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SYNCRETISM OF LITHUANIAN POLYPHONIC SUTARTINĖS SONGS: THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN SINGING AND CHOREOGRAPHY IN THE PERFORMANCE PROCESS

Lithuanian polyphonic song *sutartinės* is a syncretic genre that combines not only music, poetry, playing musical instruments, but also a distinctive choreography. The archaic nature of *sutartinės*, most of which are associated with sacred rites, requires a broader conception of choreography. Ethnochoreography can be not only a part of a ceremony, but also the equivalent of a rite – dancing or performing a ritual act is a part of a ceremony, it is aimed at magical purposes (Urbanavičienė, 2000). Thus, in the case of *sutartinės*, it is necessary to talk not only about characteristic dance figures, but also about other movements (ritual walking, imitation of the work process, periodic bowing to the sun during singing¹, (video ex. 1) etc.). When discussing the various movements or dance figures, the ritual context and the cosmological concept of these songs must not be forgotten.

The verb *tūtavimas* 'tooting' (from the verb *tūtuoti* 'to toot'), which is used in the folk, can be seen as a testimony to the **syncretic nature** of *sutartinės*, expressing the full variety of *sutartinės* performances: singing, dancing and playing (blowing) *skudučiai* 'pan– pipes', as well as *ragai* 'horns' – wooden trumpets and *daudytės* – long cylindrical wooden trumpets. The expression for the noted syncretism using the same word is a phenomenon with deep roots. (Račiūnaitė– Vyčinienė, 2024:292). Recall, the Sanskrit expression *taurya* – *traya* means 'music, song and dance' (Macdonell, 2004:112), i.e., the magical triad of music.

However, not all examples show the syncretism of *sutartinės* – many of them lack either a melody or a choreographic description. A large number of *sutartinės* are recorded without any descriptions of work, ceremonial or dance movements, although their past existence can be inferred from close variations of *sutartinės*. Although there are no detailed descriptions of the dance, it is common to find very brief notes with *sutartinės*: "dancing", "walking", etc.

Sutartinės is a part of the rites, and their equivalent. Some dance sutartinės are

¹ One of the rye harvesting *sutartinė* provides a valuable explanation of the distinctive ritual movements performed after work: "Seeing the sun setting, the women folk place their armfuls of rye stalks into stacks in front of them and stick their scythes into the sides of these stacks. Then they'd look back upon the sun and sing this here *sutartinė*, thanking the sun for the day. They'd sit with their hands folded and look upon the sun, rock back and forth, bow their heads before the sun and sing." (SIS 92b).

linked to a specific rite. A few of them are found among the **wedding** *sutartinės*, such as: "*Sutartinė* was sung to wake the newlyweds in the morning. Four women would lock arms and sing while dancing <...> Then, the bride would come out of the granary, and the singers would offer her *karvolius* – some wedding cake" (SIS II:705). There are also several *kupolinės*² *sutartinės* written down, which were danced (SIS 541; 547). However, dance is only mentioned here, without specifying any movements. Only one *kupolinė sutartinė* is accompanied by a description of the dance itself: "The dance of John's night. Two girls dance linked together: the first pair sings Part I, and the second pair, Part II. The first part of this song was sung while walking in steps, and the second part, while twirling." (SIS 555).

When visiting the rye in spring, i.e. walking around the rye field, special songs called *paruginės* were sung with a special syncretic character.³ It is a ritual getting around the fields and singing to ensure a good harvest and to protect the rye from various calamities.⁴ According to the singers' stories, they usually went in two groups. This may be the reason why the specific chanting methods related to the rye field ritual have become widespread in eastern Lithuania: antiphonal singing, archaic amoebaean chanting⁵ (audio ex. 1), the canon "dviejõs 'by duos" (singing by two singers, not three singers (or groups of three singers), as is customary, but two), (audio ex. 2) etc.

Linen work *sutartinės* occupied a special place in traditional rural culture. Some of them simulate the whole working process by means of movements. By performing certain actions and chanting certain words (using imitative and verbal magic), the aim is to ensure a good harvest and the final product of the work – the cloth. The singing and actions of the whole "*flax suffering*" reflect main life processes of the flax: sowing, germination, growth, etc., with the aim of ensuring the quality of each of them in advance. One of these *sutartinės* – Šiaip sėjau linelius 'How I seeded flax' (SIS 1309b) (video ex. 2).

