

FOLKLORE

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A. Folklore and the Science of Folklore in the Non-Communist Area

i. THE SCIENCE OF FOLKLORE

1. The Terms "Science of Folklore" and "Folklore".
— That discipline which is concerned with the study of folklore is known as the "science of folklore". The term "folklore" itself was coined in 1846 by W. J. Thoms (writing under the pseudonym of Ambrose Mer-ten), who preferred not to make use of the expression "populär literature": "By the bye it is more a Lore than a Literature, and would be most aptly described by a good Saxon Compound, Folk-Lore — *the Lore of the People*" (Letter to the Editor. In *The Athenaeum*. Ldn, 1846, no. 982, p. 862). In this Compound the word "folk" describes the people in the sense of those with little education; "lore" denotes experiences, knowledge and traditions which have been handed down orally.

The term "folklore" gained currency and within a few decades was widespread in some of the Romance countries, in Scandinavia, in the Slavonic countries and

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also outside Europe. In some countries it competes with other designations; thus in Italy folklore and *tradizioni popolari* are still used side by side, while in France *traditions populaires* has remained the more common expression. In the German-speaking countries the term *Folklore* was at first accepted in research work; thus Gustav Meyer spoke of the "high moral value of folklore" for the "awareness of home and fatherland" (1885). A decade later, however, the use of the term was disparaged for patriotic and nationalist reasons and older Compounds embodying the German word *Volk* again took its place. The new term was only accepted in Germany in connection with individual international undertakings; thus in 1907 Scandinavian and German scholars founded the Association of Folklore Fellows, whose series of publications entitled *Folklore Fellows' Communications* (FFC) have remained to this date an important focal point for folklore research. The term *Folklore* did not come into popular German usage until after 1945 and is used in this general sense to denote picturesque customs (see below: II, 3).

The ground covered by the term "folklore" has not been exactly defined. In the scientific parlance of the Western countries it is true that customs and usage, forms of superstition and piety, even working techniques and manifestations of material culture are sometimes included under the term; in general, however, folklore is taken to designate the oral tradition in certain typical forms which can be regarded as the prelude or a parallel to literature. Folklorists in the English-speaking countries have therefore suggested the term "verbal art", though this has not found an equivalent elsewhere.

2. *The Discovery of Folk Poetry.* — The word "folklore" was conceived in Opposition to the already existing terms "popular antiquities" and "popular literature"; research into oral popular traditions is thus older than the word itself. As early as the Renaissance interest was taken in popular poetic creation (the expression *poesie populaire* is found for the first time in the works of Montaigne). In the age of the Enlightenment interest in the evidence of national antiquities increased and with it an emotional sympathy with popular poetic creation. Faith in the natural vigour of popular culture was a presupposition for — or at least a consequence of — Rousseau's cultural pessimism. In England James MacPherson edited songs from the Scottish Highlands and published them between 1760 and 1763 as the works of a blind Gaelic bard, Ossian; in 1765 Thomas Percy published his three-volume *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. The same line was followed by J.G. Herder (who for the first time used the expressions *Volksdichtung*, *Volkspoesie*, *Volkslied* and so forth, which then became current) and by other German collectors of folk songs.

During the period of German Romanticism research into popular poetry was given its decisive direction and form. It was then that the famous folk song collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* by Achim von Arnim and Cle-

mens Brentano saw the light of day. The brothers Grimm blazed the trail in practically all other fields of folklore. Their orientation was primarily historical: they not only collected oral traditions in their own environment but also deduced them from historical evidence. But their research also transcended the bounds of history: they saw in popular traditions traces of the oldest and in the last resort unhistorical myths, and this interest in mythology was the decisive thread running through their works. This attitude was characteristic for the following decades and was by no means limited to Germany. In his above-mentioned article W.J. Thoms cited Jakob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* as an exemplary achievement; for him the term "folklore" also designated the mythological origin of folktales.

3. *Directions in Folklore Research.* — At first mythologically orientated folklore studies were confined to a national framework. Popular traditions were regarded as the heritage of a people or group of peoples — in the case of the brothers Grimm the Indo-Europeans. In part the science of folklore was even prosecuted expressly under the banner of nationalism. In Finland, for instance, great interest was devoted to the national epic, the *Kalevala*. Later Symptoms of this national trend were the degree of 1852, in which Napoleon III called for a collection of French folk songs, or the so-called *Kaiserliederbücher*, which were the property of nearly all Choral societies in Germany at the turn of the Century. The rich regional anthologies, which came into being thanks to intensive work of collection, also formed a general part of this nationalist tendency.

In the mid-19th Century — coincident with the appearance of the term "folklore" — the field of folklore studies was expanded. Not only was the folklore of ethnologically or linguistically related peoples brought into comparison but also the traditions of all countries from which reports or collections of materials were available. Folklorists now came to concern themselves with the study of classical antiquity, with ethnography and with national psychology. The nature mythologists took an important step towards the science of comparative folklore; even in different tales and songs they discerned above all the expression of a mythologizing of the elementary processes of nature; in the sun, moon and stars, in fog, storms and thunder they saw not only the actual phenomenon but also the point of origin of folk poetry. The conception of the elemental idea, developed by Adolf Bastian, was crucial: all men are related in their psychic and spiritual leanings, so that cultural parallels and similarities necessarily arise independently of one another. On this theoretical basis far-reaching comparisons were made, deliberately extending across traditional cultural boundaries. This so-called anthropological method was elaborated first and foremost in England by Edward Tylor, Andrew Lang and James Frazer; it later found its continuation in folklore research influenced by Jung's depth psychology, which also attempts to discover basic human structures in popular traditions.

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Towards the end of the 19th Century folklorists viewed folklore in a more differentiated historical and geographical light. In this the science of folklore received its most important stimuli from the Finnish school. Taking the *Kalevala* songs as his subject, Julius Krohn tried out the method of tracing the migrations of individual songs in order to arrive at their origin and original form. The idea of the original form later receded into the background; but the principle of collecting all available variants of a tale or song, of classifying them and thus of studying their paths of expansion remained. The most important folklore research undertakings are still today more or less bound up with the tradition of the Finnish school; monographic studies of this kind in particular have found publication in the FFC. The first type-index was compiled by Antti Aarne and subsequently expanded by the American Stith Thompson, who also contributed a comprehensive thematic index of the folktale. Furthermore, the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Encyclopedia of the Fairy Tale) now in preparation under the direction of Kurt Ranke will lay its main emphasis on research into historical and geographical types. In the investigation of migrations and lines of origin the boundary between folklore and literature had often of necessity to be crossed. The dependence of popular tradition on medieval and even later literature could in many cases be demonstrated. For example Joseph Bedier, the French historian of literature, produced an investigation of the comic tale from this point of view, and the comprehensive annotations to Grimms' fairy tales and fireside stories (*Anmerkungen ...*) by Johannes Bolte and Georg Polivka adduce literary parallels. In Italy Benedetto Croce compared *poesiapopolare* and *poesia d'arte*. John Meier developed an explicit "theory of reception" from folk songs, in which he discerned "art songs in the mouth of the people" (*Kunstlieder im Volksmunde, ...*); this idea was generalized and subsumed under the formula of the "submerged materials of culture" by Hans Naumann, without, however, denying the possibility of a circular relationship, such as was later emphasized by G.M. Forster.

Literary interest in folklore meant that greater attention was also paid to different formal types. Various attempts at a genre typology were undertaken. The simple forms of folk poetry, as outlined by the Dutchman Andre Jolles, were regarded by him as well as by Robert Petsch and others as the basic forms in the hierarchy of literary creation. Here one can discern a structural approach which sets the individual folklore type in the comprehensive fabric of literary genres. Another structural question is directed towards the place and function of folklore within a discernible communal entity. In Germany this functional method was carried further especially by the school of Julius Schwietering, though it had already been preceded by studies of a "biology of the folk tale" in other, predominantly Slavonic, countries. The question of function is also raised with regard to present-day developments in

folklore, since modern folklore is often marked by the disappearance of traditional forms, while functional equivalents are found to exist.

ii. THE SUBJECT OF FOLKLORE

1. *Towards a Typology and System of Motifs.* — Folklore is often tacitly equated with the fairy tale. This is to be attributed not only to the international dispersal and interweaving of the fairy tale but also to its poetic content and its affinity and links with literature. In fact, however, the fairy tale is only one constituent of the narrative forms, which in their turn are by no means the exclusive stuff of folklore. Beside the fairy tale appear on the one hand the comic tale, in which the *miraculous may öc unvcikd* in a realistic manner, and on the other hand the saga, in which the supernatural themes with which the fairy tale plays are developed in a convincing manner. Mention must also be made of religious sagas, exemplary tales and legends as well as of narrative forms more firmly rooted in the field of actual reality such as the anecdote and the cautionary tale.

