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Isabel A. Tirado

The Village Voice

Women's Views of Themselves and Their World in Russian *Chastushki* of the 1920's

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Isabel A. Tirado is an associate professor and Chairperson of the History Department of William Paterson College in Wayne, New Jersey. She received her PhD from the University of California - Berkeley in 1985 and is the author of *Young Guard! The Communist Youth League in Petrograd, 1917-1920* (1988). Dr. Tirado's current research focuses on the rural Komsomol organizations in Central Russia during the 1920s.

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Introduction

Что же вы, девки, не поёте	Come on, girls, why won't you sing?
Куда голос бережёте?	Why are you saving your voices?[1]

This was the call of a peasant woman, most likely a teenager, prompting her friends and neighbors to join her in composing and singing *chastushki*, the short ditties that enlivened all youth gatherings. The humorous songs were the spontaneous creation of young people of both sexes for an audience their own age.[2] At times ironic, biting, or plain silly, *chastushki* expressed the composers' views on almost all facets of the young peasant's life: love, homelife, the way to dress, the changing countryside, and the world beyond the village. We know little about the views of the young peasant woman in the Russian countryside just after the Revolution. She is rarely the subject of scholarship, and her voice is seldom heard in the rich literature of the 1920s. In the wake of the revolutions of 1917 peasants made up 80 percent of the population; their children nineteen years of age or younger accounted for half of the rural population, with females making up half of that age group.[3] As the expression of the village young people, the *chastushka* is an invaluable historical source that captures the tension between old and new. This interpretative essay seeks to use *chastushki* as a tool in reconstructing aspects of post-revolutionary peasant *mentalité*—that is, the views, attitudes, and mores of peasant society.

Most of the *chastushki* discussed in this essay were written by women, as were the majority of the *chastushki* collected.[4] The Russian oral tradition was dominated by women. Men wrote proportionately fewer *chastushki*, and when they did, they were full of vulgarities and curses and did not seem to find their way into archival collections as often as their female counterparts.[5] The *chastushka* was (and still is) one of three types of improvised songs, together with lullabies and laments.[6] As a genre it first appeared in the 1860s and quickly gained popularity, replacing the traditional lyrical folk song (*dolgaia*, or long song) as the peasants' favorite.[7] Every

region had its own master *chastushki* composers and interpreters. Simple and easy—many two or four line compositions could be sung to a single tune—*chastushki* were accessible to almost anyone who wanted to repeat one she had heard, or who wanted to change words or whole lines of a popular one. A fine line thus divided composer, singer, and listener, and the three roles were often interchangeable. A "wandering" form of composition, *chastushki* travelled geographically, and thus the author often remained anonymous and was always in essence collective. *Chastushki* were the product of a particular mood, and each was modified or discarded when it ceased to be relevant. As a form it was constantly changing in subject and motifs, to reflect the singer's reaction to events in the village or the world outside, and to whatever was happening in her personal life.

Chastushki drew on the wealth of oral tradition, blending elements of the old and the new with remarkable ease. They were never a "pure" form of folklore, since they were influenced not just by other traditional forms, such as folk songs and poems, but by the print media, especially with growing literacy rates in the countryside. This is one of the features that makes them invaluable to the historian—the running commentaries on events, fashion, mores, and other phenomena of peasant life and the incorporation of ideas and concepts that came from outside the village via the market, the media, and word of mouth. This topical flexibility compensates for the artistic conventions that restricted it: the rhyming and rhythm pattern, its brevity (seldom longer than four lines), and its frequent use of formulaic openings ("I am sitting on a barrel..."). *Chastushki* were almost always descriptive in content rather than prescriptive. They belonged to what has been called the more "realistic" genres of folklore—that is, those in which "the main characters are human beings living in the real world and belonging to recognizable social categories."[8] In other words, they might engage in much wishful thinking—for example, a young woman pining for a pair of galoshes or for a fancy brick house—but the longing was usually for something concrete and at least potentially part of the composer's and singer's environment (e.g., a radio or gramophone).

In the 1920s rural teachers, priests, students, secretaries of executive committees, and peasants who were barely literate painstakingly recorded songs, stories, *chastushki*, and other forms of peasant culture. They were driven by a sense that traditional peasant life and culture was living its last days. Despite their commitment to record the ditties and other aspects of peasant culture, invaluable to the social and cultural historian, those recorders who came from the intelligentsia acted as cultural mediators and to a considerable extent molded the actual collection of *chastushki* by leaving out those they did not consider worthy (e.g., lewd ones) and collecting others that might have been atypical, or by giving the collection a particular slant that reflected their own cultural bias. This compounds the historian's own bias.

Chastushki functioned because the composer-singer and the audience shared the same language and symbols. "Speaker and hearer [were] immediately present to each other and share[d] a common reality."[9] A *chastushka* about Lenin sitting in a Russian hut delousing himself had a specific meaning for a peasant singing or listening to it, which unquestionably differed from the meaning for a Western historian interpreting that image two generations later, probably more so than for the schoolteacher or *volispolkom* secretary who recorded it in the 1920s. As a means of reconstructing that specificity in which the *chastushki* were composed and sung, this essay will also rely on anthropological and historical studies, while preserving the centrality of the ditties as its main source. However, it is not my intention to focus on *chastushki* as a genre, nor is it to attempt to write a definitive article on the life of young peasant women or on village life in the 1920s. I wish to provide a glimpse at what young women said about themselves using the verses.

This article is based on close to two thousand *chastushki* from the province of Riazan, which are part of a collection of thousands of authentic *chastushki* assembled by the historian Viktor Petrovich Danilov from regional archives and ethnographic museums. The province of Riazan is one of the oldest settlements in the heart of Central Russia. Geographically it is divided into two distinct regions: the marshy northern districts of Riazan, Kasimov, Spasskii, and Egorevskii (known as the

Meshchera), and the fertile wooded steppe in the south, which places some of the province in the Black Earth belt. In 1917 Riazan was considered one of the poorest and most backward provinces of European Russia. Though the province was close to the major industrial centers of Moscow and Tula, it was overwhelmingly agricultural, with only 4 percent of its population living in towns. Its peasants were so poor that the wooden plow (*sokha*) remained the predominant farming tool in the 1920s, and yet barely half of the peasant households owned one and even fewer owned a horse to work the fields.[10]

This essay opens with the social gatherings of young peasants, the *posidelki*, in which *chastushki* were universally sung. In that setting young women expressed their views on courtship, physical appearance, and men. Thematically, most *chastushki* belonged to this inner circle of village youth culture and transcended the particular period in which they were composed. From there the essay expands into the larger world of peasant girls: their views on marriage and the family, and the changing village world of the 1920s. The *chastushki* on love, courtship, marriage, and the family may be said to be part of the *longue durée* in that they express values about domestic life, rituals, and gender roles that seemed to have changed little from the previous century.[11] But the images in them are mixed with new objects, rituals, and expectations.

The last section of the essay explores the interaction between the peasant *chastushka* and the literary versions published by the Communist Youth League (Komsomol), which were designed as cultural tools for transforming its peasant members' world view. Peasant *chastushki* on political themes remained a decided minority of the collection. In the 1920s Soviet publicists championed the humble *chastushka* as symbolic of the triumph of the new over the old. In contrast to their village counterparts, artificial *chastushki*, a form of political art, were prescriptive in character. By packaging their political messages in *chastushka* form, writers and propagandists hoped to make them accessible to a barely literate public, who might repeat the catchy verses and propagate them.

The Teenagers' Gathering: the *Posidelki* and *Izbushki*

Generations of young peasants spent much of their free time in gatherings called *posidelki* (which has been translated as "spinning bees" or "courting parties").[12] The gatherings were a means for young people to socialize with people their age and become well acquainted with prospective mates living in the same village, or in neighboring villages, and probably served as a transition from the practice of arranged marriages to greater individual choice of spouse. The *posidelki* (also known as *posedki, posidenki, veselye, supriadki, besedy, izbushki* and *vechorki*) took place in a hut rented from a local peasant, usually one of the poorer ones, who badly needed this meager income. He was paid either in money or goods by a group of young women between the ages of sixteen and twenty. In some areas they took place in the local bath house or in peasant homes where there were marriageable daughters. In the summer, they took place outdoors or in barns and sheds.[13] Throughout European Russia *posidelki* were organized by women, but in Riazan men had begun hosting the affairs by the 1920s.[14] Since only the poorest peasants rented out their huts, the *izbushki* (or *kvartera*, as they were called in Moscow at the time) were small and dirty. Their low ceilings and smokey, cramped conditions made them almost unbearable when forty or so young people packed into them.[15] There were *posidelki* every evening beginning at six or seven and lasting until two or three in the morning during the winter months.[16]

Young men from the same village attended these gatherings. Only when they were large gatherings were "outsiders" present. They were structured events: women were called "ladies" (*baryshni*) and men "gentlemen" (*kaval'iery*). The men would sit or squat around until the gathering broke up. Rivalry and competition over girls resulted in constant fights among young men, especially when there were men from other villages. Such fights often turned violent and resulted in jail ("Because of you, my beauty/ They put me behind bars") or even death:

Задушевнаво товарища	My bosom friend
Зарезали в селе.	Was cut up in the village.
Молодая жизнь весёлая	His young and happy life
Уснула на ноже.	Ended on a knife.[17]

This *chastushka*, which harked back to pre-Revolutionary times, reflected the proverbial violence of the Russian village. Young men did not fight as individuals, but in groups. Each would choose a girl he liked ahead of time to be with at the *posidelka*, and if he could not spend time with her, a fight might break out. The fights were even worse when young men came from a neighboring village during the holidays. In the opinion of a commentator this tradition, which was passed from generation to generation, did not seem to trouble the parents, who passively accepted it.[18]

Young peasants gathered in their *posidelki* in the fall after field work had ended, and continued to meet until Shrovetide or Carnival. The *posidelka* was normally supervised by an adult woman, often the hut's owner, who embodied the community's watchfulness over the maidens' chastity.[19] Unmarried girls were closely guarded, since their reputation and purity was an integral part of a family's honor. Girls could not go out to see boyfriends unchaperoned, or invite them to their houses. Naturally, young women defied their parents.

У милого тройка нова	My sweetheart's three-piece suit is new
Синяя фантазия	It is a fantasy of blue.
Мать на улицу не пускала	Mother says you're home to stay,
Я в окошка лазила.	Through the window I'll get away.[20]

Marriage age in Russia was generally much lower than that of preindustrial Europe.[21] In the late nineteenth century the province of Riazan had among the lowest mean marriage age in Central Russia: eighteen for females and twenty-two for

males.[22] It may be that early marriages continued to be the norm well into the 1920s. A young man proposed a serious relationship to a seventeen year-old:

Лет семнадцати девчонка	I wanted to tell
Я хотел у ней спросить	A seventeen year-old girl
Не подумай что иное,	Don't think ill of my intentions,
Дай колечко поносить.	I will wear your ring.[23]

It was the custom for a girl to give a ring to the young man she was serious about. These were usually small brass rings which were worn on the pinky. In the following *chastushka* a woman turns to her girlfriend:

Товарочка моя Олья,	Both you and I have brown eyes,
Глаза у нас карие.	My friend, Ol'ia.
Нам всего семнадцать лет	We are only seventeen
А сказали старые.	But they say that we're old.[24]

In 1920 a compiler noted that women were still getting married at age fifteen or sixteen and that at twenty a woman was considered an old maid.[25] The marriage and divorce law of 1926 raised the minimum age for marriage from sixteen to eighteen.[26] Significantly, the last *chastushka* was recorded in 1929, which suggests that either the *chastushka* tradition had not caught up with the law, or that young women were actually getting married by age seventeen, as of old. At the very least Riazan *chastushki* suggest that peasant women in the area continued to see getting married by age seventeen as desirable.

A girl had very limited time during which she could find a husband (the word *guliat'* was used to describe this activity of single, young peasants). The length of courtships and the time for weddings were determined by the agricultural season and the church calendar. As late as 1930 betrothals and weddings took place as they had

since time immemorial "when the oats were sown..."[27] A year was considered sufficiently long to find a mate and complete a trousseau:

Вышивала ёлку–	I embroidered a pine tree—
Не хватила шёлку.	Didn't have enough silk.
Десять месяцев гуляла–	For ten months I had fun,
Не добилась толку.	Didn't reach my goal.[28]

Honesty about young women's determination to find a mate is characteristic of the *chastushka*, as is humor and visual concreteness.

