen as**, **are realised as** special, important, sacred.

Hierophany happens primarily in the consciousness of a given person — the creator of the folkloric text. In this way the sacred is transferred from being an ontological problem to a gnoseological one: the sacred is not only **something** (a snake, for example), but **when and in what way something** (for example, a snake or a stone) is understood as ‘my Laimushka’, or Dievinsh (Little God), see: [Kursīte 1996; Ryzhakova 1997b].

Hierophany that is connected to the influence of Christianity can be seen in the example of a superstition according to which at midnight at Christmas you can turn water into wine, if you stir it cross-wise for an hour [LFK 211: 326, Jasmuiža].

The process of this kind of transformation, though without the influence of Christianity, is reflected in folk songs, legends and superstitions. For example, numerous Latvian folk songs contain characteristics of ritual mysteries, such as describing a meeting with a house deity [LD 34446.1] or with participants of the ritual ‘meeting with Janis’ during the celebration of Janis night¹ [LTdz IV: 15764]:

<i>Balta vista ietecēja</i>	<i>A white chicken ran</i>
<i>Mana govu laidarā.</i>	<i>Into my cowshed.</i>
<i>Tā nebija balta vista,</i>	<i>It was not a white chicken</i>
<i>Tā bij mana govju laime</i>	<i>It was my cow's laime (happiness).</i>

[LD 34446.1].

<i>Kas tie tādi, kas dziedāja</i>	<i>Who are they that sang</i>
<i>Bez saulītes vakarā?</i>	<i>At evening twilight?</i>
<i>Jāņa bērni līgot gāja</i>	<i>Janis's children went to līgot²</i>
<i>Augsta kalna galiņā</i>	<i>At the top of a high mountain.</i>

[LTdz IV: 15764].

In these and many other instances similar formulas are used, related to rituals of the ‘recognition’ of a deity or participants in the ritual trying to prove themselves.

¹ i.e. St John's Night, 23 June. [Editor.]

² *Līgot* — ‘to sway, to shake, to swing’, a verb which in the given context means singing songs for the festival of Janowa night, or Ligo.

I will describe a series of cases of ‘a holy thing showing itself’ found in Latvian folkloric texts. This is particularly manifested as a description of a man meeting with a deity that protects economical activity (for example, Mara, Marshava) and/or defines fate (Laime), sometimes with Dievs (god). The goddess of housekeeping and especially cows, Mara, often appears in the guise of a black snake, a viper (snake cult among the Latvian peasantry is attested right up to the end of the 19th century in many different sources, see: [Ryzhakova 1997b: 32]).

<i>Melna odze ietecēja</i>	<i>A black viper slithered</i>
<i>Mana govu laidarā;</i>	<i>Into my cowshed;</i>
<i>Tā nebija melna odze,</i>	<i>It was not a black viper,</i>
<i>Tā bij' govu Māršaviņa</i>	<i>It was the cows' Marshavinya.</i>

Mother Laima (‘happiness’) is a deity who allots a person’s fate, and is the protectress of women in childbirth and particularly of female housekeeping (overlapping with the functions of Mara); she can appear in the guise of a white or black hen, a blue-green shimmer, or a spreading lime tree. The astute hostess acknowledges her deity in all these things, the source of paradise.

<i>Kupla liepa izaugusi</i>	<i>A spreading lime tree grew</i>
<i>Manā govu laidarā;</i>	<i>In my cowshed;</i>
<i>Tā nebija kupla liepa,</i>	<i>It was not a spreading lime tree,</i>
<i>Tā bij mana govu Laime</i>	<i>It was my cows' Laime.</i>

[LD 2242].

According to Latvian folk beliefs, Laima hurries to help women in childbirth at the bathhouse (where births usually took place), therefore the path leading to it should be clean. Hierophany can indicate the fact that it is time to clear the path for an expectant mother:

<i>Es atradu mīļo Laimu</i>	<i>I found sweet Laima</i>
<i>Pirts celiņu ravējot.</i>	<i>Weeding the path to the bathhouse.</i>
<i>Atstājusi visu darbu,</i>	<i>I left my work,</i>
<i>Palīdzēju noravēt</i>	<i>And helped her to weed.</i>

[LFK 1875, 66].

A meeting with Dievs (God) can happen in the most mundane circumstances (on the road, in the barn or before work) and still have a didactic meaning:

<i>No rītiņa malt iedama,</i>	<i>Going to mill in the morning,</i>
<i>Satiek Dievu celiņā.</i>	<i>I met Dievs on the road.</i>
<i>Kur tu teci, malējiņa,</i>	<i>Where are you hurrying to, miller,</i>
<i>Tev rociņas nemazgātas?</i>	<i>Are your hands unwashed?</i>

*Ej papriekšu mazgā rokas,
Tad nāc mali ritināt* *Go, first wash your hands,
Then go and turn the millstone.*
[LD 8087.7]

*Es iegāju maltuvē,
Laba rīta nedevusi;
Dieviņš sēd, Laima stāv,
Laba rīta gaidīdami* *I went into the mill,
I didn't wish for a good morning;
Dievinsh was sitting, Laima standing,
Awaiting the wish for a good morning.*
[LD 7996].

It is like a game, the solving of a riddle, where the most important meaning keeps sliding away, but the constant recrudescence of such themes in people's consciousness testifies to the secrecy of the sacred, its place away from alien, outsider eyes, and at the same time to its constant presence within each everyday activity.

One of the most important instances of hierophany in Latvian folk culture, reflected in ritual poetry as well as choreographic plastique and the operational language of the rituals themselves, is the ritual meeting with a deity in the course of calendar festivals. Thus the festival of the summer solstice, Janis's night or Ligo, is dedicated to meeting with the deity Janis (he is also called Dievinsh). It is considered that Janis is the Latvianised variant of the Christian name Johann (thus it is presented in translations of the Bible into Latvian by Ya. Reuters and E. Glück); however K. Karulis has suggested that the name is a fusion of a reference to the Christian saint and the Old Baltic word *jānis* which signified apparently 'horseman, visitor, traveller' ([Karulis 1992 I: 350]; cf. Middle Latvian *jāt* — 'ride horseback', *jāšana* — 'horse ride', *jātnieks* — 'horseman', *joņot* — 'to tear along, rush').

This interpretation is corroborated by the observed relation to Janis within the Janis night festival as the 'incoming'/'outgoing' deity; in addition the ritual meeting is described in folk songs as a sequence of hierophanies (for more detail see: [Ryzhakova 1997a]).

In many Latvian folk songs there is an appeal to Saule (the Sun) and her daughter (*Saules meita*). It is hard to describe precisely the extent of the personification of the heavenly body; one could hardly talk about a cult of the sun in Latvian folk culture. However Saule and her daughter (or daughters) are some of the most important Baltic mythological characters, and in appeals to them we find striking examples of hierophany:

*Kas tur spīd, kas tur viz
Pašā lauku galiņā?* *What sparkles there, what glitters there
At the far end of the field?*

*Saules meita sienu greba
Ar zeltītu grābeklīti*
[LFK 1900, 3057].

*The Sun's daughter was raking the hay,
With a gilded rake.*

*Saulīt', mana krusta māte,
Pār upīti roku deva;
Pilni pirksti gredzentiņu,
Tie sabira upīt*
[LD 33933].

*Sunshine, my godmother,
Put her hand across the river;
Fingers full of rings,
They slid into the river.*

Such concepts of holiness and paradise as not temporal or situational, but constant, are linked in folk representations to particular animals, birds, plants, and landscape features. For example, the stork (*svētelis, starķis*), identified in Latvian language and superstitions as a sign of whiteness and holiness, is perceived as a bird bringing blessing.

There is an extraordinarily widespread respect for folk shrines among Latvians — particular stones, springs and trees (especially oaks and limes, which in Latvian poetic language are used as metaphors for people — men and women respectively).¹ In Latvian (and also Lithuanian) vocabulary there is a vast group of complex words with the formant *svēts*, which signifies natural objects: hills, woods, stones, springs, rivers, lakes, copses and particular trees and plants (*Svēt-birze* — ‘sacred copse’, *Svētciems* — ‘sacred farmstead/village’, *Svēt-sozols* — ‘sacred oak’ etc.).