² Kupolinės sutartinės are the hymns sung during St. John's Day aka the summer solstice - gathering medical herbs and flowers.

³ This custom existed in eastern Lithuania until World War II.

⁴ According to the ethnologist Dovilè Kulakauskienė, the circle had a protective function, while watching, talking and singing had a magical power that ensured success (Kulakauskienė, 1999:106).

⁵ This is a variant of alternate singing - two groups singing parts of a verse alternately. One group of performers "selects" (creates) the text, the other group responds with unchanging refrain, for example: "Oh, where the woodpecker perched" (Gr. I) / Siūravo rasa in baro "Dew swayed in the field" (Gr. II). / "Perched in a bush in the forest" (Gr. I). / Siūravo rasa in baro (Gr. II).

⁶ The motif of "plant life", reflecting the life and suffering of cultivated plants, is common to many nations. In Lithuanian folklore, it is associated with rye, poppy, hops, cannabis, and other plants. Most popular is the "plot" of a flax life, the so-called *lino muka* ("flax suffering") (Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė, 1999; 2024:261-267; Toporov, 2008:235-251; Kensminienė, 2006, etc.).

⁷ The note: "It's walkable. One stands in front of another and 'this is how I seeded, how I harrowed', while imitating the named job. Four game-players - two stand, two dance. As they sing Part I, they walk from one end to the other. As they sing "I seeded", they use their hands to show how they seeded; when it's "how I pulled" - they pull, when "I tied" - they twist their hands, when "I laid" - they lay rhythmically and when "I swingle" - they use their sleeves to

Of particular note is the group of danceable flax arrangements united by the refrains trep trepo; trepu treputėla, etc. Whether these refrains describe a particular way of dancing (trampling - from trepsėti 'to trample') (audio ex. 3) or hide a deeper meaning is difficult to say today. It is possible that these *sutartinės* could relate to old customs or beliefs, remnants of which still exist. For example, in the spring in the Seinai and Punsk regions⁸, girls and women were still in the early 20th century walking and trampling on the sprouting flax. Women were believed to improve their future work by trampling the flax. (PSK:124) This custom would suggest a possible primary function of some of the dance sutartinės - "Trepute Martela" (SIS 1300; 1305) and "Trep Trepo, Lelijo" (SIS 1314; 1316). The repeated refrains trepu treputėla and trep trepo (as well as the treading steps themselves) probably indicate their former connection with the ritual trampling of flax crops.9

So far, I have talked about the ritual context without elaborating on the relationship of chanting to certain dance patterns. As I mentioned, there are very few specific descriptions of the ritual dance. By the way, of the almost two thousand sutartinės published in "Sutartinės" three-volume (SISI- III), many of them have no comments at all. However, their initial connection with dance is revealed by the accentuated rhythm, the frequent syncopated figures, the "intermingling" of the different voice parts during the singing, etc. It has been observed that certain ways of singing lead to certain dance figures, and vice versa – sometimes a certain dance figure "adjusts" the usual way of singing.

The relationship of dance with singing methods. Sutartinės were generally sung by two, three or four women. The number of singers determines the basic categorization of types of this music – *dvejinės* 'twosomes', *trejinės* 'threesomes' and *keturinės* 'foursomes'. Trejinės are sung in canon, while the dvejinės and keturinės are sung contrapuntally.

Danceable trejinės are distinguishable by their especially flexible relationship between music, text and movement. A choreographic performance also manifests the canon principle – one performer after another, repeats some certain part of the melody along with a sliding step, foot stomping, turns or such. Two different rhythms are stamped out in parallel.

Trejinės were generally danced in a circle (twirling with arms interlocked at the elbows, "braiding", unconnected to each other and similarly). The number of participants in these cases was, in a sense, not strictly limited e.g., singing by three groups. The compositions for dancing were various: 1) a hollow circle that could entail (a) dancing

indicate beating with a swingle or swingling."

⁸ Lithuanian ethnic lands in the territory of present-day Poland, Podlasie Province.

⁹ Of course, in the absence of specific testimonies from the presenters about the meaning of the dance of the *Trepute* martela, other interpretations are possible. In any case, it can be argued that the syncretism in the performance of the sutartines of working at flax, as discussed above, alludes to the elements of producing agrarian, apotropaic and sympathetic (similarity) magic.

in a circle by interlocking arms or by not touching at all (video ex. 3, 4) or (b) figurative movements in a circle¹⁰ (video ex. 5); 2) a circle with a middle and 3) moving forwards towards the centre and back as well, along with some other version (Urbanavičienė, 2009:113).