Наша речка не глубока	Our river is so shallow
Я в калошах перейду	I can cross in my galoshes.
Я девчонка боевая	I'm a feisty girl—I'll marry
Кто посватает–пойду.	Any man who'll have me.[29]

The men who attended the *posidelki* were slightly older than the women, between seventeen and twenty years of age.[30] They came on a drop-in basis, and required no invitation, although younger ones were asked to come back when they were older, especially if they were ugly and small.[31] Every group had at least one "leader." The activities in the *posidelki* varied from place to place, but they all had games, *khorovody*, songs, accordion playing, jokes, dancing, and some kissing and caressing (usually under the watchful eyes of an adult). For greater intimacy young people had to wait until the *posidelka* was over. The artisanal character of the *posidelka*, which evidently survived in the northern provinces,[32] was not recorded by contemporaries in Riazan.

Posidelki were particularly festive during the seven weeks following Easter, the most joyous time of the year.[33] In the summer and fall the gatherings took on a more labor-oriented character. Teenagers of both sexes helped the needy, planted gardens, fixed fences and roofs, built new huts and ovens, and helped with the harvest and

with threshing. After field work was completed in the fall, girls helped with food preservation and pickling, spun flax and hemp, did needlework, wove, and knitted. Many of the items or the cash from selling them went to a girl's trousseau. These activities also provided an opportunity "for youths to scrutinize the skills and diligence of prospective marriage partners."[34] From the community's point of view the *posidelka*'s main function was to bring together brides and suitors.

The *chastushki*'s visual details allow the historian to garner information on the way young people dressed, or more precisely, how they would have liked to dress. Dress styles reflected the urbanization of peasants, a process that had begun before the Revolution, especially in those areas that had a high level of migrant labor, such as the north of Riazan. A regional anthropologist noted a passion for city styles among young peasants during the 1920s. In the period of the Civil War, when the market economy had broken down, the practice of buying ready-made clothes and fabrics, which had spread in some areas since the 1890s, was suspended as the peasants resumed making clothes at home, often of homespun textiles. However, peasants did not revert to traditional costumes, but preferred to continue imitating city styles as closely as they could.[35] One traditional garment that seemed to hold its own ground was the jumper or *sarafan*. A *chastushka* proclaimed a girl's pride in her four *sarafans*:

Я какая ни на есть–	I am what I am
Сарафанов четыре есть.	With four sarafans.
Розовый, малиновый,	A pink one, a crimson one,
Голубой-сатиновый.	And a blue satin one.[36]

But the jumper competed with the skirt, a relative newcomer to the village. In the next *chastushka* a man poked fun at his sweetheart's short skirt, perhaps expressing his discomfort not just with its immodesty, when compared to the longer *sarafan*, but with its novelty:

Моя милка по ботинкам	My girlfriend is losing sleep
Очень беспокоится.	Over her short boots
Дошли юбку до колен,	Her skirt goes to her knees
Боюсь, дойдут до пояса.	I'm afraid it'll reach her waist.[37]

Among the most prized possessions were galoshes, shoes, and watches, which were not easy to come by.[38] These items had become symbols of affluence and status among the non-peasant rural population earlier in the century. Soon thereafter even the poorest peasants were affected by city fashion and came to covet such items. Galoshes had become so popular just before the Revolution that owners were happy to wear them in all types of weather—even to dances.[39] A Riazan *chastushka* said a woman would have loved a pair of galoshes but she spent her money on candy—a joke between singer and listener, for obviously the woman had enough for candy but not for the cherished galoshes.[40] Short boots and shoes were also at a premium, and were considered to be particularly attractive if they also had high heels.[41] Some young women seemed to want to show off their short boots by wearing short skirts, clearly a city fashion.

Of great importance was the traditional beaded jacket, a symbol of prosperity.[42] Unmarried girls wore their hair in a single long braid, adorned with ribbons on special occasions.[43] It is important to note that even in 1927, a braid worn without any other head covering differentiated the unmarried from the married woman. A girl might also wear bright-colored stockings and socks (*burdovye noski* in one). *Chastushki* described young women wearing powder, lipstick and rouge, pencilling in their eyebrows, and curling their hair.[44]

Was physical appearance all that important? One girl argued:

Я на личко не красива	I haven't got a pretty face
Абхождение хороша	But I'm well mannered.
Красота наша на время	Looks are temporary
Абхождение на всега.	Good manners are for life.[45]

Another argued the opposite:

Скоро, скоро я уеду	Soon I'm leaving
Скоро я отправлюся.	Soon I'll be off
Я на личко не красива	I don't have a pretty face
Некому не нравлюся.	No one likes me.[46]

Or, she might say,

Я сидела на лугу,	I sat in the meadow
Повесила голову.	And hung my head
От чего повесила?	Why hang my head?
Без милого не весело.	Without a sweetheart there's no joy.[47]

The last *chastushka* captures the disappointment of many of the girls who would go to the *posidelki* and find no suitor with whom to spend the evening, and would leave once the couples paired off. All participants were supposed to pair off, and it was considered dishonorable for a girl not to have her own boyfriend.[48] Those who remained in the gathering could later boast:

Как гармошка заиграла,	As the accordion began to play
Весело запела я,	Happily I sang
Все четыре ухажора	All four admirers
Посмотрели на меня.	Looking at me.[49]

Young men were equally conscious of the way they dressed. The "blue fantasy" three-piece suit or *troika* (admired in *chastushki*) became the standard attire among young city workers in the 1890s, and gained quick popularity in the countryside. Often the *troika* was worn over the traditional peasant man's shirt, *kosovorotka*, buttoned down the side.[50] Men who wore galoshes and watches were admired.[51] A girl sang to her boyfriend, who didn't have goloshes:

Не носи, милый, калоши	Don't wear galoshes, my sweet,
Мы и так с тобой хороши.	We are good enough without them.
Не носи, милый, ботинки	Don't wear boots, my sweet,
Мы и так с тобой картинки.	We are still a pretty picture.[52]

This was an ironic but humorous way to declare not only her attraction to this young man, but the fact that the two were a match from the point of view of social status, both being far from prosperous. Bell-bottoms became popular later in the 1920s, as were riding pants, and sailors' collars:

Мой миленький харош	My boyfriend is so nice
Он не ходит без галош.	He always wears galoshes.
Когда носит брюки клёш,	In his bell bottom pants
На матросика пахож.	He looks like a sailor.[53]

In the changing relations between parents and children in the 1920s, the purchase of clothing and personal items for the young reportedly became a source of tension. After harvest, young peasants pressured their families to set aside a portion of the year's budget for their needs. At times young men put claims on money set aside for taxes or repairs, and importuned their parents until they gave in. Young women were especially anxious that the money they generated through crafts and through the cultivation of flax be set aside to cover their own expenses. They were especially solicitous of wage-earning brothers, since they depended on them for store-bought goods. Sisters might cater to such brothers by washing their clothes and taking care of their belongings.[54] The following *chastushka* captures the tensions between a sister and her new sister-in-law precisely over the brother's generosity.

Не пойду я вязать овса,	I won't be tying oats,
Брат на платье не привёз.	My brother did not buy me cloth.
Он привёз своей жене,	He bought some for his wife
Пущай вяжут без мене.	Don't count on me to tie.[55]

Chastushki thus suggest that family fights often revolved around the distribution of material wealth. Traditionally, the extended family had not provided for the necessities of the daughter-in-law and her children, including clothes, soap and other basic items.[56] The *chastushka* above signalled a new understanding of material responsibility between husband and wife and probably a different type of relationship between the two.

Courtship and Betrothal

In the 1920s the role of parents in marriage decisions was another source of tension in the peasant household. Young peasants had adopted "more egalitarian notions of courtship."[57] Yet young peasant women were not free agents in choosing mates; for that matter, neither were young men. Although they had relative freedom in meeting members of the opposite sex, and their wishes were taken into consideration, parents often had a decisive voice in the choice of their children's spouse. For the peasant family the main concern remained economics.[58] A folk song described a father's reaction as his son picked a bride:

Сидел мальчик у окошка,	A lad sat at a window,
Сидел месяцы-деньки.	For days and months on end.
Позволь папенька жениться	Allow me, father, to marry,
По любви невесту взять.	To pick a bride I love.
Отец сину не поверил,	The father did not believe
Что на свете есть любовь....	That there is love in this world.[59]

Women's *chastushki* on this theme described marriages in which the bride-to-be did not know the groom, even in the late 1920s. Others described marriage to men who were not their choice, which was most likely to happen if a woman was approaching the end of her prime marriageability.[60]

Подхожу я близко к дому.	I approach my house
Из трубы высокий дым.	Smoke rises high from the chimney.
Отдала меня мамашка–	Mama gave me away in marriage,
Не стояла сроду с ним.	To a man I do not know.[61]

Women seemed to have the right to voice their opposition to a match when the groom lived far from their family.

На столе стаит бутылка,	There's a bottle on the table,
А в бутылке малако.	In the bottle there is milk.
Прихадили меня сватать,	They came to betrothe me,
Я сказала: – Далеко.	But I said, "He lives too far."[62]

The unhappiness of young people forced to marry is constant refrain in *chastushki*. Two examples from the village of Poliana, in Riazan province, offer the respective points of view of a man and a woman forced to marry.

Ай, мать, моя мать!	Oh, mother, mother!
Зачем миня женишь?	Why have you married me off?
Я не буду с женой спать–	I won't sleep with my wife—
Куда её денишь?	Where will you put her?
Ай, хотела миня мать,	Oh, my mother
За Ивана атдать.	Would have given me to Ivan.
Руби голуву маю	Cut my head off,
За Ивана не пойду.	I won't marry him.[63]

Such problems were especially acute among poor peasants. If they needed a son's labor, they might not allow him to marry:

Что ты, татенька, не женишь?	Why don't you marry me off, dad,
Разве я тебе не сын?	Am I not your son?
Все ребята поженились,	All the guys have married,
Я остался холостым.	And I'm still a bachelor.[64]

This was not the case with daughters, who were seen by their families as another mouth to feed. In fact, daughters provided an important source of labor to the family economy, and began working as young children of six or seven, earlier than their brothers. A young man might sleep until ten, while his sister got up at four or five in the morning with their mother. At that time she began her day by getting firewood, tending the animals, or taking care of smaller children. From an early age young women had extremely long work days—fifteen hours or so—all done at home in the company of other women.[65] Yet daughters were treated as transient members of the household.[66] One can imagine situations in which a young woman might have expressed her bitterness:

Не ругайте меня дома	Don't scold me at home
Что я хлеба много ем.	For eating so much bread,
Вы отдайте меня замуж–	Just marry me off,
Не кому не надоем.	A bother I won't be.[67]

Judging by the *chastushki*, the most attractive male type was the happy accordion player, though this was hardly the same criterion used by parents in choosing mates for their offspring.

Кто гармонушку играет	The guy who plays the accordion
Завсегда милее бывает.	Will always be much sweeter.[68]

Another teases her parents:

Продай лошадь и супонь,	Sell the horse and its straps,
Куплю милому гармонь.	I'll buy my sweetie an accordion.[69]

The guitar player was probably second only to the accordion player. Also appreciated were those who bought their girlfriends presents, such as candy,[70] lipstick or high-heeled boots.[71] The best suitors were those who could provide material comforts. Especially attractive was the oldest son of a prosperous family, who would make the bride the oldest daughter-in-law. It was assumed that the bride would live in the husband's traditional multi-generational, extended family, with endless friction among daughters-in-law.

