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Rezbarija, ki predstavlja štiri postave, katere razlagajo kot človeška bitja, ki se držijo za roke in plešejo.
Ciappo delle Conche, Finale area, Italija. Foto: Olcese 2018 / Carving representing four crux-like shapes
interpreted like stylized human beings holding hands in a dance. Ciappo delle Conche, Finale area, Italy.
Photo: Olcese, 2018.

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IN MEMORIAM

ZMAGO ŠMITEK
(29.11.1949–15.9.2018)



Koper, 2012

In the early autumn, at a time when he usually departed for his yearly journey, Dr Zmago Šmitek, *professor emeritus* at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana and our dear friend, mentor, co-worker, and lecturer, departed forever.

Zmago Šmitek is undoubtedly one of the most noted and prolific Slovene ethnologists and cultural anthropologists. Born in Kropa in the region of Gorenjska in 1949, he completed high school in Kranj and enrolled at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, where he studied ethnology and art history. After graduating in 1973, he was employed at the Department of Ethnology, and by 1995 obtained the title of Full Professor of Non-European Ethnology and Anthropology of Religion. Having procured his successors, who took over courses on the ethnology of other continents, he was finally able to focus exclusively on classes in Ethnology of Asia and the Anthropology of Religion. Although retired since the end of 2010, he remained active and continued with his scientific research.

Following the publication of his book on the municipality of Kočevje (*Občina Kočevje*, 1981) and a chapter in the book on ethnological aspects of life in Vitanje (*Kruh in politika: Poglavje iz etnologije Vitanja / Bread and Politics: Chapters from the Ethnology of Vitanje*, 1987), his main scientific interest turned to contacts of Slovenes with non-European cultures, a theme he followed for many decades. This particular exploration resulted in a series of essays and monographs, including an anthology of Slovene travelogues about non-European topics (*Poti do obzorja: Antologija slovenskega potopisa z neevropsko tematiko / The Paths Towards the Horizon: Anthology of Slovene Travelogue with Non-European Thematic*, 1988); Slovene encounters with the difference: Slovene experiences of the exotic (*Srečevanja z drugačnostjo: Slovenska izkustva eksotike*, 1995); and *Southern Slavs and India Relations in Oral Traditions* (2011). His book on encounters of Slovenes with non-European cultures (*Klic daljnih svetov: Slovenci in neevropske culture / The Call of Distant Worlds: Slovenes and Non-European Cultures*, 1986) received the distinguished Kajuh Award.

Although he was also interested in theoretical issues, his particular area of scientific research, especially in more recent years, was Slovene mythology, a subject that also brought him wider recognition. His exploration of mythology was done comparatively, in the context of Slavic and wider Indo-European mythology. After 1997, he published a number of essays and books on mythical notions in Slovene folklore: *Kristalna gora: Mitološko izročilo Slovencev* (1998); *Mitološko izročilo Slovencev: Svetinje preteklosti* (2004), for which he received in 2005 the renowned Murko Award; and *Poetika in logika slovenskih mitov: Ključi kraljestva (Poetics and Logic of Slovene Myths: The keys to the Kingdoms* 2012). In 2016, he published a book on mandalas titled *Mandale: tajni vrtovi razsvetljenja (Mandalas: Sacred Gardens of Enlightenment)*, which was the result of four decades of his travels around Asia. In total, he was the author, co-author and editor or co-editor of almost thirty books and wrote over 130 scientific and professional articles.

In addition to his scientific activity, he organized several museum exhibitions, participated in the making of a number of documentaries, and also wrote several booklets on Slovene folklore, intended for children. Dr Šmitek was among the initiators and co-organizers of MESS, the international Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School. Organized by the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, MESS first took place in 1994 and continued on a yearly basis for sixteen years, always in Piran. For several years Šmitek served as the head of the Department of Ethnology, was a member of a number of editorial boards of ethnological reviews, participated in numerous domestic and international conferences, and similar events.

Just a few days before his death, he completed his last book titled *Še lest divjine (Rustling of the Wilderness* 2019). It is, of course, impossible to fully present his rich bibliography and adequately evaluate his impressive body of work in this limited space, but we can safely say that his scientific achievements are invaluable for our profession. The golden Plaque of the University of Ljubljana for Outstanding Merits, which he received in 1999 for his exceptional merits, and the highest professional award, the 2013 Murko Award for his lifetime achievements in the field of ethnology, were certainly well-deserved.

However, to write about Zmago Šmitek only as an excellent scholar and university professor would not do him justice – he was so much more than just that. He was a mentor who, even at the very beginning of our professional career, always gave us, his students, the feeling that we were equal, that our ideas mattered, and that our opinion was appreciated. He was a colleague to whom rivalry and desire for power were absolutely alien, and with whom even the most arduous fieldwork seemed like just another fun adventure. He was a friend whose wisdom could dispel any seemingly fatal problem. Above all, he was also an extremely broad-minded man with a sense of humour that could soothe any tense situation.

On September 15, 2018, just two months before his sixty-ninth birthday, our respected colleague and friend responded to the call of distant worlds for the last time. His co-workers, students, friends, and readers of his fascinating books shall sorely miss him.

Mirjam Mencej

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Razprave

Studi

Articles

Towards an Archaeological Approach to Prehistoric Rock Carvings. From Method to Symbolics: the Finale Area (Western Liguria, Italy) as a Case-Study

————— Martina Olcese —————

This article presents an insight into archaeological approach in the study of rock carvings. The first section is mainly methodological and highlights the significant problems within dating this kind of evidence. Furthermore, it delves into the specific contribution of interdisciplinary research in this field. The second section focuses on the Finale area (Liguria, Italy) as a case study, which has not been studied systematically until now. A hypothesis on the dating and significance of carvings from the Finale area is formulated by comparison with two contexts in which rock-carving art has been studied in detail: the Mount Bego area (France) and Valcamonica (Italy). A table as an appendix is made to propose a first chrono-typology of the carvings from the Finale area.

KEYWORDS: rock carvings studies; prehistoric art; Finale, Liguria; symbolics

INTRODUCTION

Studying prehistoric rock carvings entails facing a significant challenge: the absence of relevant archaeological contexts permitting a proper systematic approach. The problem essentially pertains to dating, as currently no evidence (except a few carvings dating to the Paleolithic¹) has been found covered by a relevant archaeological deposit that may serve as *terminus ante quem*.

Thus, studying those elements implies going beyond a strictly archaeological approach.

This paper aims to illustrate the contribution of different scientific approaches to the study of rock carvings, showing how interdisciplinary research may allow a better contribution to archaeological evidence.

Data from the Finale area (Western Liguria, Italy) will be presented as a case-study whose chronology and general interpretation can be proposed by comparison with better-known contexts. These are, in the Alpine arch, Mount Bego (Mecantour National Park, Alpes du Sud, France), and Valcamonica (Bergamo-Brescia, Italy) (*fig. 2*).

¹ See “the horse” carving from Caviglione Cave at Balzi Rossi (Ventimiglia, Italy), dating to Upper Paleolithic: Vicino 1972: 13–15 and pl. III B; about the importance of this evidence in prehistoric rock art: Del Lucchese 1996: 19–20, 50–51, 62–63 and fig. 41.

STUDYING ROCK CARVINGS: QUESTIONS OF METHOD

FROM TECHNIQUE TO RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

The absence of relevant archaeological deposits makes it particularly challenging to obtain an absolute dating of rock carvings. As Odetti and Ravaccia correctly stated (Odetti & Ravaccia 1990: 14–15), one of the significant issues of this kind of investigation is distinguishing ancient carvings from modern evidence. This proves to be a difficult task considering that the conservation of most carvings is likely to be compromised by exposure to rain, temperature change, pollution, and even human action.

Nevertheless, as Priuli has demonstrated (Priuli 2006: 19–21)², typological and technological approaches both concur in establishing a relative chronology of rock carvings.³ Technology, in particular, implies first the identification of the tools used in Prehistory and, second, understanding their use and deterioration conditions (Priuli 2006: 295–296).

To perform a thorough survey of rock carvings in the area, the team operating in Valcamonica (Bergamo-Brescia, Italy) first adopted micro-plaster casts and then photogrammetry, which is even more efficient (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 24–25). The combination of these methods called attention to the use of four different techniques⁴, based on the shape, width, and depth of the grooves (which can be thinner or deeper). The most common techniques are the *graffito* (Priuli 2006: 22–23) and the stippling (Priuli 2006: 26–27).⁵ The first consists of severely imprinting a mark on the stone in a single gesture either with a lithic or a metallic tool, while stippling results from the direct percussion of the surface with a small stone.

The other two techniques, scratching (Priuli 2006: 24) and engraving (Priuli 2006: 24–26), are rarely used. Scratching requires forcefully scraping the surface with a flat-pointed tool, while engraving means removing a part of the lithic material by cutting the stone in the same and parallel direction.

Studies and surveys in the Finale area proved two types of evidence. First, carvings were produced with metal and lithic tools and, second, *graffito* and stippling techniques were both used (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 37). The latter is much more frequent than *graffito*, as proven by the only exception of a cave, *Arma della Moretta* (*fig. 3; fig. 12*; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 10).

ON ROCK CARVINGS INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

Il simbolo per sua natura, se non accompagnato da una legenda, è intraducibile per chiunque non appartenga alla stessa cultura che l'ha prodotto,

² Priuli's assertions are based on Coles' experimental studies theories (Coles 1973).

³ For a recent update of the question: Bianchi 2016: 15–17, 21. The author points out that both technology and typology concur to determine chronological sequence, especially within the study of the overlaps of carvings realized with different techniques.

⁴ For a general description of these techniques: Priuli 2006: 17–35.

⁵ See also: Priuli 2006: 295.

con il risultato che molti messaggi di pietra, per noi che siamo lontani dal tempo che li ha visti produrre, risultano quasi indecifrabili.

(Priuli & Pucci 1994: 7).⁶

The first descriptions of the signs carved on the rock were greeted with a great deal of disbelief. For instance, at the end of the 18th century, superstitious French traveller Pierre de Montfort interpreted evidence from Mount Bego as the product of some evil spirit's hand.⁷

At the beginning of the 20th century, geologist Issel was the first to give testimony of carvings from Liguria; though he attributed them to "high antiquity" (Issel 1908: 458, 553), he partially misunderstood their meaning. Indeed, Issel generically interpreted the pictures as a sort of alphabet (Issel 1908: 460⁸). It has been emphasized (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 37, 39 and fig. 83) that the scholar dated to Prehistory a number of undoubtedly modern carvings, in particular regard to the long, tight figure resembling to a "train" in *ciappo* delle Conche (Issel 1908: 575–476 and fig. 124). Later researchers, such as Bicknell, who conducted the first systematic study of the Mount Bego evidence (Bicknell 1913: 55–57 and pl. XXI), proved that similar (and ancient) figures likely picture ox skins. Issel himself described the "skins" (Issel 1908: 512 and fig. 209). As a matter of fact, more recent research has demonstrated that the shape in *ciappo* delle Conche overlaps a more ancient one: perhaps, a "ox skin" (Tizzoni 1975: 90).

Leale Anfossi (1976) highlights the difficulty in reaching a univocal interpretation of this kind of evidence, observing that their visual perception is affected by the rock morphology and conservation, as well as by the meteorological conditions. Considering these parameters, how is it possible to achieve a complete survey and documentation, allowing a univocal interpretation of the carvings?

Sansoni's answer to that question is interdisciplinarity (Sansoni 2012a: 52–53; Sansoni 2012b: 285). As he correctly states, art history, ethnology, and cultural anthropology all enrich archaeological research and contribute towards understanding the meaning of the carvings.

Art history surely brings a significant contribution to studies on rock carvings. The first step to understanding its unique input is to assume that the creation of the carvings is strongly related to a proper symbolic system. According to Anati, art assumes a kind of visual language whose elaboration is connected to the evolution of cognitive processes in the human mind (Anati 1990: 34). In this perspective, signs carved on the rocks correspond more to a pure expression of cultural identity than to a mere art form.

Understanding what sort of cultural background brought people living in Prehistory to express themselves through signs and figures carved on the rock, implies determining the origin of imagery.

Brusa-Zappellini bases her interpretation of the question on cultural anthropology, ethnography and even medicine (Brusa-Zappellini 2012: 306–307). The author establishes

⁶ "Anybody who does not belong to the same culture who produced a sign can translate it; this is due to the nature of symbolics itself. As a result, far in time as we are, we're unable to decrypt many "stone messages" we haven't seen being produced" (T.o.A.).

⁷ See Montfort's letter to his wife published in: De Lumley 2003: 23.

⁸ See also: Graziosi 1973: 154–155.

a connection between rock art and entoptic phenomena such as phosphenes, visual distortions occurring when an optic system is altered (Brusa-Zappellini 2012: 309–311). To illustrate her theory, she quotes South-African archaeologists Lewis-Williams and Dowson’s interdisciplinary research, and a study by Austrian anthropologist Reichel Dolmatoff on Tukano Indians (Amazon area) in South America. Both investigations are based on two major enquiries: first, German neurologist Klüver’s research (Klüver 1926: 511–513) into “eidetic vision” (mental perception derived from physical stimulation), which produces a number of changes in sensory fields; second, electrical engineer Knoll’s experiments on the excitation of a spectrum of subjective abstract light patterns in the human brain, by means of temporal electrodes and pulses (Knoll & Kügler 1956: 1823).

In particular, the investigation has proven the resemblance between drawings realised during San (Bushman, Kalahari Desert) and Shoshone Coso (California Great Basin) shamanic rituals, and european rock art. This is the case of zigzag thunder-like figures⁹, which are both present in San art and Shoshone rock art, but also of the square-like grids¹⁰ connotating Shoshone art (*fig. 1*; Dowson, Williams 1988: 201, 204, 205 and *fig. 1*).

Imputing figures carved on rock to a psycho-physically altered condition seems inappropriate, as the naturalistic character of most figures appearing in rock art should not be forgotten. In fact, they essentially reproduce what the artists could see in everyday life: animals (De Lumley 2003: 49), tools and arms (Vicino 2013: 66), as well as members themselves of the community (Süss 1958: 39, *fig. 51*). Yet, studies like those by Brusa-Zappellini (2012) point out the symbolic meaning of the carvings as an art form, which attains the level of a cult and religion.

	ENTOPTIC PHENOMENA		SAN ROCK ART		COSO
	A	B	ENGRAVINGS	PAINTINGS	E
I					
II					
III					
IV					
V					
VI					

Fig. 1: This schema shows the correspondence between entoptic phenomena studied by electrical engineer Knoll, San art (South Africa) and Shoshone Coso art (California). Dowson, Lewis-Williams 1988: p. 206, *fig. 1*.

⁹ For thunder-like pictures in prehistoric carvings: Priuli & Pucci 1994: 38, *fig. 82* (Finale area) and De Lumley 2003: 77 (Mount Bego area).