Danceable 'threesomes by four' is a style that differs from common trejinės, by the inclusion of a fourth performer who enters after the third one. This singing style has a syncretic link with a dance that absolutely requires four performers, for example, Užumine Jurgelis martelai mįslį 'Jurgelis reminds a riddle to his son's bride' (SIS 1358), the "star" formation dance (video ex. 6). One dancer stands in front of another in a "starlet" ("žvaigždutė") formation. All the dancers hold hands, intertwining their fingers and raising their hands to shoulder height. The "starlet" turns all the time, changing the direction of rotation every stanza. As the dancers sing the refrain of interjections, "Čiutela, čiutūte", they walk, stomping their feet and sliding their left legs, limping in a certain way. Thereby, due to the dance, this trejinė becomes a trejinė keturiose 'threesome by four' (For the symbolism of the sutartinės dance, see below).

What characterizes some counterpoint polyphonic *sutartinės* (*dvejinės keturiose* 'twosomes by four' and *keturinės* 'foursomes') are backwards movements, when two pairs interchangeably (antiphonally) perform the musical and choreographic parts.¹¹ (video ex. 7, 8) Still, the choreography for certain *dvejinės keturiose* and *keturinės* is notable for their features in common with *trejinės*, e.g., the circle, a "starlet" or circling by pairs for a choreographic sketch (video ex. 9, 10). Only now, movements are not canonically transmitted.

The relationship between *sutartinės* and cosmology. In this article, it is not my intention to discuss all the possible variations of the dance, so I have focused on just a few of the typical dance figures. I'm more interested in the symbolism of the main dance drawings. Conditionally, they can be defined as a **circle** and a **square**.

In fact, the image of a **circle** is appropriate to describe the music of almost all *sutartinės*. Seems that *sutartinės* have no end (they have no final cadences). It is no coincidence that they are sometimes called *apskritos* "round" (Žebrytė, 1988:84). This is also related to the positioning of the singers in a circle (LLIM 291). Many of *sutartinės* are not only sung but also danced in a circle. *Sutartinės* danced in a circle are comparable to the **circle dances** (or *circles*, Russian *khorovody*) known in many Eurasian nations. One of their common features is the continuous circle. (Николаева, 2007:52–53).

¹⁰ Danceable trejinés with figurative movements include e.g., the piece, Išmivedi vedi 'Take out to lead' (SIS 1377) - here "dancers go in a circle, one after another, leaping to show how a goat dances" ("a goat" shows how mommy, daddy dances).

¹¹ A very old element of the choreography of the contra dances is the walking of one couple in front of the other. Dance researchers consider this choreography to be one of the oldest (as symbols of a dualistic worldview) and attribute it to the Neolithic period (Sachs, 1938:107).

Unlike the cyclical nature of *trejinės*, which evoke associations with the circle, the keturinės resemble a square. Similarly, in the archaic concept of the number system: in contrast to the dynamic unity represented by the triad, the number four represents a static unity, an ideally stable structure (the strongest expression of the idea of four being the square). However, despite the "external" factors – the antiphonal singing principle (2+2) and the square arrangement of the singers – the music of keturinės gives the impression of a continuous circularity, which is characteristic of trejinės. The cosmological relationships between keturinės, trejinės and the circle are therefore worth discussing in more detail.

Ideal completeness is usually expressed as a circle, a circle (cf. the mandala), and its minimum possible division is four (Figure 1). (Юнг, 1995) It is clear that the relationship between the seemingly different symbolic geometric figures – the angular square and the round circle - is a very old one, which has already been discussed by more than one researcher. The circle is the symbol of God, and the square is the symbol of the Goddess, though instead of "Goddess" we could say "earth" or "soul". It is the mandala, according to the psychoanalyst, which has the advantage of a "reconciling, harmonizing symbol" (Юнг, 1991:126). In various archaic traditions, the three/four opposition is interpreted not only as a reference to the relationship between the basic structures defining the cosmological pattern, but also as a reference to the masculine (dynamic, active) and feminine (steady, passive) origin. (Топоров, 2004:236)