The following legend tells of the respect for such places, certain prohibitions related to them and the atonements required upon breach of these prohibitions. It was recorded in the late 19th century by Ansis Lerkhis-Pushkaitis:

Ancenes draudzē, Vidzemē, ir Svētā upe. Kas šai upmalē no svētajiem kociem kaut vienu pašu zaru nolauza, tas nomira tai pašā gadā. Kāda sieva, kas nolauza svētajiem kociem zaru, lai varētu pamērot, cik upe dziļa, un pie tam bija vēl tik pārgalvīga izsaukt: “Vai tad upē pats velns dzīvo?” dabuja garu, grūtu slimību. Tikai tad slimību varēja izdziedināt, kas viņas vīrs izfīrīja upes dzelmi un ziedoja upes dievam (In Ancene community in Vidzeme there is a Holy river. Whosoever breaks off even a single branch from the holy trees on the bank of this river will die that same year. One woman who had broken off a branch from a holy tree to measure the depth of the river, and was even so reckless as to cry out: “What, does the devil himself live in the river?”, fell into a serious and prolonged illness. She could only get better when her husband cleared the riverbed and brought a sacrifice to the god of the river) [Lerkhis-Puškaitis 1903 VII: 1: 337].

¹ See for example: [Goba 1995: 96–98]; [Ryzhakova 2000: 13–16].

Alongside this legend, in an article about ‘the holy’ in her ‘Non-Academic Dictionary of Latvian’, Janina Kursite cites a text of Latvian folksong about a ‘holy fern’, connected to ceremonial bathing rites. In this way, periodically plants too become holy:

<i>Ei, svētā papardīte,</i>	<i>Hey, holy (verdure) fern,</i>
<i>Kā raudāji Jāņu nakti?</i>	<i>Why did you weep on Janis night?</i>
— <i>Kā man bija neraudāt:</i>	<i>‘How could I not weep,</i>
<i>Veļānieši ziedu rāve</i>	<i>The souls of the dead plucked flowers.’</i>

[LD 32408].

On the subject of sacred objects, it is important to note the closeness of representations of the sacred and beauty in Latvian folklore. The external physical beauty of phenomena described as sacred and good, is characteristic of Latvian representations of beauty; evil in Latvian folklore never appears in an attractive form. In Latvian folklore the concepts of ‘sacred, holy’ and ‘beautiful’ — *skaists*, originating in the Latvian *skaidrs* ‘clear’, *tīrs*, *šķīstis* ‘clean’, and also its synonyms *daiļš* ‘beautiful, wonderful’, and *balts* ‘white’ are functionally identical [Karulis 1992 II: 192].¹ Thus, for example, the term ‘surprisingly beautiful’ can be applied in Latvian folksong to a sacred tree:

<i>Es uzgāju ganīdama</i>	<i>I happened upon, while grazing,</i>
<i>brīnum skaistu ozoliņu;</i>	<i>a surprisingly beautiful oak tree;</i>
<i>Zīda saknes, zelta zari,</i>	<i>Silken roots, golden branches,</i>
<i>sudrabiņa lapiņām</i>	<i>with little silver leaves.</i>

[LD 34066].

This text has a number of parallels and is one of the briefest versions of descriptions of the holy tree, which in many respects is a poetic metaphor for the calendar year or a bridegroom or sacred object, used during festival rituals. The definition of ‘beautiful’ in relation to the ‘oak’ (also ‘birch’ and ‘ash’) can be freely replaced by ‘holy’, ‘clear’ and so on.

In several instances similar ‘trees’ (as well as — to a greater extent — stallions) in folk-song texts are euphemisms with sexual connotations, although there is almost always the opportunity for various interpretations. Natural cyclical phenomena and a number of abstract concepts in poetic language were described through these vegetable and zoomorphic images.

<i>Šorīt agri saule lēca</i>	<i>Today the sun rose early</i>
<i>Sarkanēe kociņēje.</i>	<i>On a red sapling.</i>
<i>Jaunas meitas gudras bija,</i>	<i>The young girls were clever,</i>

¹ On beauty in Latvian folklore see: [Dailes lokā 1970].

*To kociņu paglabāja;
Jauni puīši veci tapa,
To kociņu meklēdami*
[LD 54989].

*They buried the tree;
The young chaps grew old,
Searching for that tree.*

*Trīs gadiņi Saule lēca
Sarkanāi kociņāi;
Trīs gadiņi kungi jāja,
To kociņu meklēdami.
Izjāj jauni, pārjāj veci,
To kociņu neatrada;
Es atradu to kociņu,
Svētu rītu ganīdama*
[LD 33786.6].

*For three years the sun rose
On a red sapling;
For three years the gentlemen travelled,
Searching for that tree.
The young went out, returned old,
They did not find that tree;
I found that tree,
While grazing cattle one holy morning.*

*Es atradu uz celiņa
Dieva jātu kumeliņu;
Caur segliem saule lēca,
Caur iemavu — mēnestiņš;
Pavadiņas galiņā
Auseklīņš ritināja*
[Sprogis 1868: 300, No. 9].

*I found on the road
A colt upon which Dievs was riding;
The sun rose over the saddle,
Over the bridle — the moon;
At the end of the reins
Auseklis [the morning star] plays.*

In one Latvian folk song it appears that a ritual may be briefly described that is connected to a sacred tree or its analogue, which tree is in turn linked to the calendar and is apparently a metaphor for the year:

*Sajāja brammaņi augstajā kalnā
Sakāra zobenus svētājā kokā.
Svētajam kokam deviņi zari
Ik zara galā deviņi ziedi,
Ik zieda galā— deviņas ogas*

*The bramans (?)¹ gathered on
a high mountain,
Hung their sword on the holy
tree,
The holy tree had nine
branches,
On the end of each branch
were nine flowers,
On the end of each flower
were nine berries.*

[LD 34075].

Janina Kursite suggests that this text is related to representations of the centre of the earth and the world tree, and with a priestly ritual in which a sword — at least symbolically — fulfils a divisive function [Kursīte 1996: 122–123]. One can also suggest that the text was to

¹ Question mark inserted by S. Ryzhakova. [Editor.]

accompany the new year's ritual, during which horsemen, fulfilling the function of priests, symbolically divided time, separating the old year from the new one, and as a result gave rise to the new year and the yearly cycle already separated into parts (months, weeks and days).

In the unpublished collection of Latvian folk songs by Krišjānis Barons, titled 'Christian Ravings about Mary, her Son etc', there is a version of this song, alongside a both extraordinarily rare and even now little-understood designation *brammaņis* / *braman* (people who have a special status or profession, or does it refer to sacred characters?), and a tree is connected to the subject of a marriage between Mary and God and the covering of their bed.

<i>Jaj, jaj braman pa augstu kaln'</i>	<i>Gallop, gallop braman (?)</i> <i>along the high mountain,</i>
<i>Nekar dievam svētu — ku(o)k'.</i>	<i>Do not touch God's holy tree,</i>
<i>Svetam ku(o)kam trīs zar'vin</i>	<i>The holy tree has only three</i> <i>branches,</i>
<i>Ik zara galā deviņ's lap's,</i>	<i>On the end of each branch there</i> <i>are three leaves,</i>
<i>Ik lap's galā deviņ u(o)gs;</i>	<i>On the end of each leaf there</i> <i>are three berries,</i>
<i>Atskrej valu(o)dz' nu(o)rāv' vien</i>	<i>A dove flew to it, and plucked</i> <i>one off,</i>
<i>Aiznes Māriņ's baznicā;</i>	<i>Took it to Mary's church,</i>
<i>Uzlik dievam virs altara</i>	<i>Placed it on the altar for God,</i>
<i>Pec tapa dievam par ligaviņ';</i>	<i>Afterwards she became God's</i> <i>bride.</i>
<i>Kur ņems dievam gulam gult'</i>	<i>Where will you get a bed for</i> <i>God to sleep?</i>
<i>Kur ņems dievam gulam cis's.</i>	<i>Where will you get a mattress</i> <i>for God?</i>
<i>Mariņ, gultu, zelta trelēm (krelēm)</i>	<i>Mary's bed with gold supports,</i>
<i>Kur ņems dievam gulam palag.</i>	<i>Where will you get a bedspread</i> <i>for God?</i>
<i>Māriņ palags sudrab' rakstiem</i>	<i>Mary has a bedspread with</i> <i>silver embroidery.</i>
<i>Kur dievam acūdentīņ?</i>	<i>Where is water for God to wash</i> <i>his face?</i>
<i>Avu(o)tiņā šķīrstūdentīņš;</i>	<i>Clean spring water.</i>
<i>Kur ņems dievam acslauk — dvieli?</i>	<i>Where will God wipe</i> <i>his face — a towel?</i>
<i>Mariņ — dvielis sudrab — rakstiem</i>	<i>Mary has a towel with silver</i> <i>embroidery.</i>

[LFK 139, 216b, Dbg. 1314–1318].