In many respects lying earlier in their period of development than the narrative forms, popular linguistic formulae make up an essential element of folklore. In addition to traditional or cultic formulae — such as begging songs and magical incantations —, the playful formulations of nursery rhymes must be mentioned; also set turns of phrase, proverbs and saws; and finally riddles, which already mark the transition to narrative forms.

Alongside these there are musical and scenic forms of folklore. In folk songs, which were the first object of the science of folklore, narrative songs — secular or sacred — must be distinguished from lyrical songs of companionableness or conviviality, and also from functionally more circumscribed songs, such as workers' songs, dancing-songs and those accompanying certain traditional ceremonies. For a long time the folk play, close in its manifestations to traditional customs, was traced back to heathen origins; but subsequently the liturgical theory came to predominate which to a large extent derives these folk dramas from the ecclesiastical rites of the Middle Ages. This does not, however, exclude the influence of more recent sources, such as the traditional school plays.

In general terms literary influences — or in the wider sense those of higher culture — were of varied intensity from country to country. This made for differences. In countries with a relatively isolated folk culture, scarcely open to influence from above, the folklore naturally remained of a more pristine nature; while in these lands a profusion of ballads, legends, fairy tales and sagas still held sway until the most recent past, in other countries the essentially rational influences of a more sophisticated culture were reflected both in the decay of certain formal types and in a shift of thematic content.

In the case of fairy tales, for example, a canon has taken shape which is characterized by exclusively peda-

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gological or childhood interests: for decades those narratives have belonged to the best known and most widely spread in which a child is led out of his "isolation" — the term is Lüthi's — by miraculous means. A.B. Rooth, in her book entitled *The Cinderella Cycle* (Lund, 1951), has testified to the repeated occurrence of this theme; the same can be said of Sleeping Beauty, Little Red Ridinghood and similar stories, some of which originated only during the last three centuries but have become more widely disseminated in this period than other fairy tales. Another group of narratives which have stood their ground better than other magical stories are the comic tales, in which the miraculous is linked up with comic adventures such as in the story of the little taylor or the tale of the man who left home in order to learn what makes one's flesh creep.

In the narrative content of the folk sagas the historically orientated stories have fallen strikingly into desuetude. In general, historical events are handed down neither in the tale nor in the song; only in printed sagas — or in school books — do they play a substantial rôle. On the other hand, important stimuli to storytelling are to be found in etiological thinking and in events which are not subject to rational explanation. In etiological sagas certain natural formations and objects (e.g. rocky promontories, caves, lakes, etc.) are given a mythological explanation — partly in all faith, partly in jest; thus the story of the city which because of its sinful life sank into a lake has wide currency, or that according to which jutting cliffs were the work of giants. The sagas relating certain events tell of meetings with the dead or with ghosts. Their themes are often closely bound up with occult conceptions. But occultism is a field in which earlier folklore was semi-scientifically taken up and classified; this resulted rather in its absorption than in its further dissemination. On the other hand, neither this catchment area, so to speak, for folklore nor the widespread rational criticism of the world of sagas should blind one to the fact that important aspects of popular belief still remain intact. Admittedly these are aspects which seldom give rise to comprehensive narratives; an example is the belief in the evil eye (*malocchio* in Italian), which lives on especially in the Mediterranean countries.

Among the amusing narratives the Gothamite or fools' tales assume a special position. They received literary presentation as early as 1597 in the German *Laiebuch*; but they are certainly older and by no means limited to Germany. They are nearly always set in places which are absurdly small in contrast to their pretensions. Thus in Germany such tales are often centred in the tiny old *Reichsstädte*; Sweden has its fools in Gottenkettje and Trosa, Denmark in Molbo and Arhus, England in Gotham, France in Abbeville, St. Dobe, St. Jacut and St. Maixent, Italy in Bergamo, etc. Clown-like figures such as Till Eulenspiegel are also to be found under this or another name in all European countries. Besides the classic comic tales one must not forget the many stories in which the exaggerated claims to

recognition of certain professions — above all of the clerical profession — are brought to nought, or those in which the stupid and quite inexperienced in the fields of business or of sex are simply ridiculed. In more recent comic tales and jests an important place is taken by those about the *nouveaux riches* (cf. Raffke) and their exaggerated style of life. The so-called crazy jokes or idiots' jokes turn abnormal people into the heroes of silly pranks and sayings; in style and content they sometimes approach the Surrealist jokes, although the latter are popular in a limited sense only. Nevertheless, as the comic themes gain ever increasing importance in comparison with fairy tales and sagas, in contrast to the latter they are not impaired by rational influences.

In the fields of song and drama it is evident that both the association with certain customs and the element of improvisation have been weakened. It is true that there are still traditional plays on the occasion of annual festivals, and in some places in the carnival areas of Southern and Central Europe scenes are improvised, aimed for the most part at local abuses; in general, however, plays which are well organized and laid down in advance, most frequently in printed form, have become the rule. The principally Alpine *Schmadahüpfel* — a vocal accompaniment to a dance, in which mockery of local life and occupations mixed with coarse erotic rhymes played the most important part — formed a brilliant example of the improvised song. But with the advance of instrumental dance music and the organized cultivation of songs — above all in the industrialized countries — the improvised forms have been driven into retreat. Choral settings for several voices are now typical, and in their content the sentimental love songs and local patriotic songs of the 19th Century predominate not only in Germany. When in individual cases older ballads or religious songs are taken up, it becomes even clearer that folklore occupies a basically different position from that of former times, at least in all countries with a modern educational system and attitude to work; since folklore has to compete with literature and other elements of higher culture, it is increasingly driven to the wall, carrying less weight and importance, and thus it largely takes on the character of a harmless relic.

2. *Integral Form and Relic.* — In areas without a written culture — and such existed in the European peasant cultures too until the most recent past — folklore is an integral form: it is an integrating cultural element; it embraces and shapes the most important aspects of life. On the basis of the narrative songs which occupied an important position within the unwritten Finnish popular culture (Swedish being the literary language until the 19th Century), Elias Lönnrot succeeded in reconstructing the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*. Even towards the end of the 19th Century there were storytellers in Finland who hired themselves out and were able to tell stories for days on end. Parallels are to be found in our own times — for example gifted and accomplished narrators and above all ballad poets and

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singers in various Balkan countries; significantly enough some of them can neither read nor write.

Admittedly folklore everywhere is gradually succumbing to the same fate as in most of the countries of Central and Western Europe: it is becoming a relic. This does not simply mean that it is exposed to increasing influences of decay which render it hackneyed, nor does it merely betoken a stronger influence of literature and other cultural elements on folklore. Above all it means that folklore is no longer the accompaniment of everyday life. Not infrequently it is thrown into a sentimental light and is associated with a level of education which has long been dissociated from folklore but which is now confronted with it and finds in it a new aesthetic charm. This relationship was fully formed in the age of Romanticism; but particular points of interest have arisen out of the popularization of Romantic ideas.

