

THE ERZYA AND MOKSHA PLOTS ABOUT THE FAMILY AND CONJUGAL RELATIONS OF GODS AND PEOPLE

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is to study the Erzya and Moksha folklore and mythological plots about marriage brokerage, getting a bride and family creation. They are of the same importance as the narratives about the creation of the Earth and Human, as they continue the theme of creating the world, but in the household and family sphere. Their central heroes are gods and goddesses, but like grooms and brides, they are similar to people, and the wedding ceremony is held according to terrestrial customs and traditions. In the myth, the sky is identical with the earth: there are quite earthly houses, quite earthly roads along which earthly horses are galloping. The heavenly bride and groom do not differ in any way from the earthly ones. The transfer of the «earth» is explained by the fact, that people could not imagine a different environment of the gods, than the one they knew. Therefore, people simulated the life of gods with the human one, excluding only a peasant labor from it. Nevertheless, the patriarchal family of the supreme god Ineshkipaz, along with obvious analogies with the patriarchal earthly family, retains all the signs of the divine family. This is expressed both in personalities and functions, performed by them. All of them are gods, personifying certain forces of nature. In marriages between people and gods, the initiative usually belongs to gods, especially to Purginepaz. Myths are characterized by a freedom to choose a spouse, which is absent in other genres of folklore – a fairy tale, an epic song, etc. They contain different household, family and social ideology: neither a bride nor a groom have freedom of choice. Marriage issues are solved by the family, following the centuries-old traditions and the established rituals, which are reasonable as they provide welfare. The main merit of the bride is her beauty. The idealization of beauty is the result of a developed aesthetic consciousness, which appeared in the society with the development of social and moral relations. The esthetics of marriage and a family rite is shown in the article through the analysis of invariant plots about courtship of the underground world god Mastorpaz to the goddess of water and love Vedyava, about Purginepaz and Vezorgo's marriage, about Azravka's marriage to the Purginepaz's son Yondol, about the theft of the terrestrial girl by the god and transferring of her to the heaven, etc., through the definition of the role and the place of gods and people, through the identification of semantic structure of their key images. The research was conducted using historical, genetic, descriptive, structural and semantic methods.

Keywords: Myth, epic, folklore and mythological plots, marriage and family relations, Erzya and Moksha gods.

INTRODUCTION

An important place in the folklore of the Finno-Ugric peoples is taken by the Mordovian (Erzya and Moksha) mythological plots about the family and marriage relations of gods and people (about marriage brokerage, getting of the and creation of family). The aesthetic of marriage and family rite are presented, for example, in such stories as: the marriage brokerage and love of the underworld god Mastorpaz to the goddess of water Vedyaveva; the Purginepaz's marriage to Vezorgo; Azravka's get married to Yondola – the son of Purginepaz; the abduction of the terrestrial girl by the deity, her transferring to heaven, etc. At the heart of our article is the analysis of such-like mythological plots, revealing in them the role and the place of gods and people, the definition of the semantic structure of their key images.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

The aesthetic of marriage is especially brightly embodied in the plot about the marriage brokerage of the god of the underworld Mastorpaz to the goddess of water and his love to Vedyava. Vedyava and Mastorpaz symbolize opposite principles: Mastorpaz – the powers of evil hypogeum, the realm of the dead, the otherworld, and Vedyava – beauty, love, life. They are incompatible, and there can't be fruitful connections between them. The ancient man understood it and tried to find an objective explanation of impossibility of a direct connection between good and evil, beauty and ugliness by means of experimental (artificial) reconciliation of mutually exclusive entities.

The household situation was chosen for the art interpretation of problems: Mastorpaz was tired of bachelor life and decided to marry. He thought about Mastorava, but she is ugly. And he chose the beautiful Vedyava, who lives at the bottom of the sea-ocean in a two-storyed house with twelve workers, sits on a white felt in a red corner, spins thread, weaves brocade. Mastorpaz proposed marriage to him. Vedyava agreed with the condition, that she would keep her freedom, she would not leave her house and she would not change her name – she would remain Vedyava (Mordovian national poetry, 1977, p. 80; pp. 84-85). Mastorpaz acceded to conditions, that she will keep her statuses. They began to celebrate a wedding: because of pura (wine) and dance their consciousness was grown dull and they quarreled. Mastorpaz began to assert his supremacy over Vedyava, and Vedyava – over Mastorpaz. Having quarreled, they fought, and dishonored Mastorpaz left without a beard from silk-haired Vedyava. He didn't manage to reach an agreement with the beautiful Goddess, as his contentious temper was more stronger, than the desire to create a family. Besides, he isn't fated to have a wife and children, he has another mission.