This song shows how Christian legends are broken up into building blocks, sometimes into micro-narratives or images. The Latvian folk song tradition plays quite freely with them, while espousing the textual structures that characterise the familiar mythological and poetic traditions (in the given case the story of a heavenly wedding).

However it still remains unclear whether these kinds of poetic images were materially personified as cult trees, and which rituals might be connected to them.

The Latvian cult of sacred trees, especially old, large trees — oaks, limes and pines — has been fairly well investigated. In poetic language the name of several trees (and primarily *ozols* — ‘oak’, *liepa* — ‘lime’) are euphemisms, they signify people, bridegroom and bride, young bachelor etc. We know of several rituals involving trees (carving a cross during a funeral procession, bringing sacrifices — eggs, cockerels and hens, and other foods) that take place during calendar festivals and weddings; see: [Mitoloģijas enciklopēdija 1994: 192–193]. It is notable that occasionally we come across a relationship with sacred trees which requires sacrifices to be brought, as though they were **cursed**. This relationship may be related to the influence of the Christian church, battling against the respect for folk shrines, but that is not necessarily always the case:

Latgalē, Ludzas apriņķī bijusi kāda egle, kuras priekšā ik gadu bija jānoliek vienu ūdensglāzi. Kas to nav darījis, tam tai gadā nosprādzis kāds lops. Kāds saimnieks nenolika ūdensglāzi, un viņam nomira visskaistākais zirgs. Viņš no dusmām egli gribēja nozāģēt, bet kā sāka zāģēt, tā salūza zāģis. Kāds burvis ieteica eglei uzliet vārošu ūdeni ar 13 asiņslāsēm. Tā arī zdarīja, un egle nokalta. Tā cilvēki tika vaļā no nolādēta koka (In Latgale near Ludza there was one spruce before which every year one had to place a glass of water. If anyone did not do this, in that year some of his cattle would die. One farmer did not put a glass of water there, and his best stallion died. Enraged, he wanted to chop down the spruce, but as soon as he started sawing, his saw broke. One sorcerer advised him to pour boiling water with 13 drops of blood over the tree. Thus it was done, and the spruce withered. Thus the people were saved from the cursed tree) [LFK 1127, 3322].

This legend clearly bears witness to a dual relation with sacred objects, which can be carriers not only of good, but also harmful qualities (which, as is well known, are highly typical for representations of the sacral in general). We can see a similar relation in the next group of sacred objects.

Local limitation of the sacred: cemeteries and churches

The sanctity of cemeteries, churches and, in the Catholic environment, above all religious sculptures and icons, is reflected in many Latvian folkloric texts.

The special respectful, sometimes expressly attentive relationship with cemeteries is highly characteristic of Latvian (and also Lithuanian) culture as a whole. Cemeteries and graves are visited very often, in particular by relatives and close acquaintances. Even adolescents name cemeteries as one of the most sacred and personally meaningful places for them.¹ Perhaps this is related not only to cemeteries in themselves, but also to a special relationship with the world of the dead in general, with its close proximity to the world of the living.

It is remarkable that in cemeteries, according to Latvian folk representations, ‘dark powers do not operate. They fear cemeteries. They can only have an effect in cemetery soil’ [AFM: 1.09.2003, Dzelzava, Dace Lochmele]. Cemetery earth can be used in black magic, but the carrying out of any kind of magical acts in cemeteries is practically non-existent among Latvians.

Cemeteries occupy an intermediate position between the natural and cultural worlds. Latvian cemeteries are traditionally positioned on wooded hillocks, they are usually enclosed and have a small construction, a kind of chapel (*kapliĉa*) in front of their entrance, where the deceased is initially put, usually 24 hours before their burial and placing in the grave (*likt kapā*). Enclosed family graves are sometimes called by the same name as the yard of domestic homes — *sēta, sētiņa* ‘estate, little estate’.

In a cemetery the ritual of the ‘recalling of thieves’ takes place: if something is stolen, the robbed person can go to the cemetery and ‘call out three times: the first time in honour of thieves great and small, the second in honour of envious and haters, and the third (if for example a car has been stolen), in honour of those car thieves. And then the forces of good begin to act’ [AFM: 1.09.2003, Dzelzava, Dace Lochmele].

Churches are holy, they are ‘places of God’ where angels are summoned, ‘where flesh is silent, where the soul is revived’. Here is how they are sung about in a Latvian folk song recorded in Latgale by Catholic priest Peteris Smelteris:

*Isām Dīva vīteņā
Sova mīga nūgulatu;
Sauksām svātu engeļeīšu,
Lai pi myusu klotu stōv,
Lai tei mīsa klusa guļ,
Lai dvāsāļā nūmūdā*

*Let’s go to God’s place,
Having dreamed our dream,
Let’s call upon holy cherubs,
Let them stand around us,
Let flesh lie quiet,
Let our souls be revived.*

[LFK 57, 417, Auleja].

¹ Material received by the author in this article through working on the project ‘Ethnic and Cultural Stereotypes and Images — Comparative Ethnic, Psychological and Linguistic Research in the Baltic States and Russia’ together with M. V. Zavyalova, see: [Zavyalova, Ryzhakova 2005].

The holiness of churches arose for several reasons. In folk legends a memory is often preserved about a church being built on an old sacred place, on a hilltop, where a sacred tree once grew.¹ It is thought that the noted basilica in Aglona was erected by Dominican monks on the site of an ancient cemetery, where a sacred oak once grew. The Most Holy Virgin and the Aglona Mother of God first appeared to peasant girl Anna in the form of a statue between two pine trees.

The following legend is known about the spontaneous displacement of a statue of the Aglona Mother of God:

Sen atpakaļ Aglonas kapsētas vidū pie priedes bija piestiprināta Dievmātes statuļa. Kad nomira viens no Aglonas klostera mūkiem, to apglabāja šai kapsētā. Kādā naktī statuļa izgaisa. Izrādījās, ka tā ir pārnākusi uz mūka pieminekļi (Long ago in the middle of the Aglona cemetery a statue of the Mother of God was affixed to a pine tree. When one of the monks from the Aglona monastery died, he was buried in that cemetery. One night the statue vanished. It turned out that it had moved (and become) a monument to the monk) [LFK 929, 48350, Jekabpils, Barnabas].

However, the presence of an old sacred place in founding a church is not sufficient reason for holiness to be there always. The principle of ambivalence applies to all sacred places. Despite the extremely positive value of cemeteries, churches and Christian sculptures, danger is still associated with them (which, incidentally, is also characteristic of sacred stones, springs and trees). Preventative rituals would take place: each place needed to be cleansed, i.e. the holiness needed to be renewed.

An example of this is the legend ‘How cemetery festivals came about’:

Agrāk kapus nav svētījuši, un tad miroņi svētdienas naktī gājuši dievvārdus turēt. Reiz viena veca māmiņa iegājuši tai baznīcā un satikusi tur savu mirušo krustmeitu. Tā pamācījusi, lai uzvelk kažociņu uz otru pusi citādi miroņi sievieti saplīsīšot. Kad miroņi gājuši no baznīcas ārā, viņi norāvuši vecenītei kažoku un saplīsuši. Pati vecenīte aizbēgusi. No tā laika kapusvētki cēlušies (Long ago cemeteries were not consecrated, and then the dead went to mass on Sundays. Once an old woman went into church and met her dead goddaughter there. She taught her to wear her fur coat inside out, otherwise the dead would tear the woman apart. When the dead began to leave the church, they took the woman's fur coat and tore it apart. The old woman herself ran away. From that time cemetery festivals began.) [LFK 1562, 2849, Madonas audona. Recorded 1936].