¹⁰ On square-like grids figures in prehistoric carvings: Priuli & Pucci 1994: 40, *fig. 84*; 41, *fig. 89, 90* (Finale area) and De Lumley 2003: 82 (Mount Bego area).

THE FINALE AREA: A CASE-STUDY

GENERAL PRESENTATION

Liguria represents an exceptional case-study. Indeed, it holds the richest carving heritage in the Alpine arch, after those of Mount Bego (France) and Valcamonica (Bergamo, Brescia, Italy) (*fig. 2*).

Within the Ligurian geographical context, the Finale area is the second in terms of importance after that of Mount Beigua (*fig. 2*; Savona; Pizzorno-Brusarosco 1990). In this context, Finale has a particular interest, because rock art from this area has never been the object of a systematic analysis aiming to define a proper chrono-typology.

Finale is enclosed by Bergeggi territory in the East, Pietra Ligure territory in the West, and by the River Bormida di Mallare in the North-East.

The presence of the carvings in this geographical area is connected to local geology, which is widely characterized by the so-called Finale limestone or *pietra di Finale*. This rock, with colour variations from orange to white, has a very peculiar structure, due to the presence of intense karstic phenomena since its formation between Oligocene and Miocene (11-28 million years ago; Bonci & Firpo 2013a: 5–6; Bonci & Firpo 2013b: 8–9). Long has been debated that this character affected the conservation state of the carvings and impacted the problem of dating.¹¹ The question is not so simple, however. In fact, the red rock *facies* from Verezzi, which since the Middle Ages has been used for construction works, differs from the clearer *facies* located in Monte Cucco/Rocca degli Uccelli, Rocca Carpanea and Perti, where most of the carvings are located. On rock outcrops locally referred to as *ciappi* (*fig. 3*; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 35), the rock is porous and compact. For this reason, it shows a better resistance to water action and temperature changes.

As it is almost impossible to establish the duration of these processes, they cannot be used as a criterion for dating.¹²

These assertions demonstrate that the *corpus* of carvings from Finale examined in this work is representative of evidence produced initially in prehistoric times, but also that typological analysis is decisive to determine a relative chronology for them.

Rock art from the Finale area was first pointed out by the cleric Amerano and by the naturalist Bicknell at the end of the 19th century, as their correspondence with Issel shows (De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 25–27). Thus, the first publication of this heritage is that of Issel himself, at the beginning of the 20th century (Issel 1908); after his survey, investigations interrupted and restarted in the 1970s (Tizzoni 1975; Leale Anfossi 1976). However, since then, the research has been rather sporadic. In fact, a number of contributions dating to the 1970s and 1980's focus on single sites as *ciappo del Sale* (*fig. 3*; Leale Anfossi 1976) and *Arma della Moretta* (*fig. 3*; Giuggiola 1982), without attempting an integrated analysis.

¹¹ Graziosi's dating to recent times of Finale carving is precisely due to the feeble resistance of the *Pietra*: Graziosi 1935: 231–233. For further remarks on this debate: Priuli & Pucci 1994: 37; Prestipino 2007: 35–37; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 27.

¹² I wish to thank Prof. Bonci for her advice on this question.

Very few works have proposed a general, useful updating (Graziosi 1973: 153–157; Graziosi 1974 for Liguria in general). This is especially the case of Odetti and Ravaccia's contribution (Odetti & Ravaccia 1990). Concerning Prestipino's monograph (Prestipino et al. 2007), it must be stressed that he focuses on the description of the ways to get to the carvings, without discussing their dating and cultural origin.

Only Tizzoni (Tizzoni 1975), and Priuli and Pucci (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 35–55) attempted to establish a sort of *corpus* of the carvings from the Finale area, which Vicino and De Pascale usefully updated (Vicino 2013; De Pascale & Vicino 2017). However, in neither of these occurrences has a real chrono-typological analysis been proposed.

INTERPRETATION

Based on typological studies conducted in Mount Bego and Valcamonica, a relative chronology for the carvings found in the Finale area can be determined. In this context, we should differentiate rock carvings most likely dating to the Bronze Age from those probably dating to the Iron Age.

The first group includes pictures such as the only axe (*fig. 4*) and plough (*fig. 6*) known in the Finale (Vicino 2013: 66), zigzag lightning-like lines (*fig. 22*; Tizzoni 1975, 90, 97; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 39, *fig. 80* and *Fig. 82*; Vicino 2013: 66) and *bucrania* (*fig. 18*; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 42, *fig. 92*, *Fig. 93* and *51, fig. 127*; Vicino 2013: 69).

These images should date at least to the beginning of the Bronze Age, as they can be compared to Italian evidence likely dating to the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age. This is the case of two axes of the same typology carved on the menhir-statue “Bagnolo II” from Valcamonica (*fig. 5*; Anati 1990: 60¹³) and of a large number of *bucrania* from Mount Bego area (De Lumley 2003: 100–101; De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, *fig. 16, 176*). The case of the plough is peculiar, as it can be compared with ploughing scenes from the Mount Bego area dating to the same period (*fig. 7*; De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, *fig. 244, 1*).

Another kind of figure that should be dated to the Bronze Age are the square-like grids (*fig. 20*; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 40, *Fig. 84, 41, fig. 89, fig. 90*). These should be more properly defined as large, square-like pictures with a surface split into a number of approximately equal-sized squares. These carvings have the same shape as evidence that De Lumley interprets as stylised maps or parcelled fields (De Lumley 2003: 82–83). As most of the time, these figures are associated with *bucrania* (*fig. 21*), or axes, we could suggest that the grids from Finale date back to the Bronze Age as well. This interpretation may also be validated by De Marinis and Fossati's assertions on “topographic representations” occurring in Camunian rock art between the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 33 and *Fig. 6*).

We should, finally, mention cupels, like that found in Olle, resembling shovels used in the Bronze Age during incineration rituals (Vicino 2013: 69; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 30, and *fig. 10*). The use of this kind of object for the collection of ashes is attested in Northern Italy and Alpine arch in Final Bronze Age.

¹³ The author proposes a dating to Chalcolithic for this evidence (Anati 1990: 61–62).

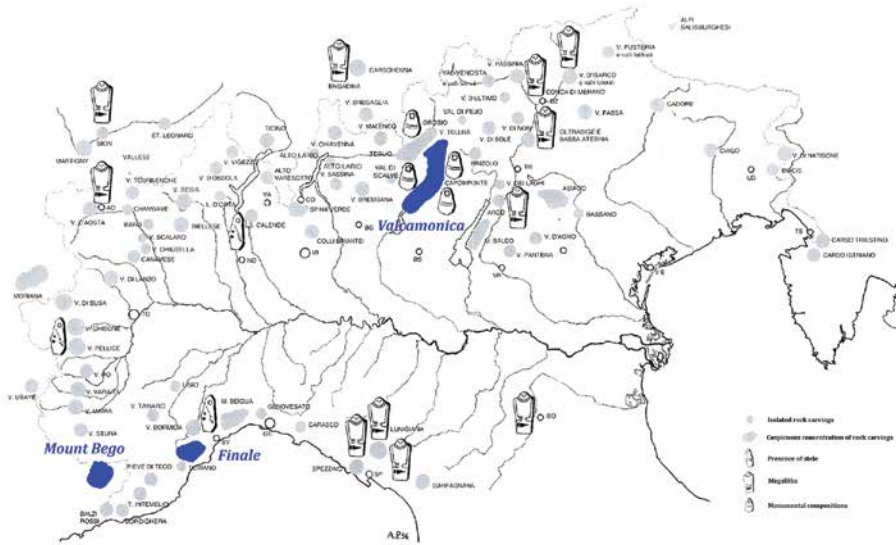


Fig. 2: Location of the areas where rock art is mainly found in Alpine arch. Olcese, elaboration from Priuli 2006:135, fig. 285.

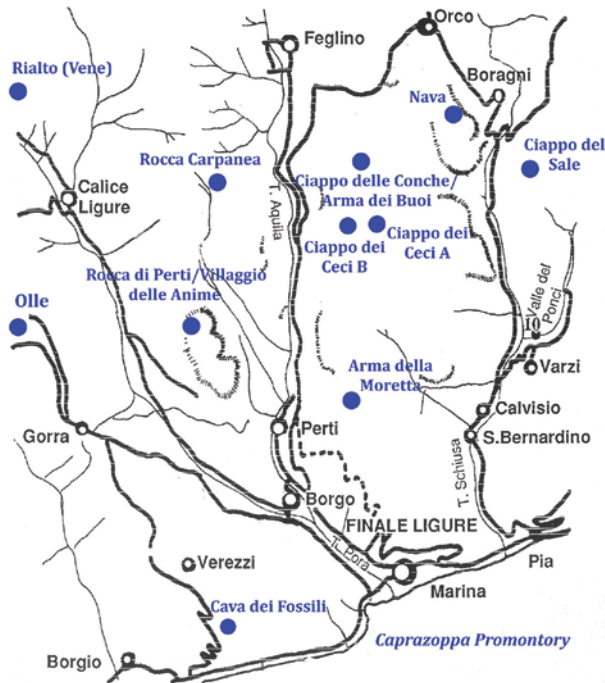


Fig. 3: Location of the major rock carvings evidences in the Finale area. Olcese, elaboration from Priuli & Pucci 1994: 35, fig. 73.



Fig. 4: Carving representing a axe from Cava dei Fossili, Finale area, Italy (Caprazoppa promontory). Photo: Olcese, 2018.



Fig. 5: Carving representing a axe from menhir-statue “Bagnolo II”, Valcamonica, Italy (drawing). Anati 1990: 60.



Fig. 6: Carving representing a plough from Cava dei Fossili, Finale area, Italy (Caprazoppa promontory). Photo: Olcese, 2018s.

Fig. 7: Carving representing a ploughing scene from Mount Bego area, France (drawing). De Lumley, Échassoux 2011, fig. 244,1. Courtesy of Prof. H. De Lumley.



Fig. 8: Carving representing four crux-like shapes interpreted like stylized human beings holding hands in a dance. Ciappo delle Conche, Finale area, Italy. Photo: Olcese, 2018.



Fig. 9: “Initiation dance” scene carved on rock 32 in Naquane, Valcamonica, Italy. Süss 1958: 39, fig. 51.



Fig. 10: Carving representing a hut from *ciappo del Sale*, Finale area, Italy. Photo: Olcese, 2018.



Fig. 11: Carving representing a hut from Coren del Valento, Valcamonica, Italy. Süss 1958: 62, fig. 90.

The second group (beginning of the Iron Age/Roman period) includes stylised representations of human beings (*fig. 8 - cover photo; fig. 13*; Leale Anfossi 1976: 23–24; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 40, 41, Fig. 85, Fig. 86, Fig. 87, Fig. 89; Vicino 2013: 66). It is particularly difficult to propose a dating for these representations, as styles from different areas are quite diverse. Still, they could be connected to the increase of human-stylised figures in Camunian rock art in the Final Bronze Age and Iron Age (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 30, 34; Bossoni et al. 2014: 65–66). Parallels, which essentially pertain to symbolics, can be drawn with the “initiation dance” carving from Rock 32 in Naquane (*fig. 9*; Valcamonica, Süss 1958: 39, fig. 51), dating to the Iron Age.¹⁴

Figures of buildings from *ciappo* del Sale (*fig. 10*) may also be attributed to this epoch (Leale Anfossi 1976: 21–25; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 47, fig. 110). Priuli and Pucci (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 47) assert that these carvings are modern. However, according to Leale Anfossi (1976: 23), the theme and style resemble very much to carvings from Valcamonica that seem to picture huts (*fig. 11*; Anati 1990: 128). This kind of evidence has been attributed to Camunian style IV, corresponding to the Iron Age (De Marinis Fossati 2012: 36). Savardi does not directly propose a dating for these carvings, but he compares them to hut-like cinerary urns, a very typical burial custom of the Final Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age (Savardi 2012: 13, 134).¹⁵

A few considerations can be made on typologies for which it is particularly difficult to propose a dating. The first case concerns crux-like, arrow-like and *phi*-like figures’ linear carvings (*fig. 8 - figure on the front page; fig. 12; fig. 22*; Tizzoni 1976: 89–90;¹⁶ Priuli & Pucci 1994: 43; 46, Fig. 107)¹⁷. They form a group that can potentially be attributed to the Iron Age.

The major problem in studying this kind of evidence is that they can easily be misinterpreted as stylised representations of human beings. Furthermore, it occurs that Christian cruxes overlap prehistoric symbols (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 44 and fig. 101, fig. 104). In this perspective, Greek Christian cruxes with equal arms, fiercely carved on the rock, should be distinguished from thinner, ancient signs, which look very much like Latin cruxes and possibly human beings.¹⁸

The most important evidence in Finale is that of *Arma della Moretta* (*fig. 3; fig. 12*). Here, both crux-like, arrow-like and *phi*-like figures are reported (Isetti 1965: 112–114; Giuggiola 1982: 48–49; Pucci & Priuli, 1994: 53–54, fig. 138–154; Vicino 2013: 66, 69; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 30). A relative chronology of these carvings was proposed by Isetti, who stated that the *graffiti* were antecedent to stippled carvings (Isetti 1965: 114). Thus, he suggested dating them all to the “Metal Age”, without indicating if he was referring to the Bronze Age or the Iron Age. However, he firmly distinguished the

¹⁴ Concerning the hypothesis of dating to Iron Age dance scenes and interpreting them as initiation rituals: De Marinis, Fossati 2012: 49.

¹⁵ For a general introduction of this funerary custom, which is very typical of Southern Etruria and Latium: Bietti Sestieri 2010: 228–232.

¹⁶ The author distinguishes modern cruxes from human-like symbols.

¹⁷ The latter evidence published by Priuli and Pucci are Christian greek cruxes.

¹⁸ For an interesting comment on the shape of the crux-like carvings: Odetti 1977: 140.

signs from the well-known bronze-aged Mount Bego carvings (Isetti 1965: 116). Considering the similarity between this kind of evidence and the stylised human figures, we may propose they date to the Iron Age.¹⁹

The second case of figures which are particularly difficult to date is that of carvings that likely evoke the stars (Tizzoni 1976: 89–90; Vicino 2013: 66–68). Small cupels, which Vicino interprets, together, as a representation of the Pleiades cluster, are particularly enigmatic (Vicino 2013: 66, 67).

Yet, the case of a stylised human being observed in *ciappo* dei Ceci B (fig. 3; fig. 13), which Vicino interprets as a priest (Vicino 2013: 68; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 29), may enrich the enquiry. Here, four cupels below the picture also form a question mark and possibly evoke the Pleiades (Olcese, personal information; fig. 15).