Дом кирпичный восемь окон	A brick house with eight windows,
Я страдаю знаю по ком.	I know for whom I pine.
Дом кирпичный связь большая	A brick house, big connections,
Я сноха буду старшая.	To be the first daughter-in-law.[72]

Was the singer pining for the man or for the house? Such material considerations were of great importance to the bride's family and to the bride herself. The brick or stone house was very much coveted by peasants in the 1920s, as were windows.[73] Brick houses had begun to appear in the Black Earth region by the 1890s. They were preferred because they were safer against fires, the scourge of the Russian village. They were larger than the traditional log cottage, which was limited by the size of the trees in the area, and they were also more sanitary. Those families employing migrant workers were among the first to build brick houses. The northern districts of Riazan, with their large number of *otkhodniki*, probably had more such houses than areas to the south. At the very least, a young woman could aspire to move into such a dwelling.[74]

Conversely, a poor prospect was a man with a small, four-window hut and no farm animals—just a dog and a cat, the singer might add, tongue in cheek.[75] Some women saw marrying an older but better-off husband as an advantage.

Ай, зипун мой	I have a homespun coat,
На зипуне бисер.	A beaded homespun coat,
Я такого полюбила	And I fancy
Седой, да писарь.	A grey-haired clerk.[76]

As if to counterbalance this perception, another *chastushka* warned that marrying into a better-off family did not necessarily bring happiness:

Кирпичный новый дом	A brand new brick house,
Долго строится.	Took long to build it.
Отдала меня мамаша	That's where my mother sent me,
Навек гориться.	To suffer forever.[77]

The worst type of suitor, rejected universally, was the "hooligan:"

Дроля ножиком махнет–	My boyfriend is waving a knife,
Я не испугалася.	I did not get scared.
Я такого трепача	I have no intention
Любить не собиралася.	To love such a worthless man.[78]

Negative types of men include the untrustworthy and the unreliable: a sweetheart told a girl he would cheat on her; she said she had no fear because she never promised to love such a "prattler." Also unappealing was the coarse guy. In one *chastushka* a young man explained remorsefully that his coarse words offended his girlfriend.[79] Surprisingly, equally unattractive was the man who read too much, who was chided as follows:

Брось свою избу, с газетой	Throw off the newspaper
	and the reading room
Пострадай с девчёнкой этой.	You make your girl suffer with them.[80]

Kerosene was in short supply in the peasant household, and families sometimes gave a would-be reader a hard time for "wasting" so precious a commodity. This distaste for the reader perhaps reflected negative attitudes towards a behavior not deemed normal to village life.

By the mid-1920s, however, *chastushki* expressed a new appreciation of literate men, who were Red Army soldiers or Communists, because "they are an educated lot, and they know how to talk."[81] The reference was to the literacy courses given to recruits, and also to the fact that soldiers and Communists had contact with the world outside the village. Communists were a good match in the opinion of some:

Голубая в косе лента	Blue ribbon in my braid
Коммуниста я люблю.	A Communist I love
Сама знаю что не пара,	I know well he's no catch
А расстаться не могу.	But with him I cannot part.[82]

By the end of the decade, a woman could boast of a boyfriend who was a Communist, Komsomol or sailor:

Хоть милёнок и курнос	My darling is snubnosed
Да член в комсомоле,	A Komsomol is he
Он теперичя матрос	He is now a sailor
На Балтийском море.	On the Baltic Fleet.[83]

A Communist was depicted as a good prospective husband for economic reasons.

Если поле гарадить,	There aren't enough trees.
Тогда не хватит леса.	To fence in the field.
Беспартийного любить	I'm not interested in loving
Нету интереса.	A non-Party man.[84]

A good bride would be hard-working and would bring a craft into the household. Prior to their betrothal, she would prove her dexterity in various ways:

Шила милому кисет,	I sewed a pouch for my darling,
Вышла руковица.	But it turned into mittens.
Меня Ваня похвалил:	Vania praised me:
–Что за мастерица.	"Oh, what talent!"[85]

In the following folk song, which probably has its roots in the nineteenth century, a bridegroom's male entourage describes the kind of bride they would wish their friend to have.

Ты_____ пойдём-ка с нами,	Come with us [name of groom],
Мы найдём табе нивесту	We will find you a bride,
Мы харошую и пригожую,	A nice, beautiful bride,
Мы ткальюшку,	A weaver,
Мы и бральюшку,	Who'll be handy making linen,
Мы сисястую, мы грудястую.	A busty, big-breasted gal.[86]

Since the peasant household's wealth depended to a great extent on the daughter-in-law's economic contribution and talents, the bride demonstrated her capacity for work and her talents in the *posidelki* and elsewhere. However, in the groom's song cited above, physical attributes seemed to be as important as the ideal bride's ability to weave. This was probably a change in perception: earlier, beauty was at best of secondary importance in picking a bride.[87]

By the 1920s young people had some freedom in pursuing and discarding suitors for a year or two before getting married. A brazen young woman teased the object of her affection:

Что ведёришко не тонишь	Why don't you drown in a bucket?
Иль верёвка коротка	Or is the string too short?
Что ты милый не походишь	Why don't you come see me?
Иль другая завлекла.	Or, do you have another love?[88]

Some *chastushki* described fickle girls:

Дорога моя подружка	My dear girlfriend
Я тебя преметила	I noticed
Ты тогда была Ванина	You were once Vanya's
А теперь Петина.	But now you're Petya's.[89]

There seemed to be a great deal of fluidity among couples:

Подружка моя,	Girlfriend of mine,
Давай поменяемся	Let's make an exchange.
Ты смоим а я с твоим	You take mine and I take yours,
Вечерок постоим.	Let's organize a gathering.[90]

The friend might have answered:

Подружка моя,	My dear friend,
Не стану меняться.	I won't switch my beau.
Твой милёночек трепач	Yours is a loud-mouth,
Любить насмеятся.	Who offends me so.[91]

In one case the suitor was rejected because of his age:

Ах, Ванечка, Ванечка,	Vanechka, oh, Vanechka
Я тебе не парочка	You and I don't make a pair.
У тебя рыжа борода	Your beard is turning gray
Я девчонка молода.	And I am still a young girl.[92]

In the next one a rejected suitor criticized the object of his unrequited love for leading him on.

Ты зачем же завлекаешь,	Why did you entice me
Если я тебе не мил.	If you weren't keen on me?
Ты бы с осени сказала,	If you had told me in the fall
Я бы зиму не ходил.	I would not have come in winter.[93]

There were also instances of women pining away for unresponsive men, but fewer examples than of men being rejected. A *chastushka* from the late NEP ascribed the rejection to gossip and the man's poor judgement:

У милёнка нет ума,	My sweetheart is not smart
Слушал людей	He listened to people
И бросил меня.	And dropped me.[94]

Women could be the subject of gossip and community scrutiny much more than men.

On a happier note, couples got together. The more lyrical *chastushki* used endearing words. A man called his beloved a "red berry."[95] A particularly pretty *chastushka*, inspired by folk motifs, compared the man to a falcon, the woman to a swan. A common term of endearment for a boyfriend was calf (*telënok*), often rhymed with beloved (*milënok*).

Мой милёнок	My beloved
Как телёнок	Is like a calf
Любит целоваться.	He loves to kiss.
Папы с мамой	Mama and papa
Дома нет	Are not home
Некого бояться.	There is no one to fear.[96]

The image was one of a cuddly, innocent, affectionate, and passive pet. Absent were any inklings of male bravado or aggression.

Once the couple went "public" with their love, the normal procedure was to get married. Men sometimes announced their intention to ask a girl's hand in marriage:

А мне милый приказывал,	My sweetheart ordered me:
Приду сватать–не отказывай.	I will come to ask for your hand:
	Don't turn me down.[97]

Some chastushki signalled the approval of the girl and her family:

Мне милёнок говорил,	My sweetheart said to me:
Приду свататься тебя!	I will ask for your hand.
"Приходи, желаю я,	Come, I wish this,
Желает вся моя семья."	And so do all my kin.[98]

Betrothals took place, at least in the idealized *chastushka* households, as they had since time immemorial, before the family's icon.

На столе стоит икона,	On the table stands the icon,
За столом отец и мать,	At the table sit my parents,
Меня веселенкаю девчёночку	To bless me, happy young girl,
Хотели благославлять.	To give me away in marriage.[99]

A *chastushka* describing a daughter's farewell to her father is almost wistful.

Я полотенца расшивала	I embroidered the towel
Наступила на конец.	I have come to the end.
А из дома уезжаю	I am leaving home.
Бласлови меня отец.	Bless me, father.[100]

The reference is to the linen that the girl embroidered for her trousseau in the year or two when she frequented the *posidelki*. Parental approval embodied in the ritual blessing was essential for the wedding celebrations, and few couples were willing to risk their parents' rejection, since it meant foregoing the dowry, their only claim to property from the household of the bride.[101]

Once betrothed, the bride-to-be was freed from all household obligations, which enabled her to finish her trousseau with her girlfriends' help. Throughout the period between her betrothal and her wedding, the bride-to-be was supposed to show no joy at the prospects of her new life as wife and mother. Rather, "she was to lament her situation through the declamation of ritual songs."[102] Perhaps this was a superstitious way of warding off bad luck, but in all likelihood it also reflected the bride's apprehension about her future. It was also a way of honoring her parental home by acknowledging and undoubtedly exaggerating how good her parents had been to her.

There were virtually no wedding *chastushki* in the 1920s: the highly formalized lament was considered more appropriate for the occasion. Russian peasants had developed a rich tradition of wedding laments, which bewailed the fate of the married woman (*baba*), her separation from her parental home and friends, and her loss of freedom. The bride's party, or *devishknik*, would gather for the ritual bath on the evening before the wedding or that same morning. The bride would be dressed by her girlfriends, who also plaited her hair. The ritual was accompanied by lamentations.[103] One of the most moving laments is a bride's farewell to her female friends and relatives as she prepares to live with her in-laws. The setting is a bathhouse.

Идите ка, мои милые падруженьки	Come to me, my sweet friends,
И все мои любезные тётушки	And all my dear aunties,
Ближние мои соседушки.	My closest neighbors.
Давно бы вы пришли меня навестили	You should have visited me long ago,
При этом при горюшке,	In my sadness,
При большой моей работушке.	In my great travail,
Вы послушайте ка моих горьких песёнок.	Come and listen to my bitter songs.
Я не песни пою–распеваю–	I sing them loudly.
Всю свою жизнь девичью споминаю.	My girlish days I will recall.
Отошла ты моя гульба-волюшка.	Gone are the good times and my freedom,
Отгуляла я с милыми подруженками	Gone are my walks with my girlfriends
По широкой улице,	Down the wide street,
Отыграла-то я с ними все позные вечера.	Gone are the late night games with them.
Я у матушки-то до поздно вечера проигрывала	I won't enjoy myself at night at my mother's
До красного солнушка просыпывала.	And sleep till the red sun rises.
А в чужих то людях жить–не у матушки родимой	I am off to live with strangers, Not the same as living with my dear mother.
Куды пойтить, то спроситься,	Where I'll have to ask for leave,
Откеля пригти, все скажишься.	Wherever I will go...[104]

In all likelihood, this lament dates back to the nineteenth century, yet it probably spoke to the sensibilities and reality of young peasant brides in the 1920s. It captured the bride's anxiety about the future and the dramatic changes that accompanied marriage. The bride acknowledged that her "girlish days" were over: the freest time in a peasant's life was precisely the period of courtship, which was about to end. The bride would leave her mother's home to become "the other," the outsider in an alien household.

Side by side with this powerful tradition of the resigned, mournful bride was one of defiance. A *chastushka* described a girl's rejection of a suitor:

Ах, отрада дорогой,	Oh, my comfort, oh, my joy,
Скажи матери своей:	Tell your mother
"Я сноха ваша не буду,	Her in-law I won't be,
Не вели ругаться ей!"	I won't let her scold me![105]

Behind her statement was the age-old enmity between the mother-in-law and the bride, modified by the latter's affirmation of her right to choose. Significantly, the singer was directly addressing the suitor, without the parents' mediation, and she seemed to be rejecting him strictly because of his mother's character.