¹ See: the birch on a hilltop, which is cut down and a church built in its place, where there are three graves — of Jesus, Mary and God [LFK 1360].

This kind of explanation of the need to consecrate cemeteries is perhaps connected to the influence of Christianity, which distinctly divided the world into good/evil, holy/cursed, dangerous/safe, which could change even the relationship with the world of the dead to a more negative one.

The **holiness of churches** is similar; their danger consists in the fact that periodically the souls of the departed gather there, for example:

Nū pyrmā uz ūtrū novembri, dvēseļu dīnā īt vīns ar telegramu. Redz, ka vyss ceļš pylns ar... Cyts ar sveci, cyst ar skolu rūkā, cyst tymsā īt uz Rušona božņeicu. Tuopēc vīnmēr, kad meirst juodūd svece rūkā, lai nav jāīt tymsā (On the night of the first to the second of November, on All Souls, a man came with a telegram. He sees that the whole path is already full... One with a candle, another with a torch, and the other in darkness goes to the church in Rushon. Therefore whenever people die, you must put a candle in their hand, so they do not have to go in darkness) [LFK 1945, 1892, Aglona. Recorded 1959].

Meanwhile even during mass in church, along with the good, divine higher powers that are present, there are also low, demonic ones, particularly the Devil (Velns). It is interesting to see the church described as a place where visitors carry out seemingly innocent actions that turn into sins, and which the Devil records on a bull's hide (see below).

Even an appearance of the Most Holy Virgin can turn out to be deceiving, as is reflected in the following legend:

Viena dievlūdžēja gājusi katru vakaru uz kapsētu aizlūgt par mirušo baznīckungu. Kādu dienu viņa uz krusta ierauga Jumpravu Mariju ar dēlu uz rokām. Jumprava saka: «Tava lūgšana ir izklausīta». Tā atkārtojas daudz reizi. Dievlūdžēja prasa padomu baznīckungam. Viņš arī pamāca. Nākošajā dienā Jumprava runā tāpat, bet dievlūdžēja saka: “Ja mana lūgšana izklausīta, tad nokāp no krusta”. Jumprava nokāp. “Dod man savu dēlu”, — saka dievlūdžēja. Jumprava dod arī. “Paklanies dēlam” — bet tikko dievlūdžēja to izsaka, Jumprava pazūd, bet sieviete rokās paliek pagale (One pious woman walked to the cemetery every evening to pray for a deceased priest. One time on a cross she saw the Most Holy Virgin Mary with her son in her arms. The Virgin said ‘Your prayer has been heard’. This happened many times. The pious woman asked the advice of the priest, and he told her what to do. The next day the Virgin was saying the same thing, but the pious woman said ‘If my prayer has been heard, then come down from the cross.’ The Virgin came down. ‘Give me your son,’ said the pious woman. The Virgin gave him to her. ‘Bow to your son.’ But the instant the pious woman said this, the Virgin disappeared, and the woman was left holding a log) [LFK 508, 2466, Elgava].

The high point of this ambivalent attitude towards churches and priests, as well as sorcerers, is reached in the following legend, entitled ‘Old Atlantis’ (recorded in 1927 in Malta (Latgale)):

Vecos laikos bijuši mācītāji, kuri bijuši šai amatā no svēta Pētera iecelti. Toreiz zemē bijis daudz burvju un raganu. Mācītāji uzlikuši sveces uz papīra, un sveces staigājušas kā dzīvas pa baznīcu un kritušas uz galvas burvjiem, kuri pēc tam nomiruši. Tā daudz cilvēku ticis iznīcināts. Ķēniņi par to sadusmojušies, un aizsūtījuši mācītājus uz Atlantīdu. Tur aizlieguši braukt kupiem, lai mācītāji mirst badā. Dievi sadusmojušies uz valdniekiem un noslīcinājuši Veco Atlantīdu (In olden times there were priests who were put to their craft by holy Peter himself. On the earth then there were many sorcerers and witches. Priests put candles on paper, and the candles walked, as if alive, around the church and fell on the heads of sorcerers who subsequently died. Thus many people were wiped out. The tsars became angry at this and sent priests to Atlantis. It was forbidden to sail there in boats, so the priests perished from hunger. The gods became angry at the rulers and drowned old Atlantis) [LFK 530, 1479].

The church is a house; one assumes that visiting it involves, as with any ordinary home, a sacred meal as one of the most important elements of participation.

The church tradition of receiving communion gives food a spiritual meaning. In the Latvian folk interpretation of Christianity, judging by folk-song texts, there is the following motivation for people attending church: ‘to eat, drink and feed one’s flesh’ ‘in a holy way’:

<i>Šodien Dieviņš galdiņu klāj</i>	<i>Today God is laying the table</i>
<i>Saviem baltiem gald’ autiem</i>	<i>With his white tablecloths,</i>
<i>Aicina mūs nabagus viesībās</i>	<i>Calls us poor folk in to visit,</i>
<i>Svētīgi ēst, svētīgi dzert</i>	<i>For holy food, holy drink,</i>
<i>Svētīgi miesiņu pamieļot.</i>	<i>To feed our flesh with holy sustenance.</i>
<i>Aizslēdz Jezu elles vārtus</i>	<i>Jesus, close the gates of hell,</i>
<i>Atslēdz Jezu debess vārtus</i>	<i>Jesus, open the gates of heaven,</i>
<i>Dod mums visiem to ceļu iet.</i>	<i>Show us all the path along which to go.</i>
<i>Tēvam, Dēlam, Svētam</i>	<i>Father, Son and Holy Spirit.</i>

Garam

[LFK 2050(1). 161c, Alsunga: 1433–1435].

The temporal limitation and ambivalence of the sacred

The sacred is linked to defined periods of time, especially **festivals** (Latvian *laiki*, literally ‘times’, is the Old Latvian designation for a festive time and *svētki*, ‘festival’, a borrowing from the Old Russian ‘svyatki’ [yuletide], initially meant the period of time from Christmas

(‘Winter Yuletide’) to Star Day, the festival of the three magi [Karulis 1992 II: 336]: *svēītī* — ‘to celebrate’ (a synonym of *svinētī*), and also ‘to consecrate, to bless’).

Holiness in the sense of ‘blessing’, ‘prosperity’, ‘paradise’ can be summoned during a festival, something which is expressed in the texts of Latvian folk songs: *Svētībiņa, gausībiņa, nāc pa logu istabā* (*Paradise (dim.), sufficiency/regularity (dim.), come through the window into the house!*) [LD 1416].

A person’s time of life and the time of year or day also have specially denoted — sacred — periods, the main ones of which are considered to be **midday, sunrise, and sunset**; the periods of several **calendar festivals** (e.g. Whit Monday, Ligo (Janis night 23rd–24th June), **vely time**, from St Michael’s day on 29th September until St Martin’s day on 14th November, when the living invite and entertain the souls of their departed relatives), Christmas (‘Yuletide’); and the **rituals of transition in a person’s life cycle**.

In the vocabulary of Latvian and Lithuanian, there is a distinct group of complex words with the formant *svēt-/švent* that signify sacral time. In Latvian these include *svētdiena* — ‘Sunday’ (Middle Lithuanian *šventadienis*), *svētvakars* — ‘the evening before a festival’, *svētmakts* — ‘the night before a festival (especially before Christmas)’, *svētrīts* — ‘the morning of a festival’, *svētki, svētku diena* — ‘festival’.

These are regular, predictable sacred periods, although events that happen during that time can themselves be unpredictable.

Let us take, for example, the time around midday.

