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The Lament — Between Experience and Theatrical Performance*

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The lament, a “stylisation” of grief for the dead, is one of the oldest and deepest forms of expressions of humanity; it is also an act of faith in the birth of the soul of the dead person into a new existence. Most probably it exists, or has existed, throughout the world in a variety of cultural embodiments¹. A lament combines: i) a structure of beliefs, ii) an area of strong emotions, human affects, and iii) social-cultural conventions. It hides an enormous potential for inter-cultural research, and for studies of different social groups within a particular culture. Lament inspires musicological and folkloristic comparative analyses, and reveals the timeless gravity of human existence in the light of religious faith. We have laments in religious music, the operatic *lamento*, the description *lamentoso* in instrumental music. What is concerned is not just form and description of performance, but an inner creative mode, a complaint, a strong, fundamental emotional experience which demands a more or less ordered verbal-musical expression. Finally, in the Great Texts, such as the Bible or the Koran, we find numerous examples of laments as expressions (epiphanies) of a life-giving force, such as bringing Lazarus back from the dead (J 11, 33–44).

Research into the expression of grief in traditional, ethnic, tribal culture involves many tracks — philological, semiotic, psychological, ethnological-

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anthropological, ethnomusicological; lament is treated as the nucleus, the embryo of creativity and poetical-musical form. These studies take on individual profiles in particular countries; for instance, Russian researchers concentrate on semiotic issues²; Ukrainian ones in recent years have been examining psychological issues³; while ethnomusicologists from Belarus have been paying particular attention to local axiology (commentaries and evaluations of folk performers)⁴. Polish research has been concentrating on the lament as a pre-stanzaic, continuous musical form or as a deposit of structural beliefs in verbal texts⁵.

8.1 Structure of beliefs as the basis of lament

The basis of interpreting lament on faith grounds is the assumption that there is communication between the worlds of the living and the dead. In its simplest version the visible world is the world where voice can be heard, while the invisible world (of ancestors) is voiceless; in a more sophisticated communication structure the reverse would apply: the dead would live and talk, while the living stand in life's antechamber and listen. Voice then becomes the link between worlds, an instrument with various semiotic and magical functions. Voice marks out and protects a space, and keeps away forces of evil; voice creates, heals, gives life. Voice defines and domesticates an area, as does the glow of fire, a stone's throw or, in times closer to us — the sound of temple bells. Voice can be the basis of prophesying and spell-casting procedures: "as the voice is, so the harvest will be", as the crying, such the rain (and thus the harvest). Magical spells for bringing on the spring and keeping away hail clouds use voice in a manner similar to the lament.

The protective fabric of voice means that a lament creates a kind of dome, an acoustic shelter which safeguards the dead; hence the obligatory requirement for a lament in ancient cultures. At the source of lament we find beliefs about the creation of the world through thought and word. One should also note the presence of the biological component. The fact that the dead are lamented mainly by women is generally explained as follows in Africa: women

lament because they give birth, men do not lament because they do not do so.

Belief in communication with the other world is linked to the conviction that one can use voice to be heard by the Inaudible. Thus lament involves maximum affect, the peak of expression. The importance of intonation causes researchers to distinguish a fundamental division into plaintive intonation (with increased expressiveness) and non-plaintive (enthusiastic, e.g. adjuring the spring)⁶. In Bulgarian folklore we encounter the trusting belief that when humans cry, God listens and you can only move God by crying. A plea can also be addressed to a house goddess, a guardian of the cemetery (the Ugro-Finnish *нпручет*). Inspiration for plaintive intonation is also provided by voices from the animal world, particularly birds (e.g. cranes in Polesie); the birdsong in distant New Guinea can be interpreted as a universal expression (lament) of life⁷.

According to Filaret Kolessa, the lament preserves a synthesis of communal beliefs and personal expression⁸. Funeral voicings — *похоронни голосиння* — supplicate, call, awaken; this results from the archaic belief that the dead can hear, and therefore the forces which stalk the soul must be kept at bay, especially as this takes place within the context of a belief in the demonic powers of the dead. Kolessa distinguishes eight oldest motifs of content: i) awakening the dead, ii) questioning about the reason for being angry or offended, plea for forgiveness, iii) praise, iv) description of subterranean tomb as a house without windows and doors, without the sun, v) the funeral of a girl or a boy as a staging of wedding ceremony, vi) greetings, requests for intercession, vii) description of funeral as the start of a long journey to an unknown land, viii) inviting to visit (also in transformed form, e.g. as a bird), cyclical reminiscing. A part of the themed motifs of a lament does not need to be related to beliefs, but can be linked to the individual experience.