Vicino (Vicino 2013: 67; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 29) compares question-mark cupels from Perti and Vene to a likely representation of the Pleiades on Nebra sky disk dating to 2100-1700 B.C. (Early Bronze Age), just like De Lumley had done for some figures found in the Mount Bego area (fig. 14; De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 57). Still, Vicino generally dates star representations to Protohistory.

The last occurrence that is not simple to date is that of sexual symbols. Round figures, surrounded by several rays, have been interpreted as vulvas (fig. 16; Tizzoni 1976: 86; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 49, fig. 118, fig. 119). The problem with this interpretation is twofold. First, clearer representations of sexual symbols (male and female) in Ligurian rock art found in Grotticella Blanc-Cardini, dating back the Paleolithic (Balzi Rossi, Western Liguria, Vicino 1972: 16–17 and fig. 4),²⁰ have a totally different shape from the Finale ones: they are longer and narrower. Moreover, the shape of the “vulvas”



Fig. 12: Carvings representing a *phi*-like shape and crux-like figures from Arma della Moretta, Finale area, Italy. Photo: Olcese, 2013.



Fig. 13: Carving representing a stylized human being from *ciappo* dei Ceci B, Finale area, Italy. Below the picture, four cupels seem to form a question mark, as if they evoked the Pleiades cluster. Photo: Olcese, 2018.

¹⁹ See again the assertions on the increase of human stylized representations in Camunian rock art in Final Bronze age and most of all in Iron age (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 30, 34; Bossoni et al. 2014: 65–66).

²⁰ For a recent analysis of these carvings: Mussi & Vicino 2012: 491–492, 494, fig. 7 and fig. 9.



Fig. 14: Carved cupels whose question-mark shape have been interpreted as a representation of the Pleiades. Mount Bego area, France (drawing). De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, Fig. 364, 2b. Courtesy of Prof. H. De Lumley.



Fig. 15: The Pleiades cluster as it has been photographed by telescope Hubble. De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, Fig. 364, 1.

In the Finale area, these signs likely bear a deep symbolism. In fact, they can be connected to the “grids” (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 40, fig. 84; 41, fig. 89, fig. 90) that De Lumley interprets as parcelled fields (fig. 21; De Lumley 2003: 82; De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 79).

These assertions allow a better understanding of the close link between the sphere of fertility and the cult of cosmos in the Finale area. Considering that elements such as sun and rain are essential for survival, both aspects melt together.

from Rocca Carpanea resemble very much to evidence from Mount Bego (fig. 17) De Lumley interprets as representations of the sun (De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 57; 336, 337, fig. 353).

It is difficult to understand the exact nature of these figures, which may very likely depict suns instead of female genitals; still, studies on rock art have already proven the specific symbolic function of caves in their association to fertility. Hrobat Virloget (has pointed out that such places, since the beginning of the history of mankind, have been devoted to fertility rites whose significance was also expressed with the use of sexual symbols (Virloget Hrobat 2015).²¹

Even though its linkage with sexuality is currently impossible to be established, the interpretation of the symbolics of rock carvings from the Finale highlights a particular connection with fertility.

The general chronology that has been proposed, which corresponds to the Bronze and Iron Ages, is a key for the interpretation of rock carvings. De Lumley’s analysis of rock carvings discovered in the Mount Bego area is very useful within this perspective. The author considers that those images may be related both to the symbolic sphere of fertility and to the cult of cosmos and atmospheric elements.

De Lumley’s assertions on *bucrania* (fig. 19) point out the powerful significance of oxen, which could be related both a deity of the earth and to the cosmos (De Lumley 2003: 101). Though extremely rare (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 42, fig. 92, fig. 93; 51, fig. 127; Vicino 2013: 69) in the Finale area, these signs likely bear a deep symbolism.

²¹ The author focuses on the ethnographic example of Triglavca cave in Slovenia (Virloget Hrobat 2015: 158), and points out the similarities between signs recurring in rock art from this region and carvings from Valcamonica (Hrobat Virloget 2015: 159, 160).



Fig. 16: Carving representing a round shape surrounded by several rays from *ciappo* del Sale, Finale area, Italy. Images of this kind have been interpreted as female genitals. Photo: Olcese, 2018.



Fig. 17: Carving representing a round shape which has been interpreted as a sun. From Mount Bego area, France (drawing). De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, fig. 353. Courtesy of Prof. H. De Lumley.

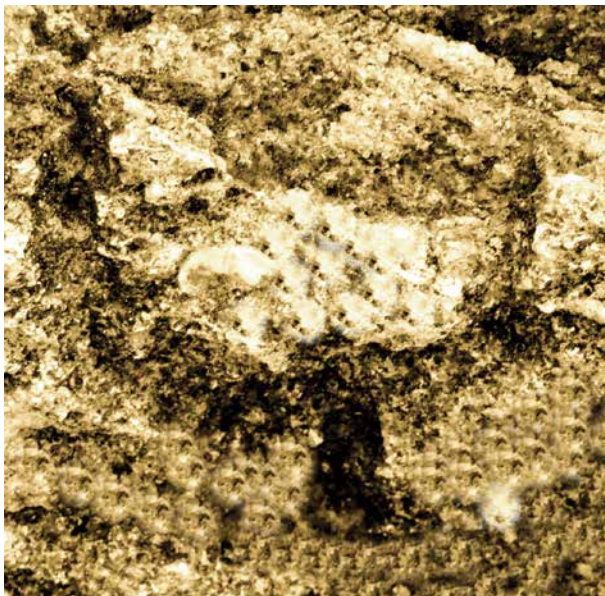


Fig. 18: Carving representing a *bucranium* from Arma dei Buoi, Finale area, Italy. Photo: Olcese, 2018.



Fig. 19: Carving representing a *bucranium* from Mount Bego area, France (drawing). De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, Fig. 176, 16. Courtesy of Prof. H. De Lumley.

In this perspective, elements in rock carvings suggesting a possible connection with the observation and the cult of the cosmos should once more be pointed out. The first element to note is that square-like grids (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 40, fig. 84; 41, fig. 89, fig. 90) can also be interpreted as cosmos maps (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 34). Star-like figures and especially Pleiades-like cupels (fig. 13; Tizzoni 1976: 89–90; Vicino 2013: 66–69) would confirm the general “cosmic” interpretation of rock carvings.

This may find an interesting parallel, though merely symbolic, with Hesiod’s assertions on the role of the Pleiades for the beginning of the ploughing season (*Works and Days*, 618–623). Such considerations suggest how deep the link between the observation of the sky and agriculture should have been perceived by the farmers of Protohistory.

One last feature concurring to the general “cosmic” interpretation is the parallel between crux-like figures at the top of zig-zag signs (fig. 22; Olcese, personal information for *ciappo* delle Conche) and proper stylised human beings holding thunder-like objects from Mount Bego (fig. 23; De Lumley 2003: 77).

Ciappi or other places where rock art has been discovered could thus be interpreted as open-air sanctuaries, where protohistoric people could have had a cult devoted to deities they identified with sky and water, the very source of fertility (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 36).

In this perspective, stylised human beings holding zig-zag lightning-like objects (fig. 22; fig. 23) may also represent a priest making water spring from rocks (De Lumley & Échassoux 2001: 284), while zig-zag lines could ideally evoke natural sources or irrigation channels.

Carved rock outcrops like the *ciappi* (especially *ciappo* del Sale; fig. 3) deserve specific attention on this matter, as a number of studies suggest their likely functional use as meeting and exchange points. Thus, zig-zag thunder-like carvings (fig. 22) would have functioned as conveyors of rainwater (Leale Anfossi 1976: 23, 26; Priuli & Pucci: 1994: 36; Vicino 2013: 66).

The hypothesis is undoubtedly very interesting. Still, one should distinguish between the zig-zag carvings whose shape and disposition seem to suggest their use as conveyors, from those whose use does not seem to have been functional. The first case is that of carvings orientated from top to bottom of the *ciappi*, and are big enough to evacuate the water. The second is that of zig-zag lines that are realised in the very middle of rock outcrops, not large enough to evacuate the water. In such occurrences, their use seems to have been mostly symbolic. The same can be said for large cupels disposed at the bottom of carved *ciappi*; one could conjecture they were meant to water the cattle, but smaller cupels must have had a different function.

Thus, if it cannot be excluded that some carved *ciappi* gathered a large number of people, it should be accepted that this cannot have been solely for a commercial purpose. In fact, it seems much more probable that carvings “sacralized” these places that only occasionally gathered large numbers of people, who shared the same purpose. If this theory is correct, those may have been shepherds practising transhumance. Comparison with proper mountain sites like Mount Bego seems to confirm this theory, as most of the carvings from this context have been dated to the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age (De Lumley 2003: 110–113). This is exactly the moment when transhumant farming developed in Liguria (Maggi 2013: 6, 8, 10).



Fig. 20: Carving representing a square-like grid from *ciappo delle Conche*, Finale area, Italy. Photo: Olcese, 2018.

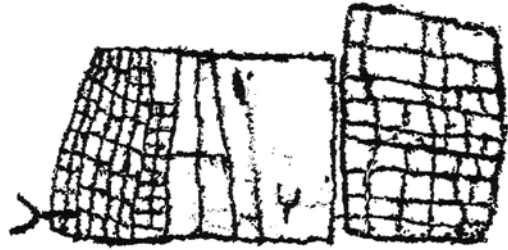


Fig. 21: Carving representing a square-like grid and two *bucrania* from Mount Bego area, France (drawing). De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, Fig. 84,5. Courtesy of Prof. H. De Lumley.



Fig. 22: Carving representing a zigzag thunder-like line from *ciappo delle Conche*, Finale area, Italy. The presence of a crux-like shape at the top may be interpreted as a stylized human being holding a thunder. Photo: Olcese, 2018.

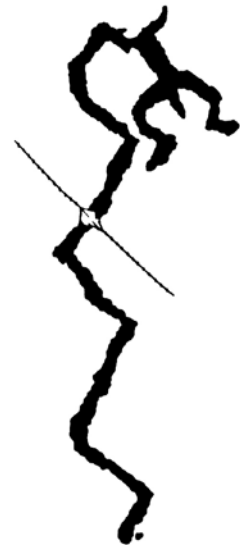


Fig. 23: Carving representing a stylized human being holding a thunder from Mount Bego area, France (drawing). De Lumley 2003: 77. Courtesy of Prof. H. De Lumley.

CONCLUSION

This work aimed first to illustrate how complex and interesting studies on rock carving art are, even though they require facing major difficulties regarding dating and interpretation.

Enquires in Valcamonica (Bergamo, Brescia, Italy) and the Mount Bego area (France) prove how useful modern technologies in this research field are. Techniques including photogrammetry, laser scanning (Malnati & Keller 2012: 297–298), or electronic microscopy (De Lumley 2003: 34–35), combined with a close topographic approach (Huet 2017), enable detailed surveys, and a better understanding of the overlaps. A relative chronology can then be proposed for such evidence.

Furthermore, recent research projects, such as that lead by the *Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici*, aiming to realise a proper catalogue of the carvings from Valcamonica (Malnati, Keller 2012: 297–298) prove how vital the prospects in rock carvings art research are.

This preamble allows a better understanding of the importance of the carvings from the Finale area (Savona, Italy) as a case study. This context would require a complete study with the same methodology used by the *Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici* in Valcamonica or De Lumley's team in Mount Bego area. This research should include a proper technological analysis and the creation of a detailed catalogue of the carvings. For the time being, the comparison with these better-known contexts only allowed the establishment of a relative chronology of evidence from the Finale area between the Chalcolithic and Iron Ages, and a general interpretation of their symbolism.

Just like any form of art, rock carvings resume the cultural identity of the people who created them (Anati 1990: 71). This is why studying them requires an interdisciplinary methodology, in which archaeology, art history and cultural anthropology merge (Brusa-Zappellini 2012: 306–307).

These assumptions and the comparison with carvings from Mount Bego (De Lumley 2003: 94–98) lead to the conclusion that the evidence from the Finale area may be related to a form of cosmic ritual. This cult would have gathered restrict groups of people in specific occasions, possibly due to the change of lifestyles in Liguria, with particular regard to the appearance of transhumance, between the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages (Maggi 2013: 6, 8, 10).

APPENDIX. TABLE: *FINALE ROCK CARVINGS CHRONO-TYPOLOGY:* *A PROPOSAL*

This table has been realized by comparison with evidence from the Mount Bego area (Mercantour National Park, France) and Valcamonica (Bergamo, Brescia, Italy).

The dating of Mount Bego rock art is based on the work of the French archaeologist De Lumley'. Since 1964, his team combined the use of plaster casts with electronic microscopy, as well as drawing at direct contact with surface, and experimentation (De Lumley 2003: 34–35). Based on the position of the carvings, but also on the shape, width and depth of the figures, De Lumley established an approximate relative chronology of rock art from the Mount Bego area.

Typological comparison based on representations of arms offered more specific and complete results.

The study of the resemblances between the carvings and arms typical of the *Civilisation du Rhône* and Polada culture, spreading throughout the Rhône Valley and northern Italy between 1800 and 1500 B.C., established a *terminus ante quem* to the Medium Bronze age (De Lumley 2003: 112–113, De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 16–22).

Most recent research studies have extended this chronology from Neolithic (5600–3400 B.C. ca.) or even Mesolithic (8000–5600 B.C. ca.) to the Iron Age (900 B.C.–Roman epoch, De Lumley 2003: 116–117). Two elements led to this conclusion: first, a complete revision of archaeological material from the Mount Bego area dating to the Mesolithic (Bianchi 2016: 13); second, the study of a few tree-like carvings that can be compared to evidence dating to the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages (Bianchi 2016: 23)²².

A closer enquiry on the topography of Mount Bego carvings has recently permitted an even better understanding of the overlaps and, consequently, a more complete chronology. In his recent work, Huet has, for instance, pointed out that the representation of some kinds of arms, as the knives, precede the pictures of axes at the Bronze Age; again, the difference between different “types” of *bucrania* proves the evolution of this kind of representation between the Copper Age and the Final Bronze age (Huet 201: 157–158).

It was the Italian archaeologist Anati who began, in 1964, a systematic study of the carvings in Valcamonica. He combined manual survey (drawing) with an analysis of stylistic evolution.²³ He specifically conducted a thematic study of descriptive scenes, which allowed him to propose a dating.

Most ancient carvings, which mainly represent abstract forms, would date to the Mesolithic (Proto-camuno style, ca. 8 000–5500 B.C., Anati 1990: 120). Styles I and II, characterised by the presence of stylised human beings praying and geometric forms, would refer to the Neolithic period (ca. 5500–3300 B.C., Anati 1990:122–123; De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 27–27). Between the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages, rock carvings art is characterized by naturalistic Style III (ca. 3200–1200 B.C., Anati 1990: 124–127; De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 28–29; Bossoni et al. 2014: 62–65). Human representations show ploughing and hunting scenes, “divine” figures associated with the sun, and a large quantity of arms: halberds, swords and daggers. Square-like grids, interpreted as maps, are also present (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 33 and fig. 6). In the Iron Age (Style IV, ca. 1200 B.C.–Roman epoch/1st century B.C., Anati 1990 128–129; De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 30; Bossoni et al. 2014: 65–66), stylised human representations increase. Mainly duel, hunt, and cult scenes are presented.

