## RITUALISING THE NARRATIVE SONG: THE GODFATHER'S SONG

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Abstract: One of the most controversial areas of folkloristic studies are those concerning the theories on the genesis of genres, on the mobility and variability of the folkloric "text", on the process of its transition from one genre to another. There are still a lot of unanswered questions and unproved hypotheses concerning these intimate mechanisms of a mentality system of a certain social group, a mechanism that generates the re-functionaliztion of a folkloric "text" according to specific needs and specific contexts. For beyond the simultaneous presence of the same motifs and themes in genres with different functionality we have to take into consideration the case of those "texts" that due to the change of the register, in Hyme's sense, in which the transaction of meaning takes place, of their mode of performance and even of the arena of their performance, are being refunctionalised into another folkloric genre.

Starting from the special case of the Romanian narrative song Letin bogat (The Rich Latin) also known as Cântecul Nasului (The Godfather's Song) we shall try to analyse the ways a narrative song has been ritualised by means of its performance as a distinct sequence of the wedding ritual, developing in time into a sort of ritual song. More than that we shall also focus on the reverse process nowadays that of another semantic readaptation of the song due to the de-sacralisation of the wedding ritual and its transformation into a spectacular ceremony.

Keywords: wedding ritual, re-functionalisation of folklore text, Romanian rituals

One of the most controversial areas of folkloristic studies is that concerning the theories on the genesis of genres, on the mobility and variability of the folkloric "text", on the process of its transition from one genre to another. There are still a lot of unanswered questions and unproved hypotheses concerning these intimate mechanisms of a mentality system of a certain social group, mechanisms that generate the re-functionalisation of a folkloric "text" according to specific needs and specific contexts. For beyond the simultaneous presence of the same motifs and themes in genres with different functionality we have to take into consideration the case of those "texts" that due to the change of the register – in Hyme's sense – in which the transaction of meaning takes place, of their mode of performance and even of the arena of their performance, are being re-functionalised into another folkloric genre. What we refer to here is the "functional variation which takes place in performance and adapts the traditional element to its actual context and the processing of meaning" (HONKO 1998: 72).

Starting from the special case of the Romanian narrative song Letin bogat (The Wealthy Latin) also known as Cântecul Naşului (The Godfather's Song), we shall try to analyse the ways a narrative song has been ritualised by means of its performance as

a distinct, almost compulsory, sequence of the wedding ritual, developing in time into a sort of a ritual song.

First of all, let us try to underline a few things about this narrative. The song about the Rich Latin is performed almost compulsorily during the wedding party, the performer being the one to choose the appropriate moment for its performance. The plot is simple. King Iancu is going to marry the daughter of the wealthy Latin from the city of Raşova in the distant region of Dobrodgea. His godfather is King Mihnea. They will travel to the distant destination together with their retinue. Approaching the wealthy Latin's castle they are noticed by this one who orders that the gates should be locked. Once arrived in front of the locked gates the bridegroom is asked by his future father-in-law to jump with his horse over the gates in order to open them so that the others can enter the courtyard. The bridegroom panics and the one who solves the situation is the godfather. He jumps over the gates and unlocks them for his young godson. Yet the wealthy Latin is not satisfied and he asks the bridegroom to jump with his horse over some casks full of wine and open them so that the retinue should have something to drink. It is for the second time the bridegroom panics and the godfather has to intervene to solve the crisis situation for his godson. However, the wealthy Latin asks for more: in order to get his bride the bridegroom has to choose her from several other girls dressed just the same. The bridegroom panics for the third time and his godfather has to solve the problem again. He uses a tray on which he places two apples and taking his sword he enters the room where the girls are. He orders the bride to come and pick an apple otherwise he will cut her throat with his sword. The bride is frightened and picks an apple, the problem being solved for the third and last time. The rest is simple. They return to the bridegroom's house accompanied by some soldiers sent by the wealthy Latin and the wedding party begins. Eventually the godfather mutilates the horses and mocks at the Latin's soldiers sending them back to the wealthy Latin's court. The moral conclusion of the song is clear and Latin himself utters it: one should never mess with the godfather.

There are also variants that end less happily. The bridegroom is urged by his mother-in-law to perform an old ritual gesture, in fact just another initiation test, the one of tearing the buttonhole of her shirt. However, he fails in doing that, tearing the shirt to pieces instead. This causes the mother-in-law's cursing him to fall from the horse and break his neck. This actually happens and the bridegroom dies. Therefore, the godfather has nothing else to do but to marry the bride to the younger brother of the deceased bridegroom.