Polish themes, as demonstrated by Alicja Trojanowicz, contain the following motifs: i) question as to the cause of death, ii) complaint by the orphaned person, iii) plea for resurrection, iv) questioning as to when and whence the dead person will come again, v) complaint that the dead will not be heard or seen again, vi) readiness to follow the dead person. Praise for the dead is less

prominent, and generally the tone of the lament — preserved or established in Polish lands in a residual form — is less metaphorical, more “realistic” than that documented in East Slavonic areas⁹. According to Kolessa, that which used to be understood literally in earlier periods, eventually came to enrich the sphere of symbolic language. In the context of modern times there is also the possibility of involution, reduction, a regress of symbolism in language. Another process is a slow change of “navigation” in laments — evolution from communal beliefs to individual lyricism. Lament, *прѣта* is then not limited only to the ritual of death and funeral, but appears also in other circumstances (e.g. lament over a recruit); moreover the link between lament and a deep liminal experience remains constant (wedding lament).

The belief structure is also framed within the vocabulary, terminology of lament. Above all attention should be drawn to a bundle of lament descriptions, pointing to the holistic character of expression, thus: *to cry out (call, moan, complain, speak, choose words, read) + weep (aloud, complain) + sing = ГОЛОСИТЬ [TO VOICE]*. In Slavonic languages we find a range of variants of this “voicing”: *голосить, голосоьба; галасить, галашение, абвить (Blrs.), голосишня (Ukr.), тужить, потужить* — to complain/whine; *прѣт, прѣта, прѣтитивать* (Russ.) — “read out”, *говорить с кукушкой* (Russ.); *жукание, ойкание, гукание* (Serbian), *навияти* (Serbian — grieving without screaming and crying aloud).

The possible instrument-playing after a death or during a funeral (for instance, on the *trembita* [a wind instrument], or on the long *sopilka* [a type of flute] in the Hucul region¹⁰) has the purpose of calling, inviting ancestors to participate in the ritual. In the area of ancient Mediterranean culture there was a distinction between *voceri* (calling, announcing) following an unexpected, violent death, and *lamenti* proper, associated with a natural death. A similar duality of calling and chanting characterised the burial ritual in Ireland until the eighteenth century.

In general, one could put forward the argument that the lament has a global-cosmic address: it calls and commends the dead, and it expresses the hope of meeting again. Weeping should be respected as the shortest route to the creationist myth because of, among other things, the regularity with which

in many cosmogonies the emergence of earth from the oceans is accompanied by profound experiences.

8.2 Lament as affect

Lament as an expression of a deep existential shock may be claimed to belong to cultural universals. However, the lamenting, *голошение* [the voicing], takes place on the basis of a culturally specific musical-recitative model with a high degree of improvisation and fairly free form, one which researchers regard as prefiguration, an embryonic form of epic songs (the *duma* in Ukraine, the *bylina* in Russia). Lament as a form integrating various means of expression can be described under the following headings:

- (i) closest possible relationship between performance and a given context,
- (ii) multifunctionality of the musical formula,
- (iii) multiplicity of behaviours and gestures,
- (iv) individualism, also in a collective lament, with a leader or without,
- (v) cycles of calling and additional calls/responses,
- (vi) significant share of improvisation in spite of the existence of socially formulated musical-declamatory model,
- (vii) role of women — lament is an act of birth to new existence,
- (viii) particular manner of voice emission,
- (ix) strong differentiation of cultural concretisation in space in spite of common nature of affect,
- (x) duality of expression — spontaneous and ordered,
- (xi) synthetic-embryonic state of form and poetic-musical creation,
- (xii) purpose: providing direction for the shock — catharsis, achieving distance and purification as an essential component of correct functioning in the world.