The widespread view of folklore as forming an element of cultural contrast and compensation has often led to what may be described as "folklorism". With this term Hugo Moser designates the boom in second-hand popular traditions, as for instance in the often commercialized presentation of attractive old customs. Moser therefore does not limit the term to folklore in the strict sense, although folklorism has an effect in this sphere too. Here one must differentiate between a playfully aesthetic side and an ideological side to folklorism. On the one hand it is a matter of emphasizing the picturesque — and in a figurative sense one can also speak of this in connection with folklore itself. To this aspect belong the aestheticized versions of sagas in handsomely illustrated volumes, the Choral versions of folk songs sung by groups in national costume, etc. On the other hand the representation of the popular heritage is often linked with ideological pretensions; it is placed as something ancient and genuine in contrast to the so-called degeneracy of civilization, even when what are presented are in fact archaized new creations. Folklore is often the expression of the self-awareness of certain groups, and there thus exists a definite "minority folklorism": minorities seek to compensate for their lacking political influence, or to strengthen it, through folkloristic activities. Folklorism often carries national traits and it can also be a sign of the social consciousness of a particular class — for instance that of the workers or the peasants.

3. *Folklore and Art.* — Within the West European national cultures three phases can be distinguished in the interplay between individual artistic creation and the anonymous field of folklore.

The first phase had its beginnings in the 18th Century and reached its climax in the Romantic movement. Whereas up till then literature and folklore had interpenetrated one another (and literary themes and forms had predominantly been taken into folklore without there having been any consciousness of an abridging function), one now became aware of the alienation of folklore and literature and at the same time saw the

need to overcome it. It is clear from the example of the German fairy tale how the barriers between the two forms could be broken down: on the one hand, under the influence of popular traditions, the artistic fairy tale of the German Romantics was freed from the pattern of enlightened amusement which had dominated the Rococo fairy tale, and was boldly and imaginatively developed; on the other hand, in spite of their concern for scientific documentation, the brothers Grimm clothed their popular fairy tales in a valid literary form. A similar process can be observed in other West European countries and with other genres. One need only be reminded of the pre-Romantic ballad revival in England, which has followed by an efflorescence of the ballad in Germany.

Because of the many differences of phasing from country to country and from one social level to another it is not possible to date the second phase precisely; but it is predominantly centred in the second half of the 19th Century. During this second phase the awareness of the distinction between the fields of art and folklore became weaker; each complemented the other. The authors of artistic fairy tales dispensed in general with the higher flights of fancy; there resulted for the most part harmlessly beguiling anachronistic trifles featuring talking animals or plants. In the reserve direction the folktales in their current editions — and thus indirectly in their oral transmission — were rendered more innocuous by additions designed to embellish them and to render them less realistic. Parallel to this developed the sentimentalizing of the folk song, which was particularly marked in Germany but which found its counterpart in other countries as well. An important characteristic of the folklorism of this period could summarily be described by the term "operetta folklore".

This second phase did not come to an abrupt end and continues in part to the present time. But in a third and modern phase the consciousness of the gap between art and folklore has largely returned — and it is to a considerable extent contingent upon the recognition of the irreconcilability of the two spheres. This leads to an ironically critical playing with folklore; the expressionist tale and many examples of the modern theatre bear witness of this. Where the attempt is made to establish a durable link between art and folklore, it is no longer merely trivial and purely external adaptation of the forms; it is directly committed and orientated towards those elements which are regarded as the agents of folklore. This is clear from Bertold Brecht's *Volksstücke*, but also from the modern development of the folk song, which has become a vehicle of social protest. Its fitness for dissemination through technical media and its deliberately artistic style distinguish this type of folk song from the Choral movements (and parallel there to the amateur dramatics and so forth) of the first decades of the 20th Century. These latter movements and the attempts at a global revival of folklore must be regarded rather as offshoots of the Romantic phase in the relationship between art and folklore.

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B. Folklore and the Science of Folklore in the USSR

i. THE SCIENCE OF FOLKLORE

1. *Definition.* — The science of folklore, as understood in Soviet usage, differs in methodology but hardly in its subject-matter from the meaning ascribed to it in non-communist countries. The Situation is different with regard to the term "folklore", since there is in the USSR no generally accepted conception of its meaning; on the contrary, it is defined differently by different scholars (and occasionally even by the same ones). In the "Large Soviet Encyclopedia" folklore is defined as "a kind of creative activity on the part of the people; art which is created by the working people and which lives on in the broad masses of the people; folklore embraces different kinds of popular artistic activity — poetic creation, music, the dance, the theatre, pictorial art, etc." (*BSE*, t.29, p. 143).

In the 1920s Iu.M. Sokolov interpreted folklore as a universal conception which, apart from "oral literary creation", embraced the "actual cognitive and religious interpretation of the world". In the Thirties he defined folklore as "oral poetic creation" or as "the oral poetic creations of broad masses of people" (Sokolov, *Russian Folklore*, p.4). N.P. Andreev and M.K. Azadovsky subscribed to Sokolov's latter view and stressed the close relationship between folklore and literature. On the other hand, V. M. Zhirmunsky and others (e.g. O. M. Freidenberg and M. Viner) regarded folklore as a "survival" (q.v.), as a collection of relics in the cultural field, and assigned it to the science of ethnography. While this conception of folklore soon had to yield to the concerted attack of the majority of Soviet folklorists, folklore itself was regarded until the Fifties as a part of literature. Singers and narrators of folk songs and tales were put on a footing with the authors of literary works; this resulted in the performers feeling themselves to be encouraged in their individual work of creation. The bonds with tradition, regarded in the West as the principal criterion of folklore were more or less ignored.

At the end of the Fifties V.I. Chicherov and A.N. Nechaev spoke out against the hitherto prevailing view; they emphasized that collective popular creation and traditional roots were the most important characteristics of folklore. V. E. Gusev, who took issue with the allocation of folklore to literature, defined it as "a complex of complicated aspects of syncretic art, composed of several elements which make use of artistic and figurative means designed to serve the purpose of immediate acoustic and Visual perception at the moment of Performance" (Gusev, *Estetika fol'klora*, p.93).

2. *The Science of Folklore in the 19th and early 20th Centuries.* — (a) The Collection of Folklore. In 19th-century Russia the collection and publication of folklore, as well as folklore research, followed the methods

taken over from the West. P.Y. Kireevsky and the poet N.M. Iazykov began the systematic collection of Russian folklore in the 1830s. Kireevsky, whose enthusiasm for folklore was inspired by the German Romantics, collected a great number of folk songs. In the struggle against the Westernizers he made use of folklore to demonstrate the Spiritual greatness of Russia. In the 1840s V.I. Dal' collected fairy tales and proverbs, his important collection of proverbs being published in 1861. A. N. Afanas'ev elaborated the material of Dal' and others into a Standard collection of Russian folktales (1855-63).

The 1860s brought an unexpectedly rapid upsurge of interest in folklore. This was connected with the fact that in 1860 P.N. Rybnikov, a Russian administrative official, had discovered in the Olonets region of Karelia a flourishing *bylina* (epic) tradition (collections were published in 1861-67). Further *byliny* from the same area were collected by A.F. Gil'ferding in 1871 and published in 1873. The work of Rybnikov and Gil'ferding provided the Stimulus for a systematic search for *byliny* in Northern Russia. It transpired that the *byliny* had survived not only in Olonets and Karelia but also in the White Sea area and along the great rivers of the North (e.g. the Pinega, the Mezen' and the Pechora) as well as in Northern Siberia. At the turn of the Century comprehensive and valuable collections of *byliny* from these areas received publication at the hands of N.S. Tikhonravov, V.F. Miller, A.V. Markov, A.D. Grigor'ev, N. E. Onchukov and others. About the same time other folklore genres were collected and published: folktales (by N.E. Onchukov, D.K. Zelenin, and B. M. and Iu.M. Sokolov), lyrical songs (by A.I. Sobolevsky and P.V. Shein), laments (by E.V. Barsov) and riddles (by D.N. Sadovnikov).

(b) The Science of Folklore. Research into folklore began in Russia in the 1860s, at the time when in the European countries various theories on the origins of folklore were first being advanced.