Well, this is the story. Nothing special at first sight. The theme of the song is definitely epic, the mythical transparency could be easily noticed in its structure, the narrative's meanings being clear enough. The plot of the song reveals a sequence from the larger rite of passages that is the wedding, namely the initiation of the future bridegroom by means of his passing through several tests. The one who initiates is the godfather who actually takes over the difficult task of defusing the virtual tensions arisen between the father-in-law, as the main representative of the girl's family in the ritual, and the bridegroom caused by an exogamic wedding.



Catalogued by Sabina Ispas in the "fantastic" narrative songs' series and considered as typical for the group of songs narrating the fight for obtaining the wife, songs that as a moment of apparition are chronologically placed in the heroic epic context, the folkloric text develops narrative nucleus, motifs, themes from a very old fund, which has large implications in the traditions, practices, beliefs and representations system. (ISPAS 1995: 137). More than that, in such a context as the wedding ceremony, the epic clearly functions as a myth, a charter for ritual behaviour concerned with the central human values and the sacred origins of institutions. (HONKO 1998: 12).

Considering all these as a hypothesis for our analysis we shall proceed in trying to find out why and how has this, otherwise common epic song, grown into a ritual song detaching itself from the rest of the customary repertoire performed during the wedding feast. For we have to mention that this repertoire is large enough the wedding being the main context for the Romanian singer's performance of narrative songs. They are, of course, performed on other occasions too, but none of them is a ritual one. So the context and the arena of performance are rather special and even more special is an epic song that tells about this context and places the stress on the ritual actor who definitely dominates the wedding ceremony: the godfather. All these are good reasons to individualise the song and to make the audience ask for it at any such occasion. They are also 'signals' for the singer who will design the performance strategy so that it fits the audience and the context requirements. As Lauri Honko said "He (the singer) must define the limitations and contextual requirements that the performance situation sets on his singing of the epic. [...] in other words, the singer's performance strategy must be open and flexible to accommodate real life, not a premeditated script. The most striking observation about epic plot in our fieldwork was the governance of ritual order over the narrative order" (HONKO 1998: 140). After all, and this should be kept in mind, the storyline is more than just a string of events: it is a way to construct the social reality, to provide the sociocultural information it has been designated to.

Of course, each and every epic song does that. However, this one, the wealthy Latin's song is the one that fits the context best. It tells about the godfather and his heroic behaviour and about the ritual initiation the bridegroom has to pass through. These are important information and therefore, the singer will choose the exact moment of the ceremony, the main part of the feast to praise the stateliness of the most important actor of the wedding ritual. For neither the wedded couple, nor the parents are so highly respected by the rest of the participants as the godfather is. He is the absolute authority at the wedding and nothing can be done without his permission. The performance of this song implies the change of the register and the opening of a special communication path in the communicative interchange. It also activates a special 'node' which "brings, as professor Foley argued, into play an enormous wellspring of meaning that can be tapped in no other way, no matter how talented or assiduous the performer may be; everything depends upon engaging the cognitive fields linked by institutionalised association to the phrase, scene, paralinguistic gesture, archaism, or whatever signal the performer deploys to the key audience reception." (FOLEY 1995: 54).

This position was achieved by a long process of evolution of a real institution – godfathering –, which in time grew into one of the most important in traditional society. In order to better understand why this song has turned from the wealthy Latin song into the Godfather's song, which was the pressure mentality element we have to consider the godfather and the godfathering roles in Romanian traditional society.

But before that we have to make just one more observation that might be helpful in our analysis. One might ask oneself: is this song specific only for the Romanian area? The answer is no. This motif is common for the entire Balkan region. We can find it among Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and also among the South Slavic Muslims from Bosnia. There have even been some attempts to find out which variant was the first one created and Petru Caraman, a Romanian scholar, came in his study to the conclusion that the Serbs were the ones who created this motif (CARAMAN 1998).

We could talk a lot on this but this is not our purpose. What we are interested in is to highlight the ways the Romanian variants differ from the rest in the Balkan area. And here are at least two major aspects: 1) the Romanian narrative song is sung almost only in a ritual context, the wedding ceremony and 2) the main character is the godfather and not a relative of the bridegroom as it is in the other variants. This is an important clue for our analysis as it clarifies some of the meanings of the narrative's refunctionalisation into a semi-ritual song. For as John Miles Foley argued "...the traditional phrase or scene or story-pattern has an indexical meaning vis-à-vis the immanent tradition; each integer reaches beyond the individual performance or oral-derived text to a set of traditional ideas much larger and richer than any single performance or text" (FOLEY 1995: 6).