Marriage and the Family

The peasant household was sharply divided along gender lines, with women being responsible for all household chores, domestic animals, the vegetable garden, and handicrafts, which they produced for family consumption and for the market. Most of the girls' contacts and preoccupations seemed to be limited to their mothers, who ruled over the younger female family members. The *chastushki* thus reflected the fact that "the strongest emotional ties within the family [were] between mother and daughter."[106] The grandmothers or aunts who often lived in the singers' household hardly figured in *chastushki*. Far from the submissive female figure, the mother was depicted as the person holding the girl's future in her hands. It was the mother who traditionally had control over the dowry, and who seemed to have a great deal of leeway deciding whom and when a daughter would marry. One *chastushka* described a young woman's decision to get married:

Приду с улицы домой	I'll go home
На мать топну ногой.	And stamp my foot.
Продавай мамка корову	Mother, sell the cow,
Меня замуж отдавай.	And marry me off.[107]

The proceeds from the sale of the cow would go towards her dowry. A later version of this *chastushka* has the girl asking the father to sell the horse and betrothe her.[108]

By far the most common mother-daughter *chastushka* described the bride's appreciation for her mother's home. Aware of her daughter's future, she protected her unmarried daughters and pampered them.

Ох, мать, моя мать,	Oh, mother, my dear mother,
Дай понежиться, поспать.	Pamper me, let me sleep late.
Когда замуж отдадут,	When I'm married off.
Понежиться не дадут.	No one will pamper me.[109]

Despite her many chores, the time the teenage girl spent at her parents was the happiest and most carefree in her life, when she was allowed to enjoy the company of other girls her age without the cares of her older married sisters.[110]

There were many *chastushki* on a mother's eagerness to marry her daughter off. This category included some particularly sad *chastushki*. In one the young woman criticized her mother:

Моя маменька ретива	My mother is too zealous
В июле цветик сорвала.	She plucked the blossom in July
Мою молодость сгубила	She ruined my youth
Рано замуж отдала.	And gave me away in marriage too soon.[111]

The *chastushki* conferred on the mother great power over a daughter's marriage—at least the young woman saw her as responsible for the final decision; fathers, by contrast, were seldom blamed directly for marrying a girl off too young. In fairness

to the mothers, some *chastushki* conveyed the mother's sadness at marrying off her daughter:

Меня мама будила	Mama woke me up
У кровати плакала	She was crying at the bed.
"Вставай, дочка дорогая,	"Wake up, daughter dear,
Я тебя просватала."	I gave you away in marriage."[112]

The mother cried over the loss of her daughter, and at the knowledge of the difficulties of married life. There were also *chastushki* that depicted forced betrothals and seemed to hold both parents responsible, or maybe even other family members.

Просватили-не сказали	They betrothed me; didn't tell me
Оболью платок слезами.	I pour my tears into my kerchief.[113]

Chastushki realistically depicted women's responsibilities after marriage. In one, a young peasant lamented that her blond braid would be blowing in the wind for the last summer—the implication being that she was getting married.[114] A popular *chastushka* began with the warning "Girls, don't marry" (*Ne khodite, devki, zamuzh*), if they wanted to be happy:

Не ходите девки замуж	Girls, don't marry:
Замужем не весела	Once you're married, there's no fun
Моя товарка вышла замуж	My friend got married,
Голову повесила.	Now she walks forlorn.[115]

Another:

Девки, пойте и пляшите!	Sing and dance, girls!
Девки, замуж не спешите!	There's no hurry to be wed.[116]

Paradoxically, while the *chastushki* alluded to the negative aspects of marriage, it was clearly understood that women would marry. Barbara Clements has noted the sharp rise in marriages immediately after the Civil War, perhaps because people longed for security and economic stability. After years of disruption, the men were back from the front, many of them apparently eager to start families.[117] Christine Worobec has argued that, for the Russian peasant, in contrast to pre-industrial Western Europe, marriage was almost universal. It served as the rite of passage from childhood to adulthood and to full membership in the peasant community, the conferrer of respect.[118] For the man marriage meant the right to land and to economic autonomy, the right to a laborer (his wife) and to children, who would guarantee his survival in old age, and, eventually, the right to speak at the village assembly as head of his own household.[119]

For the woman marriage was more dramatic, for it entailed a change in residence, becoming "the other" in an alien household. She would have to win over her often hostile in-laws through hard work, obedience, and child bearing.[120] *Chastushki* often referred to the in-laws' home as living "on the other side" (*na chuzhoi storone*), the same term used for those who left the village to work in the cities.[121] Most likely, the young bride lived relatively close to her parents. In fact, a distance of four versts (under three miles) between the bride's and the groom's house was considered quite far. Right after the marriage, the young bride, who, according to contemporary accounts, was too shy to eat with her in-laws, would often eat her meals at her parents' home.[122] The young bride had to keep quiet in her husband's house to show her humility and subservience. She could not wear her hair lose after marriage or in a single braid, but had to tie it up in a bun or in two braids and cover her head at all times, perhaps as a symbolic renouncing of vanity and an expression of submissiveness.

Рот зажмут, овёс повяжут,	Lips shut tight, the oats tied up,
В пучок косу свяжут.	The braid they'll tie up in bun.[123]

Almost all post-wedding *chastushki* were written by women and almost all were sad.[124] They often described poor relations with in-laws or drunken husbands. The following folk poem captured the brutality of the husband towards the wife and his family's participation in or acceptance of that brutality:

Муж жену учил	A husband taught his wife,
Жену угрюмую	His sad wife.
Как жена мужу взмолится,	How the wife implored her husband,
Взмолится свёкру-батюшке,	She implored her father-in-law,
Свёкру-батюшке, свекрови-матушке.	Her father-in-law, her mother-in-law:
–Свёкор-батюшка, отними меня	"Father-in-law take me away
От люта мужа,	From my cruel husband,
От люта мужа, от сердитого.–	My cruel husband, who's so angry."
Свёкор-батюшка велит пуще бить,	The father-in-law ordered to beat her more,
Велит кровь пролить,	Until the blood flows, he ordered,
Велит кровь пролить,	Until the blood flows to her feet.[125]
По пятам пустить.	

Not surprisingly, some young brides might have given this advice:

Подружка моя,	My friend,
Не влюбяйся, как я!	Don't fall in love, as I did.
По любови, дорогая,	Don't ever marry
Не сходятся никогда.	For love, my sweet.[126]

The NEP was a transitional period in almost all aspects of Soviet life, and the *chastushki* offered intimations of the coming changes in gender roles. Some depicted men cooking dinner while the wife went to a meeting in the local soviet, or the husband doing the dishes while he listened to the news program on the radio.[127] Though they poked fun at this aberrant behavior, the *chastushki* nonetheless reflected exposure to the new technology and public discussion of the new gender-defined

tasks. The radio symbolized the links of a previously isolated village with the world outside, and some *chastushki* show its impact on women's lives—as in this description of a woman's fascination with new technology:

Моя милка заболела	My sweetheart got sick
Ничего не кушает.	She will eat nothing.
Трубки на уши надела	Earphones on her ears
И радио слушает.	She listens to the radio.[128]

The peasant household had no radios,[129] let alone record players or telephones, yet the *chastushki* joked about having these appliances, and about some peasants' acquisitiveness. Said one:

Как у нас в избе–	Just take a look at our home,
Грамофон везде:	Everywhere a gramophone!
И на лабочке, и под лабочкой,	On the bench and under it,
И по всей избе.	They're everywhere in our hut.[130]

More realistically, the appliances that made it into the peasant home were those that transformed women's work, especially the sewing machine:

Ох–ты, ох–ты,	Hey there, hey there,
Все пошили кофты,	Everybody sewed some blouses.
А я не пошила,	All but me, you see,
Сломалась машина.	My machine broke down.[131]

Typically, the tone in this and similar *chastushki* on "modern life" was ironic, showing that the radio enthusiast was atypical, as was the owner of the phonograph. Nevertheless, the new consumer goods and technology were seen as positive additions to peasant life.

Вышла новая машина	There's a new kind of machine,
Под названием моциклет.	It is called the mot'cycle.
Не тужи, моя милая,	Don't you grieve, my darling,
Привезу тебе конфет.	I will bring you sweets.[132]

Another version substitutes "mot'cycle" (mispronounced "*motsiklet*") with "bus" (*avtobus*) and sweets with "watermelon" (*arbuz*), which rhymes,[133] to attain the same humorous wonder at a new invention and its potential for bringing commodities to the peasantry. In the 1930s political poster art echoed the peasant's high esteem for such gadgets as sewing machines, gramophones, and radios to convey a vision of what the future held in store for collective farmers.[134] In a sense, the *chastushka* served as a precursor and cultural mediator between the relatively modern world of the city and the village. These "vehicle" *chastushki* also belie the importance that the marketplace had on the dynamic life of the genre, for it facilitated the exchange of goods and new ideas, and also of verses.[135]

The World Without

Chastushki were limited in scope by the composers' age-defined interests and social roles—the majority of them were concerned with themes of love and courtship. Yet they also reflected broader changes in society. Among the most vivid impressions were the images of changing family relations brought about by the new laws governing civil marriages, divorce, and women's legal status. The new official language also made its appearance in peasant *chastushki*, at times with unexpected if humorous results. For example, the references to young women "filing a claim" (*postavit' akt*) against unappreciative boyfriends indicate the extent to which "the language of public life penetrated private...lives."[136] Soviets, commissars, Bolsheviks, Communists, and Komsomols also found their way into *chastushki*, as

the composers offered running commentaries on political life as seen from the perspective of the village.

A sign of the changing times were the *chastushki* that depicted couples getting married in civil ceremonies.

А подруга дорогая	My dear friend
Скажу тебе новости	I will share some news:
Мой залётка предлагал	My sweetheart proposed
Расписатьця в волости.	That we marry at the *volost*.[137]

The ceremony was to be held at the *volost*, or district committee, rather than in church. Such a proposal would have been problematic for most peasant women, whose parents might have withheld their blessing and dowry if they did not marry in church. The young woman might have questioned the man's motivation. There were suggestions that men saw the civil ceremony as less binding or more advantageous than the church wedding.[138] *Chastushki* suggest that civil weddings became more acceptable among the least prosperous peasants, especially during economic hard times. The following *chastushka* reflects a young woman's financial concerns:

Комсомолец придёт сватать	I'm betrothed to a Komsomol fellow,
–Отчего же не пойти?	I want to marry him....
Расписаться–не венчаться,	He is not asking for a dowry,
Попу денег не платить.	We won't have to pay the priest.[139]

The tremendous growth in the rates of divorce during the NEP affected cities more severely than rural areas. The growth was nonetheless noted in *chastushki*, a sign that the idea of divorce was not dismissed offhand by the young composers, although in reality older peasant women were more likely to resort to divorce than younger ones.[140] In the following *chastushka*, a woman tells her man that possibility

of divorce did not scare her. If he walked out on her, she teases, she would register with another man.

Не грози, я не боюся	Don't threaten me, I'm not afraid
Завтра с новым распишуся.	Tomorrow I'll register with someone else.[141]

Chastushki captured the singer's consciousness of new options, her familiarity with the new laws. Judging by the *chastushki*, peasant women's reactions were mixed, but definitely not always negative. The rise in divorce was blamed, accurately, on the new state.

Раньше было все не так,	Before it wasn't
Что теперь творится	As it is now:
Комиссары разрешили	The commissars allow folks
Сорок раз жениться.	To marry forty times.[142]

In 1924, for every 10,000 inhabitants in district towns there were about 28 divorces; twelve in smaller towns; and eight in the smallest villages. A growing number of women took advantage of easier divorces. By 1926 there were 258,949 divorced women living in rural Russia out of a total of 402,633 divorced women in the republic.[143] In the following *chastushka* a woman complains of her husband's tight rein and finds her own solution.