According to the canons of the classical wedding, the plot in the myth about the marriage of Purginepaz to Vezorgo develops. They don't know about the existence of each other. Purginepaz, who wants to find a bride, is the diffident young man. He suffers from loneliness. In some myths Purginepaz and Vezorgo act as a brother and a sister. Actually it is not so. Ineshkipaz didn't give a birth, but created Purginepaz. Therefore Vezorgo, who was born from Ineshkiava and Ineshkipaz, is not his physical sister. There is only spiritual kinship between them, so their marriage doesn't lead to incest, which is considered the main obstacle to marriage. However, in mythological plots the related marriages are possible between gods, but it rejected by people. Thus, in some myths Purginepaz appears as a brother to one or another goddesses, and in other myths he already becomes their husband and beloved; or Ineshkipaz often appears as a beloved of goddess, who gives a birth to him. It is quite possible, that one or another status was given to God depending on the situation in which he found himself. Besides, God is multifaceted and ubiquitous, therefore all its manifestations are independent. The role of the matchmaker on the part of Purginepaz is performed by the goddess of the harvest Norovava, who has extraordinary diplomatic abilities. She organizes Purginepaz's wedding with Vezorgo. Purginepaz always expresses itself, erupting thunder and sending lightning, submerge in fear and trembling all flesh on earth. Norovava hopes that the beloved wife will soften the Purginepaz's heart, and he will be less angry and the threat to a ripening crop will disappear (Mordovian national poetry, 1977, p. 90).

The wedding ceremony, according to which Purginepaz get married to Vezorgo, is performed in the same way as people-like. There are almost nothing differences between the earthly world and the heavenly world, where the gods live. In the myth the sky is identical with the earth: there are quite terrestrial houses, there are quite terrestrial roads, on which terrestrial horses gallop. The heavenly bridegroom and fiancée don't differ from the terrestrial ones. Transferring of terrestrial orders on the heaven is explained by the fact, that people couldn't imagine to themselves other environment for gods, than that, which they knew. Therefore, they liken the life of gods to human, excluding only peasant labor from it.

In the consort relations of people and gods, the initiative, as a rule, belongs to the gods, first of all Purginepaz. But in the plot about Azravka Purginepaz is shown in another role: the terrestrial girl herself

wants to become his wife and does everything to implement her desire. Puryginepaz gladly takes Azravka as his wife, having received the blessing of his father Ineshkipaz. Thus, the myth equalizes the roles of the heavenly bridegroom and the terrestrial fiancée and harmonizes their relationships. In this plot extremely high social status of Azravka is new: in the conditions of domination of patriarchy, what is evidenced by the institution of polygamy, she chooses to herself the bridegroom, and chooses not in her native village, but in the heaven, in Ineshkipaz's house. In unplugged life this girl did not have such freedom. The idea of the image of Azravka is in the ascension of the girl over the enslaving life, in granting her the right to control her destiny. In the cosmogonic myth this idea sounds quite correctly, as the central figure in it is a person, and a man is able to become the embodiment of the desired perfection in that case, when the male and female origins forming it are equivalent.

The goddess of the house Yurtava helps Azravka with implementation of her superdifficult plan. The help of Yurtava, who protects the social and moral principles of the family, means the public approval of Azravka's actions (each deity expresses a certain worldview and ideological position, which is expressed the opinion of the majority of people). Once Azravka's father organized a prayer for Yurtava. After the ceremony Azravka took a piece of sacrificial sheep's meat, wrapped it in a white kerchief, went out into a sheep's cowshed, and began to beg Yurtava to show the way to Ineshkipaz, the father of Purginepaz. She complained to Yurtava, that she could not find her husband on the earth, so she is unhappy. Yurtava, having heard Azravka's request, turned back into a hare, came to her and said, that the beautiful woman did not mourn, because she knows about her happiness: it is in the Ineshkipaz's «hands», and her husband will be Purginepaz. Yurtava suggested to Azravka the following way to heaven: go to the cemetery, bow to its owner, recollect grandmothers and grandfathers then go out into the field, stand at the fork in the road, bow to the East, let her hair down, and untie the belt. As soon as Azravka executed the whole procedure in facsimile, the wind lifted her and carried to a black cloud. Purginepaz saw her, led to Ineshkipaz and, having received his blessing, got married (Mordovian national poetry, 1977, pp. 110-117). Azravka herself creates her own destiny, she is her owner. This is indicated by her name, which is formed from two words: *azop* is the master and *aëa* is the woman that is mistress. She keeps the status of the mistress also in heavenly family, after becoming the Purginepaz's wife. Nothing says that she became dependent. Her voluntary desire to become a daughter-in-law of Ineshkipaz is approved both in heaven and on earth. This is because her deed is done not to harm her, it does not lead to dramatic consequences for her and her people.