Immanence may be defined as the set of metonymic, associative meanings institutionally delivered and received through a dedicated idiom or register during or on the authority of traditional oral performance.

Coming back to the godfathering institution we have to say that this institution can be considered as a real *pivot* institution of the community because of the special kind of relationship it induces among social groups, generating a series of particular laws and manifestations of the community.

As far as concerns the wedding ceremony and the godfathering role, we may say that this is the frame within which basically two distinct social groups interact a whole process of exchanges taking place. Even if another group assimilates one of the members of the other social group, an alliance being thus established, the descent remains a distinct social unit that gets and offers relationship elements. Whence the appearance of a strategy for exchanges. Exchanges imply mutations and generate a breaking of the state of equilibrium within the community. And when a lack of equilibrium is produced, a social disturbance appears among social groups and it is completely understandable that a mediation unit should appear, a unit that has gradually become institutionalised by rough and standardised scenarios built up according to certain laws of tradition. This institutionalised / mediating factor is, in the traditional Romanian society, the institution of godfathering.

Godfathering mediates between two types of terms inside the community: on a vertical axis, between the newly born child and the community, through baptism and on a horizontal axis, between two social groups when an alliance is established by marriage.

Primarily a Christian institution, godfathering seems to have had a strictly initiation character which superposed itself on ritual elements of pagan origin – the so-called "christening prehistory".

In the traditional Romanian community, the institution of godfathering has to be understood in terms of "contract". Unquestionably contracted at the beginning of the christening ritual, the institution of godfathering begins to functionally unfurl its attributions. Godmother's taking over the baby from the descent's midwife by saying: "I take over a pagan in order to christianise him..." is the bridgehead of the relation that is to be established between the godfather and the godson. This contradiction must be seen in institutionalising terms for we are dealing with an institution that functions according to extremely powerful traditional strategies, such as: the qualified initiation, the hereditary character, the highly socialising character and a set of interdictions used as access codes.

In the christening ritual, at least initially, the initiation character had the precedence, being generated by the rite of passage which was itself structured on two levels: the christianising and the naming of the newborn child that was an equivalent to his *lumirea* (social initiation) in terms of the newly born child's integration into the new condition, that of full member of the social group and, of course, of the community. The spiritual initiation meant to assume and to guarantee the Christian condition before the church by saying the promise to Christ in the name of the infant.

The godfather pledged himself to guide the Christian spiritual existence of the godson and to offer him a proper integration in the spiritual community. The passage to the secular dimension is made through the denomination ritual also unfolded in the church. These kind of rituals have a double purpose, that of individualising the infant and by that of assuring the fulfilment of his integration in the society. "If at the beginning to name the child was the parents task, the father's or grandfather's name being given for a long time according to the common patrilinear descent" (CONSTANTINESCU 1987: 90) in time, the godfather has taken over the right and the obligation of naming the child with his name, the godson having the obligation to hear it

At this last level it is obvious that the ritual establishes a series of new relations which grows more and more into a social and economic type, the godfather being the economic stabiliser who is supposed to regulate virtual tensions arisen because of the appearance of a new consuming entity in the community. Godfathering must be considered mainly as an institution for backing up, the godfather being chosen from the rich, influential persons able to support materially and morally the contracted provisions. That seemed to have been the fundamental criterion according to which the institution of godfathering functioned during the whole Middle Ages. In addition, let us mention as an example the custom that a child should have had more

than only one godfather they having been understood as social protectors rather than initiators into a religious conduct. This is another step of evolution of the godfathering institution towards a *clientae* relationship based on exchanges, an approximate relation of a vassalage kind between the godfather and the godson. The relation was also based on reciprocal obligations because the interest was reciprocal too.

Moreover, in order to demonstrate how strong that mentality could have been I shall quote from another narrative song, *Peter the outlaw*. This is what Peter, the godfather, tells to his pregnant goddaughter: "If it is going to be a baby goddaughter / May God let her die / But if it is a baby godson / He will become my helper in the forest".

As the wedding "was simply an association of interests of a very natural kind and for women an institution of protection" (BLOCH 1996: 153) we should understand how strong the authority of a godfather implied in such an enterprise must have been. The godfather's role was rather a political one if we are to consider only the characters depicted in the narrative songs who were "either great feudal lords, owners of large territories, usually doubled by the quality of being warriors, military or leaders of the community." (ISPAS 1995: 140).