The Roman (from 1st century A.D.) and Medieval periods (post-Camuno style) are marked by a reworking of more ancient shapes and themes, such as the transformation of bronze-aged *phi* pictures into Christian cruxes (Bossoni et al. 2014: 69).

²² The author draws a specific parallel with tree-like pictures from Iberian Peninsula dating to the transition between the Bronze Age and Iron Age (Coimbra 2013:180, fig. 2).

²³ For a comment on Anati’s contribution in rock art research field: De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 22.

Finale rock carvings chrono-typology : a proposal						
THEME/ SCENE OF THE CARVING	DETAILS	SITE OF DISCOVERY	DATE PROPOSED	BIBLIOGRAPHY	COMPARISONS (CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCES)	
Axe	Rectangular-blade, long-hilt axe	Caprazoppa pro- motory, Cava dei Fossili area	Chalcolithic (3400-2200 B.C. ca.)	Vicino 2013: 66	The carving found in Caprazoppa promotory can be compared to a stylized human being from Mount Bego (France) holding a axe dating to Bronze age (De Lumley 2003: 77, 110-113). A parallel can also be drawn with two axes carved on the menhir-stature Bagnolo II (Valcamonica, Italy) dating to Chalcolithic or Early Bronze age (Anati 1990: 60-62); De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 28	
	Grids	Large, square-like shapes with surface splitted in approxi- mately equal-sized squares		<i>Ciappo</i> delle Conche	Priuli & Pucci 1994: 40, fig. 84; 41, fig. 89, 90	A parallel can be drawn with carvings which are, in both cases, interpreted as maps or parcelled fields, and date to the transition between Chalcolithic and Bronze Age. This is the case of a number of "grids" from Mount Bego area (De Lumley 2003: 82-83; De Lumley & Échassoux 2011, fig. 84, 5) and Valcamonica (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 33 and fig. 6)
Plough		The plough share is clearly visible	Caprazoppa pro- motory, Cava dei Fossili area	Arobba & Caramiello 2013: 86; Vicino 2013, 66	Leati Anfossi 1976: 24-25	The shape of the carving found in Cava dei Fossili can be compared to a oak tree plough dating to Early Bronze age found in Lavagnone (Garda lake, Brescia, Italy; Arobba & Caramiello 2013: 86). A parallel can also be drawn with ploughing scenes in Mount bego area (De Lumley & Echassoux 2011, fig. 244, 1)
	Zigzag thunder-like lines	Sery of large, long channels, most the time associated to cupels	<i>Ciappo</i> dei Ceci A/ Bric Spaventaggi area		Tizzoni 1975: 92-93; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 43, fig. 98, fig. 99; Vicino 2013: 66	Thunder-like carvings can be compared to stylized human beings holding thunder-like signs from Mount Bego area dating to Early Bronze age (De Lumley 2003: 77, 97-99, 110-113). In one case a crux-like shape at the top of a zigzag line in <i>ciappo</i> delle Conche may be interpreted as a stylized human being holding a tunder (Olcese, personal information for <i>ciappo</i> delle Conche)
<i>Bucrania</i>		In Prehistoric times, Arma dei Buii has been transformed into a sort of structure including vaulted walls, false columns, seats and even wooden covering. The <i>bucranium</i> was located on the internal vaulted wall	<i>Arma</i> (cave) dei Buii not far from <i>ciappo</i> delle Conche	Bronze Age (2200-1000 B.C. ca.)	Tizzoni 1975: 90; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 38, fig. 80, fig. 82; Vicino 2013: 66	Two parallels can be drawn. First, Priuli and Pucci compare the whole structure of <i>Arma</i> dei Buii to some Chalcolithic or Early Bronze age funerary hypogea from Sardinia (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 42). Secondly, the <i>bucranium</i> can be compared to a similar carving from Mount Bego likely dating at Bronze Age (De Lumley, 2003: 99-101; De Lumley & Echassoux 2011, fig. 176, 16)
	So-called "Altar" in Val di Nava	Val di Nava	Priuli & Pucci 1994: 42, fig. 92, fig. 93		The <i>bucranium</i> can be compared to a very similar carving found in Mount Bego De Lumley dates at Bronze Age (De Lumley 2003: 49, 99-101; De Lumley & Echassoux 2011, fig. 176, 10)	

Shovel - like cupels	The shapes have got a particular shovel-like form	Olle	Vicino 2013: 69; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 30 and fig. 10	This shape can be compared to shovels used in Bronze Age during incineration rituals in Final Bronze Age (Vicino 2013: 69; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 30 and fig. 10)
Stylized human beings	Images interpreted as stylized human figures are most of the times long crux-like figures, a circle representing the head, a thin bifurcation indicating hands and feet. In one case, people are holding hands, in a sort of dance	<i>Ciappo delle Conche</i>	Priuli & Pucci 1994: 40, 41, fig. 85, fig. 86, fig. 87, fig. 89; Vicino 2013: 64, 66	Dating these figures is particularly difficult, as styles from different areas are really different. Still, they can be connected to the increase of human stylized representations in Camunian rock art in Final Bronze Age and most of all in Iron Age (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 30, 34; Bossoni et al. 2014: 65-66). Specific parallels can be drawn with the "initiation dance" carving from Rock 32 in Naquane (Valcamonica: Stüss 1958: 39, fig. 51)
Stylized human beings	Two figures with thin body, curved legs and arms crossed behind the head, stay in front of each other. The scene has been object of two different interpretations. Thus, the characters could be praying or dwelling	<i>Ciappo del Sale</i>	Final Bronze Age/ Iron Age (1000 B.C. ca.-roman epoch)	
	Crux-like, isolated stylized human beings	Rocca Campanea	Tizzoni 1976: 87; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 48, fig. 114, fig. 115, fig. 116	The picture can be connected to the increase of human stylized representations in Camunian rock art in Iron age (De Marinis & Fossati 2012: 30, 34). G. Vicino interprets the shape as a priest (Vicino 2013: 68; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 29). The cupels below the picture seem to evoke the Pleiades cluster like he supposes in the case of Rocca di Pertì and Vene (Vicino 2013: 66, 69)
Building - like figures	Crux-like stylized human being. Below the picture, four cupels seem to form a question mark	<i>Ciappo dei Ceci B</i>	Vicino 2013: 68; Olcese, personal information	
	The figures have the form of stylized huts	<i>Ciappo del Sale</i>	Leali Anfossi 1976: 21-25; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 47, fig. 110	A. Priuli and I. Pucci (Priuli & Pucci 1994: 47) assert the huts are modern. Still, they resemble to carvings from Valcamonica which likely picture huts (Leali Anfossi 1976: 23; Anati 1990: 128; Stüss 1958: 62, fig. 90). Savardi compares these evidences to hut-like cinerary urns, a typical burial custom of Final Bronze Age and beginning of Iron Age (Savardi 2012: 13, 134)

<p>Crux-like, arrow-like and "phi" figures</p>		<p><i>Arma dei Buoi</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p><i>Arma della Moretta</i></p> <p><i>Ciappo dei Ceci A/ Brie Spaventaggi</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p><i>Ciappo delle Conche</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p><i>Ciappo del Sale</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p>Val di Nava (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p>Monte Cucco (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p>Rocca Carpanea</p>	<p><i>Arma dei Buoi</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p><i>Arma della Moretta</i></p> <p><i>Ciappo dei Ceci A/ Brie Spaventaggi</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p><i>Ciappo delle Conche</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p><i>Ciappo del Sale</i> (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p>Val di Nava (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p>Monte Cucco (ancient and cristian?)</p> <p>Rocca Carpanea</p>	<p>Iron Age?</p>	<p>Tizzoni 1976: 91; Odetti 1977: 140 (cruxes)</p> <p>Isetti 1965: 112-114; Giuggiola 1982: 48-49; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 53-54, fig. 138-154; Vicino 2013: 66, 69; De Pascale & Vicino 2017: 30 (crux-like, arrow-like and phi-like figures)</p> <p>Tizzoni 1976: 93; Odetti 1977: 140; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 43 (cruxes)</p> <p>Tizzoni 1976: 89-90; Odetti 1977: 140 (cruxes); Olcese, personal information for phi-figures</p> <p>Odetti 1977: 140; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 46, fig. 107 (cruxes)</p> <p>Tizzoni 1976: 95-96; Odetti 1977: 140; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 50, fig. 125 (cruxes) and fig. 127</p> <p>Tizzoni 1976: 88; Odetti 1977: 140 (cruxes)</p> <p>Tizzoni 1976: 86; Odetti 1977: 140; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 49, fig. 118 (cruxes)</p> <p>Tizzoni 1976: 89-90; Vicino 2013: 67</p> <p>Vicino 2013: 66</p> <p>Vicino 2013: 66, 69</p> <p>Tizzoni 1976: 86; Priuli & Pucci 1994: 49, fig. 118, fig. 119</p> <p>Leali Anfossi 1976: 20, fig. 8</p>	<p>As he tried to propose a precise chronology for carvings from <i>Arma della Moretta</i> G. Isetti proposed to date them all to "Metal Age", without indicating if he was referring to Bronze Age, or rather to Iron Age. Yet, he firmly distinguished them from the well-known bronze-aged Mount Bego carvings (Isetti 1965: 116). As a matter of fact, if we consider the similarity between this kind of evidences and stylized human figures, we should propose they date back to Iron Age</p>
	<p>Simplified representations of the stars</p>	<p>Star</p> <p>The 7 cupels seem to picture a crescent, or a question mark</p> <p>Cupels have the same form of a crescent, or a question mark</p> <p>The figures have been interpreted as stylized representations of vulvas. Still, their shape evokes most of all that of suns</p>	<p><i>Ciappo delle Conche</i></p> <p>Top of the so-called "Rocca di Petri"</p> <p>Vene di Rialto</p> <p>Rocca Carpanea</p> <p><i>Ciappo del Sale</i></p>	<p>Indefinite chronology</p>	<p>G. Vicino points out that star representations such as that of <i>Ciappo delle Conche</i>, <i>Petri</i> and <i>Vene</i> are known at least from the beginning of Protohistory (Vicino 2013: 66)</p> <p>These cupels have been interpreted as representations of the Pleiades cluster (Vicino 2013: 66-68; De Pascale & Vicino 20107: 29). A few carvings from Mount Bego would also have the same form (De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 344-347). They can be compared to Nebra sky disk dating to Early Bronze age (Vicino 2013: 67; De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 57). Still, G. Vicino generally dates star representations to Protohistory (Vicino 2013: 66-67)</p> <p>Better known representations of sexual symbols from Grotte della Blanc-Cardini (Balz Rossi, Western Liguria) dating to the Palolithic (Mussi & Vicino 2012: 491-492, 494, fig. 7 and fig. 9) have a totally different shape. Besides, the "vulvas" figures from Rocca Carpanea could also evoke a sun, as proves a comparison with Mount Bego area (De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 57; 336, 337, fig. 353)</p>	<p>G. Vicino points out that star representations such as that of <i>Ciappo delle Conche</i>, <i>Petri</i> and <i>Vene</i> are known at least from the beginning of Protohistory (Vicino 2013: 66)</p> <p>These cupels have been interpreted as representations of the Pleiades cluster (Vicino 2013: 66-68; De Pascale & Vicino 20107: 29). A few carvings from Mount Bego would also have the same form (De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 344-347). They can be compared to Nebra sky disk dating to Early Bronze age (Vicino 2013: 67; De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 57). Still, G. Vicino generally dates star representations to Protohistory (Vicino 2013: 66-67)</p> <p>Better known representations of sexual symbols from Grotte della Blanc-Cardini (Balz Rossi, Western Liguria) dating to the Palolithic (Mussi & Vicino 2012: 491-492, 494, fig. 7 and fig. 9) have a totally different shape. Besides, the "vulvas" figures from Rocca Carpanea could also evoke a sun, as proves a comparison with Mount Bego area (De Lumley & Échassoux 2011: 57; 336, 337, fig. 353)</p>
<p>Sexual Symbols (?)</p>						

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VERSO UN APPROCCIO ARCHEOLOGICO ALLO STUDIO
DELLE INCISIONI RUPESTRI PREISTORICHE. DAL METODO
ALLA SIMBOLOGIA: IL CASO-STUDIO DEL FINALE (LIGURIA
OCCIDENTALE).

MARTINA OLCESE



Il presente lavoro intende proporre una riflessione sull'approccio scientifico allo studio delle incisioni rupestri, partendo da una prospettiva archeologica.

In tal modo, la prima parte dell'articolo pone in essere le principali problematiche inerenti l'indagine su queste testimonianze, fra cui spiccano gli elementi inerenti la datazione e l'interpretazione. Da un lato, la datazione delle incisioni è da sempre confrontata all'assenza di depositi archeologici di riferimento che consentano una cronologia assoluta. Dall'altro, lo studio tecnologico di queste testimonianze, con particolare riferimento al microcalco, alla fotogrammetria e al laser scan, consente di stabilire per esse una cronologia relativa.

L'interpretazione delle figure incise sulla pietra, d'altro canto, appare imprescindibilmente legata ad una prospettiva interdisciplinare, che trascende l'archeologia per trarre puntualmente spunto dalla storia dell'arte, dall'antropologia culturale e persino dalla medicina. In questo contesto, è fatto riferimento a recenti studi che hanno messo in rilievo come il repertorio iconografico e persino lo stile delle incisioni rupestri preistoriche trovino riscontro in immagini prodotte da menti in stato psicofisico alterato. Tali fenomeni si ascrivono ad esempi etnografici ravvisabili in popolazioni del Sud Africa e del Sud America. Sebbene paia improprio ascrivere sistematicamente a questo tipo di fenomeni la realizzazione dell'arte rupestre, da queste considerazioni si deduce che la pratica di incidere la pietra nel più remoto passato dovesse rientrare in un particolare contesto culturale e simbolico.

La seconda sezione del testo propone una prima scansione cronologica delle incisioni rupestri rinvenute nel Finale (Liguria occidentale, Italia), sino ad oggi mai oggetto di uno studio sistematico. A tale scopo, viene intrapreso un riscontro con due contesti particolarmente bene indagati: l'arte rupestre del Monte Bego (Alpes du Sud, Francia) e della Valcamonica (Bergamo-Brescia, Italia).

Il risultato di questo primo tentativo è di aver suddiviso le testimonianze rinvenute nel Finale in due gruppi. Il primo e più antico, che include soprattutto i cosiddetti "fulmini", è stato datato tra il Calcolitico e l'antica età del Bronzo. Il secondo, in seno al quale si distinguono alcune figure antropomorfe, risalirebbe invece all'età del Ferro.