The myth as a part of the heroic epos gains the signs of a song, if the personal fate of the central character is considered together with the peacemaking problem. Such contingency of the mythological and epic beginnings is observed in the myth song about Azravka, terrestrial girl, get married in marriage for Yondol (Lightning) – the son of Purginepaz. It tells about how the girl lives in a heavenly family. But the plot about Azravka, in spite of existence in it the theme of the personal fate of the main character, remains a mythological plot as its the main problem is formation of the heavenly family, which is consisted of gods and the terrestrial girl. Azravka was destined to become the wife of Yondol, therefore she remained for a long time an old maid in the terrestrial home of her parents. But the time came, and Ineshkipaz remembered her. Once she went to wash to the river Sura. The lightning begun to sparkle, the thunder rumbled (Oral and poetic creativity of the Mordovian people, 2001, p. 59). Ineshkipaz lowers the silver cradle on the copper chain. Azravka puts linen in it, sits down herself and rises in it to heaven. Ineshkipaz marries her to Yondol: Purginepaz is her father-in-law, the lightning god Yondol is the husband, the black cloud is her mother-in-law. Having lived for some time in the heavenly family, Azravka has begun to miss: cries, when she goes out into the street and laughs, when she enters the house. Ineshkipaz notices her sadness, says, that he has seven barns and keys from them. He allows to open six of them, forbids to approach to the seventh. But, if she nevertheless opens the seventh barn – will look through the right shoulder. Azravka opened the first barn – there was the god of cold Kelme; the god of fog Suvatya was in the second barn; the god of Friday Petsya was in the third; the god of week Targo was in the fourth; the god of winter Telyatya was in the fifth; the god of summer Kize was in the sixth. When she opened the seventh barn and she looked through the right shoulder – there was her native land below. Mother and the father prayed for her. Her father had a ladle with blood in his hand, and her mother had a ladle with water. The wicker basket with her good lied tumbled down. Azravka began to grieve very much. Again Ineshkipaz saw her crying and decided to let go home for one hour. He warned that she can't say where she lived, and I can't take the guide (Oral and poetic creativity of the Mordovian people, 2001, pp. 60–61).

When Azravka crossed the door sill of her own home, her father, mother and younger brother were surprised. She warns that she has come for one hour, and she will leave when the second will begin. In spite of Azravka's interdiction, younger brother sees off her. In the middle of his street something throws up him, like a fluff, and hurls on the ground, like a stone. Then Ineshkipaz lowers the silver cradle on the silver chain,

Azravka sits down in it and ascends to the sky (Oral and poetic creativity of the Mordovian people, 2001, p. 61).

As we can see, a lot of things are forbidden to the terrestrial bride. These taboos testify about serious changes in the relationship between gods and people. The gods separated from the earthly world and began to dominate over it. For violation of gods' will cruel punishment – death – follows. The functions of Ineshkipaz are accurately defined: he is the direct head of the heavenly family. The members of the family are in isolated barns under locks and keys and approve themselves only with the permission of Ineshkipaz. In the barn of Ineshkipaz there is a window through which he observes the earth. In the world of people, the barn is a symbol of wealth; grain and other products of peasant labor are stored in it. In Ineshkipaz's economy the barn performs the same function, but the Supreme God holds in it the deities of nature, which are his property, and a wonderful window. The window in the seventh barn is not the accessory of the house, but the independent essence, like a deity.

The patriarchal family of Ineshkipaz in spite of the fact that it is similar to patriarchal terrestrial family, keeps all signs of divine family. It is expressed both in its personalities, and in the functions, which are carried out by them. Family members are the deities, which personify certain forces of nature. What is the assignment of the earth girl Azravka, who became Yondol's wife, the myth doesn't say. Perhaps, the idea of her image is in ascertaining of the fact, that there is no insurmountable abyss between gods and people, that in consciousness of the person there is an implicit confidence in equality to God, therefore, there is conviction in his greatness. For this reason myth-makers, if only at the imagination level, lift the terrestrial woman to the status of the goddess.