It was then the godfather's task to regulate the tensions of an exogamic wedding, which were usually very strong, often with the possibility of the outburst of real fights between the bridegroom's procession and the people from the village the bride was taken from. Conflicts of that kind are still to be found during the field investigations in the so-called *The Fox* custom. The godfather is to transport the bride and her goods to another village, but not before redeeming her from the society to which the girl had belonged. This ritual sequence is well depicted in another ritual wedding song "Come, come godmother / Beat your purse in order to gather money / To get your goddaughter out / If you want to get her / ... / For she's taking you over the mountains / To unknown parents..." (MARIAN 1995: 420). And we also have to recall here the narrative plot of our song. We shall mention the old Romanian custom of the godfather's taking over some tasks usually accomplished by the bridegroom's father. For example in the region of Soveja, the godfather is the one who takes care of the wooing of the future goddaughter, his function of a guarantor and mediator being solidly sustained by his unquestionable social position.

Although across the centuries deep social mutations and transformations took place, the institution of godfathering proved to be extremely flexible and resistant. We must not forget that we are dealing with an institution based on a hereditary character maintained right up to the present. A certain taboo character of the godfathering offers this solidity sustained by precise rules and a set of interdictions that standardise the institution's relationship with the social group. Moreover, beginning with the 17th century we can find these interdictions incorporated in laws promulgated in Wallachia and Moldavia. This kind of regulation of the relationship between the godfather and the godson shows the extraordinary religious, social and political authority of this institution. And we must mention the strong interdiction of incestuous relations between godparents and godchildren, of hitting the godfather and especially of the non-observance of the institution's hereditary handing down.

Let us not forget that one of the most terrible curses in the Romanian tradition is the godparent's curse which is even worse than the parent's one, a curse that is still extremely powerful. "Since the godfather's curse / Is worse than anything else in the world". Godfathers are inherited by father's descent, to change them being theoretically impossible. Not even the godfather's death could lead to the cancelling of this relationship. "You are not allowed to abjure your godfathers for then a terrible trouble comes. Only if the godfather wishes to drop you and be your godfather no more. Then you can choose somebody else.", confessed one of our informants, Maria Pacurariu from the village of Ieşelniţa, in 1995. Whether the godfather has two or more children the man has to stand godfather and only if he wishes to pass it to his sister he will. But he does not have to. Godfathers who stood godfather for the christening must stand godfather for the wedding too. Anyway, we have found out during our investigations that the appelative syntagm the young godfather is very well underlined in order to distinguish between the godfather in charge and his son.

On the other hand, the godfather mediates the relationship with the local authorities. He is the one to set connections between the new incoming social group and the landowners, with the seigniorial authority, guaranteeing for the relationship's steadiness and for his godsons in a time when the feudal relationships were still functioning. And if we take into consideration the fact that in the Romanian regions we can speak about such a relationship till the beginning of the 19th century, we shall be able to limit nearly precisely the active area of the institution.

We have tried to outline the extraordinary force and authority the godfathering has had in the traditional Romanian society as a solid argument for the apparition of a godfather's ritual song within the wedding ceremony.

However, in order to understand what makes this narrative song so special, we have to say a few words about the context of its performance. As we have already mentioned, the wedding party was the main opportunity for a singer to perform his repertoire of epic songs. The other occasions during the year were extremely limited thus this special ceremony became the traditional performance arena of the epic songs. Each singer's repertoire was very rich and he used to choose the songs which were the most appropriate for the event, the selection being determined only by the auditor's good will and, of course, by the singer's also.

It is in this respect that the originality of the song about the Wealthy Latin is derived. While the performance of any other narrative song was a question of a more or less arbitrary process of selection, the performance of the godfather's song was absolutely compulsory. This fact came from the song's mythical and ritual connota-

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;In Oltenia region the wedding procession went from the church straight to the landowners house in the village. The wedding guests sat down in the courtyard and the godfather together with the best man ask for the landowner's permission to enter the house. When entering the house, after wishing 'Good luck!' and kissing the boyar's hand and his palm too and taking it to his forehead according to the peasants custom and after begging not to be suspected for too much daring they ask if the boyar allows the newly weds to come in. The master usually answers 'Gladly...'. (...) Only then the godfather comes out and shouts: 'Come on, my godson and my goddaughter, the master wants to see whether you are good at hoeing and cutting..." (SEVASTOS 1990: 300).