Sul piano strettamente simbolico, il confronto con la teoria di H. De Lumley sulle testimonianze dal Monte Bego ha consentito di porre i rinvenimenti provenienti dal Finale in relazione con una forma di religiosità solare o comunque legata agli elementi atmosferici, i cui richiami all'ambito simbolico della fertilità e della pastorizia sono numerosi.

Al testo è aggiunta un'appendice che illustra brevemente le premesse metodologiche su cui si è basata la datazione delle incisioni rupestri del Monte Bego e della Valcamonica, e propone una vera e propria tavola crono-tipologica delle incisioni del Finale.

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Rugian Slavic God Sventovit – One More Time

———— Roman Zaroff —————

This paper critically analyses and discusses two recent re-interpretations of the name of the Slavic god known as Sventovit. This deity was worshipped on Rügen Island, on Wittow Peninsula, at a locality called Arkona. The temple of Sventovit, with his four-headed statue, stood there on the cliff there in the Middle Ages until its destruction by the Danes in 1168/9. The paper explores an article by Michał Łuczyński published in the Polish journal *Ling Varia* in 2015, and a chapter on Sventovit in the book by Judith Kalik and Alexander Uchitel, titled *Slavic Gods and Heroes*, which was published by Routledge in 2018, in the USA and UK. In his work, Łuczyński postulated that root-stem *-vit* in the name of a deity is, in fact, a suffix *-ovit* implying its attributive character. The paper argues for a widely accepted explanation that root-stem *-vit* derives from the Slavic *vitedzъ*, denoting warrior, hero, freeman, lord, master or ruler. In their book, Kalik and Uchitel argued that the name “Sventovit” was a corrupted form of the name of the Christian Saint Vitus. This article challenges this notion, arguing that the deity’s name Sventovit has nothing to do with Saint Vitus.

KEYWORDS: Sventovit, Slavic mythology, religion, Polabians, Rugen Island

The discourse concerning the name and etymology of the Slavic pre-Christian deity Sventovit, worshipped in Middle Ages on Rügen Island at Arkona, remains active. It is encouraging that the history of the Polabian Slavs and Slavic pre-Christian beliefs are still of interest among many contemporary mediaeval scholars. In recent times, I have encountered two new interpretations concerning the above topic. There was an article by Polish scholar Michał Łuczyński “*Staropolaabskie teonimy *Světovity, *Jarovity, *Rujevity, *Borovity: deadiectiva czy composita?*”, published in 2015. Another publication was an interpretation by Judith Kalik and Alexander Uchitel in the book titled *Slavic Gods and Heroes*, which appeared in 2018. The Slavic deity Sventovit, **Světovity* in Slavic, was recorded only in Latin transcripts and had various spelling according to the source. This should not be a surprise as none of the chroniclers and annalists were native Slavic speakers. Thus, the name passed on were phonetic recordings of an alien name. They have been recorded in various ways, such as *Suantovitu* (Saxo, XIV.39), *Suantouith*, *Suantuitho* (Saxo, XIV.39), *Szuentevi*, *Suantevit*, *Zuantevith* (Helmold I.52; II.108(12)),

and Svanteviz (*Knytlinga*, 122). There is a consensus among most of the scholars that the original Slavonic name of this deity was **Světovitъ* (Łuczyński 2015: 110). To be clear, the anglicized form “Sventovit” will be used in this paper.

ROMAN ZAROFF’S INTERPRETATION

In my article “The Origins of Sventovit of Rügen”, published in 2002, in the journal *Studia Mythologica Slavica*, I presented my interpretation and provided my explanation for the etymology of Sventovit’s name. Briefly, it had been postulated that the name is dithematic and comprises two elements to be called root-stem in this work. The first derived from Proto-Slavic **свѣтъ* (**Světъ*) denoting magic, holy, possessing supernatural properties and also might and power. Hence, in the case of Sventovit, it denotes might, strength, and power (Brückner 1985A: 537; Boryś 2006: 623). Over the course of the time, under Christian influence, the term changed its meaning and became synonymous with the noun “saint”. The second element, the suffix *-vitъ*, was explained as deriving from an Old Slavonic noun **витезь* - meaning a warrior, freeman, lord and/or master. In this context, the etymology of the name Sventovit was postulated to mean a “Strong, Mighty, Lord” (Zaroff 2002: 3). The above etymology and meaning of the name Sventovit has long been accepted by the overwhelming majority of scholars, starting with Josef Dobrovsky in the early 19th century (Niederle: 1916 142n) and by such scholars as Lubor Niederle (Niederle 1916: 142n), Stanisław Urbańczyk (S. Urbańczyk 1947: 34–35), Rajko Nahtigal (Nahtigal 1956: 1), Leszek Moszyński (Moszyński 1975: 591), Jerzy Strzelczyk (Strzelczyk 1998: 210), Aleksander Gieysztor (Gieysztor 1982: 90–91), Eric Christianson (Christiansen 1984: 836(n477)), Ken Dowden (Dowden 2000: 215), Stanisław Rosik (Rosik 2000: 128) and Andrzej Szyjewski (Szyjewski 2003: 116) to name but few. Although, as it happens, it is common in the fields of history, linguistics, and etymology, consensus on this issue is not shared by all scholars. The issue that recently reappeared will be addressed and discussed in detail in the course of this paper.

MICHAŁ ŁUCZYŃSKI’S - A NEW LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION

As aforementioned, Slavic names are usually dithematic with two meaningful root-stems. In the case of Sventovit, Łuczyński proposed a new etymology for the name of this god. He did not challenge the notion that root-stem *světъ*, meaning strong, mighty, powerful, magic, holy, possessing supernatural properties (Łuczyński 2015: 110), and that the term acquired its current meaning of something saintly, holy, which became synonymous with saint and sainthood only in Christian times (Brückner 1985A: 537). It should also be noted that a number of Russian scholars who followed the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School, such as Oleg Trubachev, Vladimir Toporov and Boris Rybakov derived root-stem *světъ* from Slavic term denoting light and/or brightness (Trubachev 2003: 418–420; Toporov 2014: 339; Rybakov 1981: 300).

However, Łuczyński argued that in the name Sventovit's two root-stems are not *svęto-vitъ*, but rather *svęto-ovitъ*. Therefore, he introduced a suffix *-ovit* instead. An alleged suffix *-ovit* is supposed to be an adjective serving an attributive and/or possessive function in the name. On its own, the linguistic argument about the suffix *-ovit* as presented by Łuczyński is a well-researched and scholarly presented analysis. For instance, in the Polish language, *jad* means poison and the verb *jadowity* means poisonous, or *smak* - a taste, and *smakowity*, which means tasty. He concluded that the suffix *-ovit* meant "one that possesses' a lot of, one who is full of". In this interpretation, the name Sventovit would mean "one that possesses a lot of power, strength" (Łuczyński 2015: 115). It should be noted that previously mentioned followers of the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School, such as Trubachev, derived root-stem *vitъ*, from an Indo-European **ueik-t* or **uik-t* denoting vital force, and Rybakov explained *-vitъ* as joy, happiness or abundance (Rybakov, 1981: 300). Lubor Niederle has seen the element *vit* as of Slavonic origin, although he perceived it as unexplained (Niederle 1916: 142). To best of my knowledge, only the Russian Nataliya Ganina follows Trubachev (Trubachev 2004: 428–429) in support of Łuczyński's claim that the suffix *-ovit*, in the name of Sventovit is a substantive adjective (Ganina 2015: 71).

Unfortunately, introducing the suffix *-ovitъ* as a part of Sventovit and to other similar names is not very convincing. Above all, Łuczyński's impressive linguistic exercise does not explain the origins of common Slavic names beginning with element *vitъ-*. To name only a few historical figures, we have Vitoslav, and its variants appear in Czech as Vitězslav, and in Croatian and Slovene as Vitislav. Just to mention some historical figures, we have Vitoslav (*Vitislav*, *Vitislav*), a Bohemian duke mentioned in the 9th century (*Annales Fuldenses*, Years 872; 895). In Polish historical sources, a certain Witosław (*Vitizlaus*) is mentioned in a document from 1193 issued by Pope Celestine III (*Bull of Celestine III*, Celestinus pp. III 1193 Apr. 8). Another Witosław (*Vitoslaus*) appears in a Privilege for the Benedictine monastery at Mogilno in 1143 issued by Mieszko III the Old (Mesco dux Polonie, 1103). There was a certain Witomir (*Vithmarus*) in another document from 1247 (Fr. Michael Abbas in Paradiso 1247).

As previously stated, Slavic names are dithematic but were also abbreviated, shortened, or used in a diminutive form. These applied not only to the common people but also were used in the case of the rulers. For instance, Prince Bolesław II of Świdnica was often referred to as "Bolko". This must have been a case of an Obodrite duke Witčan of the late 8th century (ARF, 789; 795), whose name begins with the element *vitъ-*. Similarly, a Polish document *Ex commisso nobis* known as the Bull of Gniezno issued by Pope Innocent II in 1136 mentions Witosza (*Vitossa*) and Witosz (*Vitos*) (Bull of Gniezno of 1136). Also, a deputy judge Witek (*Vitec*) appears at Gniezno in 1247 (Conradus dux Lanchicie, 1247). In the last three Polish examples, it could be argued that the names are Slavicized forms of the Latin name Vitus, derived from Saint Vitus (*Sanctus Vitus*), but it is equally plausible that they are simply just abbreviations of Slavic dithematic names, such as Witosław, Witomir, Witomysł, or Vitodrag (Niederle 1916: 142). So, in all probability it is an old Serbian name *Vitъko* (Nahtigal 1956: 3). Therefore, this clearly indicates that element *vit* in personal names cannot be an attributive/possessive adjective (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 54), and existed on its own as a noun.

Moreover, there are a plethora of place names across the entire Slavdom beginning with *Vit*, *Wit* or alike. To cite just a few examples, Polish Witomyśl (*Vitomisl*) mentioned in 1250 (DLW, Doc. 286, year 1250), is evidently a patronymic name. Another example, Witkowo (*Vittovo*) recorded in 1259 (DLW, Doc. 382, year 1259), or Vitačiv (Вітачів) in Ukraine (Wędzki 2008:686-687). Furthermore, an old Slavic settlement of Vityň (*Vitin*), a tribal centre of the Niditse (Pol. Nidzice) in East Germany (Ger. Witten) was mentioned in 961 (SSS, Vol. 6:504), or the Vitosha Mountains in Bulgaria, which are derived either from the personal name Vitoš or the word *vitež-vit*. Finally, the Łuczyński hypothesis does not explain the name of Wittow Peninsula on Rügen Island, where a Sventovit temple stood and where to these days small village called Witt exists.

In addition, the “o” in the name Svent-o-tovit is extremely unlikely to be a part of an alleged suffix *-ovit*. Examining other Slavonic names, it is abundantly clear that it is simply not so. It should be noted that, for example, the name Gněvomir comprises the root-stem *gněvb* - the wrath (Boryś 2006: 168) and *mirb* - meaning respect in this context. Hence the name follows a pattern Gněvo-mir, not a Gněv-omir. Similarly, Gostomysł is a combination of *gostb* – guest (Boryś 2006: 174), and *myslb* - a thought, thoughtful (Boryś 2006: 344-345), but within the name, it means “One that is well disposed to guest; a hospitable one”. So, it is Gosto-mysł not Gost-omysł. There are a countless number of other Slavonic names showing the above pattern. Moreover, the personal names containing the element *svętb*- such Czech Svatopluk, Svatoslav or Polish Świętopełk, Świętochor, Świętosława or Eastern Slavic Svyatoslav (Святослав), or a mythical hero Svyatogor (Святогор) evidently show the same pattern. The pattern identified in the name’s the element *svętb*- becomes *svętbO-*, where *Svento-vit*, rather than *Svent-ovit* fits perfectly.

Furthermore, let us examine the Southern Slavic name Ljudevit. It was the name of a Croatian ruler of Southern Pannonia, Duke Ljudevit of Passau, circa 810-823 (ARF, 818). The name contains the Proto-Slavic element **ljudb* – meaning people. In the 9th century, the people would be called *ljudb* (*ljudy*), similarly to Russian *люду* (*ljudi*) or the Polish form *ludzie*. It has to be considered that, in mediaeval times, the naming of children was of utmost importance and carried significant meaning. Naming children was of a mystical or magic-like ritualized nature ceremony. They were often perceived as assuring their children future characteristics, virtues, prestige and status that they hoped they would possess.

As a consequence, it carried an important message of assurance for the future well-being and success of the child. This issue was comprehensively addressed by Bożena Hryniewicz-Adamskich in her article published in 2011 (Hryniewicz-Adamskich 2011: 177-196). In this context, it is much more convincing that together with the suffix *-vitb* as a lord, master, the name Ljudevit would have meant “The lord of the people”, as an appropriate given name for a member of the ruling Croatian house, rather than meaning something else. Simply adding the suffix *-vit* would add to the name much more importance and prestige than an alleged attributive/possessive *-ovit* proposed by Łuczyński.

As was postulated in my 2002 article, the element *vitb* is in Slavic names derived from an abbreviated form of Old Slavonic *vitedzb* < **vitegb* meaning warrior, hero, freeman, lord, master, ruler. It is a common Slavic noun; therefore, it must have preceded the

Slavic migration period of the 5th to 7th centuries C.E. It appears in Czech in the form of *vítěz*, a victor, in Lusatian Sorbian as *wítez* or *wičaz* a hero. In the Polish language, *witeź* or *wiciądz*, means a warrior, in Russian and Ukrainian *вѣтъзь* (*witiaź*) a warrior, Croatian *vítěz*, Slovene *vitez*, Bulgarian, Macedonian and in Serbian *вумез* (*vitez*) – all meaning a knight, warrior or concepts associated with warriors, bravery, lordship, master and power, winner or victor, or a member of the Slavic class of warriors (Vasmer 1986, ed: 322–323; Brückner: 1985A: 658–659; Gieysztor 1982: 90–91; Boryś 2006: 747). Hence, all Slavic variants are conceptually cognate. From Slavic languages, the term also entered Hungarian as *vitéz* and Romanian as *viteaz*, and denotes someone gallant or valiant (S. Urbańczyk 1975: 502). Such an interpretation has a wide consensus among scholars, including Aleksander Brückner (Brückner 1985B: 35), Stanisław Urbańczyk (S. Urbańczyk 1947: 34–35), Janisław Osieglowski (Osieglowski 1971: 136), Alexander Gieysztor (Gieysztor 1982: 90), Jerzy Strzelczyk (Strzelczyk 1998: 210), Eric Christiansen (Christiansen 1984: 836(n477)), Ken Dowden (Dowden 2000: 215), Stanisław Rosik (Rosik 2000: 128), or Andrzej Szyjewski (Szyjewski 2003: 116), to cite a few.