Among all the folklore genres the lament — particularly in its verbal layer — is most closely connected to particular situations. Difficult to capture in documented research, always controversial in staging, it offers cumulative ancestral memory, which influences the gravity of the link between the lament

and the contextual event. On the other hand, the multifunctionality indicates that the declamatory model and musical formula accompanying laments are sufficiently archaic and consolidated to function — in conjunction with other texts — in other repertory; for instance, the melodies of Belarussian laments may resemble harvest melodies. In other words, the importance of the affect means that the “voicing” has wider and deeper ramifications than specific reference to annual and familial cycles; it is concerned not only with physical death, but rather with its symbolic presence in liminal events (wedding laments), misfortunes (wailing over recruits, poor harvest, illness, fire, etc., a lament over a dead forest — the result of the explosion at Chernobyl¹¹). The multiplicity of behaviours results from the intensity and the “helplessness” experienced by man when faced with an extraordinary event, the experience of which — depending on the cultural environment and historical period — will be expressed in many ways, such as: dance, gestures (e.g. breast-beating), melodic recitation, recitation-chant, wailing, in earlier days both self-injury and even ritual suicides and killings.

The issue “individualism vs collectivism” may be linked to the cycle of calling, amplifying, and responding, which can be very expressive in laments recorded under real-life circumstances. The essential point is the distribution (the balancing, the diminution) — in time and within the human community — of the weight of the trauma between the individual and the group¹². However, the purpose of a lament is to reach into the depths of self-awareness, a dramatic search for the “self”, and for this reason the theme of strengthening the individual identity seems to be primary and permanent. Also, one may relate the question of improvisation on the basis of a model to the bond between the painfully stimulated imagination and emotions of the performer on the one hand, and the norm which is understood and accepted by the local community on the other. The dominant role of women in laments is linked to their life-giving mission. A lament is the act of birth of the spirit of the deceased to a new existence. The transposition to preter- or supernatural language results from the need to call on exceptional addressees (creators) of this particular kind of birth.

The differentiation of the forms of lament, in spite of the common principle of affect and duality of expression (spontaneous and ordered), is the source of typologies constructed by researchers. They concentrate primarily on the manner of the verbal-musical utterance and on distinguishing a set of functions of the lament. Thus there are song and poem forms (continuous, with no rhyme or constant number of syllables)¹³, syllabic types — recited and melismatic, often with undefined intervals. Attention is drawn to imitation of sobbing, metric-rhythmic variability and usually slow tempo. Trojanowicz, in view of the dominance of the verbal aspect in Polish laments, enumerates the declamatory lament, expressively declamatory lament, recited, melodiously recited and melodious¹⁴. Varfolomeeva, taking into account folk terminology, points to the dual concepts: *голошение* and *проста плач*¹⁵. We encounter a similar duality (referred to earlier) also in Corsica (*lamentì, voceri*)¹⁶. The same author refers to four functions of the lament: normative-limiting (controlling), suggestive-inspirational, sign-identificatory, aesthetic (catharsis)¹⁷. Trojanowicz and Kolessa distinguish normative-social, ritual-magical, expressive-individual functions. Murzina, accentuating the psychological perspective of the lament, sees in it general human, local and personal components¹⁸.

Lament as embryonic creativity draws the attention of researchers in view of the synthetic combination of linguistic and melodic layers, the presence of the declamatory model, the boundaries imposed by speech rhythm, the elementary principles of structuring, among them repetition, formulaicism, improvisation¹⁹. There are also numerous performance observations, e.g. *others adding to the female leader*, gradation of volume until *shouting with the whole head*, intertwining, that is, non-simultaneity of beginning and ending in collective laments. Comments recorded by Moszyński and Kolessa lead to the conclusion that singers (*голосильницы*) distinguished *składanie słów* [*putting words together*] in funeral wailing from the song form²⁰. Oskar Kolberg also commented, with a witness's competence, on the course and circumstances of the chant-wail²¹.

The psychological dimension of lament — the working out and achieving a distance from the key event within the framework of a rite of passage or

unexpected death — leads to the ancient concept of catharsis and testifies to the eternal need of cleansing, including the experience of traumatic events, through the “art of a culture”, such as lament.

8.3 Social-cultural conventions of laments

Weeping-lament can be interpreted as a “short cut” to the myth of creation, as calling the spirit of the dead to a new way of life. Myth and weeping would thus be a “stylisation” of world creation — of nature and man. A synthesis of beliefs and individual fate gives shape to a social convention and personal truth. At the boundary of convention, i.e., truth “averaged” socially, and individual truth as a unique experience, we find the source of the concept of stylisation. Such a stylisation brings the individual experience closer to a group of “additional tellers”, recipients, listeners. The convergence is achieved by entering recognised and established common experiences. Stylisation appears here as assimilation, and then transformation of the norm of transmission.