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tions that led to its being considered as a specialised, almost ritual focal event among the other sequences of the ceremonial. This also came from the canonical, normative message contained in the subtext of the narrative song. Its message forteaza performance register's change, the auditors, already familiar with this code of communication, reading the text as such. And this is due to the fact that beyond the simple story narrating happenings that took place a long time ago, facts which build up a character having all the features of a hero, the text contains information on an extremely powerful initiatory institution whose authority must under no circumstances be questioned or disobeyed. After all such texts "relate an ontology and a cosmos to an aesthetics and a morality: their peculiar power comes from their presumed abilities to identify fact with value at the most fundamental level, to give to what is otherwise merely actual, a comprehensive normative import" (GEERTZ 1973: 127).

The song contains a behavioural code in reference to an institution, by this means it regulates and reinforces the relationship the newly created social entity should have with the extraordinary authority of the godfathering institution. It is from this point of view that the song can be read as a ritual text having a legitimisation and reinforcing character of the godfathering institution. "Although the common use of the term "legitimation" implies a simple opposition of force to artifice or the real to the symbolic, it is generally well understood that legitimation is one of the powerful things that ritual does" (BELL 1992: 194). That is the reason why we consider the epic song about the Rich Latin not just as a narrative ritualised by means of repetitive performance within a ritual context but mainly as a ritual instrument per se used in the process of producing and negotiating of the relations of power inside the traditional community. We can talk here about ritualisation, not of the text but through the text, a process in whose economy the epic song has a special role because of its message in the subtext. However in order to make things clearer let us bring to the spot the fact that, as Catherine Bell argued, "as a strategy for the constitution of power relation that appears to be instinctive to the socialised agent, ritualization involves two basic dimensions. The first dimension is that of the dynamics of the social body, its projection and embodiment of a structured environment. Ritualization in this dimension, as we have seen, is a process that works below the level of discourse. It produces and objectifies constructions of power (...) which the social agent the reembodies. Ritualised agents do not see themselves as projecting schemes; they see themselves only acting in a socially instinctive response to how things are" (BELL 1992: 106).

Just like any other normative-regulating institution, godfathering has in stock such ritual instruments as the narrative songs might be considered. We shall mention only several such narratives: Aga Balaceanu, Vartici and Peter, the outlaw (Patru Haiducul). Each of these texts contains canonical elements belonging to a behavioural code one should consider while dealing with the godfathering institution also clearly delimiting the bad consequences the breaking of such a code might have. For example, in Aga Balaceanu, the godson who betrays and kills his godfather is cursed by his godmother that once dead he should not rot for nine years, which is a terrifying curse in the Romanian tradition; in Vartici, the incestuous relation between god-

mother and her godson, started by the godmother, leads to the terrible death of the woman who broke the law. Even the idea contained in the text of the End of the century's Christmas Carol ("When it is going to be the end of the century, / The end of the Earth? / [...] When the son beats his father, / The daughter/ Her mother, / The godson / His godfather") seems relevant enough for what was the position of this institution within the community.

Hence the nearly ritual, specialised character of the epic song. The godfather's song has enough elements that can lead to its definition as a semi-ritual song. Yet, we shall avoid classification such as ritualised narrative song because we do not totally agree to use here the term ritualisation in its procesual, durative sense. On the contrary when referring to this particular epic we would rather use this term in Bell's sense we quoted before. It is only in this way that we can talk about ritualisation in the case of the godfather's song.

In the same time we want to avoid the transante limitation concerning the genesis and the initial functionality of this text, being perfectly aware of the risks such an enterprise might imply.

What we really wanted to underline in our paper was the fact that performing a folkloric text within a ritual context does not mean its automatical ritualisation. On the other hand, the links with such a powerful normative institution as godfathering may lead to the specialisation of the text and its transformation into a ritual instrument used to reinforce this institution's authority within the social group.

This is the reason why, despite the obvious desacralisation of the wedding ceremony and its shift towards a more spectacular area, the godfather's song is still performed as a compulsory element by the only few old singers in the southern part of Romania.

## THE WEALTHY LATIN MAN2

Flowers green, kingly flowers,
At the rich kingly houses
That are seen from Stoienesti,
Flames throw it to Bucharest,
Sparkles down to Letesti,...
A large table 's been laid,
Full of boyards sitting close
And what do they talk about?
About Iancu's being betrothed,
Iancu Prince is getting married
And Mignea Prince is his god-father.
But where does he take his bride from?