In Russia the mythological theory in particular found support. It was applied chiefly by F.I. Buslaev and A. N. Afanas'ev to Russian folklore. Buslaev, a disciple of the brothers Grimm, undertook the task of tracing folktales and *byliny* back to mythological sources. He even went so far as to posit mythology and religion as the bases for the development of art. Afanas'ev was the most extreme exponent of the mythological theory. In his extensive work *Poeticheskiia vozreniia slavian na prirodu* (3 t. M., 1865-69. [The Slavs' Poetical Ideas of Nature.]) he interpreted the Slavic and Indo-European myths as a reflection of various forms of bad weather, storms and clouds.

The theory of borrowing (or migration), which had been elaborated by the German scholar Theodor Benfey, became known in Russia through the art critic V.V. Stasov (1868). Although Stasov's thesis that the Russian *byliny* had been borrowed from the East was incorrect, the theory of migration became largely accepted in the Russian science of folklore. Even some

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of the supporters of the mythological theory (e.g. Buslaev) admitted the superiority of the new school. The most important representatives of the theory of migration were A. N. Veselovsky and V. F. Miller. In his first works Veselovsky investigated the routes followed by Eastern legendary tales into and within Europe and Miller traced certain Russian fairy tales back to the East.

The so-called anthropological school had no direct followers in Russia, but it influenced to a high degree the works of Veselovsky, one of the most important literary scholars in 19th-century Russia.

In addition to the mythological theory and the theory of migration, a new trend soon developed in Russian folklore studies — the historical school. The historical method was first applied by L. N. Maikov in his work on the *byliny* of the Vladimir cycle (1863). But the most important representative of the historical school was V. F. Miller. He concerned himself, especially in his *Ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti* (3 t. M., 1897-1924. [Essays on Russian Folk Literature.]), with a large number of Russian *byliny* and tried to assess the influence of certain historical events and personalities. The historical school was accorded general recognition until October Revolution.

3. *Developments after 1917.* — (a) The First Post-Revolutionary Years. During the chaotic years of civil war no notable achievements were recorded in the field of folklore studies. Two collections of *byliny* published in 1918-19 include commentaries by M. N. Speransky and B. M. Sokolov typical of the historical school.

(b) The 1920s. At the beginning of the 1920s a formalistic trend became strongly felt not only in literature but also in the science of folklore. In their analyses the formalists paid attention primarily to aesthetic and literary aspects and less to questions of origin, social significance or historical background. The studies by A. P. Skaftymov, V. Ia. Propp, A. I. Nikiforov, V. M. Zhirmunsky and others are examples of work in this field. In his *Poetika igenezisbylin* Skaftymov emphasizes the prime significance of the study of structure over that of ideology; he succeeds in explaining certain disputed problems (such as the negative traits of Prince Vladimir) by the requirements of structure. In *Morfologiya skazki* (Eng.: *Morphology of the Folk tale...*) Propp studied the structure of magic tales on the basis of the function of the *dramatis personae*; his conclusion is that all fairy tales are uniform in their structure. Nikiforov, who focused his attention on the complete folk-tale repertoire of certain regions, was also concerned with the functions of personages. Zhirmunsky contributed to the study of the poetics — i. e. rhyme and metrics — of folklore.

Formalism was, however, short-lived in Russian literary scholarship (see LITERATURE, Parts II & III). In the late 1920s it became the object of violent attacks by official Soviet circles as "narrow and impractical academism". Criticism was voiced also against the so-called Finnish school, the most significant representative of which was N. P. Andreev who published several

monographs and prepared a Russian edition of the Aarne type-index. Following criticism from the official side, the historical-geographical method — like the formalistic trend — was soon abandoned. Thus at the beginning of the Thirties there occurred a shift in folklore study towards stricter concentration on social problems and ideology.

The Soviet folklorists continued the traditions of their predecessors in organizing the work of extensive collection in the field. The first expedition, called "In the Footsteps of Rybnikov and Gil'ferding", was arranged by the State Academy of Fine Arts in Moscow in 1926-28 to investigate the Olonets region under the direction of the brothers Sokolov. It was followed by numerous other expeditions to Karelia, the White Sea region, the areas of the big Northern rivers and Siberia. These expeditions have brought to light quite a number of hitherto unknown variants of folktales, *byliny* and other songs. A part of this material has been published in large collections by M. K. Azadovsky, A. M. Astakhova, Iu. M. Sokolov, A. N. Nechaev, R. S. Lipets and others.

The collectors in the field have carefully observed the personality of the individual singer and narrator. This has resulted in a number of studies on narrators by B. M. Sokolov and especially by M. K. Azadovsky. These works emphasize in particular the correlation between personal creation and collective ideology. The keen interest in the individual narrators has led to a new type of folklore collection confined to the repertoire of a single person, so to speak the "collected works" of a certain master narrator. Such special collections have been devoted to the folklore of the Siberian storyteller Natal'ia O. Vinokurova, the Voronezh storyteller Kupriianikha (Anna Kupriianovna Baryshnikova), the White Sea storytellers Matvei M. Korguev and Marfa S. Kriukova.

As studies of the social function of folklore came to take precedence over questions of origin and migration, folklorists devoted great attention to those genres of folklore which had been neglected or ignored before the revolution, such as satires on priests and noblemen, folk traditions about revolutionary movements and the folklore of workers. The satirical stories about priests and folk healers have been extensively collected and published by Iu. M. Sokolov, E. D. Vishnevskaya and others. These stories, widely disseminated in cheap popular editions, have served as a means of intensifying anti-religious propaganda. Sokolov also published a collection of satires about the nobility. The folk traditions about revolutionary uprisings, especially those led by Stenka Razin and Pugachev, were collected and published by A. N. Lozanova and B. M. Blinova. Of the songs of soldiers only the so-called recruits' songs had attracted any interest in tsarist Russia; now other aspects, such as the revolutionary soldiers' songs, also became the object of study (especially by L. S. Eventov). The old workers' songs, relating the hard life of the workers in factories and mines, have been collected not

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only by folklorists but also by the factory workers themselves in the industrial centres of Russia.

The genres which were the main subject of study before the October Revolution, such as fairy tales, *bylii*, historical songs and *chastushki* (a kind of *Schnadahüpfel*), also received due attention after the revolution. Soviet folklorists have concentrated especially on the changes which these genres have undergone during the Soviet period. With reference to fairy tales they have emphasized the trend from the fantastic and miraculous towards the realistic, and have stressed the pervading antagonism towards the tsar.

Since the second half of the 1920s biographical narratives and memoirs (*skazy*) have been objects of systematic collection. Doubts have, however, been raised by some folklorists concerning their inclusion in folklore, since they are related at times "without any special pretensions to artistic merit; some of the tales are in the form of a single, solitary fact; many of them do not pass from mouth to mouth, they do not attain any permanent form" (Sokolov, *Russian Folklore*,..., p.682). They have nevertheless been included, according to Azadovsky "as a kind of new phenomenon which belongs to the facts of oral creation" (Sovetskaia folkloristika za 20 let. In *Sov.folklor* 6, 1939, p. 18. [Twenty Years of Soviet Folklore Study.]).

By eliminating the principle of traditionality and thus extending the definition of folklore, Soviet folklorists have attempted to refute the generally accepted thesis of the decline and disappearance of folklore and popular creation. They maintain that "under the conditions of socialist reality folklore assumes new forms and becomes new both in quality and content" (Gippius, E.V., and Chicherov, V.I. Sovetskaia folkloristika za 30 let. In *Sov. etnogr.*, 1947, no. 4, p. 49. [Thirty Years of Soviet Folklore Study.]).

Folklore, like every other field of scholarship in the Soviet Union, is conceived of as a means for the realization of socialism and communism. Being close to the heart of the masses, folklore has especially great propagandistic value and it has been used extensively for this end. This fact has been duly emphasized by Soviet folklorists:

"Never, in all the history of Russia, has the oral poetic word served the social aims so broadly and powerfully as in the Soviet period. Soviet folkloristics has helped to reveal the agitational and Propagandist significance of folklore. And thereby, Soviet folkloristics has firmly allied itself with the practical tasks of our social life" (Sokolov, *Russian Folklore*, p. 141).