Social-cultural conventions associated with lament contain in them, as has been said earlier, many forms of expression: wailing, gestures (self-inflicted injury), recitation, melorecitation, singing, dancing in line. The *theatrum* of grief and the attempt of transposition to a supernatural language is all that man can do in order to transfer lament into the sphere of art and to awaken spiritual movement. I would distinguish five aspects of this natural theatricalisation:

- (i) The ritual function resulting from activities in relation to the audience;
- (ii) The role of weeping women in constructing the scene;
- (iii) Beggars’ theatre as a form of mediating between heaven and earth;
- (iv) Distance in reception as preparation for aesthetic evaluation;
- (v) Social-cultural compensation.

(i) This function may be illustrated by three phrases: “whatever sort of person the deceased might have been, he has to be mourned”²² (the charitable profile); “what would people say...” (one has to lament in order not to be

suspected of lack of feeling; fear of hostile opinion); finally lament as simple testimony to the feelings towards the dead person, found also in New Testament (J 11, 35–36: “Jesus wept. Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him!”). In extreme cases the ritual function, the “stylisation of despair” was pure manipulation aimed at creating the impression of truthfulness, even deliberate pretence. After all, there have been cases where a father or mother were tormented, locked, starved at home, but loud lament would be produced before the congregation at the funeral.

(ii) Impossibility, or lack of need to identify with suffering, called into being the archaic institution of the weeping woman and a host of intermediaries — beggars, old men, hurdy-gurdy players. Weeping women in black garments were hired out to more important funerals (in the Hucul region until 1930s). In Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries beves of weeping women dramatising and manifesting despair testified to the rank of the deceased lord; their participation was a kind of “funereal seal”, since they came at the end of the funeral cortège.

(iii) For the masses, the mission of mediating between heaven and earth — in the situation of open paths for the deceased — was carried out by beggars²³. In the social “beggars’ theatre” the singer personifying the begging Lazarus (Luke 16, 19–31) prays and sings — to an order — in the intention of the deceased. Beggars’ theatre also has maximal social appeal, it is for everyone. Evidence for this can be found in the *performance* of the bard (old man) which includes, for example in Ukraine, three levels of repertory: psalm (religious song), narrative song (heroic epic), playful repertory (e.g. set to the melody of the kołomyjka dance), all that crowned with a prayer for the deceased parents (grandparents) of the current listeners.

(iv) Separating out the lament from the organic individual experience with the help of a sympathetic audience prepared for conscious reception and reflection. Lament appears here as an art form and a source of synthetic experiences, maximally integrated. According to the inhabitants of Belarussian villages, people go to funerals to listen to the *голошенье*. Researchers even talk about the aesthetic canon of the *голошенье*, and there is a clear merging of aesthetic-ethical concepts, i.e. it is good and beautiful to *голосить*. The

problem of the presence of an audience witnessing confrontation with death exists also in religious messages. Giving public witness to a death is also a component of Gospel texts (J 19, 30).

(v) Social-cultural compensation would work on the principle of communicating vessels: when the “obviousness” weakens in a culture, there is a growing need to create life on a stage; what is missing in a social culture from day to day is compensated for by a staged ritual. For this reason manifestations of traditional culture are more and more frequently present in a version adapted for the stage and external viewing. In Poland we witnessed the performance of funeral songs — normally sung during a wake — on a festival stage at Kazimierz nad Wisłą (Ogólnopolski Festiwal Kapel i Śpiewaków Ludowych) for the first time during martial law year 1982 (ensemble from Grodzisk Dolny directed by Kazimierz Śmiałek), and on the theatre stage the “Ostatni różaniec” [Last Rosary], normally said directly after a funeral, was staged as a *novum* by a group from Kocudza directed by Irena Krawiec in 1995 at a festival of country theatrical groups (Sejmik Wiejskich Zespołów Teatralnych) in Tarnogród²⁴.

Compensation also comes into autonomic artistic musical creation. While the ritual lament was disappearing in the folk culture in Western Europe, there was growing need for individual expression of grief in musical art, including instrumental play, from as early as the seventeenth century (cf. the film *All the mornings of the world*). Since then, musical works have been filling the empty gap left after the elimination from social intercourse of intense external demonstration of communal experiences and emotions, tolerated by ethnic cultures. In the twentieth century, lament and expression of grief seem to be the only path which connects “high” music to ethnic music. While the beginning of the XX century stressed vitalism in Igor Stravinsky’s *Rite of Spring*, its later decades might be linked to stylised folk funeral laments in the works of Edison Denisov.