The origin of the term *witiaź/vitedzъ* < **vitegь* is not entirely clear. However, most authorities assume that it is a borrowing from Old East Germanic, likely a Gothic-related language, before the Slavic Migration Period. The term also appears in Baltic Old Prussian as *witing*, to denote native Prussians in military service of Teutonic Knights (Vasmer 1986, ed., Vol I: 322), reinforcing the notion of the early borrowing from the Eastern Germanic language. It should also be noted that in early Slavic borrowings from the Germanic sound “g” tended to change to “z” or “dz”. This is demonstrated in the case of *kuningaz*, to *кнѣзь* denoting a prince or ruler (Gołąb 1992: 72), and in Old Slavonic *пѣндзь/пѣндзь* (*pěneź/pěnegь*), to the Polish *pieniądz*, the Czech word *peniz*, Old Russian *пенязь* (*pěnjazь*) for money or coin; and derived from an Old Lower German *pfenning* (Gołąb 1992: 381). All this implies that it originated from the term *witing*, or similar. Unfortunately, this is not attested in any written records. It is likely to be related to the Gothic *witan* - to keep watch, to guard (Skeat 1868: 273). A similar term is attested in Gothic by *weihan/weigan*, to fight (Skeat 1868: 267–268; Balg 1889: 540–541; Gołąb 1992: 381–382), or perhaps it shares the origin with later Old Icelandic *hvitingr*, meaning fair-haired, but also noble, distinguished (Vasmer 1986, ed., Vol I: 323). The term Viking, from Old Norse *vikings*, acquired a meaning of sea-farer, pirate, and warrior in later times, may also had derived from this common Old Germanic term *witing* (S. Urbańczyk 1975: 502). The most plausible explanation is by Zbigniew Gołąb who proposed that *witing* was likely a term used by the earliest, pre-Gothic, East Germanic migrants, possibly the Germano-Celtic Bastarnae or Germanic Vandals, sometime between as early as the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE, and then entered Proto-Slavic and Proto-Baltic languages (Gołąb 1992: 382).

Moreover, the suffix *-vitъ* denoting a lord or master is better suited to the unquestionable military aspects of Sventovit’s cult, and other functions of agricultural, vegetative, harvest and prophetic abilities. In other words, in the henotheistic pantheon of the Slavs, Sventovit acquired a leading, if not a supreme role. It should be noted that, in many religions, higher or supreme gods are called “Lord”. For instance, the name of the Zoroastrian god Ahura

Mazda, who is a creator and sole deity, comprises of the word *Ahura* - mighty and/or lord, and *Mazda* - wisdom. Thus, the literal meaning of Ahura Mazda is “Wise Lord”.

The postulated transnominization of an adjective into a proper noun by Łuczyński (Łuczyński 2015: 111–112), appears to be merely a hypothesis and, in this case, lacks substantial evidence other than a long sequence of speculative arguments. Łuczyński argued that there is no clear evidence for the association of the suffix *vitb* with the noun *witiaż*, citing doubts expressed by Aleksander Brückner (Łuczyński 2015: 110–111). It needs to be acknowledged here that the linguistic and grammatical rules, laws and patterns are powerful and extremely useful tools in scholarly linguistic, philological, and etymological analysis and reconstruction. There is absolutely no doubt about it. However, linguistics is not mathematics, and there cannot be linguistic dogmas. Languages are living social phenomena, and unpredictable, unexpected, unexplainable changes may and do take place. Two simple cases can be presented here. A term for spider in all Slavic languages derives from the common Slavic *pauk*-like, from Old Slavonic *paqkb*, while in Polish it is *pajak* (Boryś 2006: 408), or another common Slavic word *medvědb* a bear, is *niedźwiedź* in Polish (Boryś 2006: 360). Both these instances and a multitude of other examples defy not only an explanation, but the change often does not follow any linguistic “rule”. The linguistics can clearly describe the changes that occurred, but sometimes do not provide the answer as to “why”.

To conclude this section, although some doubts remain and have to be acknowledged here, the presented argument and cumulative evidence clearly indicates that Łuczyński’s hypothesis is not very convincing. Therefore, in the name of the Rugian Slavic deity Sventovit, there is no attributive or possessive suffix *-ovitb*, but there is a commonly accepted suffix *-vitb*. In all probability, it derives from the Slavonic term *witiaż*, which denotes a lord, master or someone in a position of authority, and it appeared in an abbreviated form in names.

ORIGIN OF SVENTOVIT BY JUDITH KALIK AND ALEXANDER UCHITEL, FROM THE BOOK: *SLAVIC GODS AND HEROES*

A recent book by two scholars, Judith Kalik and Alexander Uchitel, and titled *Slavic Gods and Heroes* that was published by Routledge in 2018 offers a controversial revision of Pre-Christian Slavic beliefs. A relevant part of the book for the purpose of this paper is a chapter on Sventovit. These scholars postulated that the name Sventovit derives from that of Saint Vitus. The authors claimed that the Ranove (Rani) nominally accepted Christianity in times of Otto I, who was a German king since 936 and Emperor from 962 until his death in 972. Supposedly, the Ranove needed the Empire’s support against the Danish threat. Allegedly, not very long after that, the Ranove reverted to their pre-Christian beliefs and began to worship Saint Vitus in a corrupted form, that is, as a deity known as Sventovit (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 54).

At the beginning of the section on Sventovit, the authors cited Helmold of Bossau, who composed his *Chronica Sclavorum* sometime between 1163 and 1171, describing the

events since the time of Charlemagne. According to Helmold, in the times of Louis II the Younger, Holy Roman Emperor 844-876, monks from the Abbey of Corvey underwent a mission to the Ranove of Rügen Island. Consequently, they were converted to Christianity, and an oratory devoted to Saint Vitus was established there. Shortly afterwards, the Ranove reverted to their pre-Christian beliefs and began to worship a misinterpreted Saint Vitus as Sventovit (Helmold I.6). Helmold repeats the story in a similar way in the Second Book of his chronicle, but this time places it in the time of Louis I the Pious, who was Charlemagne's son and Emperor from 814 to 840 (Helmold II.108). They have also cited a fragment from *Gesta Danorum* composed by a Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus. Saxo repeats Helmold's claim, but placed it in the times of Charlemagne's reign of 768 to 814 and their apostasy after his death (Saxo XIV.39). There is strong evidence that Saxo knew Helmold's chronicle (Christiansen 1984:704-705), and his notion about Saint Vitus' origin of Sventovit comes from that source. Saxo was a chaplain of the bishop of Roskilde, and he wrote his *Gesta Danorum* sometime after 1185. He died around 1204. The chronicle provides a vivid description of the pagan cult there, the temple of the god Sventovit at Arkona, and its destruction in 1168/69 (Saxo XIV.39). A relatively in-depth knowledge and understanding of the contemporary Baltic Slavs and their affairs is visible throughout the chronicle. His account about the pagan temple, idol, and ceremonies held at Arkona are regarded as most trustworthy. He either participated in the 1168/69 expedition or received information from the Danish bishop of Roskilde, Absalon, who led the expedition against the Ranove. The Ranove principality under Slavic prince Tetzlav (Pol. Ciesław) became a Danish tithe and ecclesiastically under Danish bishopric of Roskilde (Ellis 1978: 2; Ślupecki 1994: 33). It should be also noted that church erected by Danes in Rügen Island at Altenkirchen, shortly after 1168/1169 was consecrated to Saint Mary not Saint Vitus (Christiansen 1984: 844).

On the basis of the above, it appears that the entire story by Helmold and repeated by Saxo is regarded widely by modern historians as fictitious, not only because of the contradictory time frame, but also as being a much later attempt by Corvey monks to make an ecclesiastic claim of archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen to Rügen Island. Indeed, a charter to this respect was fabricated around the year 1114, in the times of Emperor's Lothar III's expedition against the Ranove of Rügen. The evidently forged Charter supposedly was issued by East Frankish king Lothair I in 844 (Christiansen 1984: 715). After they cited both Helmold's and Saxo's accounts, the authors stated: *Modern scholars rejected this version of the story regarding the origins of Sventovit's cult, because of evidentiary inconsistencies and its anachronistic character. Neither Louis I nor Louis II, to say nothing about Charlemagne, ever conquered Rugen Island. The monks of Corvey[...] likely fabricated the story* (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 53– 54). This implies that they too accept that Helmold's and Saxo's accounts in this respect are not true.

Moreover, the political situation in the region does not begin to suggest any serious penetration of the empire and Christianity in the course of the 9th and first half of the 10th centuries. During the 9th century, the Carolingian Empire did not really penetrate Polabian Slavs' territories. From time to time, the Sorbs and Veletians from the Brandenburg region only nominally accepted Imperial authority and occasionally paid a tribute. The heathen

Slavonic Obodrites were often allied with Charlemagne, first against the heathen Saxons and later against the heathen Danes. The Ranove of Rügen at that time were well beyond the reach of Empire and even more beyond the reach of Christianity (Zaroff 1996; Zaroff 2000). It should be also noted here that a monk, Ansgar, who later became archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, underwent a mission to Denmark and later to Sweden between 826 and 831, which was described in *Vita Ansgari* by Rimbert, an archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen between 865 and 888. We read there: *The Pope confirmed this, not only by an authoritative decree, but also by the gift of the pallium, in accordance with the custom of his predecessors, and he appointed him as his legate for the time being amongst all the neighbouring races of the Swedes and Danes, also the Slavs and the other races that inhabited the regions of the north* (Rimbert XIII). However, the *Vita* is a classical hagiography, and its claims of a successful mission and the conversion of many Danes and Swedes seem to be a gross exaggeration. Overall, the mission was a failure, as both the Danes and Swedes remained pagan for more than the following century, and there is no evidence that Christianity took a serious foothold there as a result of Ansgar's mission. As for any Slavs, the *Vita* mentioned them sporadically with no indication about any real conversion success (Rimbert VI–XXXIX; Robinson 1921: 12–16; Hardt 2010: 345–354). The first bishoprics on Polabian Slavic territories were found at Brandenburg and Havelberg (Sorbian-Veletian borderlands) in 948 (Labuda, 1960: III. 183; Hardt 2010: 345–354), and in the North, on Obodrite territory at Oldenburg in 968 (Hardt, 2010: 345–354; Zaroff 1996: 102–103).

Kalik and Uchitel do not question the etymology of the root-stem **svetb*, as presented at the beginning of the paper. However, they questioned that of root-stem *vit*. They argued that: *this word is not found in any Slavic language, and is reconstructed solely on the basis of divine and personal names containing this component* (Kalik & Uchitel, 2018: 54). Indeed, it is the case, but the reconstruction of this word from *witiaż/vitędz* and its abbreviated form *vit*, as argued the above, was researched and reconstructed by a great many scholars and accepted by most historians. The authors themselves acknowledged that an overwhelming majority of the scholars accept the root-stem *vitb* as meaning a lord (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 54). We have already explored a frequent occurrence of root-stem *vitb* in multiple, very common personal and geographical names across the entire Slavdom. The term logically fits the reconstruction as lord/master much more convincingly than other investigations, such as that presented in the section discussing Łuczyński's paper. We will re-visit this issue later.

Following this, Kalik and Uchitel repeated a claim that the Sventovit cult was a corrupted form of veneration of Saint Vitus, this time, approaching the issue from a different perspective. At the same time, they stated that they disregarded the accounts of Helmold and Saxo concerning Sventovit and Saint Vitus; it still needs some consideration, which contradicts their previous acknowledgement that they were not true. The revised argument went as follows. The Ranove assisted Emperor Otto I in conflict with other Slavs, namely the Obodrites, and participated in the Battle of Recknitz (TM, II.12; Widukind, III. 54–55). The authors claimed that the Ranove sided with Otto I, as they were afraid of a Danish threat and needed imperial assistance against them. On that occasion, they also

accepted Christianity, albeit nominally. This was followed by the transfer of the Saint Vitus cult to the Rugian principality, as it was popular in parts of the empire due to a transfer of Saint Vitus relics to the Corvey Abbey in 836. When a great Slavic rebellion of the Obodrites and Veletians took place in 983, the Slavs relinquished not only imperial supremacy but also reverted to heathenism (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 54).

A fundamental problem with this claim is that no contemporary sources mention such a conversion of the Ranove prior to the fall of Arkona in 1168/69. Any conversion of pagans in the region was always highlighted by annalists and chroniclers, even if it was only nominal or such people relapsed shortly after. The authors do not provide any explanation why *Annales Corbeisenses*, *Annales Hildesheimenses*, and all the other contemporary annals are silent about this alleged event. An argument used by authors that Widukind of Corvey, who had written his *Gesta* between 962 and 973 and during the reign of Otto I, did not mention the conversion of the Ranove simply because he was not interested in Rugen Island (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 54) does not deserve a comment. However, to clarify this, Widukind was a Saxon of noble birth; he lived and worked at Corvey Abbey and would not miss an opportunity to praise his “beloved” Otto I’s achievement in the Christianization of another “bunch” of pagans and uplift the standing of his own Abbey who piously venerated Saint Vitus. Neither can he be accused of ignorance or lack of interest in Imperial, Saxon and regional affairs. Similarly, another contemporary chronicler, Thietmar of Merseburg, is regarded as a relatively reliable source. He was born in the upper-class family of count Siegfried of Walbeck. He received his education at St. John’s monastery at Magdeburg and, like Helmold of Bosau, he spoke Slavic. He was consecrated bishop of Merseburg in 1009. His *Chronicon*, a chronicle of the Saxon dynasty’s deeds, was written between 1012 and 1018 (Jedlicki 1953: XIII–XXXV, L–LII). Thus, Thietmar was well informed about Slavonic affairs and provided a long description of the Veletian cult centre devoted to the god Svarozhits (TM, VI. 23–24). It is indicative that Thietmar wrote in detail about the transfer of Saint Vitus relics to Corvey, but in *Chronicon* he mentioned nothing about the Christianization of the Ranove of Rügen Island and the cult of Saint Vitus there (TM, VII. 13, 53).

Furthermore, another chronicler, Adam of Bremen, an author of *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, who was a member of the cathedral chapter at the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen is noteworthy. He was born in the first half of the 11th century in southern Germany, probably somewhere around Würzburg. He came to Saxony and Bremen in the mid-1060s. His chronicle was written in the 1070s–1080s. Adam knew King Sven of Denmark personally, and some of his information came from the monarch. Adam’s knowledge of Saxon and Danish affairs seems to have extended to the geography and the people of the region (Tschan 1959: XIII–XXIII; AoB, II.XVI(14)–II.XXII(19)), and he mentions *Rugiani* - the Ranove of Rügen (AoB, XXII(19)). Here again, in Adam’s *Gesta*, we find nothing supporting the alleged claim. It should be noted that the first bishops for Danes were consecrated only in 948 (AoB, II.IV). He explicitly and clearly says that the archbishopric of Magdeburg founded in 968 would have had ecclesiastic jurisdiction over the Slavic people as far as the Peene River and that it divided the archdioceses of Hamburg-Bremen and Magdeburg, but saying nothing about Rügen

Islands, the Ranove or Saint Vitus (AoB, II.XVI(14)–XVII(15)). Finally, he provides a relatively comprehensive description of the Ranove of Rügen Island, describing their pagan beliefs, customs, military power and regional importance, and their piracy. Here, it is yet another instance in which Adam of Bremen in his *Gesta* makes no mention of early Christianization or Saint Vitus (AoB, IV.XVIII).