"The popular narrators view their activity as agitational and propagandistic. They are popular agitators, people's tribunes, carrying their artistic patriotic word to the masses. Their works summon the readers and listeners to conscious work for the glory of the Fatherland" (AN SSSR. Inst. russkoi literatury. *Ocherki*..., p. 523).

The changed view on folklore was also reflected in violent criticism of the early Soviet science of folklore. Although Soviet folklorists had been aware of the social aspects and political significance of folklore, they had not followed the true Marxist path but had erred

into vulgar sociology. They were "still captives of the old methodology, the roots of which are firmly entrenched in the ideology of bourgeois society and closely connected with the processes characteristic of the bourgeois ideas in Europe and in Russia in the pre-revolutionary years" (Azadovskii, *Sovetskaia folkloristika za 20 let*. In *Sov.folklor* 5, 1939, p. 38). This appeared, among other things, in their interpretation of the rôle of the peasants and workers in popular creation. B.M. Sokolov and other leading folklorists, following V.F. Miller, held that the *byliny* originated in the higher social classes — among the singers of the princes' retinue. They thought that the *byliny* were taken over from them later by *skomorokhi* the professional singers of the lower classes, and reached the peasants — through the mediation of the *skomorokhi* — only in the 16th and 17th centuries. In November 1936 Demian Bedny's comic opera *Bogatyri* (The Epic Heroes) was, on the order of a government committee, removed from the repertoire of a theatre in Moscow as a misinterpretation of Russian history and epic heroes, since it depicted the *byliny* heroes as representatives of the nobility in the traditional derogatory way. At the same time a wide folkloristic discussion about the character and origin of the epic was started. It resulted in a basic change in the attitude of scholars towards the *byliny*, for which Maxim Gorky's Speech at the 1st Soviet Writers' Congress in 1934 was chiefly responsible; he had stated that "the most profound, most vivid and artistically perfect types of heroes had been created by folklore, the oral creative work of the working people". Henceforth the "aristocratic origin" of the *byliny* was denied and their "genuine popular quality" was emphasized (cf. Oinas, *The Problem of the Aristocratic Origin of Russian Byliny*,...).

(c) From the End of World War II to Stalin's Death. In the second half of the 1940s a change in the Soviet policy on literature occurred which also affected the study of folklore (see LITERATURE, Part IV, Section D, I). Then began a most intensive campaign, led by A.A. Zhdanov, against all Western elements in Soviet literature and literary studies. The folklorists Propp and Azadovsky were accused of laying too much emphasis on the international character of folklore and of following a comparativist line. Propp's book *Istoricheskie korni volshebnoi skazki* (1946), which contained abundant quotations from such international scholars as Frazer, Boas, Kroeber and others, was compared to a London or Berlin telephone directory. This change of trend is clearly manifest in folklore studies after 1948. Folklorists now refrained from making any references to Western scholarship in their works. The new folklore textbook for the higher educational institutions edited by P.G. Bogatyrev presented, unlike Iu.M. Sokolov's well-known *Russian Folklore* (1938), Russian folklore as having developed from indigenous national roots and without any relationships with the West.

(d) Developments since 1953. After Stalin's death, and especially after the destalinization in 1956, a cer-

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tain liberalization became noticeable in Russian folklore studies. While Stalin still figured as an authority on folklore in the first edition of the Bogatyrev textbook (1954), his name was completely erased from the second edition (1956). Voices were raised in protest against the so-called Soviet fairy tales and *byliny* about Soviet leaders and Soviet achievements which had enjoyed great popularity in the USSR in the 1930s and early 1940s. A Statement by A.N. Nechaev is characteristic of this Opposition: "The 'Soviet fairy tales' never in fact became the property of the people, and there is therefore no reason whatsoever for Publishing them as Soviet folklore. They are merely abortive works of literature" (Nechaev, *O tozhdestve literatury i fol'klora*,..., p. 140). In the years that followed, it became possible to devote more attention to the problems of form than before. This was demonstrated by the republication of the major portion of a previously condemned formalistic study on *byliny* by Skaftymov and of Propp's *Morfologiia skazki*.

Scores of highly qualified folklorists have been actively engaged in collection, publication and research. A number of these collections of folklore materials have been published, primarily in the series *Pamiatniki russkogo fol'klora* (publ. since 1960 by AN SSSR. Inst. russkoi literatury [Monuments of Russian Folklore.]). A few significant studies on almost all genres, but especially on *byliny*, historical songs* ballads and ritual songs have also appeared. Of Soviet folklorists, A.M. Astakhova (d. 1971), V.Ia. Propp (d. 1970), M.K. Azadovsky (d. 1954), and V.I. Chicherov (d. 1957) are worthy of special mention. Astakhova's study *Russkii bylennyi epos na Severe* (1948) is perhaps the greatest achievement in the science of Russian folklore. Unlike Miller and other leading pre-revolutionary folklorists, Astakhova studies the *byliny* not as archaic stagnant phenomena, but as living processes. Analysing the *bylina* tradition of the last 150 years, she establishes basic laws pertaining to the creative process of the folk epic and studies the significance of the environment and the influence of written literature on the *byliny*. Astakhova's recent work on *byliny* is a survey of the history of their study. Propp, after abandoning formalism, turned to the social aspects of folklore. His imaginative study on the historical roots of the magic tale, mentioned above, deals with the fairy tales as an entirety and traces their origin back to primitive initiation rites. In *Russkii geroicheskii epos* (1955) Propp, following Belinsky, endeavours to formulate the basic idea of each *bylina*, contending that the idea of a *bylina* expresses the ideals of the corresponding epoch. His most recent work on rural festivals seeks to prove that the celebration of holidays in Russia was prompted almost exclusively by economic considerations. Azadovsky started as an investigator of folktales and laments, with special emphasis on the rôle of the narrator, but became more and more attracted to the history of Russian folklore and the problems of the interrelationship between literature

and folklore. Chicherov contributed to the study of the same problems, to the theory of folklore and to ritual poetry.

In addition to those mentioned above, there are many other contemporary (or recently deceased) folklorists who have distinguished themselves in the study of Russian folklore. M.O. Skripil' (d. 1957) and V.P. Adrianova-Peretts have studied folklore in Old Russian literary works; the latter's special sphere of interest has been the relationship between the styles of folk and art literature. Bogatyrev has been engaged in the study of the theory of folklore, folk theatre, magic and the Slavic epic. D.S. Likhachev has examined the origin and early development of *byliny* and historical songs. Various aspects of the *byliny* have been studied also by R.S. Lipets, A.P. Evgen'eva, P.D. Ukhov (d. 1962) and M.P. Shtokmar, and the historical songs have been treated by V.K. Sokolova and B.N. Putilov. The folk-tale has been the concern of I.V. Karnaukhova, A.N. Nachaev, E.V. Pomerantseva, E.M. Meletinsky and Isidor Levin. Russian lyrical songs have been studied by T.M. Akimova, N.P. Kolpakova and V.M. Sidel'nikov; the workers' songs by P.G. Shiriaeva; and the revolutionary songs by A.M. Novikova. Research on the popular theatre has been carried out especially by V.N. Vsevolodsky-Gerngross, V.Iu. Krupianskaia and T.M. Akimova. The so-called "small-genres" (riddles and proverbs) have been the object of study by M.A. Rybnikova, M.I. Shakhnovich, V.P. Anikin and G.L. Permiakov.

The historical interpretation of *byliny*, which after the activities of Miller had subsided for a few decades, has recently been revived by M.M. Plisetsky and B.A. Rybakov. Plisetsky traces the geographical names and the reflection of early feudal society in the *byliny*; Rybakov is inclined to see in them extensive traces of early historical events. The latter's work is, however, devoid of any sound scholarly basis.

Much work has been done in the collection, publication and study of the folklore of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union. Special attention has been given in recent years to the rich and flourishing epic tradition of the nationalities, considered to be "closely linked with significant processes in the history of mankind and with the liberation of nations" (Gusev, V.E. *Folklore Research in the USSR*. In *Sov. R.* 2, 1961, no. 1, p. 54). The study of the folklore of nationalities has been largely in the hands of scholars from the nationalities concerned, although some Russian scholars (such as Zhirmunsky and Levin) have also contributed.