Let's return to the above—mentioned ways of singing *sutartinės* while dancing, which are related to the combination of the numbers three and four (danceable 'threesomes by four'). Most of them are in *trejinės* group, but the canonical way of singing is here syncretically linked to the dance, which necessarily requires four singers. This addition of one extra singer- dancer to the usual three could be interpreted cosmologically as a striving for an ideal constancy and completeness. After all, it is only thanks to the fourth singer that the sacred geometric figures – the swastika and the segmented star – are created during the dance, i.e. certain ideal structures. The meaning and aspiration of the number four, I think, would be confirmed by the enigmatic refrain trys keturiose 'three in four', which is typical of the sutartinės about flax. Each line of the text, which begins with the words "Three in four' flax (sowed, weeded...)" and seems to make us feel insecure, is concluded by the "confirmation" of keturios 'four', as if guaranteeing order and completeness (SIS 228–230) (video ex. 11).

According to Jung's interpretations of archetypal numbers when the fourth size joins the three others, a "unified", symbolic whole is created (Юнг, 1995). The Three Gods and the Goddess, according to mythologist Gintaras Beresnevičius, is the classical model, "the system that works best" (Beresnevičius, 2004:161–162). It is likely that this 3+1 structure was not only suitable for structuring the pantheons of the gods of different religions, but also for expressing other special things that signify a kind of complete unity. (Figure 2) Of course, the attempt to apply this structure to the cosmological concept of *sutartinės* is only an assumption.12

The mysterious symbolism of the *sutartinės* dance. Dating back to the Stone Age, *sutartinės* have preserved many mysteries that remain mysterious to today's researchers. It is likely that there was a secret side to the sacredness of *sutartinės*, which is also connected to their choreography.

The symbol of **the cross** is particularly prominent in *sutartinės*, which are danced by forming a "star", i.e. the four dancers stretch out one arm inside the circle and put them together at one point. ¹³ (Figure 3) Dancers twirling from one side to the other, with their arms crossed, form what is reminiscent of **a swastika**, i.e., a cross with its ends bent. ¹⁴ (Figure 4) The swastika has a picturesque folk name, *sūkurėlis* 'little vortex', which best describes its dynamic nature. (Figure 5) This choreography, as observed during the dancing, brings all the dancers together very strongly for one common goal. The spiritual energy of all of them is concentrated in the centre of the swastika (where the hands are clasped together) – a kind of axis that "swirls" the entire surrounding space into a single vortex, giving it life.

It is likely that the **segmented star** symbol, formed by dancing some of the *threesomes* in four, also had a symbolic meaning, e.g. Treputė martela linelius sėjo 'Step the lil daughter— in— law was planting flax' (SIS 1301a). At first glance, it may appear that this is danced in a single "straight line", i.e. as the dancers were originally arranged according to Slaviunas' description¹⁵ (video ex. 12). A different choreographic pattern was noticed quite by chance, once dancing with the singers of "Trys keturiose", not on stage (which requires "orientation" towards the audience, a "neat" line on the edge of the stage), but in a large room with no audience. It turned out that during the dance, while singing a long text (about flax work), all the dancers slowly move away from where they were standing and slowly turn in a circle in line with the sun, as if they were "drawing" the "rays" of the star with the curves of their movement. Each singer returns to her original place after singing the text of sutartinė to the end and going around the "circle". This creates a "virtual" segmented star (Figure 6) (video ex. 13). It is noteworthy that this symbol, previously

¹² The numbers **three** and **four** in the cosmological concept of *sutartinės*, as well as in the mythopoetic concept of other archaic cultures, are close and possibly conceal some encoded meaning. Apparently, one could speak not only of the numerical expression 3 + 4, which constitutes the so-called "sum of the world" (7), but also of the product of these numbers, 3 x 4 (12), which, according to Toporov, symbolises the ideal, which exceeds the human possibilities (Топоров, 2004, 313).

¹³ The cross scratched into a circle is widespread in Lithuanian folk art: weavings, carvings, et al. In many nations, the cross functions as a symbol of the highest sacred values (Вундер, 1989:180–183). The mythological concept of the cross as the central point of the universe, linking the material world with the ideal world. (Vėlius, 1983:109).

¹⁴ The swastika is known to have been widely used in ancient times by the Indo-Iranians, Hittites, Celts, Greeks and Balts, on almost every continent of the world. It may be supposed that the swastika as a universal symbol in the culture of the Balts is linked with the pre-Christian world perception (Bliujienė, 2000:27).