Notes

- 1 Encyclopaedic descriptions talk about funeral lamentation (grief for the dead); this appears in the Mediterranean basin, among others in Albania, Serbia, on Corsica, Sicily, in Provence; in Ireland, Belarus, Lithuania, among Ugro-Finnish peoples; in the Middle East among Arabs, Jews, Persians, Kurds, Georgians, Afghans, Turkmenians; also in Africa, Australia, Oceania, among the Indians of both Americas. The genre of lamentation has been generally preserved in those regions of the world where cultural traditions have survived relatively intact.
- 2 S. M. Tolstaya, *Обрядовое голошение: лексика и семантика*; N. Tolstoy, *Магическая сила голоса в охранительных ритуалах*; O. A. Pashina, 'Мир живых и мир мертвых в музыкальных звуках', in: *Голос и ритуал*, eds. N. Zhulanova, O. Pashina, E. Dorokhova, Moscow 1995.
- 3 O. Murzina, 'Українські голосіння — афект та формотворення', in: *Проблеми етномузикології*, ed. O. Murzina, Kyiv 1998, pp. 79–106.
- 4 T. Varfolomeeva, 'Календарная и семейно-обрядовая песенная традиция Белорусов в представлениях её носителей (аксиологический аспект)', in: *Conferentia Investigatorum Musicae Popularis Russiae Rubrae Regionumque Finitimarum*, ed. B. Lukaniuk, vol. VI. Lvov 1995, pp. 35–42.
- 5 A. Trojanowicz, *Lamenty, rytmowanki, zawołania w polskim folklorze muzycznym*, Ludowy Instytut Muzyczny: Łódź–Warszawa 1989.
- 6 E. Dorokhova, 'Виды ритуального вокального интонирования и структура традиционного сообщества', in: *Голос и ритуал*, eds. N. Zhulanova, O. Pashina, E. Dorokhova, Moscow 1995, pp. 89–93.
- 7 S. Feld, 'Aesthetics as Iconicity of Style, or Lift-up-over Sounding': Getting into the Kaluli Groove.', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* vol. 20, 1988, pp. 74–113.
- 8 F. Kolessa, *Усна словесність*, II edition, eds. O. Smolyak, B. Lukaniuk, Ternopil, 1996, pp. 18–19.
- 9 It should be stressed that the documentation of lament in Poland was obtained post factum; among Western Slavs one does not on the whole find cyclical reminiscing lament (at cemeteries) such as, for instance, in Polesie.
- 10 I. Macievsky, 'Народна інструментальна культура традиційної похоронної обрядності Гуцулів', in: *Conferentia Investigatorum Musicae Popularis Russiae Rubrae Regionumque Finitimarum*, ed. B. Lukaniuk, vol. IV. Lvov 1993, pp. 31–35.
- 11 This lament, from the village of Tonezh in Polesie, is shown in Zinaida Mozhejko's film *Прагани Боже хмару* (1991). The lament, to the tune of ordinary "voicings", has to an extent been created by the scriptwriter, who encouraged a local singer to produce such a lament, with the words referring to the "black" (result of radiation) forest.
- 12 The problem of individual or collective lament is a cultural "choice"; for example, Northern Russian wedding laments are collective, while in Southern Russian ones the bride laments by herself. In a recording from Silesia from before the First World War (1913), preserved at the Phonogrammarchiv in Berlin, we can hear a short individual lament of the bride after each stanza of the recorded wedding song.
- 13 It is significant that the issue of lament (Totenklage) appears in the post-conference volume devoted to pre-stanzaic folk chants: *Analyse und Klassifikation von Volksmelodien*, Bericht über die 3. Arbeitstagung der Study Group of Folk Music

Systematization beim International Folk Music Council vom 24. bis 28. Oktober 1967 in Radziejowice, eds. Doris Stockmann and Jan Stęszewski, Kraków: PWM 1973, works of Alica Elschekova, Benjamin Raječky, Jaromir Gelnar, Ludwik Bielawski and others.