4. *Folklore Organizations*. — The organizations responsible for the collection and study of folklore in the Soviet Union have passed through a considerable metamorphosis since the October Revolution; their names and affiliations have been frequently changed. At present the following two are the most important: the Folklore Committee of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) at the Academy of Sciences in

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Leningrad, and the Folklore Section of the Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow.

ii. THE SUBJECT OF FOLKLORE

7. *Russian Folklore.* — Because of the tardy and slow process of industrialization, folklore in tsarist Russia flourished right up to the beginning of this Century, in contrast to many other European countries. The major part of the population consisted of peasants who could neither read nor write and who therefore had no access to books; for the masses orally transmitted poetry was the only form of literature. Nevertheless, some of its genres, on account of the lack of new themes, had begun to petrify or were on the point of dying out. This was the case for example with the folk drama, the *bylina* and the historical and folk songs (the *bylina* had not developed further since the 18th Century and the last historical songs originated from the time of Napoleon). It is, however, true that most of the genres — at least in certain areas — did not give up their original function until the middle of the present Century.

As in other industrialized countries, folklore in the USSR too broke with tradition. In the attempt to preserve the cultural heritage Soviet cultural policy gave folklore preferential treatment. This is, however, no longer folklore in the true sense, since it has been divorced from the living tradition and is disseminated in set forms by means of books, the radio and similar media. It has in fact become literature and forms a special chapter in the history of the literature of the Soviet peoples, where it enjoys a tremendous popularity alongside the classics of Russian literature.

Orally transmitted poetic creation in Russia can be divided into three main groups — the epic, the lyrical song and drama.

(a) The Epic. Epic poetry is represented by the *byliny*, by historical and religious songs, by ballads and by lamentations for the dead. Prose forms of epic poetry are found in fairy tales and narratives.

The *bylina* (heroic song), which undoubtedly goes back to the mythological poetry of the Slavs, was given a historical stamp in the Middle Ages; the exploits of primarily those heroes (*bogatyri*) were sung who had fought against the enemies of Russia (e.g. the Tartars). In general, however, the *byliny* display a great variety of motifs taken from the Bible, fairy tales and travellers' tales, and of local themes, such as life in Novgorod in the Middle Ages. Originally the *byliny* were sung throughout Russia, but in the 19th Century only a few of them were still known in the central provinces; in the North, on the other hand, where outstanding artistic talents such as T.G. Riabinin had handed down the monumental character of the older poetry, the heroic epic continued to live among the peasants and fishermen. The *bylina* also held its own in the Cossack areas, although admittedly its form became changed there through Choral interpretation. After the October

Revolution the *bylina* initially fell into disfavour on account of the aristocratic interpretation which had been given to it by the science of folklore, but it was rehabilitated in the Thirties. Soon the singers of *byliny* in their search for new themes turned to the leaders of the October Revolution and began to sing their praises in the old style; the so-called *noviny* arose. In her "Tale about Lenin", a mixture of *byliny*, historical songs and lamentations, M.S. Kriukova, one of the most talented narrators of her day, exalted the main periods of Lenin's life.

The historical songs originated in the 16th Century and told of historical events and personages in a far more realistic manner than *byliny*. New ones continued right until the beginning of the 19th Century; the most famous of them dealt with rebels such as Stenka Razin and Pugachev.

The first religious songs (*dukhovnye stikhi*) were handed down from the 15th Century. Their themes were taken for the most part from legends, apocryphal writings and from popular eschatological literature. They were sung by wandering blind minstrels and were particularly widespread among the non-orthodox sects. This genre appears to have died out before the October Revolution and for obvious reasons could not be revived thereafter.

The bailad — a form of dramatic epic — deals chiefly with the tragic or moving fate of ordinary people. It seems to have arisen in the late Middle Ages and since the 19th Century has experienced a new efflorescence through the inspiration of the so-called petit-bourgeois demi-literature. Without doubt the bailad still constitutes a very productive genre, continually giving rise to new songs, dealing for example with the fate of those languishing in penal camps; however, since they exist anonymously among the people and are neither recorded nor published by scholars of folklore, it is difficult to say anything definite about them.

The lamentations for the dead (*plachi* or *prichitaniia*) were still sung in the present Century by professional female singers in Northern Russia. In highly symbolic language they lamented the loss of the deceased and the bitter fate of their survivors. Recruits whom the war had torn from their families were also frequently the subject of their plaints. Maxim Gorky often lauded the great art of I.A. Fedosova, who died in 1899. Laments "on life under the occupation" or mourning "the son who fell in the front line" were still sung during World War II.

The Russian fairy tale, which in spite of national peculiarities such as those of landscape and milieu or more prolific dialogue belongs to the international stock, underwent far-reaching changes as early as the 19th Century. Realistic elements and a psychologically interpreted motivation of events thrust to the fore. Social grievances appeared ever more clearly and satires on landowners, bureaucrats and clerics became more frequent. This development became more pronounced in the Soviet period, when folklorists gave special prominence to the satirical tale. In some tales

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the tsar appears in a scarcely flattering and often even ridiculous light; in others he is arraigned before the court or even brought to the gallows. In the Twenties, Thirties and Forties there were still brilliant narrators who in addition to their traditional repertoire clothed new themes in the forms which had been handed down from former times. These new themes were taken partly from actual life and partly from literature. Not only were fairy tales reproduced from the collections of Hans Christian Andersen and the Grimms, but also stories by Pushkin, episodes taken from A.K. Tolstoy's novel *Prince Serebrany* or even the life of Grigory Melekhov from Sholokhov's novel *And Quieriy Flows the Don*. In the last-mentioned case — as in the tale *Chapai* taken from D. A. Furmanov's story *Chapaev* — it appears that the film and not the book was the source. The leaders of the October Revolution were also converted into fairy-tale figures.

Biographical narratives and memoirs (*skazy*), sometimes in verse form, narrate events from the present and most recent past. This folklore genre is certainly old but only became known in the last few centuries. In the 19th Century it was used by peasants and workers to depict the hard life under conditions of serfdom or in the factories. It was given literary expression by N.A. Nekrasov, N.S. Leskov and G.I. Uspensky among others. Since the October Revolution oral narration has become especially popular. The narrators are for the most part ordinary people who tell of events which they have witnessed or of remarkable persons whom they have met. The narratives deal for example with wives' sufferings under their despotic and drunken husbands, with the events of the revolution and the civil war, with the restoration of the war-torn economy, with the collectivization of agriculture or with life in the Red Army. One of the most favoured themes is the contrast between the old and new modes of life. Some of these narratives are moving in their simplicity, and they often furnish documentary material on the present era. Even the stories about military and political leaders are sometimes touching in their naivete, such as the story told by a woman of how she sewed a button on Lenin's coat and how she proudly recognized her button in a photograph of Lenin afterwards. In the Kalinin area tales are still narrated about the childhood of M.I. Kalinin, about his family's need, his revolutionary activity in the Putilov Works and his Propaganda work in exile. The deeds of heroes of World War II are chronicled in similar manner.

(b) The lyrical song is the genre of folklore which has most changed in the recent era. In the old peasant Russia the majority of lyrical songs were ritually bound up with the different seasons and tasks of the year or with family events such as marriage or death. With but a few exceptions these songs have now died out. In contrast, many dancing and love songs and songs of the hard lot of the peasants, as well as soldiers' and workers' songs of more recent origin, still live on. During the civil war many songs with local colouring

sprang up which were later sung everywhere. During the years of the introduction of the five-year plans too and during World War II, the people created many songs in the traditional style which gained great popularity, such as, for example, "Katiusha". After the war the lyrical songs were chiefly devoted to the new life in Siberia. It is, however, often very difficult to differentiate between genuine folk songs and art songs. Even in the last Century it often happened that the people adopted songs written by poets, altered them and handed them on like the real Russian folk songs. On the other hand, many Soviet poets write in so genuine a popular vein that it is difficult to draw a clear line between the art song and the folk song.