Azravka in the Ineshkipaz's house feels uncomfortably, feels a longing for home, for her father and mother. Ineshkipaz understands her experiences, sympathizes with her and even lets her go her to visit parents (Oral and poetic creativity of the Mordovian people, 2001, p. 60). However, involuntary violation of one of his interdictions by Azravka turns him again into the cruel ruler, who does not tolerate disobedience. Ineshkipaz punishes Azravka's brother by death, when he went to see her off. God doesn't want to let any of the people see the moment of Azravka's ascension. If earlier each person could communicate with God, then now only the elect are worthy of it, all the others are punished severely for trying to see the deity.

Increased attention to the personal fate of the central heroine, what is not peculiar to the myth, but to the epic song (Sharonov, 2001, pp. 89-92), strongly manifested itself in poetic narrations about Litova, who, like Azravka, becomes the wife of Purginepaz (or his son). If in the myths about Azravka the leading theme is the formation of a divine family, then in the songs about Litova this problem isn't almost define. The heavenly family in them is similar to terrestrial patriarchal family, and the subject matter of the art image are misadventures of the terrestrial girl, to whom the gods pay attention and kidnap to the sky as the bride. The behavior of the girl is also new in the songs about Litov: Azravka herself is looking for a way to heaven, she wants to become the member of the family of Ineshkipaz, Litova strongly opposes this, she is taken in heavenly family by force. Litova is an unloved daughter of parents, but it doesn't say anything in the myth about father and mother's bad attitude towards Azravka. All this means, that in the songs about Litova the mythological perception of the terrestrial girl (the bride of the deity) was replaced by social and household perception of her. Through the image of the unloved daughter getting into heavenly family, which is alien to her, and where she lives as a slave, the songwriters show the tragic fate of real girls in a marriage, in another family, in strange generation, where they depend on the despotic father-in-law and mother-in-law. The tragic moment in the image of the epic Litova is enhanced by the fact, that by nature she is clever, beautiful, industrious, affectionate daughter; she is respected by girlfriends and villagers. Underlining of Litova's accomplishments is the artistical device that shows the transformation's ways of mythological plots into poetic works. Litova guesses about her impending doom, her parents also know about it, and, apparently, for this reason they don't love her. They, being ordinary people, dislike the chosenness of their daughter, who is not their continuation. She is something alien, incomprehensible for them, as if she is otherworldly; therefore they disengage themselves from her. The lads of the village somehow get wind of the Litova's special predestination and therefore they are afraid even to look after her, although she is amazingly beautiful. Despite father and mother's hostility, Litova lives in a front room with a red window, where she has three tubs with beautiful clothes. Once, when she gets out on the street, Verepaz kidnaps her and gives in marriage to Yondol. Living in heavenly family, the girl misses the paternal home. Gods take pity on her and let go to visit her parents. They harness three horses for her. Nevertheless Litova doesn't wait her father and mother and returns to heaven with nothing (Samples of Mordovian folk literature, 1882, pp. 172-174). Litova's arrival on the divine three is accompanied by the ring of heaven and earth tremor, what indicates her communication with the deity. The preservation of the close connection of the song with the mythological plot is also in Litova's understanding, that she is predestined for a heavenly marriage.

In other cases, this connection is much weaker. So, for example, she flies home, wearing the falcon's wings, together with her husband and son Purgin, as if he is an ordinary person. Having arrived home, married couple finds Litova's father and mother, who are very glad to them and ask their daughter for forgiveness. Litova doesn't angry and asks to bless her and her husband. But when the time of their stay is over, and they fly away without receiving a blessing (Mordovian folk poetry, 1938, p. 295). Here the mythological plot is interpreted as an ordinary family-household situation out of the context of the creation of the world. There is nothing unusual in Litova's kidnapping to heaven and in her arrival home with husband-god. It is an epic song with mythological content: the plot is mythological, poetics is epic and songlike. Relationship between parents and their daughter has purely household character: they became angry with her because of her disobedience. But young people don't get the blessing as people do customary. Probably, mythmakers understood, that Litova's father and mother can't influence on her divine marriage, inasmuch as, having changed the status, the girl has began to exist in another worldview system.