A continual motif of these legends is that when parents go out to church and a child is left home alone, or with only an old person, **at midday, or when mass is taking place in church**, something unfortunate or miraculous happens with the child or someone else in the house:

Dzeivuoja reizi veirs, sīva un jīm beja jauna meitene. Reizi veirs un sīva svātdīnes dīnā aizbraucja uz baznīcu, palik sātā tikai meitine. Ap pušdīnes laiku īt ustobā lels malns vucyns ar lelim, leikim rogim, izkuop uz cepļa atsagulst un guļ. Meitine izvuorej pušdīnes, izlīk uz golda, atsasāst un ād; nūkuop ī vucyns nu cepļa, daīt pi golda arī ād. Cik jei rauga dzeit nūst dzeit nūst vucynu, cik tys jai ar rogim dūd vīersā, meitine nīkuo navarēja padarīt. Paēdis vucyns otkon kuopja uz cepļa un guļ. Atbrauc nu baznīcas tāvs un muote, meita postuosta, ka vucyns leida pi golda āstu, un paruodīja, ka jis guļ uz cepļa. Tāvs paraudzīja vucynu nūdzeit nu cepļa, bet tys ar rogim druožās vīersā un nāīt nī nu vītas. Jī vakareņoj, ī vucyns kluot pi golda: dzīn nūst, jis dur ar rogim, nīko navar vucynam padarīt, tys paād, izkuop uz cepļa, guļ otkon. Dūmoj, kū darīt, pasauc baznīckungu, lai nūsvētej sātu un lai izdžan vucynu, baznīckungs

nūsvētej sātu, suok lyugtīs, vucynam nūmyuk uoda un tys palīk par cylvāku, tys beja apdūts nu naškeista gora (There lived a husband and wife, and they had a young daughter. One Sunday the husband and wife went to church, and the little girl was left alone at the farmstead. Around midday a big black ram with big crooked horns came into the house and sat down on the hearth and slept. The little girl had cooked lunch, and put it on the table, sat down and ate; the ram came away from the stove, went up to the table and ate. As soon as she began to chase him, he threatened her with his horns and the little girl could not do anything. Having eaten, the ram once again lay down on the hearth and fell asleep. Father and mother returned from church and the daughter told them that the ram had climbed up to the table to eat and showed where he was sleeping by the stove. Father began to chase the ram from the stove, but it just threatened him with its horns and would not move from its spot. They dined, and the ram came right to the table: they chased it, it showed its horns and climbed back up on the hearth and fell asleep again. They wondered what to do. They called a priest to bless the farmstead and chase out the ram, the priest blessed it, began to pray, and the skin of the ram fell off, and he became a person; he was bewitched by an unclean spirit) [Šmits 1937: 145, No. 7].

There are widespread legends about a grandmother who puts a curse on a troublesome child at midday, when mass is going on in church and the parents have gone off there, but grandma has been left to pray at home:

Ka tevi nalobais pajemtu, kū tu te man vysu laiku puoterus jauc! (Let the unclean spirit take you if you keep interrupting my prayers all the time!) And then the child is found dead in the forest [Ibid: 151, No. 10].

Midday (perhaps also with the sense of the time for mass, above all for those who are not attending it, a connection clearly visible in Lithuanian epics) — is a time for the appearance of evil spirits. At midday, unclean spirits come to witches asking for work:

Seņuk dzeivuojuše vīna vecīte ar mozu, godu pīcu vacu meiteni, tei vecīte bejuse būrine; vecīte saslymst, a būri un būrīnes navar nūmiert, cykam kas navin napajems viņu būrības. Jei sūlej vīnam ūtram, bet nivīns nagrib jemt, tai jei mūkuos kaidas sešas dīnas, bet vys navar nūmiert. Tad jei soka sovai meitinei: “Anīt šē!” — “Dūd”, pastīpuse rūciņas atsoka meitine. Dreīži pēc tam vecīte nūmyra. Meitine dzeivuoja un izauga lela. Kad jai beja septiņpadsmīt godu, nazkas suoka nu meitas prasīt dorbu. “Eite uz mežu un izplēsīt kūkas”, — soka meita, ruodīdama uz lelu bīzu mežu. Par naganu laiku mežs izplāsts, vysī kūki guļ zemē, pasavāruse meita i nūsabeida nu taida lāruma. Kad tikai pušdīnu laiks, saskrīn un otkon prosa dorba. “Izrūcīt gruovus par pūru”, — soka meita. Bej nabej — gruovi par pūru izroktī. Tai kotru dīn prosa nu meitas dorba. Jei navar vairuok izdūmuot nikaidu dorbu, jū komoj nūst. Tod

jei aizīt pi krīvu popa un prosa, kū jai darīt. Pops parēda meitu par nakti puorgulēt krīvu cerkvā. Meita jau vālā vokorā aizīt uz cerkvu, reitā pops, atguojis uz cerkvu, atrod meitu nadzeivu. Jū ti nūkomuoja naškeisti gori, moza byudama, jei najēdzja nikuo un pajēmja nu sovas muotes būribas (Long ago there lived an old woman with a young daughter, about five years old, and the old woman was a witch. The old woman fell ill, but wizards and witches cannot die until someone takes their magic. She suggested this to one person, then another, but no one wanted to take it, so she suffered for about six days, but could not die. Then she said to her daughter ‘Anit, take it!’ ‘Very well,’ the daughter said, stretching out her little hand. Soon the old woman died. The girl lived, and grew up. When she was 17 years old, the spirits [nazkas] transferred to her by her mother began to ask the daughter for work. ‘Go into the forest and cut down the trees,’ said the daughter, pointing to a big thick forest. Soon the forest was cut down, and all the trees lay on the ground. The daughter looked and was frightened. As soon as midday came, they ran back and asked for work again. ‘Dig a ditch around the marsh,’ said the daughter. Lo and behold the ditches were dug! Thus every day they asked for work. She could no longer think up things for them to do. She came to a Russian priest and asked what she should do. The priest ordered the girl to spend a night in a Russian church. It was already late evening when the daughter came to the church, and the next morning the priest came and found her dead. She had been killed by unclean spirits; when she was small she had not understood and had taken her mother’s magic) [Ibid: 262–263, No. 10].

Besides the regular periods of specially celebrated time, in Latvian representations there are especially well-known moments of hierophany, for example when ‘the heavens open’ (*kā debess atvērusies*). This can signify the sudden arrival of a moment when desires can be fulfilled.

An opening of the heavens is also an opening of a path, of opportunity for man.

Daži esot redzējuši debesis atveramies, arī dzirdējuši it kā vārtu vēšanas troksni (They saw the heavens opening, and even heard a sound like gates opening) (LFK 91, 300 D, Ungurmui a, 1927); Kādu vakaru mājas ļaudis sēdējuši ārā. Piepeši viss palicis ļoti gaišs. Pie debesīm bijusi redzama gaisa svītra apmēram pusminūti. Saimnieks sacīja, ka esot debesis atvērušās. Ja kāds būtu ko lūdzis, tad tas būtu arī piepildījies (One evening a family were sitting outside. Suddenly everything became light. In the heavens there appeared a light strip for about half a minute. The farmer said that it was the heavens opening. If someone had made a wish, it would have been fulfilled) [LFK 1393m 27, recorded 1933]; Veci cilvēki stāsta, ka debesis atveries 3 reizes gadā, spo a stara veidā, kas plūst no debesīm uz zemi. Ja kāds paspēj iesaukties pirms stara pazūšanai “Tēv, dod man dienīšku maizīti”, tad tam maizes nekad

netrūkstot. Ja debesis ilgāk paliekot vaļā, varot no Dieva lūgties ko vien gribot. Ir arī tādi, kas svēti stāsta, ka savām acīm redzējuši debesi atverotie s (Old people say that the heavens open three times a year, in the form of a bright sunbeam which reached down from the heavens to the earth. Whoever manages, before the beam vanishes, to exclaim 'Father, give me my daily bread' will always have bread in abundance. If the heavens remain open for long, then you can request anything you wish from God.) [LFK 675, 317, recorded 1930].

However in other situations, an 'opening of the heavens' can bring danger.