Не хотела я плясать–	I didn't want to dance,
Побоялась мужа.	I feared my husband.
Подумай, погадай–	Just think, just guess,
Завтра разведуся.	Tomorrow I'll divorce him.[144]

Probably, this was a young woman who missed the gaiety of dancing and socializing with young people. This *chastushka* was reported in 1923, suggesting that divorces

were accepted (at least in principle) by some peasant women early in the 1920s. In another *chastushka*, a woman boasts that her married boyfriend will get a divorce:

Я девчонка боевая,	I'm a feisty girl,
Боевая я давно	I've long been feisty.
А мой миленький женатый–	My boyfriend is married,
Разведётся всё равно.	But he'll divorce her all the same.[145]

Protected by the new legal code, which guaranteed the wife full citizenship and the right to a share of the husband's family property, the young peasant woman gained a measure of economic security.[146] Another new institution, related to marital break-ups appeared:

Сидит милый на заборе	Sits my sweetheart on the fence,
С алиментами во взоре.	Looking child support in the face.[147]

Child support was extended to children born in common-law marriages. As the *chastushka* notes, no longer were all women afraid of the consequences of intimacy. In the 1920s men came to fear the financial repercussions:

Раньше девачки боялись	It used to be girls were afraid
Маладых ребят любить.	To love the young lads.
Теперь мальчики баяться	But now the young men are afraid
Алиментики платить.	To have to pay child support.[148]

For the brave and the young, economic independence spelled mobility and freedom. Many young divorcées, particularly those with small children, returned to their parents' home, especially because the likelihood of their getting land from their husband was minimal.[149] Unfortunately, little is known about the status of those divorcées who returned with a modicum of financial self-sufficiency. Doubtlessly, these women, together with Red Army soldiers and marginalized widows, had

relatively more freedom than their sisters and mothers, whether single or married. They were more likely to use the legal right to become heads of household and to move at will. It is not surprising that divorcées made up a significant part of the small contingent of rural female Komsomols. Single women, divorcées and widows were the most receptive to politicization, the most likely to go to meetings and attend activities. They were also the most likely to run for any political position, such as member of the local soviet. As semi-outcasts in the tradition-bound village, they risked the least in seeking to improve their status via the new institutions. Conversely, the least likely to be open to the new political culture or any new activity were young married women, especially if they had small children.[150]

A newcomer to the *chastuska* repertory was the "new Soviet woman," who might have said of herself:

Я сознательная стала	I'm now politically conscious,
Много книжек прочитала.	And read many books.[151]

In all likelihood she took advantage of the new village reading rooms, many of which were staffed by young peasant women. She was at ease with the new institutions and the words that came into parlance and crept into the *chastushki*. Though most *chastushki* on the assertive "new woman" were positive, such an assessment was not universal:

Раньше были рюмочки,	We used to have wine glasses,
А теперь стаканчики.	We now have tumblers.
Раньше были девочки,	We used to have young girls,
А теперь нахалочки.	We now have hussies.[152]

The old order was also disrupted by the bandits, deserters, and large number of orphaned children, all legacies of seven years of war. Significantly, the wounds

inflicted by the Civil War continued to fester in the countryside. Many *chastushki* from the Riazan province described the endemic problem of orphans.

Все папаши в поле пашут,	All the dads work in the fields
У меня папаши нет.	But I don't have a dad.
Я возьму лопатушку,	I will take a little spade
Раскопаю батюшку.	And dig my dad out of his grave.[153]

The *chastushki* on orphans reflect the staggering losses in World War I (about eight million killed and maimed)[154] and the Civil War. They used the term "orphan" for fatherless children, a reflection of the fact that widows and orphans were the most vulnerable members of peasant society. A widow received a share of the land only if she had male children; a widow with daughters could only count on her in-laws' generosity to keep her at their home and feed her and her daughters.[155]

"Hooligan" *chastushki,* sung almost exclusively by men, voiced the rampant banditry and criminality of the early 1920s. The problem was not new to the Russian village. Fistfights and brawls seem to have been parts of rural ritual since at least the previous century. Men from neighboring villages would team up during holidays and fight. Despite an often game-like atmosphere, these fights nonetheless resulted in deaths or disabling injuries.[156]

Шире улица раздайся	Down our wide street
Шайка жуликов идёт	Goes a gang of hoodlums,
Шайка жуликов мазуриков,	A gang of good-for-nothing hoodlums,
Нигде не пропадёт.	They will do as they please.[157]

It is not surprising, then, that *chastushki* depicts villagers welcoming the military draft for the more troublesome members of the community. As one soldier complained in a rowdy song typical of the "hooligan" sub-genre:

Хулиган, я хулиган	I'm a hooligan, a hooligan,
Всей деревне надоел–	The whole village is fed up—
Повезли меня в солдаты	When the Army drafted me,
И никто не пожалел.	No one felt bad for me.[158]

While the *chastushki* almost universally condemned hooliganism and banditry, they were much more ambivalent in their depiction of army deserters. Although Riazan was not a theater of combat during the Civil War, armed bands of deserters roamed throughout the province. The southern districts were home to the bands of Ogol'tsov, Kiselev, and others.[159] In the early NEP a singer voiced her sympathy for a deserter:

Мой милый дезертир,	My sweetie's a deserter,
Летает как галка.	He flies like a jackdaw.
Все его гонят,	Everybody chases him,
А мне его жалко.	But I pity him.[160]

Interestingly, such *chastushki* were reported later in the 1920s, echoing the peasants' continued ambivalence and even sympathy towards deserters, and by association, to their plight during the Civil War.[161]

Chastushki offered political commentary. Some *chastushki* were hostile to the new order.

Раньше был воришкой,	Petty thieves we used to have,
Лазил по карманам,	Who used to pick our pockets,
А теперь в Совете,	But in the Soviet we now have,
Главным комиссаром.	The chief commissar.[162]

This bitterness was a legacy of the Civil War and the grain requisitions, which took not just the peasants' surplus, but the grain the family needed for survival. In 1920-21 Riazan province experienced famine, caused by a combination of natural factors

and the continuation of the grain requisitions. A few years later a *chastushka* still conveyed the misery:

Вы Советы, вы Советы,	You Soviets, you Soviets
До чего вы довели.	What have you brought us to?
Всю дохлятину поели	We have eaten the carcass
И мякину потолкли.	And ground the chaff.[163]

Peasant resentment of the conscriptions, and the young women's anguish over drafted and maimed brothers and sweethearts, endured in the *chastushka* tradition:

Маво милого угнали	The damned war
На войну проклятую,	Took my sweetheart.
Руку праву оторвали,	They tore off his right hand,
Чернобровому моему.	My black-browed one.

Расппоклятая война–	Accursed war,
Сразу два набора.	Two levies all at once.
Взяли брата моево,	They took my brother,
Петки дорогова.	My dear Petka.[164]

Not all commentaries on the Civil War shared this pathos. In a genre characterized by whimsical images, even such gruesome episodes as trench warfare could provide opportunities for wit. For example, a recurrent *chastushka* depicted Trotsky, the War Commissar, getting ready for battle:

Сидит Троцкий на канаве	Trotsky's sitting in the trenches
Лапти новые плетёт.	Busy weaving new bast shoes.
Красну армию обует,	He's outfitting the Red Army,
Воевать её пошлёт.	He will send them off to fight.[165]

This *chastushka,* which was probably composed by a man but was sung by both sexes, may be interpreted as a barb aimed at the conduct of the war and the ease with which the Communist leader could send his ill-provisioned men off to fight wearing only *lapti*. One compiler, who observed similar *chastushki* in Vologda province using Lenin as a subject, came to a very different conclusion. By conferring everyday routines and other aspects of peasant life on Lenin (or on the *lapti*-weaving Trotsky), the *chastushki* appropriated the leader and expressed affection for him in terms that made sense to peasants. The Lenin of *chastushki* lived in a peasant hut, wore leg-wrappings and *lapti*, and cursed, just like a *muzhik.*[166] The *lapti* served to identify him with the peasant prototype. By donning them or making them, Lenin and Trotsky brought the Revolution, which they embodied, into the peasant world. Simultaneously, as wearer or weaver of bast shoes, the Soviet leaders became peasants, and thus symbolically acceptable and revered.

Not a trace of affection, but ridicule, was expressed in the following *chastushka*. Obviously dating to the Civil War, it mocked the local commissar and his wife:

Я на бочке сижу,	I am sitting on a barrel,
А над бочкой склянка.	On the barrel stands a jar.
Мой муж комиссар,	My husband is a commissar,
И я спекулянтка.	And I'm a profiteer.[167]

This last *chastushka* borrowed the first two verses from the pre-Revolutionary popular repertory, and adapted them to express the peasants' perception of new officials as corrupt.[168] The "barrel" *chastushka*, true to its genre, was derivative. By using the well-known opening line in an improbable and incongruous combination

with an authority figure—the commissar—the *chastushka* creates an absurd image that adds folk humor to the political critique. Typically, a composer might pick up words and whole lines from a contemporary song, poem, or, most likely, another *chastushka,* as in the "barrel" *chastushka.* Because the mere change of a word or line could change the whole meaning, *chastushki* were well suited for expressing changes taking place in a person's life, in the village, and beyond. For example, in the *chastushki* below, the substitution of the word "accordionist" with the rhyming word "Communist" radically alters the notion of what was considered to be a good match:

Приходили меня сватать:	They have come to betrothe me,
Приданово триста.	They asked a dowry of three hundred.
Отдала бы я пятьсот,–	I would have given them five hundred,
Только за гармониста.	If he had been an accordionist.
Приходили меня сватать–	They have come to betrothe me,
Приданного триста.	They asked a dowry of three hundred,
Не желаю восемьсот–	I don't mind eight hundred,
Только коммуниста.	I only want a Communist.[169]

The Komsomol and the New Poetics

Earlier in the century students of Russian folklore and peasant culture had minimized the importance of *chastushki* because of their simplicity in comparison to traditional lyrical folk songs and their imitative quality.[170] The 1920s witnessed the official legitimation of *chastushki* as a genre. Soviet anthropologists, folklorists, and *chastushka* enthusiasts extolled the verses as the autochthonous, dynamic expression of the Russian masses. Propagandists saw in them the triumph of the new over the

old because the short songs were free of sentimentality and outmoded peasant ways, and could be easily adapted to political themes.

The "new" (political) *chastushka* spread in the countryside through the People's House (*nardom)* and the rural clubs. It was meant for a politically sympathetic audience. Among the most ardent champions of the *chastushka* was the Komsomol. Activists would make up *chastushki* on current events, simply "borrow" them from newspapers and other publications, or redo contemporary verses to fit political needs. Students and workers who spent their vacations in the countryside also brought with them "new" songs and *chastushki* from urban areas. Indicative of the importance given to cultural activities, at a provincial Komsomol congress in Saratov activists voiced the desirability of training not just "readers" but accordion players and *posidelka* leaders. In many villages throughout European Russia the Komsomol sponsored its own *posidelki,* and its members attended the gatherings whether or not they were backed by the League.[171]

If we view *chastushki* as the poetics of peasant life, we are compelled to see that the Revolution did not transform all aspects of peasant women's lives, but instead resulted in the reaffirmation of traditional peasant culture and aspirations. *Chastushki* depicted the continued centrality of marriage in peasant life, its universality, and the appeal of early unions. Women's view of marriage as a loss of freedom, with its symbols of covered heads, marriage contracts sealed before icons, and tearful brides persisted side-by-side with images of female commissars and *komsomolki*, who defiantly wore no crosses around their necks. Traditional themes comprised the overwhelming majority of *chastushki* in the 1920s. The anthropologist Tan-Bogoraz saw in folk songs and *chastushki* a gradual blending of much of the old with bits of the new in peasant culture. He estimated that only five percent of all *chastushki* treated "new" themes.[172] Perhaps peasants were expressing that nostalgia which, according to Barbara Engel, was generated by the dislocations of the First World War and the Revolution: "a longing for the way things used to be in the comfortable, patriarchal past."[173] I would argue that, beyond the longing they might express for

a vanishing world, the *chastushki* must also be seen as expressions of peasant *mentalité* and everyday reality that mixed both the traditional and the new.

The Komsomol sought to use its own prescriptive *chastushki* as a tool in its quest to create a new *mentalité* and new images for its members and sympathizers. The Komsomol became very active in the countryside during the NEP, "organizing and providing a strong link between the village and the national culture."[174] The Komsomol's cultural impact ranged from their introducing new games into the village, such as the foreign soccer, as well as newspapers, bulletin boards, piano playing in reading rooms, shows, and plays. Some of the most active in the youth league came to "form a new type of Soviet peasant intelligentsia."[175] The Komsomol played a critical role in the development of political views among the young, second only to the school system and on a par with the Red Army in importance. This was especially crucial when we take into account the fact that in 1926 over half of the rural population was under twenty-five years of age.[176]

Komsomol *chastushki* purported to present the Revolution through the eyes of young peasants, celebrating the Revolution, its institutions, and the new secular culture as a youthful endeavor. They drove home the message that young people of both sexes could construct the new village and liberate it from the backwardness of time immemorial. For the Komsomol, the young were the Revolution's natural ally in remaking the world.