In some plots parents hate the unloved daughter so much, that they wish her death: Lyutova was ill for seven years and let rot seven beds, and her father thrust out of the house, drove to the river bank, threw off on a muckheap and left there, helpless, to die (Saratov ethnographic collection, 1922, p. 182). Manifestation of parental cruelty is, most likely, a consequence of destruction of the song, oblivion of its original plot and the main idea (Sharonov, 2001, p. 182). In most cases, father and mother's animus toward their daughter does not contain hatred. The marriage with the deity is perceived by them as transition to another world. A.I. Maskayev, analyzing songs about Litova, supposed, that the antipathy of parents to their daughter can be a response of «initiator ceremonies, the numerous taboos of keeping of youth during the certain period in the special isolated rooms» (Maskaev, 1964, p. 122).

The transfer of the girl to the sky takes place in late spring or early summer, during the full awakening of nature, the onset of active weather phenomena (storm, rain, thunderstorm), when the thief Purginepaz displays his cosmic force. Therefore, Litova goes out to play only in fine weather. But the storm, rain and thunderstorm suddenly appear also in fine weather – during the abduction (hurry away) of the girl, and then instantly disappear. Rain and thunderstorms are also obligatory, even in the case, when the girl herself wishes to become the wife of a thunderbolt (god of thunder), because they are his indispensable attributes. The abduction is performed according to the wedding ceremony with the kidnapping of the bride: the groom and his companions suddenly appear; he captures the girl and disappears in the unknown direction. The thunderbolt does the same; he also wants to escape recognition. In this analogy the explanation of the mystery of abduction is seen: the heavenly ceremony repeats terrestrial.

In the Moksha plots about abduction of the terrestrial girl by the deity the song and mythological principles of exposition are replaced by song and fairy-tale forms. There is no motive of parents' dislike of their daughter, on the contrary, they love her very much protect against a possible misfortune. And the girl is kidnapped in another way: the Supreme god either raises her to the sky with a strong wind, or takes her away from the village swing, on which her brothers or girlfriends seat her. The action is also developed in a different way. So, in the «Stiryava» song the heroine embroiders in the barn. Girlfriends come and call her to play, to go on the high swings. They lead her to the street by trick, seat on the swing. God Shkabavaz notices her and takes in the daughter-in-law. Seven years pass. God orders Stiryava to bring from the barn millet and warns, that she can glance in all windows, except the earth. Stiryava could not endure: she looked in the forbidden window and saw her mother, who swung her brother in a cradle. Then mother-in-law abuses Stiryava for disobedience. Stiryava tells her, that she is sick for mother and begs to let go for her father's house. The goddess seats her in a cradle and lowers to her native farmstead. There is only a brother at home. She sends him to the new house to call for mother and father, but they don't believe, that she returns, and continue to go about their business. It is time for Stiryava to go to heaven. She leaves marks on the table and on the wall in order for parents to believed in her appearance in own home. Then she sits down and rises to heaven. When the father and mother come to the house, her brother shows them the marks from the hands and the sister's head.

The song about Stiryava significantly differs from other plots in the fact, that the girl receives unusual abilities from her husband and other members of the heavenly family. Among these abilities is to leave imprint of fire marks on objects to which she touches. These traces are symbols of fire, the deities of which are Purginepaz and Yondol. According to A.I. Maskayev, the marks, which Stiryava left on the table and the wall, are some family coat of arms (Maskaev, 1964, p. 141), which can't be traced by simple touch of a hand and a head. This requires possessing of superenergy, which Stiryava has received from the deity husband. At the same time, the motive of Stiryava's predetermination to be the wife of the celestial has fallen out from the song. It indicates the weakening of the mythological ideology.

We can see the same in the song about Nasilka, which has fantastic and Christian motives (Oral and poetic creativity of the Mordovian people, 2001, p. 65). When Nasilka become the wife of the deity, she doesn't ask let her to visit parents. It is another way of abducting in this song: Shkay helps an old woman miraculously to give birth to a girl, whom he makes to cry day and night, provokes the old woman to ask him to calm her down and promise to marry her. He warns Nasilka about kidnapping and abducts her without resorting to the thunderbolt's help. Here the mythological plot is realized according to the laws of fairy tale poetics. We can see something similar in the song about Vasalga (Oral and poetic creativity of the Mordovian people, 2001, p. 73). The mythological plot is also transformed into a fairy tale in it: all attention is transferred here to the personal fate of the Moksha girl, who doesn't show any activity and initiative. She doesn't even ask to go home to the earth, Shkabavaz himself sends her to visit her parents. Such Vasalga's behavior is explained by the fact, that she is born thank Shkabavaz's blessing and since infancy she has been promised as daughter-in-law to him by mother. At the same time, her passivity is caused by loss of the song of its relevance, the weakening of interest to it. According to A.I. Maskayev, the song about Vasalga has motive of the fairy tale about the promised son, and the song about Nasilka – about miraculous conception from the eaten fish (Maskaev, 1964, pp. 128–129).