One kind of lyrical song which has undergone particular development since the second half of the last Century is the *chastushka*. These very short songs — consisting for the most part of four lines, more rarely of six or of two — which spring up on the spur of the moment and are just as soon forgotten were improvised in dancing and had love as their most usual subject. This short form, however, proved suitable also for the expression of other themes; it was found to be an effective means of Propaganda for social and political purposes. During the civil war the *chastushka* was used by both Reds and Whites alike and it has remained the most prolific form of folklore to this day. Political Slogans, satire (both legal and illegal), scorn and praise all find a sparkling and often humorous and gay mode of expression in the *chastushka*. The collections of *chastushki* which have been published represent only a small selection of the available material.

(c) Drama. In Russia the folk drama has taken two principal forms — the puppet theatre and the play. The puppet drama, with Petrushka as its main figure, modelled on the Italian Pulcinella, was performed at fairs, but it was unable to survive the revolution in its original form. It either became a vehicle of the political and cultural education of the masses, especially of children, or it developed from folk drama into an independent art form. The folk theatre, which was a relatively late and far from widespread genre, had only a few themes. The bare bones of its content, simple in their essence, were clothed by improvisations in the form of dialogues, songs or Sketches. The most famous of these plays, *Tsar Maksimilian*, which is thought to go back to an early 18th-century school comedy, is well known from Dostoevsky's *The House of the Dead*. Another play, a comedy of robbers entitled *The Boat*, contains among other things songs about Stenka Razin. Some of these plays, which often take the form of dramatized fairy tales, were outright social satires (e.g. *The Naked Peasant*, in which the landowner is ridiculed for his stupidity and the peasant is presented as the clever one). This genre did not survive the October Revolution either. It is true that a few plays were performed in the Twenties in the Zavolzh'e area and in Northern Russia, but they are now remembered by older people only.

2. *The Folklore of the Non-Russian Peoples.* — Among

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the most europeanized peoples the position of folklore, determined by their traditions and general cultural development, is similar to that of Russian folklore; in the case of other nationalities, however, folklore has remained to this day the most important expression of the verbal art of the people. It is true of them all that their folklore — either surviving unchanged or officially nurtured and encouraged — plays a greater rôle than in the Russian areas, since it lends most eloquent expression to their national characteristics.

In the Ukraine and in White Russia the older genres, such as the *dvna* (an epic-lyrical song), are dying out, while narratives and songs — especially the *chastushka* — continue to flourish. In the Ukraine *kobzari* (minstrels) are still to be found who sing the old historical songs as well as those dealing with the October Revolution, the communist leaders and World War II. It is chiefly thanks to these singers that the songs, which would probably otherwise long since have passed into oblivion, still hold official interest.

The great epic poems of the Caucasian and Asian peoples, which often remained unpublished in full until after the revolution, are worthy of special mention. This is true of the Kalmyk epic *Dzhangar*, the Armenian epic poems of David of Sasun and the epic narratives of the Yuraks (Nenets). The most imposing is certainly the Kirghiz epic *Mauas*, which the folk singers Sagymbai Orazbakov and Saiakbai Karalaev wrote down in two versions, each consisting of over 300,000 lines. Many of these popular singers took as their themes not only historical but also current events and figures. The fame of some of them penetrated to the outermost corners of the USSR, as was the case with the Kazakh singer Dzhambul Dzhabaev (d. 1945), who was awarded a Stalin prize. In his poems he not only lauded Stalin and the party in the language of Oriental hyperbole but also exhorted his hearers to the defence of their fatherland during World War II. The Lezgin *ashug* (folk singer) Suleiman Stal'sky (d. 1935) celebrated G.K. Ordzhonikidze in a similar manner.

3. *The Relations between Folklore and Other Artistic Genres.* — Even the writers of classical Russian literature drew heavily on folklore for their style and themes: Pushkin wrote fairy tales; Lermontov's poem about the tsar and the merchant Kalashnikov is reminiscent of the *byliny*, Tolstoy produced narratives in the popular style; Leskov — and after him a whole school — were influenced by *skazy*. After the October Revolution authors continued to be inspired by folklore. The rhythm of the *chastushka* is clearly to be heard in Aleksandr Blok's poem *The Twelve* and the same rough metre was often imitated by Maiakovsky. The fables by Dem'ian Bednyi, which played an extremely large part in the agitation programme of the first years of Soviet power, are entirely couched in the popular style. S.A. Esenin and the peasant poets (S.A. Klychkov, N.A. Kliuev and others) were also deeply rooted in Russian folklore. There is hardly a Soviet writer who is not in some way indebted to folklore. Boris Pasternak himself used

images borrowed from folklore. Some Soviet works are in fact entirely written in the popular style — e.g. *Vasily Terkin* by A.T. Tvardovsky, the poems of M.V. Isakovsky and some of the tales by Isaak Babel'. There are works in which it is impossible to say where folklore ends and individual creation begins. This is the case with *Malakhitovaia shkatulka* (1936; "The Malachite Box") by P.P. Bazhov, in its time one of the most popular books on the folklore of the Soviet miners. The literatures of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union are even more heavily dependent on folklore for their themes.

In the fields of painting, the theatre and music folklore motifs were favoured even before the revolution. It may seem paradoxical, but even the modernist painters (e.g. M.F. Larionov, N.S. Goncharova and others) derived inspiration from folklore and this trend was continued in Soviet painting, especially when in the Stalin era the nationalist movement played an ever increasing rôle (see also ART, Part I). The heroes of the *byliny* were again portrayed in all their glory, as in the time of V.M. Vasnetsov; Stenka Razin and other figures from the historical songs received new life as illustrative material for Russian history.

In tsarist times the Novgorod *byliny* hero Sadko served as the model for an opera, just as the puppet hero Petrushka had done for a ballet. This tradition was continued in the Soviet period, social themes from folklore serving as the principal pattern.

In some instances the film too made use of folklores themes — e.g. "Sadko" and "The Stone Flower" (taken from Bazhov's tales).

4. *Folklore and Cultural Policy.* — Marx and Engels, the classic exponents of historical materialism, made several references to the problems of folklore, although they did not give it any detailed treatment. It was of importance for the official attitude to folklore in the Soviet Union that Marx and Engels, and subsequently Lafargue and Plekhanov, emphasized its collective nature and characterized it as a product of the popular imagination. But neither this view nor the comprehension of folklore as a historical manifestation were decisive in the years immediately following the revolution; certain ultra-radical groups, such as the *Proletkuft* (the oldest cultural Organization with a communist Programme of "proletarian culture") and the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP), adopted a highly critical attitude towards it. It was not until the end of the Twenties that the classical view — strongly defended by Gorky — gained acceptance, i.e. that folklore was not only a highly interesting but also a very valuable achievement of the creative fantasy of the working people. In connection with Borsov's publication of Northern Russian lamentations Lenin himself had pointed to the social significance of folklore. At the 1st Soviet Writers' Congress its importance as a national heritage was confirmed. Since then it has enjoyed the party's favour. Today it belongs to the school curriculum and is taught in all pedagogical col-

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leges and higher institutes of learning. Since 1934—35 local newspapers and periodicals have carried folklore material contributed *inter alia* by teachers, agronomists and kolkhoz farmers. Official quarters have often ascribed great value to this material. The popularity of folklore can be seen from the founding of folklore clubs in many kolkhozes, enterprises, military units, schools, higher institutes of learning and the so-called palaces of culture, as well as from the programmes of the numerous State puppet theatres. In many of these cases, however, the subject-matter is not longer folklore in its pure form but consists of works couched in folkloristic style.

C. Comparison

i. THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF FOLKLORE

The difference in the place and significance of folklore in the West and in the USSR is largely to be explained by the fact that in the Soviet Union it is at a genetically earlier stage and is therefore still in a more fully developed form. It remained practically the only means of aesthetic communication for the majority of the population until the not far distant past, and it still retains at least some influence. The Soviet science of folklore was thus able to come to grips with the living functions of forms and conceptions which in almost all West European countries already belonged to history and which could therefore as a rule be studied to an inadequate degree only.