Thus, it appears that all the contemporary sources are silent on this matter, simply because such a conversion did not take place. At the risk of repetition, the first bishopric in the north on Polabian Obodrite territory was founded in 968 and lasted until the Great Slavic rebellion in 983 – a mere 15 years.

Moreover, Kalik’s and Uchitel’s treaties misunderstood the political situation in the region around 955. In the middle of the 10th century, the Ranove did not need to ally themselves with the Empire against the Danes, as they were not a threat to each other, and they were not in conflict. There is no evidence for such a conflict in Scandinavian or German sources. At best, the Danes could trade with the Ranove, and may have made sporadic raids against each other if circumstances allowed. This was a usual occurrence in the Baltic basin of that time. As for heathen Denmark, it was in the process of state formation and unification of Jutland by Gorm the Old who reigned between 936 and 958, and the Danes were not in a position to expand beyond Scandinavia (Collins 1991: 333–334; Christiansen 2006: 87–100). With the encroaching Empire and Christianity from the south, Gorm the Old would likely have preferred to be an ally not an enemy of the Ranove. As it happened, the alliance of the Ranove with Otto I was against the Slavic Obodrites. The Obodrite principality bordered mainland territories under the control of the Ranove. The contested territories were roughly between the modern city of Rostock and Ribnitz-Damgarten in Germany. As a result, the Ranove’s involvement in 955 in the Battle of Recknitz was prompted by the fact that they saw the Obodrites as a threat to their interests and competitors in the region (Zaroff 2000: 7, 28–31). There was no need for the heathen Ranove to accept Christianity and, as was recorded in the sources, they came to assist the Imperial forces on their own accord. As it happened, it was the Ranove who saved the day at the Battle of Recknitz as they built a bridge across the River Recknitz, which allowed German forces under Gero to escape from their entrapment in the bend of the river and attack unsuspecting Obodrites from behind (Widukind, III. 54–55). As the evidence indicates, Kalik’s and Uchitel’s claim are indeed devoid of any evidence for the Christianization of the Ranove around 955. Moreover, their research and interpretation of the 955 events lack depth.

At this point, it is useful to return to the attempt by the authors to derive the root-stem of *-vit* in Sventovit’s name from Saint Vitus. There are a number of serious problems with this interpretation. Firstly, there is an overwhelming body of evidence that the root-stem *vit* in Slavic names was very common and widely spread across the entire Slavdom; it cannot be linked with Saint Vitus. The root-stem *-vit* was a widespread element in Slavic personal names such as Dobrovit, Drogovit, Gościwit, Ljudevit, Siemowit, Witomysł, Witosław, and many others, long before the Christianization of the Slavs. Another example is Dragovit (*Dragawit*), a Veletian (*Wiltzi*) “prince”, most likely of Brandenburg/Branibor, who was defeated by the Franks and allied with the Slavic Obodrites in 789

(Einhardi, 789). In Poland, personal names with the root-stem **-vitb** appear in numerous mediaeval documents. To cite a few: Siemowit (*Semovith*) from the chronicler Gallus Anonymous, in the early 12th century, who refers to the Polanie's ruler/chieftain of the late 9th or early 10th centuries (Gallus Anonymus, III). A document titled *Ex commisso nobis* known as the Bull of Gniezno issued by Pope Innocent II in 1136 list a number of people with such a names. The list includes such names like Miłowit (*Milovit*), Radowit (*Radovit*), Siedlewit (*Sedlevit*), Snowit (*Snovid*), Witosza (*Vitossa*), Witosz (*Vitos*), Wniewit (*Vnevit*) and Snowit (*Snovid*) (Bull of Gniezno of 1136). There is also a person called Sdevit recorded in 1285 (Jacobus Archiepiscopus Gneznens. 1285). Another old Slavic name, Uniewit, was attested in 13th-century sources, comprising the root-stem **unijb-**, meaning better and **-vitb** (S. Urbańczyk 1977: 265). Besides, there were many people in the sources recorded as Vitus. It is not relevant here to argue whether they bore a Latin name Vitus, or were their names a Latinization of Slavonic names containing the root-stem **-vitb**. By numbers alone, if not most, some of them must have been Latinization of Slavonic names. The root-stem **-vitb** also appears in number of aforementioned place names, such as the Vitosha Mountains in Bulgaria, Wittow Peninsula, and Witt settlement on Rügen Island. In my considered opinion, there is no further need to cite further examples in this short paper.

The authors did not overlook other Slavonic deities with ending suffix **-vit**. They stated: [...] *it can be observed that the Slavic theonyms with a –vit component (Sventovit, Rugevit, Porevit and Gerovit) were restricted to a tribal territory of the Rani (including the town of Wolgast on the mainland, were Gerovit was worshipped* (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 54). It should be noted that the above passage contradicts their claim of Sventovit being a corrupted, grotesque incarnation of Saint Vitus. Rugevit or Rujevit was a deity worshipped at Gartz (Karenica) on Rügen Island with a large statue with seven faces and seven swords. If we accept our interpretation, it meant “Lord of Rugia”. It was an older tribal deity of the Ranove, purely a tribal god, who was overtaken in importance by the supra-tribal Sventovit (Stupecki 1994: 49). This issue will be addressed later. The Saint Vitus interpretation of the Sventovit origin, proposed by Kalik and Uchitel, would produce a truly odd conclusion. The name Rugevit/Rujevit would then mean a “Rugian Saint Vitus”.

Moreover, a statue of Porevit that had five heads also stood at Gartz. This deity's function and etymology is unclear and a matter of dispute. In literal terms, whatever the case may be, it was not a “Something... Saint Vitus”. Finally, there was Gerovit, which most authorities read as Yarovit, and the latter form will be used here. The name Yarovit derives from Slavic **jarb** denoting vitality, strength, might, power, and is a cognate to the noun **svetb**. Following Kalik's and Uchitel's interpretation and their consequent paradigm, it would have meant or translated as a “Strong, full of vitality Saint Vitus”. In all three instances, it would sound and mean an absurdity.

Furthermore, the above cited passage needs more attention. The deity known as Yarovit was indeed worshipped at Wolgast, a Baltic commercial centre (Ebbo III.8; Herbord III.6). The problem is that Wolgast was never subjugated by the Ranove of Rügen. An independent Wolgast controlled a small surrounding area and was likely to have been

allied with the Veletian Union and, in later times, became subject to Pomeranian dukes (Zaroff 2000: 38). Not to mention, the authors omitted that Yarovit was also worshipped at Havelberg (Ebbo III.3), which is located far inland on the Havel River, in Saxony-Anhalt Land of Germany, a long way from Rügen Island. In the Middle Ages the area was inhabited by the Polabian Slavic people and is usually associated with Veletian tribes.

The authors also assumed a foreign origin of Sventovit based on other grounds. They articulated it with a vague statement that there is no earlier mention of the Sventovit cult, or other Rugian deities prior to the 10th century and that its elaborated form was unusual among the pagan Slavs (Kalik & Uchitel 2018: 54). It has to be agreed here that this was partially a case as the cult of Sventovit at Arkona on Rügen Island was the most complex and developed pre-Christian Slavonic cult. However, by stating so, the authors have repeatedly overlooked a number of fundamental issues. Above all, any religion is a “living” social phenomenon that undergoes slow but constant changes over time and responds to internal as well as external changes, pressures, and influences. It is noteworthy here the view of Emil Durkheim, the esteemed social and religious theorist, that religion mirrors the society that practices it (Durkheim 1968). The social and political functions of religion reflect the complexity of a society. As small tribal societies, the early Slavs of the Migration Period worshipped various Slavic deities and, in the course of time, various exclusively tribal gods emerged. At the same time, their cults were not very complex and elaborate. During and after the Slavic Migration period, beliefs and cults also diversified, albeit evolving from a common set of Slavic beliefs. In the process, different deities became the main tribal gods. When more complex political, supra-tribal entities appeared, those big tribal gods acquired or absorbed some of the other deity’s functions and characteristics, turning into conglomerate of ideas, functions, etc. Consequently, they became supra-tribal syncretic gods (Rosik, 2000: 116, 120, 130–131, 293; Zaroff 2000: 100–147). For example, Perun, originally an atmospheric deity, became a war-like god among the Eastern Slavs, while a military function was incorporated into the cult of Svarozhits among the Veletians – a deity that originally was associated with fire (Zaroff 2000: 126–139).

In the case of Sventovit, as described in detail in my publication of 2002, this god from Arkona on Rügen evolved from a Yarilo-like divine being. Initially, it was a Slavic Spring deity, one of vitality, fertility, and renewal of nature. Over the course of time, under new circumstances, in new environments and after encountering the Danes and Saxons, the cult and deity evolved into Yarovit of Wolgast and Havelberg. As it stated before, the terms *jarь* and *svetь* denote the same characteristics and attributes. In the case of Ranove’s Sventovit, at some stage, the root-stem *jarь* must have been replaced by the cognate *svetь* (Niederle, 1916: 142n; Brückner 1985A: 46, 128, 247; Słupecki 1994: 49; Strzelczyk 1998: 84). It should be noted, that over the course of time, as a result of frequent conflicts with the Danes and Saxons, and later with the Holy Roman Empire, the Polabian Slavs also incorporated war-like attributes into the cults of Yarovit and Sventovit (Zaroff 2002: 126–139).

The issue of complexity and elaboration of the Sventovit cult has two facets. Firstly, the Ranove created a medieval state-like principality that incorporated not only the

inhabitants of Rügen Island, but also a large number of other mainland Slavs. At some stage, a tribal cult needed to become one that encompasses more than a single tribe and was an instrument of internal political, social and cultural consolidation and unification. This topic was comprehensively addressed by Przemysław Urbańczyk (Urbańczyk, 1995: 168–173). It is noteworthy that Helmold's account itself, in his description of Arkona and the cult of Sventovit, confirms a supra-tribal and multi-functional role of the cult and its recognition beyond the principality of the Ranove (Helmold, II.108).

This was not an isolated case. To cite a few examples, Vladimir of Kiev in the 980s created and encouraged the cult of Perun as a part of unification and state-building measures (Zaroff 1999: 47–48). Similarly, among the Polabian Slavs, the Veletian Union tried to unify the tribal confederation around a supra-tribal cult of Svarozhits, at Radegost in modern Brandenburg Land in Germany, between the 10th and 12th centuries (Sułowski 1981: 155–166; Żołądź 1981: 217–222). Outside Slavdom, there was an attempt by the Lithuanian Grand Duke Mindaugas, who promoted the cult of Perkūnas at Vilnius as a state religion in the mid-13th century (Gimbutas 1963: 202; Puhvel 1974: 78, 83). There were numerous similar developments that occurred across the known world.

Secondly, the alleged Christian influence on the cult of Sventovit is a subtle matter that cannot be answered in a single simplified statement. Those who are familiar with Saxo's description of cult and rituals at Arkona, and with some knowledge of the Pre-Christian Slavic beliefs, can recognize that there are no direct borrowings from Christianity and all of them derived from a common Slavic tradition. In contrast, there is no doubt that in some respects it was modelled on Christian worship. They developed a state-oriented cult on the Christian example of elaborate rites and temples. It was an attempt to match the challenges of the new sophisticated religion of outsiders, backed by the political and military might of the Holy Roman Empire. The ancient Slavs worshipped their gods in the open, often in holy groves, in the same way the ancient Germanic and Celtic people did (Ślupecki 1994: 125–126). The concept of temples, which was more or less unique to the Polabian Slavs, was no doubt a response to Christianity and ideologically modelled on Christian churches. Moreover, there was the emergence of a clearly defined priesthood at Arkona on Rügen, in Wolgast, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Szczecin (Ger. Stettin) and Wolin to name but few. It was a response to notable influential, well-organised, and distinguished Christian clergy (Ślupecki 1994: 125–126; Rosik 2000: 309). Due to close contacts with Scandinavians, and especially the Danes, some heathen Nordic elements would likely to be found in the Northern Polabian Pre-Christian religion, but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Concluding this section, the notion that Sventovit had nothing to do with Saint Vítus was and is supported by such scholars as again Aleksander Brückner (Brückner 1985B:36), Lubor Niederle (Niederle 1916: 142), Roman Jakobson (Jakobson 1985, ed: 7, Stanisław Urbańczyk (S. Urbańczyk 1947: 34–35), Rajko Nahtigal (Nahtigal 1956: 1–3), Leszek Moszyński (Moszyński 1975: 591), Aleksander Gieysztor (Gieysztor 1982: 90–92), Eric Christiansen (Christiansen 1984: 715), Jerzy Strzelczyk (Strzelczyk 1998: 210), Ken Dowden (Dowden 2000: 215), Stanisław Rosik (Rosik 2000: 238–248) and Andrzej Szyjewski (Szyjewski 2003: 116) among others. Neither did any of the Russian

followers of the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School who proposed a different etymology for the name Sventovit ever question a Slavic origin of the name (Trubachev, 2003: 418–420; Toporov 2014: 339; Rybakov 1981: 300). Neither did Henryk Łowmiański, who only accepted a probability of later veneration of Saint Vitus among some Slavs due to the similarity of the name to Sventovit, and other deities whose names also ended with the suffix *-vit* as well as the root-stem being also common in many Slavic names (Łowmiański 1986: 190–192).