From the town, in Dobrodgea
From the wealthy Latin man,
Cursed, mean dog
Not yet Christened!
What does the Latin do, my Lord?
He gets on his carriage
A spy glass under his arm
Looking out across the field
Seeing clouds of dust rise high.
He stands and muses calmly:
'Were it wind dust,
It would spread across the field;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This text is our translation of the "Letin bogat" in AMZULESCU, Al. I. 1981. Cântecul epic-eroic. București: Editura Academiei.

This is not some simple dust It is mixed with marriage vapour!' He then orders plumbers To lock all his gates Latches them heavily With plough iron bars Sweating all field labour... When the carriages arrive Stop right outside the Latin's gates And remain in stock out there All upholstered in green cloth And prepared for high ceremony... What does the Latin then do? He shouts loud once In his mother tongue, He shouts thrice in Dobrodgean And responds in Romanian, Nobody yet understands him: 'Who is the bridegroom, The bridegroom to be married, Let him shrug his shoulders Just like falcons' heavy wings, Let him stand from all his mates, Mates and riders From all his friends. And let him jump over my walls Unlatch all the gates And let the carriages come in.' When the bridegroom hears this Starts crying like a woman, But his god-father seeing him Soothes him with sweet words: 'Don't lose heart my god-son, Mine and God's Himself, Pray to Him That I am healthy And to Virgin Mary That your godmother be well And I'll help you out of this.' He then climbs on Libru's back, Spurs, enflames it, That the horse foams heavily He takes foam in his hand And throws it to the ground

Where it turns into thick ice... He once spurs the horse That jumps over the high fence He then unlatches the gates And all carriages come in: And remain in stock out there All upholstered in green cloth And prepared for high ceremony... When the Latin sees it Does not give up And shouts out loud once more: 'Who is the bridegroom, The bridegroom to be married, Let him jump on my wine barrels And spigot them out Let the wines spill over'. When the bridegroom hears this Starts crying like a woman, But his god-father seeing him Soothes him with sweet words: 'Don't lose heart my god-son, God forgive me I'll help you out of this If I am to die for it.' He climbs on horseback Spurs it three times Barrels break into pieces Wines are spilled over the ground The guests' horses drink it all. Flowers green, gillyflowers, What does the Latin do? He runs to town quickly And chooses two girls Like two twins to his daughter, Same face, same figure And he locks them in a room. He shouts loud once In his mother tongue, He shouts thrice in Dobrodgean And responds in Romanian, Nobody yet understands him: 'Who is the bridegroom, The bridegroom to be married, Let him come and choose his bride Damn him and his eyes!' When the bridegroom hears this Starts crying like a woman, But his god-father seeing him: 'Don't lose heart my god-son, Pray to Him That I am healthy And to Virgin Mary And I'll help you out of this. God forgive, my son, I'll play the bridegroom in your stead.' Flowers green, gillyflower, He takes two round apples Fastens his sword at his belt, Climbs the carriage. Enters the locked room Puts the apples on the table, And speaks his mind so: 'Which of you is the bride Take an apple in her hand For my cursed sword is used To cutting off heads of lying girls'. When the bride hears this Discloses the secret herself. Takes an apple in her hand What does her godfather do? He gently takes her by the hand And has her get off the carriage To give her to her husband; His god-son takes her Has her get on his own carriage, Carriages start rolling home But the bridegroom still stands there 'Cause his mother-in-law stops him To tear her buttonhole into pieces... But he doesn't tear it proper She takes him by his throat And tears his shirt Cursing him awfully: 'If God had mercy You reach your god-father And start racing him Libru stumble on his feet

Throw you down on your neck
Cripple you on life
Break your right hand
Save your left,
So that you keep the bridle in your
teeth

And ride like mute people.' He doesn't pay attention to her words And reaches his god-father Telling him this: 'Dear god-father, sir, When I took this horse I praised him a lot' They start racing Libru stumbles on his feet Throws him down on his neck, Breaks his right hand As the woman's curse foretold. His god-father takes him And raises him into his arms Puts him next to his bride And the bridegroom tells him this: 'God-father, it's such a pity! We once kissed each other Once, on our naked chest, Now I feel I'm dying slowly; Once, on our naked chest Three times under the ... Now I feel I'm dying slowly.' When he says this He passes out What does his god-father do? When reaching home, He takes the young bride And gives her to his youngest son. He both weds And mourns the same day Burying him at the kingly church Lord, to ever be remembered And so he will. As long as the sun is in the sky, The sun will go up and down The words will tell the story...

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