Ах, ты, милый мой Ванюша,	Oh my sweetheart, my Vaniusha,
Как ты молод и красив!	You are young and handsome!
Будет жизнь наша счастлива,	Ours will be a happy life
Коль пойдем в кооператив.	When we join the co-op![177]

Later, not coincidentally, Soviet poster art of the 1930s consistently depicted *kolkhozniki* and *kolkhoznitsy* as young, a continuation of Komsomol *chastushki* themes from the 1920s.[178]

In the mid-1920s the Komsomol launched a recruitment campaign among young peasants which gained it new members in the countryside despite almost universal parental opposition. Memories of the Civil War and the hated grain requisition detachments and anti-religious campaigns were too fresh in the minds of adult peasants to make their children's membership in the Komsomol palatable.[179] Peasant *chastushki* described confrontations with between parents and children over attending Komsomol meetings:

Я сказал, брось, бить	Says I: throw me out, beat me
Всё равно буду ходить.	I will go all the same.[180]

A Komsomol version was much tamer, less confrontational, but it evoked the same generational differences:

Эх, родители, родители,	Mom and dad
Пустите со двора.	Let me go out.
Не поймете вы, родители	Don't you see,
Что новая пора.	These are new times?[181]

Peasants were even more intransigent in their opposition to daughters' membership. Parental opposition took the form of depriving girls of material goods, such as clothes and boots.[182] Parents felt that their daughters, once they joined, would be too independent to listen to husbands, and thus no one would marry them. Their reputations would be tarnished by associating with the Komsomol, whose members had a reputation as sexual libertines.[183] Their activities would conflict with their household duties, which might suffer as a result. Also, the Komsomol was associated in many areas with hooliganism, drinking, fights, and laziness, and any association with these phenomena would bring the young women shame.[184] If we believe peasant *chastushki* (as opposed to Komsomol versions), some women defied parental strictures:

Комсомольца я любила	I loved a Komsomol
И хотела это скрыть	I kept it hidden
А теперя все узнали	But now everyone knows.
Все равно буду любить.	All the same I'll love him.[185]

The Komsomols were known to be atheists, and who would want a godless daughter? Komsomol *chastushki* confirmed this perception:

Моё сердце приуныло:	My heart is sad
С милым я рассталася...	I broke with my sweetheart.
В церковь звал меня венчаться,	He wanted a church wedding,
А я отказалася.	And I turned him down.[186]

Obviously this *chastushka* voiced the Komsomol's fantasy of the brave young peasant woman. It was an improbable scenario, since women were least likely to initiate a civil wedding, especially in 1925, when this *chastushka* was penned. The ideal woman, à la Komsomol, though torn by her feelings for her suitor would choose the more modern, secular wedding. The anti-religious message was not lost on the peasants, who feared their Komsomol daughters would be pressured to give up their faith. Peasant *chastushki* often reinforced this parental concern:

Я типеря комсомолка–	I am now a Komsomolka
Крест на шее не ношу.	I no longer wear a cross,
Безо всякава стисненья	Without any shame,
На собрание выхожу.	To a meeting I will go.[187]

Versions of this particular *chastushka* were commonplace in Riazan in the mid- and late 1920s.

Although profanity and anti-clericalism became the Komsomol's trademark, such sentiments were much more generalized among the young, and went beyond

Communist circles. In the words of an observer in Tot'ma, in the mid-1920s young peasants, especially males, loved to sing very coarse anti-religious songs, such as:

Уж ты, бох, ты наш бох,	Hey there, God, hey, there God,
Чиво болтаишь?	Why are you babbling so much?
Ты на небе сидишь,	You just sit up in heaven,
Не работаешь.	You just loaf around.[188]

The adult population reacted with revulsion, considering such *chastushki* to be the highest form of disrespect and hatred towards religion and believers in general.[189] This type of *chastushka* was doubtless influenced by the published Komsomol literature. But it would be too easy to dismiss it as solely the product of propaganda. Even *chastushki* from the 1880s expressed a kind of vulgar anti-clericalism, one that depicted priests and their wives as drunkards.[190]

Not surprisingly, rural Komsomols were predominantly male; as of 1923 women accounted for fewer than one percent of all rural members. After a concerted effort to increase the number of women in the Komsomol, their proportion grew to 16 percent of the national membership and 12.3 percent of rural cells as of 1925 and to 16 percent by the end of that year.[191] A *chastushka* from the late 1920s notes this lag in female membership:

Комсомолов у нас много,	We have many Komsomol lads,
Комсомолки ни адной.	But not a single Komsomolka.
Давай, Таня, мы запишемся	C'mon, Tanya, let's you and I
В комсомолочки с табой.	Sign up with the Komsomol.[192]

It was easier for women to go out with a Komsomol than to join the League. Often, a member would convince his girlfriend to join, especially since the Komsomol pressured its members to shun girls outside the party. When the organization stepped up its recruitment campaign among women, it urged members to bring their sisters

and sweethearts into the organization. Otherwise, non-Communist girlfriends would eventually pull their Communist boyfriends away from the movement.[193] Such a position reflected a patronizing view of women, who would have to be drawn in by boyfriends and brothers. In general Soviet political art depicted female peasants as the embodiment of "ignorance, political stupidity, blind self-interest, and petty bourgeois greed."[194] The term *baba* acquired a distinctive pejorative connotation, signifying "the wretched, brutal, and patriarchal world of the peasant wife who was subordinated to husband, priest, and police."[195] Her unmarried daughters and sisters could hardly escape this association. This ambivalent portrayal of the *baba* as victim and victimizer reflected Bolshevik ambivalence towards the peasantry as a whole. It also expressed fear of women as temptresses who could lead a gullible Communist lad off the righteous path.

The popular *chastushki* confirmed the pattern of male Komsomols bringing their sweethearts into the League and Communist activities:

Она моя девка с толком	My girlfriend is so smart
Записалась в комсомолки.	She joined the Komsomol.[196]

A female version of that *chastushka* follows:

Комсомольца не любила	When I didn't love a Komsomol
Комсомолкой не была.	A Komsomolka I was not.
Комсомольца полюбила	But now I love a Komsomol
Комсомолка стала я.	A Komsomolka I've become.[197]

It seems that, in the popular imagination, too, this became one of the acceptable routes for women to join the League. Of course, the results were not always what the Komsomol expected. A *chastushka* from 1929 conveyed the difficulties a woman had in understanding what was being discussed at meetings:

Коммуниста любила–	I loved a Communist—
На собрание ходила,	I went to meetings,
Где понять старалася,	Where I tried to understand
Про что толковалася.	What was being said.[198]

The Komsomol appealed to a tiny but growing number of young peasant women because of the cultural and educational activities the organization offered. One explained how she became interested in the League when somebody told her to sign up to organize shows and read good books.[199] The Komsomol encouraged the young generation to get a formal education:

Пойду в школу я учиться,	I will go to school to learn,
Буду политграмотной,–	I will learn about politics,
Не захочет мил жениться	My sweetheart will not want to marry
На девке неграмотной.	An illiterate girl.[200]

Комсомольцев кто не любит	Who doesn't love the Komsomol?
И я стала их любить.	I've started to love them:
Образованные люди	They're an educated lot,
Знают что поговорить.	And they know what they say.[201]

In 1925 the Komsomol began publishing the magazine *Zhurnal krest'ianskoi molodezhi* for its peasant activists, exposing them to political art intended for the young would-be elite in the Soviet countryside. The magazine introduced the values of the new Communist peasant woman: she was smart and assertive, showing her political priorities and class consciousness by asking her fiancé to support the Red Army and Air Force.[202] Undoubtedly, some of the Komsomol *chastushki* became popular among the young. This was especially the case with catchier *chastushki*, such as *Komsomolka Dunia*. In the version by the Komsomol poet Vasilii Kumach, "red" Dunia is an indefatigable *komsomolka* who teaches children and reads newspapers to illiterate village women:

Наша Дуня, как цветочек,	Our Dunia is like a flower,
На ней аленький платочек.	Crimson kerchief on her head.
Э-эх, Дуня, Дуня, Дуня, я,	Oh, Dunia, Dunia, Dunia,
Комсомолочка моя.	You Komsomolka Dunia.
У Дуняши много дела,–	Dunia has so much to do
Вся от дела похудела.	From her work she has lost weight.
Э-эх, Дуня, Дуня, Дуня, я,	Oh, Dunia, Dunia, Dunia,
Неустанная моя.	My tireless Dunia.[203]

Later, Soviet graphic propaganda would also feature the young peasant woman, always politically open to the new state, as a slimmer figure than the traditional *baba*. In a folk version, Dunia is a *Komsomolka*, who is depicted, not at work, but as she is being wooed by sailors:

Ах, Дуня, Дуня я,	Oh, Dunia, Dunia,
Камсамолочка мая!	My little Komsomolka.
Вышла Дуня за вароты,	She walks out the gate, my Dunia,
А за нею все матросы.	All the sailors trailing after her.[204]

In the peasant version, membership in the Komsomol has made Dunia all the more attractive to the opposite sex.

While it may be true that the image of the heroic peasant woman did not emerge in political poster art until 1930, the Komsomol peasant literature of the 1920s, in particular Komsomol *chastushki*, posited the indefatigable Dunia or the peasant *komsomolka* as role models to counter the dark, oppressed *baba*.[205] Red Dunia could not perhaps overcome the perception of peasant women as dark and ignorant entirely, but the political literature showed her to be collectively oriented, modern, and an educated dynamo. She ran the People's House and made speeches and reports, as the subject of this Komsomol *chastushka*:

Пишу, дремлю, качаюся,	I write, I doze off,
Читать доклад решаюся,	I decided to make a report,
За чтеньем Ильича	Candle, shed your light,
Гори, моя свеча.	While I read Lenin.[206]

A peasant version depicted the girl as the object of admiration:

Мой батистовый платочек	My cambric kerchief
Палитикой пахнет.	Smells of politics.
Завтра сделаю доклад–	Tomorrow when I give a talk,
Вся публика ахнет.	The public will "ooh" and "ah."[207]

The kerchief does not exude the smell of perfume, which shows the young woman's rejection of the much criticized feminine love of cosmetics and other frivolities for political activity. But it differs from "official" *chastushki* in the image of the public sighing in admiration, which gives a lighthearted quality to the singer's endeavors.

The "new Komsomol *krest'ianka*" improved the cultivation of flax, traditionally a woman's domain, by reading books on agronomy.[208] She was encouraged to take part in innovative farming, to be familiar with the new technology and tools:

Ну и девка наша Маша,	There is no guy who can equal
Лучше парпня землю пашет.	Our girl, Masha, working the land.
	Or,
Грабли, косы и серпы	Rakes, scythes, and sickles
Подают в отставку.	Will now go into retirement.
Мой-то милый агроном	My sweetheart is an agronomer,
Привёз сноповязку....	He brought us a binder.[209]

Later in the decade some of these ideas on modern agriculture found their way in the popular *chastushki*:

Кто бежит от агронома,	He who flees the agronomer,
Как от солнышка сава,–	Like the owl flees the sunlight,
У таво ва щах салома,	Eats hay in his soup,
В поле сорная трава.	And grows weeds in his fields.[210]

The *komsomolka* was an actress and a singer in her spare time. She stood up to her family and refused to fast for the holidays. And she shunned kulak suitors, preferring to be free rather than rich.[211] Since the 1880s the peasant woman had been seen by the Russian intelligentsia as particularly materialistic. [212] The Communists, the Komsomol included, could not but be influenced by that cultural assessment. The 1930 poster *"Idi v kolkhoz"* by Nikolai Terpsikhorov depicted a smiling young peasant woman bringing her horse and cow into the collective farm despite the tug of a kulak, a drunk, and other class enemies.[213] The corrective to the greedy *baba*, the young *krest'ianka* fighting class enemies was already a prominent feature of Komsomol *chastushki* in the 1920s.