¹⁵ Dance description: "The women line up in front of each other: one dancer at one end (A), one at the other (B), with one couple in the middle (CD), who are the first to start dancing after the singing of *sutartinė* song." (SIS III: 152).

unnoticed in the choreography of the contraptions, only became apparent when dancing (i.e., in practice). (Račiūnaitė Vyčinienė, 2024:144 145; Urbanavičienė, 1991:12) Thus, the symbols of the cross in the circle, or the swastika and the segmented star, in the choreography of sutartinės, apparently had an extremely important and profound meaning, expressing the harmony of the universe, the universal order, life, and the movement of the heavenly bodies.

Final word. Although only a few of the sutartines have detailed, comprehensible descriptions of the dance or other movements, it can be assumed that most of these archaic hymns were danced in the past. The nature of the danced *sutartinės* is perhaps best revealed through practical experience, where choosing a comfortable singing pace and harmonizing the voices well naturally evokes a desire to dance (from personal experience and the statements of other sutartinės singers).

Today, that "bursting" dance has to be reconstructed. It is noteworthy that today's performers of sutartinės want to include as many sutartinės with movement as possible in their repertoire. Probably the easiest way to reconstruct the missing dance is to use the choreography of other sutartinės with full dance descriptions (although it is true that the choreography chosen at random does not always work – it does not always fit the character of sutartinė). Today's concert spaces creatively use and interpret authentic actions typical of some of sutartinės, e.g. circling around the audience in the church, or going backstage and coming back again (as if replicating the ritualistic wandering around the fields of the parish), thus creating a space of "moving sound".

Some of the traditional *sutartinės* used to be sung in large groups, moving in a circle, at the end of various festivals or celebrations. I have noticed that when circling under the sun, the lateral presentation step helps all participants to keep the same pace. 16 (video ex. 14, 15) It is true that in some cases a drum is used in similar situations, which is, however, alien to the traditional singing of sutartinės.

It can be argued that the movements (dances) of sutartinės used in today's practice, which are sometimes spontaneously born during (or inspired by) events, are reminiscent of archetypal gestures or choreographic drawings. It is a repetition or, according to Mirchea Eliade, a re– actualisation of "that time". (Eliade, 1987:50–51)

 $^{^{16}}$ When the same $\mathit{sutartine}$ is sung by three large groups in the canon in a static manner, tempo errors usually occur, and the parallel singing of the two groups begins to fall out of synch.

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Audio examples

- Audio example 1. Paruginė chant "Oi, kur genelis tupėjo 'Oh, where the woodpecker perched'?" sung by Trys keturiose (Račiūnaitė-Vyčinienė, Daiva. Lingo Rito Tatato, 2015, nr. 2).
- Audio example 2. Paruginė chant "Mart mart, martela "Bride, 'Son's Lil' Bride" sung by Trys keturiose (Račiūnaitė– Vyčinienė, Daiva. Lino laikas 'Linen Times', 2008).
- Audio example 3. Sutartinė of working at flax "Trepute martela 'Step Lil Daughter- in-Law" sung by Trys keturiose. Recorded in Vilnius Recording Studio, 2006.