14 A. Trojanowicz: op. cit. p. 25.

15 T. Varfolomeeva, op. cit. p. 36.

16 W. Danckert, *Das europäische Volkslied*, Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, pp. 299–300.

17 T. Varfolomeeva, op. cit. pp. 36, 37.

18 O. Murzina, op. cit. p. 88.

19 F. Kolessa, 'Charakterystyka ukraińskiej muzyki ludowej', in: *Lud Słowiański*, Kraków 1932, vol. III iss. 1 Section B: Ethnography p. 35: "Ancient melodies of funeral laments are characterised by monotonous repetition or transformation of a short musical phrase, which turns within the boundaries of the third or the fourth with a semitone between the second and third degrees of the scale, and has a free recitative rhythm (there is no periodic pattern) adapted to the improvised text. This primordial form of reciting, widespread throughout the Ukrainian territory and at one time nurtured by paid funeral weeping women, reached a high degree of development in the Ukrainian steppes as the epic-lyrical historical *duma*, recited to the accompaniment of a *kobza* or *bandura* by professional folk singers, called "kobzar" or "banduryst". With the exception of funeral lamentations, all the other ritual songs are sung collectively in unison". In: *Музичний фолклор с Полісся в записах Ф. Колесси та К. Мошинського*, Kiev: Muzichna Ukraina, ed. S. Hrytsa 1995, ps. 37, Kolessa adds that in *похоронни голосиння* musical phrases correspond to the verses in the text, unequal verses cause modification of the melody, and a descent onto the tonic with a fermata is the source of the monotony. Within the framework of comparative comments he notes that Ukrainian laments and *dumas* are close to the melorecitation of Crimean Tatars and the Rumanian *hora lunga*.

20 *Trzeba przemyśleć, nie ma jednego tekstu, to nie pieśń, jak do duszy dochodzi, to składają się słowa; (...) pieśń, melodię - śpiewa się jedną, a ta płacze tak, inna tak, ta przykazuje tak... z wielkiego żalu nie można przemyśleć. [It has to be thought through; this is not a song, when something reaches the soul the words come together (...) a song, a melody — you sing just one, and here one cries this way, another that way, another tells it that way ... you can't think things through for grief, in: Музичний фолклор с Полісся в записах Ф. Колесси та К. Мошинського, op. cit., pp. 118–120.*

21 O. Kolberg: *Chełmskie. Obraz etnograficzny*, vol. 1, Kraków 1890. Re-edition: *Dziela Wszystkie Oskara Kolberga*, vol. 33, Wrocław-Poznań-Kraków-Warszawa 1964, pp. 187–189: "Both when the body is displayed in the coffin in the cottage, and when the funeral procession is making its way to the cemetery, as well as when the body is being buried, the nearest relatives of the deceased, and in particular the women, wail in their grief, weeping loudly and screaming, reciting rhythmically (*recitando*), each verse with a prolonged ending, expressing their grief for the deceased or enumerating their merits and praises for the deceased's deeds while alive. (...) Particularly when there is a large gathering at a funeral, with strangers present, the children and the wives of the deceased feel obliged to show the greatest grief possible, so that they are not accused of being unfeeling (...) Such weeping can be heard not only at funerals.

It is brought forward by any misfortune at the place of accident. It seems to be a kind of complaining and recounting of one's pain in front of strangers, sympathetic or at least only interested witnesses of the event. The words, which change according to the circumstances, are arranged without reflection, dictated by grief, to similar tones and measures; and each verse is spoken in one breath, almost without a break". (...)

Footnote on p. 188: "Since this improvised chant is recited like a litany, then according to the need for added or rhymed syllables, when scanning the following verses, according to their length, the number of syllables for note *a* and note *h* is usually either added or removed; however, note *e* always forms the ending".

- 22 T. Varfolomeeva: op. cit. p. 38. The widow should publicly lament the death of even a cruel husband.
- 23 K. Mikhailova, 'Dziad wędrowny jako postać mediacyjna w kulturze ludowej Słowian', in: *Fascynacje folklorystyczne. Księga poświęcona pamięci Heleny Kapetusz*, eds. Magdalena Kapetusz, Anna Engelking, Warszawa: Agade 2002, pp. 101–108.
- 24 A description of this performance can be found in an article by P. Dahlig, 'Tradycje muzyczne w inscenizacjach obrzędów i zwyczajów na sejmikach w Tarnogrodzie', in: *Sejmiki Wiejskich Teatrów 2 (lata 1994-1998)*, ed. Lech Śliwonik. Warszawa-Lublin-Tarnogród 1998, pp. 67–71.