Vienu rudenī bijis ļoti bargs laiks: gandrīz katru dienu bijis liels pērkons, kas rībinājis un spēris kā pašā lielākajā vasaras pērkonā laikā. Bet vienu naktī laiks bijis vēl bargāks. Popužu muižā neviens nav domājis par gulēšanu: visi baidījušies un domājuši ka nupat būšot pasaules gals. Te uzreiz visas debesis nonākušas uz zemi un atvērušas visā plašumā. Bijis tik gaišs, ka nemaz acis pret gaišumu rādīt. Cits, kas skatījis tāpat ar vaļējām acīm, palicis akls. Citi atkal esot redzējuši, ka tonakt visi miroņi no kapiem pamodušas. Citi uzlidojuši augstu gaisā, bet citi pacēlušas un tad atkal nogrimuši atpakaļ (One autumn there was terrible weather: almost every day there was a storm, thunder crashed, and lightning struck as in the most terrible summer storm. But somehow at night the weather became still worse. On the Popuzhu farmstead no one thought about sleep: everyone was afraid and thought that the end of the world was coming. Then suddenly the whole sky came down to earth and was revealed in its fullness. It was so light that you could not open your eyes. Those who looked were blinded. Others saw that that night all the dead in the cemetery awoke. Some soared up high into the air, others were raised and then fell down again) [LFK 22, 3010, Valdemarpils].

The opening of the heavenly doors, however, like the simultaneously opening doors of the underworld, can be accompanied by the celebration of a Christian mass, which once again confirms the ambiguity of sacred places as such, even churches:

<i>Attais, dieviņ, debess durvis,</i>	<i>Open, O God, the heavenly gates,</i>
<i>Attais lūdzams el[ll]es durvis.</i>	<i>Open please, the gates of the underworld.</i>
<i>Tur mēs šu(o)din cauri braukim Saldu diesmiņ dzidādami.</i>	<i>We will go there today, Singing sweet songs.</i>
<i>Tur mums dieviņš dāvinās Sildu saldu debess maizīt.</i>	<i>There God will give us Warm, sweet heavenly bread.</i>
<i>Kas tū(o) maizīt nepieteiks,</i>	<i>Whosoever does not take the bread,</i>

Tū(o) grib dieviņš grūti su(o)dit. *Wishes God to judge them*
gravely.
Gu(o)ds tam Tēvam, gu(o)ds Délam, *Glory to the Father, glory*
to the Son,
Gu(o)ds tam svétam Garam, amen! *Glory to the Holy Spirit, amen!*
 [LFK 218, 360; 1298-1300].

Holiness, according to Latvian folk representations, is accompanied by the **limitation of a person's actions**. We have already seen examples of songs in which 'holiness' is understood as 'silence of the flesh while the soul is revived' [LFK 57, 417]. It is no mere chance that in folk songs apparently used during domestic rituals inviting gods into the house during calendar festivals the following is sung: *Klusiet, jaunie, klusiet, veci, Dievs ienāca istabā, Dievs ienāca istabāi, vaičā maizes saimenieku* (*Pray, young people, pray, old people, God is coming into the house, God is coming into the house, [asking for the baker]*) [LD 30921].

This theme of the limitation of a person's actions — the life spent in solitude — appears in the texts of legends about the **unknown saint**. They tell of how one time he finds himself in a church and sees the devil, recording people's sins, laughing and losing some of their miraculous opportunities. Here again is ambivalence towards the church; holiness is by no means unambiguous. Let us take the texts of the legends in full:

Kaidu reizu uz pasaūļa dzeivava cīši dīveigs cylvāks. Svātajs nikod nagoja par tyltu pori par upi, bet vinmār kojom pa yudini, jo jis nikad nasleika. Kaidu svādini jis goja uz bazneicu, lai varātu Dīva palyugt. Bazneicā jau daudz beja ļaužu, kuri lyudza Dīvu. Lyugdams Dīvu svatajs redz ka atgoja uz bazneicu valns un taišni nusastojas uz vyds bazneicas. Valnam rūkā beja lela teļa oda. Kas tik kaidu grāku padareja, valns tyulen ju aizraisteja teļa odā. Kod valnam pitryuka vītas, kur raksteit, jis pajeme vīnu golu odas muī, ūtru samīdza ar kojom un stīpe tū cik beja spāka. Stīpdams valns odu, apsapyrda, svātajs radzādams tu aizasmēja, valns ari jū tyuleņ īraksteja. Ejut atpakaļ nu bazneicas svātajam jau kijas sagryma leidz pat ceļim (*There once lived an extremely strange person. The saint never walked on the bridge across the river, but always waded through the water so he never drowned. One Sunday he was going to church to pray to God. While praying to God, the saint saw the Devil enter the church and stop in the very centre. In the Devil's hands was a large calf's hide. Whenever anyone committed a sin, the devil would record it on the spot on the calf's hide. When the devil had run out of space to write, he took the hide by one corner, gripped the other with his legs and began to stretch with all his might. Stretching out the skin, the devil farted, and the saint, seeing this, laughed, and the devil noted him down on the spot. On the way back from church the*

saint's legs were submerged in water up to the knees) [LFK 252, 390, Vārkavā, recorded 1927].

Bejs raiz vīns svāts cylvāks. Jis dzeivavs vīns pats mežā. Kai jau jis tur dzeivava i ar kū portyka, a tik beja svāts, mož iadia kaidys sentenis, ūdzenis, voi rīkstenč. Tai dzeivavs jis tur cik god i nikur nagojs tolok meža. Tia radz jis, ka lauc īt. Jis vaicoj, nu iz kur jī īt. Ļauc pastosta, ka iz bazneic. Tai nūis i jis, dūmoj, iz tū bazneic pasavārtūs kā tur ļauc dora. Citi ļauc īt pa ceļam apleik pa azar, a jis laižās taisni par azar i jam namērkt pavysam kojis. Aizīt jis iz tū bazneic, īt bazneicā kai i visi ļauds. Nivīns nazyna ka jis jir svāts. Vēras jis — tia ļauc; kurs skaita, kurs dzīd, a tur iz lūga čorts — ar gūvis nogim iz koj i roгим iz pīris i iz lelys zyrga odys naskū vys roksta. A ta jis roksta tūs: kurs pasasmiajās, kurs kū parunoj ar ūtru, kurs atpakaļ pasaverās, i vyss jis aizroksta. Golā pīroksta jau pylnu od, navā vairs kur raksteit, vīna i ūtra mola pylna. Tvers ar zūbim i sfīps tū od lai byut kur raksteit. Tai tam svātajam aizīt smīklys. Kai tik jis pasasmiajās, čorts i jū aizroksta, vot jis bazneicā byudams sagrākava. Tai jis cik god dzeivava i napadareja grāka, a atgojs iz bazneic par mož šalten sagrākava. Tai i daudz kam jir, ka izīt nu bazneicys ar vairok grāk, nakai baizneicā. Tod svātais īdams nu bazneicys īt otkon taipoš par azar da savai meža nūmiatniai, jau jam i mērkt kojis iudenī — vot jau jis i navā vysā svāts nūgojs iz bazneic, grāk padareja. (There lived a saintly person. He lived alone in the forest. While he lived there, whatever he did, he was saintly, perhaps he ate certain mushrooms, berries and nuts. Thus he lived for many years and never went out of the forest. One day he saw some people coming. He asked where they were going. The people said they were going to church. Then he set off, thinking he would see what people do there. Other people were walking along the road around the lake, but he went straight through the water, and his legs did not get wet at all. He arrived at the church, and went into the church, like all the other people. No one knew who he was — a saint. He looked, and saw people reading, singing, and there out of the window was the devil (čorts) with cow's hooves on his feet and horns on his forehead and writing on a large horse's hide. He was writing the name of those who laughed, who talked to others, who looked back, he recorded it all. Finally, his record filled the hide, and there was nowhere else to write. The saint found this funny. As soon as he laughed, the devil recorded his name, for there, being in church, he had sinned. Thus he had lived so many years without sinning, but arriving in church he had sinned over a trifling matter. Thus it has been for many who leave church with greater sins than they arrived with. And so the saint left the church, going again across the lake to reach his dwelling in the forest, but his legs were drowning in the water — he had left the church no longer a saint, he had committed sin) [LFK 344, 1855, Preiļi].

Seņok dzeivavs cylvāks, jis bejs svāts un nagojis uz bazneicu bet liecs par sīksteņu saceidams “Trejs jyus, treis myus lyudz tu Dīva par myus”.