The transformation of the myth into a fairy tale and an epic song is partly traced also through the names of the heroine: Azravka, Litava, Litova, Syrzha, Syryava, Stiryava, Nasilka, Vasalga, etc. In the most ancient versions of the plot she is called Azravka that is the mistress. The name indicates the high status of the heroine, her rather independent role in the heavenly family (creator, mistress). In the Litava, Litova names (they are from *лѹѣту* – flying + *аѣа* – woman, what means *a flying woman* or *a flying away woman*), the unusual abilities and unusual fate of the heroine are emphasized: her ascension to heaven, arrival from heaven to home on a visit; and return, which takes place either in cradle, which is lowered by Ineshkipaz, either on a wind stream, or with the help of bird wings. The ability to fly by any of these ways is understood as evidence of the girl's chosenness by the god and her difference from other people. By the Syryava and Stiryava names (they are from *сѣпе* – old + *аѣа* – the woman, what means *the old maid* or *the aging girl*) is marked out long «sitting» of the heroine in girls, because she is destined to become the wife of deity. The name Kirdyava has the same meaning (it is from *купѣзь*, *withheld, remain unmarried for some reason too long*). The Nasilka and Vasalga names, which the heroine has in songs fairy tales, don't contain a mythological connotation, they don't designate her social status (Sharonov, 2001); tears and sufferings are explained by psychological causes, longing for home and parents.

CONCLUSION

So, the basis of the Erzya and Moksha folk and mythological plots about the family and conjugal relations of gods and people is made by such stories: matchmaking and love of the god of the underworld Mastorpaz to the goddess of water Vedyaeve; the Purginepaz's marriage to Vezorgo; Azravka's get married to Yondol – the son of Purginepaz; the abduction of the terrestrial girl by the deity, her transferring to heaven, etc. The central heroes in them are gods and goddesses, but as grooms and brides they are similar to people, and the wedding ceremony is made according to terrestrial customs and traditions. The main merit of the bride is her beauty. The idealization of beauty is the consequence of the developed aesthetic consciousness, which appears in society together with the mature social and moral relations.

Those ideas of mythological plots, which are understood and supported by many people, are reproduced and developed in the fairy fairy tale and the epic song. In this case, we are talking about the formation of the heavenly patriarchal family and about the status of a woman in it as a wife, who is forcibly or with her consent stolen by Purginepaz, Ineshkipaz, Shkay. The terrestrial family was an example for creation of heavenly family, but the heavenly family didn't copy the terrestrial family, as it embodied certain worldview and ideological notions of the cosmogonic myth, which is ideally recreated the world, formed national and historical consciousness of the emerging state ethnos. Ineshkipaz, who approbates kidnapping of the terrestrial girl, subsequently will pay for it an expensive price: he will return on the earth her sons, who were born of god. They will become princes and tsars of Erzya, will bring into society the custom, the law, the order, the prosperity.

The important place in mythological plots is given to the motive of abduction of the terrestrial girl by the deity. In the myth Ineshkipaz and Shkabavaz let the daughter-in-law go to the earth at a time, when her parents are absent at home. A.I. Maskayev supposes, that in such a manner gods want to prevent her meeting with the family (Maskaev, 1964 p. 154). Only the most worthy people have the right to see the gods. Otherwise, the great meaning of faith in gods, hopes for their help, fear of their punishment for the crime committed will disappear. They will be perceived by people ordinary, without the quivering attitude towards them. The reconciliation of the daughter and parents happens only when the myth is transformed into an epic song or a

song fairy tale.

On the basis of rethinking of the mythological motive about the abduction of the terrestrial girl by the deity to heaven, an epic song, a fairy tale, and also a family and household song were formed. Such folk genres are fundamentally new work, the distinctive feature of which is convention of images, their isolation from the represented phenomena, which means transition from the myth to the epos, «transition from the image (that means mythological thinking), to polysemy of the image (thinking actually poetic itself)» (Stahl, 1989, p. 225). The attention to the personal fate of the central heroine amplifies in them.

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