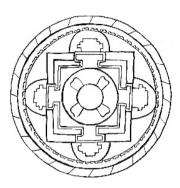
Video exapmles

- Video example 1. Rye harvest *sutartinė* "Saulala sadina" 'Dear sun is setting' performed by the members of the folklore ensemble of the M. K. Čiurlionis Art School (led by Daiva Račiūnaitė). Filmed by Gintaras Šeputis, 1993.
- Video example 2. *Sutartinė* of working at flax "*Šiaip sėjau linelį* 'How I seeded flax'" performed by the folklore ensemble *Dijūta* (led by R. Žarskienė). Filmed by Algis Karazija 2009 (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 3. *Sutartinė "Šokinėja žvirblalis pa pievų* 'A little sparrow was jumping around the meadow" danced by *sutartinės* singer group *Trys keturiose* (led by D. Račiūnaitė–Vyčinienė). Filmed by Karazija 2009 (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 4. Rye harvesting *sutartinė* "*Tu gervela, ladoto* 'You Little Crane, *ladoto* (onomatopoeia)" danced by *Trys keturiose*. (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 5. Danced *sutartinė* "*Išmivedi vedi ožį ant ulyčios* 'Take out to lead goat out on the byway'" danced by ritualistic folk music group *Kūlgrinda* (led by Inija Trinkūnienė). (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 6. Wedding *sutartinė "Ažuminė Jurgelis martelai mįslį* 'Georgie reminds his son's bride of a riddle'" danced by folklore ensemble *Lauksna* (led by Loreta Juciutė). (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 7. Danced *sutartinė "Išvedėmo ožėlį, ožį ant ulyčios* 'Take out to lead goat out on the byway'" danced by *Trys keturiose*. (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 8. Danced *sutartinė* "Lioj trinkeila, lioj šokeila, 'Let's Stomp, Let's Dance" danced by *Trys keturiose*. (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 9. Wedding *sutartinė* "*Ratu, bitela, ratu ratujo* 'Fly in a circle little bee'" danced by *Trys keturiose*. International Folklore Festival *Skamba skamba kankliai*, 1996.
- Video example 10. Danced *sutartinė* "Lioj bajoroita 'Lil boyar missy" danced by *Trys keturiose*. (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 11. *Sutartinė* of working at flax "Trys keturiosi, linelius sėjau 'Three in four, flax sowed'" sung by group *Trys keturiose* (from the audiovisual project *Linen Times*). Filmed by Leonas Glinskis, 2007.
- Video example 12. *Sutartinė* of working at flax "*Trepute martela* 'Step 'lil Daughter-in-Law'" danced by the members of the folklore ensemble of the M. K. Čiurlionis Art School (led by Račiūnaitė). Filmed in 1988.
- Video example 13. *Sutartinė* of working at flax "*Trepute martela* 'Step 'lil Daughter– in– Law" danced by *Trys keturiose*. (Urbanavičienė, 2009).
- Video example 14. *Sutartinė* "*Rimo rimo tūto* (onomatopoeic words)" sung in large groups, moving in a circle, International Folklore Festival *Skamba skamba kankliai*. Filmed by Glinskis, 2018.

Video example 15. Family sutartinė "Lioj saudailio, vokaro (vokaro – an onomatopoeia derived from the noun vakaras 'evening')", a new – choreographed – version performed by Trys keturiose and folklore ensemble Ratilio (led by Milda Ričkutė). International Folklore Festival Skamba skamba kankliai, 2024, filmed by Kristina Aponavičiūtė.

სურათი 1. მანდალას სქემატური ნახაზი. ავტორი: ალგირდას კუზმა.

Figure 1. Mandala schematic. Drawing: Algirdas Kuzma.



სურათი 2. ქარვის ყელსაბამი, ჯვარედინი ორნამენტით: ძეგლი №5, დაკტარიშკესი, ძვ. წ. III ს., კრეტინგის მუზეუმი.

Figure 2. Amber pendant necklace, crisscross ornamentation: Site 5, Daktariškės, 3rd c. BC, Kretinga Museum.



სურათი 3. "Trys keturiose"— bმომღერლები ცეკვისას. WAFT—აუდიოვიზუალური წარმოდგენა, "Jauna muzika" ("ახალი მუსიკა") ფესტივალზე, ლიტვის ეროვნული დრამატული თეატრი. ფოტო: ნადეჟდა გრიცი, 2011.

Figure 3. *Trys keturiose* singers dancing. *WAFT*, an audiovisual performance, at *Jauna muzika 'Young Music'* Festival, Lithuanian National Drama Theatre. Photo: Nadežda Gric, 2011.



სურათი 4. ხელებგადაჯვარედინებული მოცეკვავეები, "Trys keturiose"– b მომღერალთა ჯგუფი. ფოტო: იურგიტა ტრეინიტე, 2006.

Figure 4. Dancers with arms crossed, *Trys keturiose* singing group. Photo: Jurgita Treinytė, 2006.



სურათი 5. ბრინჯაოს ფიბულა. "Lietis" – არქეოლოგიური აღმოჩენის რეკონსტრუქცია, შუა საუკუნეები, პალანგა.

Figure 5. A bronze fibula. *Lietis*, a reconstruction of an archeological find, Middle Ages, Palanga.



სურათი 6. "Treputė" ("ნაბიჯი") ცეკვა, "ვარსკვლავის" სქემა. ნახაზი: *სტატის* ავტორი.

Figure 6. Treputė 'Step' dance, "star" schematic. Drawing: this author.