Kaidu reizī sadūmoj īt uz bazneicu. Ajūt par upi jam namerka jōjis. Bazneicā jis atsaviera uz koru un valnu kurs aizraksteja jam grāku. Atpakal ajūt jis jau sleika leidz pusei yudinī (Long ago there lived a person, he was a saint and did not go to church. He would jump over a strap, repeating: 'Three of you, three of us, pray to God for us.' One day he made up his mind to go to church. While he was walking through the river, his legs did not get wet. In church he turned to the choir, and the devil recorded his sin. When he was walking back, he was up to his waist drowning in the water) [LFK 223, 648, Jāsmuiža].

Thus we see how the breaking of solitude (a kind of vow), contact with people, even visiting a church, instantly leads to a loss of cumulative holiness, which is expressed primarily in loss of miraculous powers.

Sacred acts: singing

A number of **acts in themselves**, even outside of temporal or local connections, are understood in the Latvian map of the world as sacred. They, like cleansing rituals, sanctify everything around them and are capable of transforming people drawn into a given situation. The act which is primarily considered in this way is **singing**, especially collectively. Of no small importance here is the role played by the magic protective power of singing (although not so much singing as a recitative of invocatory and exorcisory texts):

<i>Kas tu dzismi izdzidos</i>	<i>Whoever sings this song,</i>
<i>Tys nadegs elnis guni</i>	<i>Will not burn in the fires of hell,</i>
<i>Tys nadegs elnis guni</i>	<i>Will not burn in the fires of hell,</i>
<i>Tys nasleiks iudeni</i>	<i>Will not drown in the water.</i>

[LFK 520, 430a, Malnova. 1303].

In the poetic picturesqueness of a song, a kind of transpersonal phenomenon can appear as a special 'body part' of a person [Ryzhakova 2001] and even as a 'mother', an 'expanse', a space where the soul of the nation is. Stories of people surviving war and exile with the help of singing is witnessed to by many tales of older generation Latvians. The folkloric theme — an orphan comforting and calming his soul in songs — is realised and raised up to a patriotic level in the famous poem by Mara Zalite "Mēs nākam iz zaļas zales, mēs nākam iz tumšas nakts" ('We came out of the green grass, we came out of the dark night'); here is its ending:

<i>Neraudi, bārenīt, neraudi,</i>	<i>Don't cry, little orphan, don't cry,</i>
<i>Dziesma ir māte mūsu.</i>	<i>The song will be our mother.</i>
<i>Neraudi, brālīti, neraudi,</i>	<i>Don't cry, brother, don't cry,</i>
<i>Mums dziesma par dzimteni</i>	<i>The song will become our homeland.</i>

kļūs.

*Kad tēvzeme izdalīta, When the fatherland is divided,
Dziesma mums tēvzeme būs. The song will be our fatherland.*

Folk singing and different forms of its stylisation became a very important Latvian ethnic and cultural symbol, and even one of the main self-stereotypes of Latvians. (For a historical and culturological analysis of the representation of Latvians as ‘the nation of singers’, see the monograph by the ethnographer Dace Bula [Bula 2000].)

The archaic nature of many formulaic texts of Latvian folk songs and their lasting connection with specific rituals of the calendar and life cycles bear witness to the long uninterrupted tradition of their transference and to the stability of singing culture. Nevertheless in Latvian singing culture some ‘invented traditions’ are also apparent; they can already be observed at the stage of collecting and classifying folk song texts. This was closely linked to the formation of the Latvian nation.

Latvian folk songs were collected en masse in the late 19th — early 20th century right across Livonia and Courland, and in parts of the Latvian territories of Vitebsk province, by the folklorists Krišjānis Barons (1835–1923) and Henrich Visendorf. In these publications, the Lithuanian name ‘daina’ was given to the songs collected (and was in time to embed itself in Latvian mass consciousness also). The *daina* in turn became an important symbol of Latvian folk culture and an enshrined object at the national level. A collection of recordings of folk songs from the late 19th — early 20th century and manuscripts written on pieces of card is kept in a special cabinet — the ‘Daina cabinet’ (‘Dainu skapis’, located at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art). The folklorist Mara Viksna, a member of staff at the Archives of Latvian Folklore, has noted on more than one occasion the special shrine-like quality of this cabinet, which is capable of transforming a person: ‘I see people approach the “Daina cabinet” (including students and school pupils), and becoming better, more open, happier.’ The ‘Daina cabinet’, just like the Lielvarde zone, Auseklis, is also a material symbol of Latvian identity; it is a form that has become a symbol. It is no coincidence that the Latvian poet and diplomat Janis Peters once expressed himself thus: ‘You are a Latvian, you know what the “Daina cabinet” is!’¹

Krišjānis Barons defined his mission in publishing ‘the Latvian Dainas’ as ‘the complete collation of texts as they exist in the nation’, in contrast to all previous collections, in which, as he noted, selection was carried out choosing ‘only the texts deemed necessary to a particular publication from the whole array of songs’, reflecting folk life

¹ Quoted from Mara Viksna’s talk at the conference of folklorists dedicated to the memory of Krišjānis Barons in Riga, August 2002.

one-sidedly and idealistically [LD 1894: XI]. Barons and Visendorf noted that they wished to publish all true folk songs they had collected, ‘not only the good ones’. However, as has been noted by Latvian folklorists, even ‘Latvian Dainas’ is a kind of sieve through which by no means all the real and widespread folklore texts passed, and many that did pass through underwent editing (reduction, changing of vocabulary), see: [Bula 2001].

Barons himself defined a number of principles of his selection. He did not include in his collection ‘obscene songs’ (sung mainly at wedding and during the celebration of Janis night); those composed in modern times; long lyric songs which were formed under the influence of German romances (‘those which our beauties learned from city ladies’) songs with *clear* reminiscences from Christian subjects (‘Little Jesus runs along a path...’ — in the collection of [Schmidt] designated number 54664, 1). Several others were excluded without obvious reasons.

In this way, though ‘Latvian Dainas’ is a collection which unites a huge quantity of songs, its editors’ conception is artificially limited; it is a normalised, codified collection, both in the sense that it is based on particular principles of selection, and in the sense that the songs have been subjected to editing. Codification, textualisation and popularisation were to become crucial mechanisms in the transformation of folklore into a central Latvian ethnic and political symbol, a sacral object encased in a national shrine.

Barons developed a system for classifying folk songs, but he collected and published only the texts, without melodies and without the context of their usage. Andrei Jurjāns (1856–1922), the founder of research into Latvian folk music, turned his attention to the music and cultural context of ‘dainas’ in his six-volume material on Latvian folk music made up of more than a thousand melodies [Jurjāns 1894–1926]. The work, though originally created for scholarly purposes, gained colossal popularity all over Latvia and laid the groundwork for combining professional musical culture and folklore.

The readers of these collections, many of whom were active participants of the Festivals of Song and members of folk choirs, wished to use folk songs for teaching and, as ethnomusicologist Klotiņš writes, ‘to realise the positive impulses which they saw in folklore, which was viewed as expressing very different values to those characterising post-industrial society, above all “naturalness”. This was to make itself felt especially strongly later, in the neo-folklorism of the 1970s–1990s’ [Klotiņš 2002].

Another source of ‘invented tradition’ was choral culture and its basic form — the Festivals of Song, originally virtually unconnected with authentic folkloric singing. More recently they have become

a sacral object of Latvian nationalism. However, though part of state ideology, they have a broad base of popular support. One could say that despite their official colouration, the Festivals of Song are much-loved national festivals, created and enjoyed by thousands of participants.

At the foundation of the Festivals of Song lay the movement advocating the collection and publication of folk songs in development of the tradition of singing in Latvia, which was done not only by Krišjānis Barons and Henrich Visendorf, but also (in Latgale) by Catholic priests in the 19th — early 20th century (Peteris Smelteris in particular), who collected and edited folkloric texts and used them in their work, especially when preparing sermons.

However, the most important source of the transformation of singing into a sacred act was of course the tradition of singing in Lutheran churches, primarily the singing practice of the Herrnhuter movement, which was linked to the folklorisation of the tradition of choral singing, particularly the formation of a distinct tradition of Latvian folk choir culture. Two of the founders of choral singing in Livonia were Georg Neikens and Janis Cimze. For the Herrnhuter brotherhood, singing was a sacred act, part of the religious service. With the development of Latvian national ideas beginning in the mid-19th century, singing was transformed into a national sacral object. It not only preserved its traditional unifying and harmonising functions with reference to society generally, but consolidated and developed these.