The heroic song (*bylina*), which also played an important part in the West as a preliminary oral stage on the way to medieval poetry but which has long since practically ceased to exist in the folklore of the Western countries, is still manifest in the present Century as a dominant genre in the Soviet area. Much the same can be said of the ballads and lamentations. Certain motifs — such as traits of cruelty in folktales and fairy tales — which have sometimes been unheedingly and mistakenly ascribed to an endogenous national character prove, in fact, to be signs of an older genetic stage. In by far the greatest part of the Slavonic area death appears in a different form: it is conceived as a female figure. But it also plays a considerably more central rôle in customs, beliefs and legends. Thus until recently tales of revenants and ghouls were still widespread. The difference in development can be seen clearly from this example. In the age of the Enlightenment vampirism had to be fought against in the Western countries too. These ghosts who sucked human blood were thought to be the seemingly dead who had been buried during a stage of prolonged unconsciousness and whose warm blood had begun to ferment — and in this connection it was especially the Eastern nationalities who were accused of slipshod funeral practices (von Justi, J.H.G. *Neue Wahrheiten zum Vorteil der Naturkunde u. des gesellschaftlichen Lebens der Menschen*. Lpz., 1755, p. 231-38). In actual fact only the belief in ghouls remained

alive in those areas, while in the West vampirism soon came to belong only to the repertoire of the ghost story or the horror film.

There is a 19th-century Russian fairy tale in which a woman is made pregnant by a snowflake; the child must be closely guarded lest the sun melt it like the snow (Peuckert, W.-E. *Deutsches Volkstum in Märchen u. Sage, Schwank u. Rätsel*. Bin, 1938, p.158). The same theme appears in a medieval droll tale which had been handed down from the Latin, but here the snow child is used as an excuse by the unfaithful wife of a seafaring merchant, who later sells the child into slavery and teils his wife that it had been melted by the sun. It is true that droll and fairy-tale treatment of the same theme can exist side by side; and at the same time, as the clerical poets were amused by the story, the peasantry may well have given similar tales their full belief. Nevertheless, the comparison between Slavic and above all Western folklore shows that ideas which are still clearly widespread and contained in many tales in the East are only put to use as comic themes in the West. In the East in any case the decay of the fairy tale has by no means progressed so far; fairy tales are — or were until recently — stories for adults in which the realities of our time were mirrored and not "childish" forms which kept alive the scene of the rural world was otherwise diminishing in importance.

In this connection the multiplicity of nationalities at widely differing stages of development in the Soviet Union must be borne in mind. The importance for epic poetry of the Caucasian and Asian peoples has often been emphasized and expeditions to those regions bringing new discoveries to light can still be made. The listing of older folklore forms is by no means characteristic solely of the Situation before the October Revolution and the process of industrialization. Nor did these forms continue to exist merely as more or less numerous relics, but their vitality enabled them to act as the vehicle for fresh content; and even in those instances which are more a matter of revival the distance from the past is not so great, and the refurbished forms are thus more acceptable to the broad public than is in general the case in the Western countries. Here there is only isolated evidence for the clothing of current experience in old folklore forms; cases in which resettlers from the Balkans recount their experiences of war and flight in the form of ballads and songs belong to this category of exceptions.

It would also seem that the popularization of the older folklore and in connection therewith its literary exploitation have followed a more uninterrupted path in the USSR. Admittedly one must take into account the possibility that it is difficult for the outside observer to detect any such interruptions in this process and that perhaps an actually existing gap between folklore and art (or higher culture in general) would be papered over for reasons of agitation and Propaganda alone. Nevertheless, one may hazard the opinion that in the Soviet Union the distance between the older folklore

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and its more recent development is less and the affinity of the public with folklore which has been handed down or couched in new forms is greater than in Western Europe.

ii. VARYING EMPHASES IN THE SCIENCE OF FOLKLORE

The positively nationalist trend which has from time to time predominated in Soviet folklore studies is the reason for its remaining aloof from the international attempts in the direction of comparative research. It must nevertheless be noted that the science of folklore in the Western countries too has ever and again relapsed into narrow nationalist theories — a drastic example being the national-socialist racial theories, which left Soviet nationalism far behind — and that on the other hand such theories are by no means characteristic of Soviet research as a whole. But the Soviet science of folklore is unambiguously characterized by its emphasis on the social aspect and by its rejection of all aristocratic motifs, to which belongs furthermore the assumption of the decline of the cultural heritage. Actual cultural movements in this direction are sometimes interpreted by a widening of the concept of "the people" which then justifies the view that they have originated from the people. Again there are tendencies in this direction in Western folklore studies too, but they are far less strongly marked.

In the Soviet science of folklore both the national and the specifically social orientation contributed to its criticism of the anthropological theory and of the attempt to formulate a non-historical basis for folklore and its typology (see also ANTHROPOLOGY). The contradiction to certain elements of Western folklore study has recently been brought into the open in the work of Kurt Ranke (*Kategorienprobleme der Volksprosa,...*) and K.V. Chistov (*Das Problem der Kategorien mündlicher Volksprosa...*). The specifically historical conception has a reciprocal effect on folklore itself. Whereas in the Western countries, which still stand to a much greater extent under the influence of Romantic conceptions, folklore has in the course of its scientific compilation and redaction been largely pruned of historical and realistic interpolations and stylized to become an image of timeless nature, realistic elements play an important rôle in Soviet folklore. Soviet folklore research has correspondingly taken account of entirely new genres, such as the popular memoirs (*skazy*), which do not scorn everyday events. Furthermore, attention is directed much more than in the West to the folklore of the workers, to narratives and songs of a revolutionary character and to fairy tales, drolleries, songs and popular tales of socio-critical import.

iii. COMMON FEATURES AND CO-OPERATION

It must be emphasized that it is only in small measure a question of differences of principle. The co-operation

between East and West which has arisen through the work of various research committees in recent years must be seen against the background of an actual *rapprochement* in the field of folklore. In the USSR too folklore has entered into a new form of existence in spite of all its vitality; there are also signs of folklorism (e.g. in the form of a marked "minority folklorism" in the case of the smaller nationalities). The Soviet science of folklore at present still associates itself with this movement, but the new form of existence will probably require and entail that attitude of critical detachment which is necessary for a sober appraisal of the older folklore as well.

Moreover, it must be stressed that Western scholars are by no means necessarily ahead of their Soviet colleagues. The question of structure, which is now beginning to take precedence in folklore studies, was in essence conceived in the East and was always further developed there after successive stages of repression. The wide distribution of folklore in the USSR also permits the full analysis of its function. The study by P.G. Bogatyrev and Roman Jakobson on the essential nature of folklore is still of fundamental importance. Folklore can only find realization as a social act; as such it is subject to the "preventive censorship of the Community" (Bogatyrev, Jakobson. *Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens,...*, p.903) and to that extent bound to a traditional and impersonal System. It is only now that the West has begun to tackle this question.

Research into working-class folklore has also lagged behind in the West; it has often enough been loudly hailed, but apart from studies of the folklore of the miners and a few more allusive works it has scarcely been practised. Moreover, it appears that in recent times it has been played down in reaction to the one-sided emphasis laid on this subject in the Eastern countries. The case is similar with the social content of folklore; here again bias in Eastern publications, which for example seek to reduce the entire material of the historical sagas to the conflict between lord and menial, has in part succeeded in diminishing the interest of Western scholars. In actual fact there is still a great deal of work to be done in this field, because particularly in the 19th Century the material was not only interpreted one-sidedly but was even one-sidedly selected in conformity with a bourgeois spirit of wishing to shun what was uncomfortable or disturbing.

But, above all, folklorists in the West will have to free themselves from the influence of the traditional catalogue of folklore and will have to take into account more everyday forms, as the Soviet study of folklore has done. Admittedly the science of folklore must then inevitably touch on the areas of the empirical social sciences or the sociology of literature, since it will scarcely be able to adhere to the demand that only the oral tradition should be considered. Here too a comparison with the doubtless clearer process of folklore transmission in the East can lead to further advances. Both

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the richness of Soviet folklore and the importance of problems raised and solved in the East merit the respect of Western folklore scholars.

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