The *Zhurnal krest'ianskoi molodezhi* (Magazine for Young Peasants, or Zhkm) also featured feisty *komsomolki* who lived with their mates without the benefit of a church wedding.[214] This was not the tearful bride of old, but an assertive woman who proclaimed to her wedding guests:

> I'm not bitter on my wedding day, I don't cry, but feel happy with all my soul, as I start a new life. My first duty: to be a conscious citizen, to participate in the construction of the new life....I will strive to strengthen and bring to life everything that the October Revolution has given us, peasants....On my shoulders I carry the burden of the household and family; I have the responsibility for raising children, the new generation, the builders of the new life.[215]

The statement was a clear rebuttal of the traditional wedding lament (see the bath-house wedding eve lament above). The wedding is the symbol of the community's endurance and expansion. In the Komsomol version, the ritual becomes as well the opportunity for the young couple, in this particular case the bride, to prove her loyalty and gratitude, no longer to her parents but to the Revolution. Her wedding is still a collective event but it expands beyond the village to the state. This Komsomol bride would not baptize her children in church, but give them revolutionary names, such as Vladlen and Kim (the initials for the Communist Youth International), at secular naming ceremonies known as *oktiabriny*. A Komsomol *chastushka* voiced a member's request to his mate:

Роди, милая, мне сына,	Give me a son, my darling,
Мы с тобою в клуб пойдём,	And we'll take him to the club,
Там устроим октябрины,	We will have a celebration,
Сына Кимом назовём.	And will name him "Kim."[216]

The more colorful peasant version appeared already in 1927:

Нарадится сын-рибёнак,	When my baby son is born
Не пайду к попу кристить,	I won't take him to the priest,
Я назначу сыну имя–	I will pick his name myself,
Будет век благодарить.	He will thank me all his life![217]

Both the "new" wedding and the naming ceremony acknowledged the force of traditional rituals in peasant life, while at the same time politicizing and secularizing them in form and content.

The Komsomol capitalized on the popularity of *chastushki* and other folk traditions (as in the Komsomol version of a wedding lament cited above) by publishing political versions in their newspapers and magazines, especially in the *Magazine for Young Peasants*. But those were artificial compositions that lacked the

dynamism of the authentic peasant *chastushka*. To what extent could those *chastushki* that appeared in the press, or on bulletin boards, be considered folk art? Were they merely "literary activity using the *chastushka* form"?[218] I would argue that to dismiss Komsomol *chastushki* as purely artificial creations is incorrect. A singer might have heard a Komsomol *chastushka* or seen it in published form, but she might have only used the part that suited her, and tailored it to her needs. Because the genre was so flexible, *chastushki* were and continue to be influenced by other genres and by "official" or artificial *chastushki* as well. Similarly, the official *chastushki* often picked up verses and motifs from improvised ones, blurring the boundaries between the two. Most important, the Komsomol used the genre to convey the new values to the young rural elite and to politically committed young peasants. In doing so the Komsomol participated in the introduction of these new values into important sectors of rural society."[219]

Conclusion

The marketplace and the mobility of the Russian population, which accelerated during the First World War and lasted throughout the 1920s and later, shrank the distances that had kept the peasants isolated from one another and from the cities and towns. The *chastushki* reflected these closer ties, which were fortified by the media and by better transportation. *Chastushki* "travelled" the length and breadth of the country. Themes and even actual verses were carried from town to town. Yet ultimately both the composer and the singer modified a particular *chastushka* to their own taste and to the moment's pressing issues.[220] The individualism and spontaneity of the peasant *chastushka* make it an excellent historical source for the study of the young peasant woman.

Chastushki captured images of a world in flux as viewed by the young generation. In the 1920s and before, the genre was dominated by young peasant

women. Thus courtship and love themes predominated, being of primordial importance to those who were the writers and interpreters of most *chastushki*. As such, the genre is unique in illuminating the peasant world, not only from the perspective of the peasant woman, but in her own voice.

The young peasant woman used *chastushki* not to tell a narrative, as the longer, lyrical song had done. Neither did she seek to "tell the truth" or depict reality. Instead, she sang *chastushki* to entertain, tease, show glimpses of her feelings about life, love, and the world around her, and to offer commentaries on the immediate events in her life and on social and political realities. What emerges from the *chastushki* is the perspicacity of young peasants observing their world, much of the time with a remarkable sense of humor.

In contrast to the *chastushka*, the traditional lyrical "long" song could not reflect the changes occurring in the Russian village during the 1920s. It is for this reason the *chastushka* was adopted as the preferred genre by new elites. The genre's flexibility and dynamism made it an incomparable tool in their program of cultural and political transformation. However, the *chastushka* remained an autochthonous form, official use notwithstanding. Even as peasants assimilated the new culture, with its values, and images, they expressed these in familiar forms (e.g., the dancing "red" Dunia with sailors trailing behind her, or Trotsky the *lapti* weaver).

Beginning in the 1920s the *chastushka* was universalized; it left the confines of the village world and ceased to be the purview of young peasant women. In this sense, only before the 1920s can we cull the verses for insights into their specific world. Although they remain a rich source for the study of popular *mentalité*, as do jokes and songs, *chastushki* have lost some of their gender specificity as the genre became an important part of mainstream official and popular culture.

Notes

This essay is a revised version of a paper presented at the AAASS annual convention held in Miami, Florida in November 1991. It owes much to many people. The unpublished *chastushki* that are the heart of this essay were given to me by Viktor P. Danilov, whom I met while on an exchange program with the Institute of History of the USSR, Academy of Sciences. I am grateful for Viktor Petrovich's generosity and for his encouragement. Along the way, many friends and colleagues have given me insights that have enriched this work. Miriam Liberman Nikolaeva gave me invaluable help in preparing and typing hundreds of verses. Marina Cunningham has shared her translations of Riazan *chastushki* with me. Richard Stites, who served as commentator when I presented the paper at the Kennan Institution, gave me the title. Arnaldo Cruz helped me clarify some of my ideas on symbols and language. Karen Offen and Reginald Zelnik read the manuscript carefully at a late stage and gave me invaluable detailed suggestions. I wish to thank the members of the NEH seminar on the "Woman Question" for their comments, support, and humor.

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1. Riazanskii istoricheskii-arkhitekturnyi muzei-zapovedeniia. Nauchnyi arkhiv. Etnologicheskii arkhiv "Obshchestvo izucheniia Riazanskogo kraia" (hereafter, OIRK), Kn. XX, no. 485: 33.

2. V. P. Danilov, "O russkoi chastushke kak istochnike po istorii derevni," in *Sovetskaia kul'tura: 70 let razvitiia*, ed. B. B. Piotrovskii (Moscow: Nauka, 1987), p. 383.

3. V. P. Danilov, *Rural Russia under the New Regime*, tr. O. Figes (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1988), p. 42.

4. Comments by Titov-Zaoskii. OIRK, Kn. VIII, no. 182 (1924).

5. Danilov, "O russkoi chastushke kak istochnike po istorii derevni," p. 385.

6. I am not addressing the *chastushki*'s musical aspect. Neither am I rendering the strict rhyme and the regional color of their language.

7. Rabotnov, "Nizovaia 'chastushka'," *Zhivaia kartina*, 1906: vyp. I, pp. 75-76.

8. Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant *Mentalité*: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *The Russian Review*, vol. 48, no. 2 (1989): 122.

9. David Harlan, "Intellectual History and the Return of Literature," *American Historical Review*, vol. 94, no. 3 (June 1989): 586.

10. N. G. Sokolov, "Vosstanovlenie i dal'neishee razvitie sel'skogo khoziaistva Riazanskoi gubernii v 1920-1927 gg.," *Nekotorye voprosy kraevedeniia i otechestvennoi istorii. Uchenye zapiski*, t. III, Riazan, 1972, pp. 35-36, 49.

11. Susan Bridger, *Women in the Soviet Countryside: Women's Role in Rural Development in the Soviet Union*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 98.

12. Ethel Dunn, "Russian Rural Women," Dorothy Atkinson, et al., eds., *Women in Russia*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), p. 170.

13. Danilov, "Novyi byt," *Iunyi kommunist*, 1924, no. 3, p. 44; M. Ia. Fenomenov, *Sovremennaia derevnia: Opyt kraevedchskogo obsledovaniia odnoi derevni*, vol 2 (Leningrad-Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo, 1925), p. 7.

14. Ethel and Stephen Dunn, *The Peasants of Central Russia*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967), p. 23.

15. Christine Worobec, *Peasant Russia; Family and Community in the Post-Emancipation Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 131, 137.

16. A. M. Bol'shakov, *Derevnia, 1917-1927* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1927), p. 387.

17. Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Volgodskoi oblasti (hereafter, GAVO), f. 4389, op. 1, d. 348: 98 and 101 (1924).

18. Brechalov's comments to his collection of *chastushki* from Tot'ma, 1923-1926. GAVO, f. 4389, op. 1, d. 363.

19. Worobec, *Peasant Russia,* p. 137.

20. OIRK, Kn. I, no. 4: 13 (1923). Tr. by Marina Cunningham.

21. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 127.

22. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 125; V. P. Semenov, ed., *Rossiia. Polnoe geograficheskoe opisanie nashego otechestva*, t. II: *Srednerusskaia chernozemnaia oblast'*, St. Petersburg, 1902, p. 160.

23. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 50: 82 (1925).

24. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 208 (1929).

25. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 89 (1920).

26. At the turn of the century the average marriage age for Russian women was twenty. See Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 125. By 1924 the age for first marrriage for men was 27.8 and for women 24.2, but that included the urban population. See Barbara Clements, "The Effects of the Civil War on Women and Family Relations," Koenker *et al.*, eds., *Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1989), p. 122 fn.

27. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496: 726 (1930).

28. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496: 19 (1927).

29. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b: 28 (1927).

30. Danilov, "O russkoi chastushke kak istochnike po istorii derevni," p. 384.

31. Iankovskaia-Baidina, "Kak guliaet krest'ianskaia molodezh'," *Ocherki byta derevenskoi molodezhi*, Moscow, 1924, p. 62.

32. On artisanal *posedki* in Tver, see Bol'shakov, *Derevnia 1917-1927*, p. 387.

33. Mary Matossian, "The Peasant Way of Life," *Russian Peasant Women*, ed. B. Farnsworth and L. Viola (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 35.

34. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 130.

35. Dunn, *Peasants of Central Russia*, p. 119; M. D. Malinina, "Ocherki Riazanskoi meshchery," *Vestnik Riazanskikh kraevedov*, 1925, no. 3, p. 14.

36. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b: 80 (1927). Tr. by Marina Cunningham.

37. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 457 (1927-29).

38. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 30: 18 (1924).

39. Maslova, "Narodnaia odezhda russkikh, ukraintsev, belorusov v XIX-nachale XX v.," *Vostochnoslavianskii etnograficheskii sbornik*, ed. S. A. Tokarev, Moscow, 1956, p. 566.

40. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 30: 18.

41. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b (1927).

42. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b: 89 (1927).

43. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b: 13 and 14 (1927).

44. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 50: 95, 96 (1925).

45. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 932 (1926).

46. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 937 (1927-29).

47. OIRK, Kn. XVII, no. 406: 86 This *chastushka* was written between 1914-1918 but was still sung in the 1920s.

48. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 137.

49. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 2 (1929).

50. Dunn, *Peasants of Central Russia*, p. 119; G. S. Maslova, "Narodnaia odezhda," p. 561.

51. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 85: 183.

52. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 35. Tr. Marina Cunningham.

53. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 750 and 763 (1927).

54. V. A. Murin, *Byt i nravy derevenskoi molodezhi* (Moscow: Novaia Moskva, 1926), pp. 6-7, 12, 16.

55. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 85: 140.

56. Sula Benet, "Some Changes in Family Structure and Personality among the Peasants of Great Russia," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. 32, no. 1 (January 1970): 57.

57. Clements, "Effects of the Civil War on Women and Family Relations," p. 114.

58. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 135.

59. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 30: 1 (1924).

60. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 135.

61. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 188 (1929).

62. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496: 1692 (1928).

63. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 178 and 181 (1927).

64. GAVO, f. 4389, d. 363 (1928).

65. Fedor Ziman, *Krest'ianskaia devushka i RLKSM* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1924), pp. 3, 6.

66. Rose Glickman, "Women and the Peasant Commune," in Roger Bartlett, ed., *Land, Commune and Peasant Community in Russia: Communal Forms in Imperial and Early Soviet Society* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 322.

67. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 172 (1929).

68. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 79.

69. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 78.

70. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 30 (1924).

71. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 30 (1924).

72. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 14.

73. Danilov, "O russkoi chastushke kak istochnike po istorii derevni," p. 379.

74. Dunn, *Peasants of Central Russia*, p. 116; N. Mogilianskii, "Poezdka v Tsentral'nuiu Rossiu dlia sobiraniia etnograficheskikh kollektsii," in *Materialy po etnografii Rossii*, t. I, ed. F. K. Volkov (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Etnograficheskago Otdela Russkago Muzeia Imperatora Aleksandra, 1910), pp. 4-5.

75. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496.

76. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b: 3 (1927). Tr. by Marina Cunningham.

77. OIRK, Kn. VII, no. 173: 24 (late 1920s).

78. GAVO, f. 4389, op. 1, d. 372: 39.

79. OIRK, Kn. XVII, no. 406.

80. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 24.

81. GAVO, f. 4389, op. 1, d.154: 23 (1924).

Любите девушки солдатиков.
И надо их любить–

Образованные люди
Надо что поговорить.

82. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 487 (1930).

83. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 432 (1927-1929).

84. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496: 127 (1929).

85. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 50: 74 (1925).

86. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 37 (1923).

87. Rose Glickman, "Peasant Women and their Work," in *The World of the Russian Peasant; Post-Emancipation Culture and Society*, ed. by Ben Eklof and Stephen Frank (London: Unwyn Hyman, 1990), p. 60.

88. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 564 (1927).

89. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b: 26 (1927).

90. OIRK, Kn. XVII, no. 406: 30. Tr. by Marina Cunningham.

91. OIRK, Kn. XVII, no. 406: 35. Tr. by Marina Cunningham.

92. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294.

93. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 518 (1927).

94. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294 (1927-1929).

95. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485.

96. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 891a (1927).

97. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 91.

98. OIRK, Kn. XVII, no. 406: 69.

99. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 50: 71 (1925).

100. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b: 19 (1927).

101. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 137.

102. Ibid., p. 158.

103. A. M. Astaxova, "Improvisation in Russian Folklore," *The Study of Russian Folklore*, ed. and tr. by F. Oinas and S. Soudakoff (Paris: The Hague: Mouton, 1975), p. 103.

104. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 26 (1923). For a description of a similar custom and song in Tver province, see A. M. Bol'shakov, *Derevnia, 1917-1927*, p. 396.

105. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 92: 24 (1920).

106. Benet, "Some Changes in Family Structure and Personality," p. 63.

107. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 30 (1924).

108. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496: 1030 (1929-31).

109. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 82: 10 (1923).

110. Matossian, "The Peasant Way of Life," p. 27.

111. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 490 (1927-29).

112. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 952 (1926).

113. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 52.

114. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 44b (1927).

115. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 928 (1926).

116. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 971.

117. Clements, "Effects of the Civil War on Women and Family," pp. 108, 110.

118. Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, pp. 119, 127-28.

119. Ibid., p. 119.

120. Ibid., p. 120.

121. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490.

122. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 89. This information comes from the compiler's notes in the original collection. The compiler refers to fifteen and sixteen year old brides. For the opposite view see, Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 133.

123. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 67.

124. Danilov, "O russkoi chastushke kak istochnike po istorii derevni," p. 383.

125. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 76: 3 (1923).

126. OIRK, Kn. XVII, no. 406: 23 (1914-1918). This was still sung in the 1920s.

127. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 259 (1929).

128. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 237 (1929).

129. In 1925 the number of radio listeners was no more than 100,000 people. See, Jeffrey Brooks, " Public and Private Values in the Soviet Press, 1921-1928," *Slavic Review* vol. 48, no. 1 (1989): 17.

130. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 89.

131. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 85: 139 (early NEP).

132. OIRK, Kn. VII, no. 155: 62 (1927)

133. OIRK, Kn. VII, no. 155: 61 (1927).

Вышла новая машина
Под названием автобус.
Не тужи, моя милая,

Привезу тебе арбуз.

134. Victoria Bonnell, "The Peasant Woman in Stalinist Political Art of the 1930s," *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 1 (February 1993): 56-57.

135. OIRK, Kn. VII, no. 155: 61 and 62 (1927).

136. Brooks, "Public and Private Values in the Soviet Press, 1921-1928," p. 17.

137. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 966 (1926).

138. V. Orlov, *Rabota sredi devushek-krest'ianok* (Moscow-Leningrad: Molodia gvardiia, 1926), p. 32.

139. Other versions of this *chastushka* appear in OIRK, Kn. VIII, no. 187 (1928) and Kn. XII, no. 286: 13 (1929).

140. Ethel Dunn, "Russian Rural Women," p. 171.

141. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 47.

142. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 258 (1929).

143. Farnsworth, "Village Women Experience the Revolution," p. 165 fn.; id, "Rural Women and the Law," *Russian Peasant Women*, p. 168; Clements, "The Effect of the Civil War," p. 115.

144. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 82: 12.

145. OIRK, Kn. IX, no. 210: 14 (1928-29).

146. Gail W. Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society; Equality, Development, and Social Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 59-60.

147. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 97.

148. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 294: 599 (1927-28).

149. Farnsworth, "Rural Women and the Law," p. 173.

150. Farnsworth, "Village Women Experience the Revolution," p. 154; Dunn, "Russian Rural Women," p. 170.

151. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 23.

152. OIRK, Kn. IX, no. 210: 14 (1928-29).

153 OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 106 (1929).

154. Alfred Meyer, "The Impact of World War I on Russian Women's Lives," Clements, *et al.*, eds., *Russia's Women*, p. 211.

155. Beatrice Farnsworth, "The Litigious Daughter-in-Law," Farnsworth and Viola, *Russian Peasant Women*, pp. 95-96; Worobec, *Peasant Russia*, p. 65.

156. Benet, "Some Changes in Family Structure and Personality among the Peasants of Great Russia," p. 58.

157. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 490: 255 (1929).

158. OIRK, Kn. VII, no. 155: 26 (1927).

159. Sokolov, "Vosstanovlenie i dal'neishee razvitie," pp. 36, 41.

160. OIRK, Kn. IV, no 85: 340.

161. OIRK, Kn. II, no. 50: 83 (1925); Kn. II, no. 44b: 114 (1927).

162. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 89: 91 (early 1920s).

163. OIRK, Kn. VIII, no. 182 (1924).

164. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 85: 366 and 247 (early 1920s).

165. OIRK, Kn. VIII, no. 182 (1924).

166. Brechalov's comments in GAVO, f. 4389, op. 1, d. 363.

167. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 45: 363 (1923).

168. Y. M. Sokolov, *Russian Folklore*, tr. C. R. Smith, New York, 1950, p. 637.

169. OIRK, Kn. IV, no. 89: 82 (early 1920s); Kn. VIII, no. 182 (1924).

170. For example, N. Rabotnov, "Nizovaia 'chastushka'," *Zhivaia kartina*, 1906, vyp. I, p. 75.

171. Ibid., p. 184; Tsentr Khraneniia Dokumentov Molodezhnykh Organizatsii, (TsKhDMO, formerly the Central Komsomol Archive), f. 1, op. 23, d. 303, pp. 12-13, 24-25 (1925); f. 1, op. 23, d. 391, pp. 27-28, 30 (1925-1926).

172. See Potiavin, "Izuchenie russkoi narodnoi pesni," *Ocherki istorii Russkoi etnografii, folkloristiki antropologii*, t. IV (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1968), p. 175.

173. Barbara Engel, "Transformation versus Tradition," Barbara E. Clements, *et al.*, eds., *Russia's Women*, p. 144.

174. Benet, "Some Changes in Family Structure and Personality," p. 64.

175. Bol'shakov, *Derevnia, 1917-1927*, p. 334-5.

176. V. A. Kozlov, *Kul'turnaia revoliutsiia i krest'ianstvo 1921-1927 (Po materialam Evropeiskoi chasti RSFSR)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), p. 150.

177. S. Levitan, "Komsomol v chastushkakh," Bogoraz, *Komsomol v derevne,* p. 148.

178. Bonnell, "The Peasant Woman in Stalinist Art of the 1930s," p. 7.

179. TsKhDMO, f. 1, op. 23, d. 303, pp. 24-25 (1925).

180. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 485: 29.

181. Levitan, "Komsomol v chastushkakh," p. 144.

182. Orlov, *Rabota sredi devushek-krest'ianok*, p. 10; Fedor Ziman, *Po iacheikam Mozhaiskogo uezda* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1925), p. 74.

183. Bonnell, "The Peasant Woman in Stalinist Political Art," p. 66.

184. Ibid., pp. 14-15; A. M. Bolshakov, *Derevnia 1917-1927*, p. 334.

185. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 942.

186. Fedor Pshenichnyi, "Chastushki," *Zhurnal krest'ianskoi molodezhi*, (hereafter, *Zhkm*), 1925, no. 3, pp. 8-9.

187. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496: 178 (1930).

188. GAVO, f. 4389, op. 1, d. 363.

189. Ibid.

190. OIRK, Kn. X, no. 243.

191. "Rabota Komsomola v derevne. Obzor po materialam Informatsionnogo podotdela TsK za vremia s XIV s"ezda VKP (b)," TsKhDMO, f. 1, op. 23, d. 666, p. 54 (1927: vyp. V); Shokhin, *Komsomol'skaia derevnia*, p. 92; "Litso derevenskogo komsomola," *Zhkm*, 1926, no. 17, pp. 13-14; TsK RLKSM. Statisticheskii otdel (Central Committee of the Russian Komsomol, Statistical Division), *Komsomol v derevne*, vyp. 4, Moscow, 1925, p. xv.

192. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 496: 1673 (1929).

193. Troitskii, "Shestnadtsat' protsentov," *Iunyi kommunist*, 1924, no. 2, p. 9; Zamosvoretskaia, "O devushke," *Iunyi kommunist*, 1924, no. 7, p. 236.

194. Victoria Bonnell, "The Representation of Women in Early Soviet Political Art," *Russian Review*, vol. 50, no. 3 (1991): 284-85.

195. Ibid., p. 285. See also, Lynne Viola, "Bab'i Bunty and Peasant Women's Protest during Collectivization," *Russian Review*, vol. 45, no. 1 (1986): 23-24; Cathy A. Frierson, *Peasant Icons: Representations of Rural People in Late 19th Century Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1993, p. 179.

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197. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 920 (1926).

198. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 286: 11 (1929).

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200. "Chastushki," *Zhkm*, 1925, no. 4, p. 8.

201. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 918 (1926).

202. Vasilii Kumach, "Aero-chastushki," in *ZhKM*, 1925, no. 2, pp. 6-7.

203. V. Kumach, "Komsomolka Dunia," *ZhKM*, 1925, no. 2, p. 8.

204. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 294: 880 (1927).

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207. OIRK, Kn. VI, no. 134: 5 (1928).

208. V. Arlov, "Lion," *Zhkm*, 1925, no. 14, pp. 8-9.

209. "Chastushki," *Zhkm*, 1925, no. 5, p. 8.

210. OIRK, Kn. XX, no. 294: 581 (1927).

211. V. Kumach, "Komsomolka Dunia," *Zhkm*, 1925, no. 2, pp. 8-9.

212. Frierson, *Peasant Icons*, p. 170.

213. Bonnell, "The Peasant Woman in Stalinist Political Art of the 1930s," *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 1 (February 1993): 62-63.

214. "Paskhal'nye" *Zhkm*, 1925, no. 7, pp. 8-9.

215. "Svad'ba po novomu," *Zhkm*, 1925, no. 22, pp. 8-9.

216. "Chastushki," *Zhkm*, 1925, no. 4, p. 8.

217. OIRK, Kn. XII, no. 294: 222 (1927).

218. Astaxova, "Improvisation in Russian Folklore," pp. 102-103.

219. Brooks, " Public and Private Values in the Soviet Press, 1921-1928," p. 17, reported that in so doing, the new terms and concepts ceased to be "unintelligible, uninteresting, and largely irrelevant."

220. Danilov, "O russkoi chastushke kak istochnike po istorii derevni," p. 387.