The first General Latvian Festival of Song took place in 1873, and to this day large and small analogues are organised in Latvia virtually every year. The General Festival of Song and Dance takes place every five years.

The pioneer and central personality in the development of neo-folklorism and the research of Latvian folklore, above all folk song, was Emil Melngailis (1874–1954), a famous composer, collector and arranger of folklore [Melngailis 1951–1953]. He was opposed to the direction in the musical establishment which asserted folk life and folklore as possible models for alternative culture. Instead, he began bringing village folk song performers to Riga and organising performances by them.¹

In his brochure ‘Sacral Object or Variety Show?’ [Melngailis 1909], Melngailis condemned the degeneration of morals, hard drinking, and vulgarity of the Festivals of Song, as well as the battles of political parties striving to use these as instruments to achieve their own goals. Melngailis reminded his readers that in Latvian the words ‘festival’

¹ These pioneering events were to become the inspiration for the neo-folkloric movement in the 1970s.

and 'holy' were paronymous; the main task of the festival's participants should be national unity. 'We must collect all the best results of our everyday activity and, like a sacrifice, bring them to our common altar'. National and religious connotations are very closely intertwined in this distinctive propagation; the goal of the Festival of Song, according to Melngailis, was 'for man to draw nearer to a dream of an eternal future, in which everyone, going out into light spaces, sobered from the long darkness, will see the complete possibility of dragging out their miserable, eternally intimidated life full of self-admiration, to the full extent, where self-sufficiency, outstretched helping hands, mutual understanding and common noble tasks are not narrowly selective and bring an evident hope of creating, not just anywhere in the astronomical attic, but right here on the surface of the earth, some part of the long dreamed-of kingdom of God' [Melngailis 1909: 6].

Every historical epoch and its ideology left its mark on the external appearance of the Festival of Song. For example, in 1910 this festival was placed on the itinerary for Tsar Nicholas II's visit to Riga, a visit marking 200 years of Vidzeme's annexation to the Russian empire. However, in the years of the first Latvian Republic, the Festival was used as a vehicle to propagandise regional diversity within Latvian unity. In Soviet times, these festivals were supported by the state and were duly reshaped to express Soviet ideology, but attempts to remove their ethnic element were unsuccessful. On the contrary, 'Latvian-ness' was preserved in many respects thanks to the tradition of communal singing. Riga (where the population is only 50% Latvian) hosted visits from visitors wearing the native costume of other areas, and the city became more 'Latvian'. The Festivals of Song were thus a highly successful vehicle of Latvian nationalism, and to this day fulfill a function of ethnic integration [Viķe-Freiberga 1993]. Many well known songs, from folk to pop (above all the famous 'Blow, Wind, Blow', the Latvian freedom anthem), are sung by choirs and spectators in chorus.

Singing was such a significant part in the nation's ethnic and cultural consciousness and — by the late Soviet period — of the protest movement, that the Latvian ethnic and cultural revival at the end of 1980s — early 1990s, the so-called 'third renaissance' (*trešā atmoda*) that preceded Latvia gaining political independence, was called the '**song revolution**' (*dziesmotā revolūcija*). But the roots of this phenomenon were visible much earlier, by the 1950s or 1960s (see: [Skujenieks 1978]).

Singing is a major factor of ethnic unity in Latvian society. I have observed many times how in a Latvian auditorium in meetings at the beginning of an argument in imminent danger of growing into a full-scale row, someone will start to sing a folk song, and everyone will

pick up the song, singing for a while, at first lazily, but gradually more and more enthusiastically, uniting in one rhythm.¹

The folklorist and researcher of Latvian ethnic identity (and former president of Latvia) Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga has noted in many of her speeches that singing is a healing process, and the Festival of Song is a store of energy [Vīķe-Freiberga 1993]. An area of common ground was the idea of Latvian song as a source of calm, a reflection of life values, a fount of knowledge, a form of embellishing everyday life and a storehouse for those who perhaps no longer have anything else. In her welcome speech at the opening of the 23rd General Festival of Song in 2003, speaking in front of 33 thousand participants, Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga emphasised: ‘Song is the common breath of our people, it is our common heartbeat. In song we are rich, in song we are beautiful, in song we are one, and in our unity we are strong. In song beneath the “Ligo!” flag 130 years ago Latvians singers began to feel themselves a united people, which dreamed of its nation; this dream of its statehood was still very far from a reality and is achieved with difficulty now. Today we stand beneath our national flag on our land and in our own state, but the Festival of Song for us is an opportunity to remember who we are and where we are going, and how we wish to be. Who we are includes our legacy from the past. One thing we have inherited is our song’ [Rīgas Vēstis. 2003. No. 16].

In this way, collective singing became a crucial cultural form of the Latvian nation; participation in it was perceived as a high, patriotic, and sacred act. In modern Latvian mass consciousness, both individual songs and the act of singing are believed to facilitate ethnic integration, and they fulfil gnoseological, axiological, ethical, and aesthetic functions. One could go so far as to say that collective singing has become one of the major ideological supports of the state.

We can draw several conclusions from the above discussion. Latvian folkloric and ethnographic material shows that representations of the ‘holy’ and the ‘sacred’ are closely related to the theme of metamorphosis. We can see examples of this in the cases of hierophany, and legends about the transformation of objects, that I have discussed here. At the same time, paradoxically, holiness is associated with the concepts of stability and immunity: particular objects of veneration, surrounded by behavioural bans and instructions; defined places (cemeteries); portions of time (festivals). The holiness of singing (the sense of which increased, evidently, with the Christian practice of

¹ The idea of singing as a sacral ceremony is strengthened by a functional comparison between the performance of Latvian folk songs and Indian sacred texts (for more detail on this see: [Ryzhakova 2006]).

singing hymns, but then underwent a further process of evolution from the mid-19th century onwards, as transformed folk tradition was absorbed) drew on these established perceptions, but was both ideologically and institutionally consolidated in Latvian national ideology. Collective singing (which often occurred spontaneously) was frequently resorted to by Latvians thanks to its therapeutic function, its ability to unite people, to harmonise an atmosphere and remove conflict, but later acquired an ideological role as well.

Latvian material illustrates well the famously ambivalent position of the sacred in folk tradition. There are no holy places or times that are unconditionally and only positive. All of them, even the church, cemetery and festivals, are simultaneously dangerous and good. Such is the moment of the ‘opening of the heavens’ (at the same time hell and the underworld also opens, and it is necessary to turn to higher powers so they ‘settle the conflict’, — to Jesus so he closes the gates of hell and opens the gates of heaven — see above text No. 1433–1435).

Perhaps this can be connected to the circumstances in which holiness appears in the folk world view not so much as an independent substance from within as a result of the **relationships** between people, sacred characters and things that confer special qualities to particular notable places, objects and times. Therefore holiness is a quality which can be acquired and lost, and it is necessary from time to time to ‘renew’, ‘nurture’ and ‘concentrate’ it or to receive it again.

In Latvian folk representations as a whole, a point of view dominates, according to which holiness is nurtured in silence, peace and solitude, in woods and in obscurity. It is a kind of infusion of inner energy and potential, and an acquiring of fullness, to gain which significant limitation is necessary — physical, local and temporal, a contraction of the spheres of activity (see the legends of the ‘obscure saints’).

The appearance of holiness outside is in the guise of miracles (hierophany), capable of uniting people and making them better, but also — as a result of a mistake — can cause a loss of holiness, which happens even in a potentially holy place (for example, in church), and is even capable of doing harm to a person participating in the event. Let us remember here the famous Eastern tale about the genie in a bottle that lay at the bottom of the ocean for too long and swore to destroy his deliverer.

List of abbreviations

AFM — Author’s field material

LFK — Material from the Archive of Latvian Folklore at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art

CC — Catechismus Catholicorum

- LD — Barons K., Visendorfs H. *Latvju Dainas*. Jelgava; Rīga; Pēterburga, 1894-1915. Vols. 1-6.
- LTdz — *Latviešu tautasdziesmas. Izlase*. Rīga, 1955-57. 1-3 sēj.
- LFV — *Latviešu frazeoloģiskā vārdnīca*. Rīga, 1998. 1-2. sēj.

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