It should be acknowledged and understood that Kalik’s and Uchitel’s book is a publication which is general in nature as it deals with many Slavonic deities and many aspects of their Pre-Christian religion. However, the interpretation proposed by Kalik, and Uchitel concerning Slavic god Sventovit is highly doubtful, extremely hypothetical and not supported by any reasonable evidence. It lacks a depth of research into sources and literature on the subject. Consequently, their argument is unconvincing and seems to be based on incorrect premises. The notion of Sventovit being a corrupted form of the Saint Vitus cult was once postulated by Franz Miklosich (Miklosich 1886: 393), and never gained much support among historians. Shortly after, it has been rebuked in the early 20th century in a comprehensive analysis by renowned Czech Slavist and historian, Lubor Niederle (Niederle 1916: 140–143). In summation, Kalik’s and Uchitel’s hypothesis, at least in this instance, gives an impression of some sort of a historical “excavation”.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AoB - Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*
 ARF - *Annales regni Francorum*
 DLW- Digital Library of Wielkopolska
 Helmold - Helmold of Bossau, *Cronica Slavorum*
 OCS - Old Church Slavonic (Old Slavonic)
 Pol. - Polish
 Rimbert - Rimbert’s *Vita Ansgari*
 Rus. - Russian
 Saxo - Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia*
 TM - Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*
 Widukind - Widukind of Corvey, *Res Gestae Saxonicae*

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RUGIJSKI SLOVANSKI BOG SVENTOVIT – PONOVO

ROMAN ZAROFF



Avtor izpodbija interpretacijo imena Sventovit poljskega jzikoslovca Michała Łuczyńskiego in sicer predvsem na podlagi primerjalnih argumentov, ter pojasnjuje, da ime rugijskega božanstva verjetno ni kombinacija korena *svetb-* (*moč, jakost, sila*) in pripone *-ovitb* (*tisti, ki poseduje moč, jakost, silo*), ki kaže na pridevniško/svojilno lastnost in kvaliteto in nekoga, ki poseduje moč, jakost in silo, kot to navaja Łuczyński. Avtor članka se sicer strinja z etimološkim izvorom korena *svetb-*, a obenem predstavi svojo veliko bolj verodostojno interpretacijo, ki jo je podal že v članku iz leta 2002 (gl. Literaturo), kjer navaja, da je ime Sventovit sestavljen iz korenov *svetb-* ter *-vitb*, in ne *ovitb*, kjer *-vitb* izhaja iz slovanske besede *vitędzь*, ki pomeni *bojovník, vladar* ali *gospodar*. Sventovit naj bi torej po vsej verjetnosti pomenil »*mogočen in/ali močen vladar*« ali sorodno pomensko zvezo.

Judith Kalik in Alexander Uchitel v knjigi *Slavic Gods and Heroes* (2018) navajata, da je Sventovit izkrivljena oblika imena Sveti Vid, medtem ko pričujoči članek pojasnjuje, da temu ni tako. Poglavlje v omenjeni knjigi, ki zadeva Sventovita, priča o zelo površnem znanju o srednjeveških Slovanih ter pomanjkljivi analizi pričujočega verskega pojava, hkrati pa nasprotuje odkritjem številnih sodobnih raziskovalcev po vsem svetu. Avtor v tem članku pojasnjuje, da je etimološki izvor imena Sventovit zakoreninjen globoko v slovansko tradicijo, kar dokazujejo primerjalne analize številnih zgodovinskih virov in lingvističnih gradiv. Zaključuje, da je ime Sventovit v slovanskih jezikih pomenilo »*mogočen in/ali močen gospodar*«.

New Insights on Slavic god *Volosъ*/ *Velesъ* from a Vedic Perspective

————— Milorad Ivanković —————

In 1973, Ivanov and Toporov developed an attempted reconstruction of the presumably central theme of ancient Slavic mythology, viz. the cosmic battle between the thunder-god *Perunъ* and his adversary *Volosъ* the cattle god, modelled after the analogous examples taken from Baltic folklore and Vedic mythology, whereby the Slavic god *Volosъ* was identified with the Vedic demon, *Vala*. On the same footing, in 2008, came Katičić with similar results, but he identified the Slavic god *Volosъ* with the Vedic demon *Vṛtra*. However, the evidence from the primary Vedic and Sanskrit sources presented in this treatise soundly disproves the above interpretations and identifications and reveals quite a different image of the Slavic god.

KEYWORDS: *Volosъ*, oath, waters, wool, world-tree, *Vala*, *Vṛtra*, *Varuṇa*

METHODOLOGY

Unlike the attempted reconstructions by Ivanov and Toporov (1973) and Katičić (2008), which were founded mostly on conjecture, the comparative method utilized in this treatise relies on a strict comparative analysis of facts gathered from:

1. Authentic Vedic and Sanskrit texts
2. Data on the Slavic god from historical documents
3. Data on the Slavic god from South Slavic folk-poems
4. Data on the Slavic god from South Slavic folk-tales
5. Some data on Old Slavic funerals from the writings of a medieval Arabic traveller
6. Some pertinent accounts on *Volosъ*'s Baltic correlatives from Lithuanian and Latvian folklore.

Presented are the crucial aspects, features, and functions of the Slavic god in parallel with the fully congruent examples from the Indo-Aryan and Baltic mythology.

GOD OF OATHS, CONTRACTS, AND PEACE AGREEMENTS

The name of the Slavic god *Volosъ* (*Velesъ*) appears in some historical documents. According to records found in the Old Russian Chronicles, King Oleg made a peace agreement

with a Byzantine Emperor in the year 907; likewise, King Igor repeated it in the year 971, by swearing an oath in the names of gods *Perunъ* and *Volosъ* “the cattle god” (Jakobson 1969/1985: 33). Undoubtedly, *Volosъ* was venerated in antiquity together with *Perunъ* the thunder-god, as the supreme god of the Slavs, since they always appear together as a complementary pair (not as adversaries). Therefore, he could not have authentically been a demon. This is confirmed by the fact that *Volosъ* is recorded in the documents literally as *bogъ* viz. ‘god’, not as demon viz. *běsъ* (Jakobson 1969: 34). Thus, the Slavic god *Volosъ/Velesъ* appears to be the epitome of Social Order, viz. the one who guaranteed the fulfilment of social obligations (such as oaths, contracts, and agreements), and not a representative of *nered* viz. “disorder” (as assumed by Katičić, 2008: 144, 193).

There are also accounts on “civil” usages of oaths by the Russian non-Christianized folk in the city of Yaroslavl, who bonded themselves in the name of god *Volosъ*, as the subjects of their Christianized ruler to pay tributes and serve him faithfully (Katičić: 2008, 127).

On the Vedic side, neither *Vala* nor *Vṛtra*, but the sovereign god *Varuṇa* is the one who performed the same function among the Vedic divinities, as is attested in the Mitanni-Hittite treaty of c. 1400 BCE sworn by the names of the gods *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, and *Indra* as the guarantors of the agreement on the part of the Mitanni (cf. Fournet: 2010: 36).

There were other occasions, like religious rites, during which the Vedic sacrificers used to swear by *Varuṇa*, e.g., Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III 8.5.:

Verse 10. dhāmnodhāmo rājanstāto varuna no muñca yādāhūrāghnyā itī varuṇēti śāpāmahe tāto varuṇa no muñcēti tādenaṃ sārvasmādvaruṇapāśātsārvasmādvaruṇyātprāmuñcati
(From every precept - therefrom set us free, O king *Varuṇa*. That they say, we swear by the “Holy ones [a-ghnyāh, literally not-to-be-killed, in-violable, viz. Cows]”, by *Varuṇa*, therefrom set us free, O *Varuṇa*! Thereby he sets him free from every noose of *Varuṇa*, from every [sc. sin] against *Varuṇa*.)

And Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XII 9.2. (utilized during the āvabhṛtha viz. sacrificial bath):

Verse 4. yād āpo aghnyā itī varuṇēti śāpāmahe tāto varuṇa no muñcēti varuṇyād evainam énašo muñcaty.

(That we swear by the Holy [a-ghnyāh as above, here attributed to] *Waters*, by *Varuṇa*, therefrom set us free, O *Varuṇa*! - he thereby sets him free from sin against *Varuṇa*.)

As Jakobson keenly observed: *Both Slavic Volosъ and Vedic Varuṇa act as the guarantors of right and guarantors of human treaties who severely punish the infringement of vows by afflicting the violators with a disease* (Jakobson, *ibid.*: 41). However, the etymology of *Velesъ* and *Varuṇa* proposed by him as derived from **vel* “to see” (Jakobson, *ibid.*: 40) is unlikely, since *the root is unknown to Indo-Iranian and his name is more convincingly explained, as the Vedic poets and commentators understood it, from var(-u-) “to cover, protect”* (West 2007: 146).

The Russian-Byzantine treaty of 971 CE specifies a menacing punishment by *Volosъ* to the violators of the oath in the form of a disease formulated *da budemъ zoloti jako zoloto* viz. “may we become golden as gold”, viz. jaundice (Jakobson 1969: 35, 38).

As for *Varuṇa*, he himself bears the epithet *hari* “gold-hued, golden” (Atharva-Veda V 11.1) and is imagined by the Vedic ritualists (see quotations from the Brāhmanas

further below) in a quite similar form, viz. as “a bald-headed man with yellow-eyes” (cf. also Jakobson *ibid.*: 38). Varuṇa is said to have inflicted a disease described as *dṛ̥tīr na dh̥mātó* viz. “swollen like a water bag” denoting oedema or dropsy (an excess of water in the tissue), on Vasiṣṭha the seer of the hymn (Rig-Veda VII 89.1-2), due to his moral weakness. A sick person and sinner is also considered *Varuṇa-gr̥hīta* “seized by Varuṇa” (Kāṭhaka Samhitā X 4). And certainly when the *an-ṛta* viz. “dis-order, in-justice, un-rightness” is being done *ánṛte khálu vái kriyámāṇe* Varuṇa seizes *váruṇo gr̥hṇāti* (Taittirīya Brāhmana I 7.2.6). Accordingly, Varuṇa indeed is considered the “injurer”, *váruṇo vá ārpayitā* (Śatapatha Brāhmana IV 5.7.7).

NB. There is not a single piece of evidence adduced by Ivanov, Toporov, and Katičić from Aryan history that anyone ever used to swear by the demons *Vala* or *Vṛtra* or invoke them as the guarantors of oaths, contracts, and peace agreements. Therefore, they apparently never shared this function with Slavic *Volosь* and Vedic *Varuṇa*.¹

ASSOCIATED WITH POETRY AND WISDOM

Velesь too, like *Varuṇa*, is associated with poetry and wisdom. In the Old Russian epic *Slovo o plьku Igorevč*, (“The Lay of Igor”) the legendary seer Bojan is called “the grandson of Veles” (Jakobson, *ibid.*: 36). Though some other Vedic god may have been, like Varuṇa, considered *kavitama* “the best poet” (Rig-Veda V 85.6), Varuṇa alone is exclusively described as *yásmin víśvāni kāvya cakrē nābhiriva śritā* viz. “the one in whom all Poetry is focused like a nave within a wheel” (Rig-Veda VIII 41.6). Varuṇa with his power made Vasistha a *ṛṣi* viz. “seer” (Rig-Veda VII 88.4). In South Slavic folk-tales, *Velesь* appears as a wise old man named *Velimir*, a compound meaning “great, famous (*-mir* < **mēros*, cf. Skok 1972: 446) in speech (*Veli-* < *velēti* to speak) and counselling”. Varuṇa likewise is designated *vidvān* “one who knows” (Rig-Veda I 24.13), *pracetas* “attentive, observant, mindful, clever” (*ibid.* verse 14), and *medhira* “wise” (Rig-Veda I 25.20) and is explicitly associated with *medhā* “wisdom” (Atharva-Veda V 11.4).

NB. Significantly, there is no adduced evidence by Ivanov, Toporov and Katičić that *Vala* and *Vṛtra* were related to either poetry or wisdom.

LORD OF THE WATERS: ASSOCIATED WITH OCEAN/SEA, SHIPS AND WHIRLPOOLS

Velesь and *Varuṇa* are generally associated with waters, hence with rain, sea, ocean, wells, springs, fountains, swamps, etc. The deep swamps as waters in general, are believed in Lithuanian tradition to be the favourite abode of *Vėlinas* [Velnias] who easily rides over marshes inaccessible to human beings (Jakobson 1969: 39).

¹ It should be admitted, however, that in some of his later articles Toporov parallels *Velesь* with *Varuṇa* (cf. his article titled *Varuṇa In: Mify narodov mira*, Toporov 1987: 217–218).

Though Varuṇa's association with waters is considered by some researchers to be the result of a later development, the adduced quotations (see further below) from the Rig-Veda disproves such assumptions. Hence, Kuiper seems to be perfectly right when he asserts: On the contrary, it must have been the original function of Varuṇa to represent or impersonate these waters (Kuiper 1979: 27).

Furthermore, Kuiper explains it more elaborately, citing the Rig-Veda VIII 69.12 to justify his view.²

Sutherland also argues that *In the just and measured regulation of the life-supporting waters, Varuṇa particularly acquired his reputation as arbiter of cosmic righteousness* (Sutherland 1991: 77).

Varuṇa is Lord of Heaven and of Rain (Rig-Veda V 85.3) viz. *viśvasya bhūvanasya rājā* “the King over all worlds/beings” *yavaṃ nā vṛṣṭīr v̄yunatti bhūma* “who waters earth as the rain [waters] the barley”.

Varuṇa is also connected with still (stationary) waters, e.g., Taittirīya Samhitā VI 4.2: Verse 3. *vāruṇagrhitā vai sthāvarās* (*All the stationary [sc. waters] are seized by Varuṇa.*) And Śatapatha Brāhmana IV 4.5.:

Verse 10. ... ‘*bhyāveyādetā vā apāṃ vāruṇagrhitā yāḥ*

(...*whatsoever parts of flowing water do not flow, these are seized by Varuṇa.*)

Kuiper further argues that *Varuṇa was also the god of stagnant water because this represents the subterranean waters of Varuṇa's realm of inertia* (Kuiper 1960: 249).

The nether abode of Slavic *Veles* is especially connected with watery whirlpools (Katičić, 2011: 117ff, 231–232). Katičić asserts: *Velesov dom/dvor je u korijenu svijeta, podzemlju, zemlji bogatih zelenih travnjaka. A u proljeće, kako su pokazali analizirani stari obredni tekstovi, iz tog svijeta dolaze ptice selice. Mjesto iz kojeg dolaze, iz Velesova svijeta, naziva se irij, virij, virj. Taj naziv povezuje se sa značenjem vodeni vrtlog, vir...; (Veles' home is at the root of the world, in the nether world, in the land of green pastures. In spring, migratory birds come from there. And this place is called irij, virij, virj. The term is related to vrtlog, vir, viz. watery whirlpool, vortex, etc.).*

As attested by Śatapatha Brāhmana XII 9.2. Varuṇa too is explicitly associated with the whirlpool, Sanskrit *ā-var-ta* viz. “a rapidly rotating current of water, a vortex” which is considered Varuṇa's son or brother:

Verse 4. (continued from above) *yó ha vā ayám apām āvartāḥ sá hávabhṛthāḥ sá haiśá vāruṇasya putró vā bhrātā.*

(*The bath, verily, is that whirlpool in the water, and that indeed is Varuṇa's son or brother.*)

² ...before Indra's demiurgic act Varuṇa and the Asuras were the gods of the primordial world which consisted of the waters. After the emergence of the earth floating on the waters and the subsequent creation of the organized world, the waters were thought of being under the earth as its foundation, as well as surrounding it. Varuṇa's association with the waters, therefore, is due to the fact that the primeval waters along with their lord Varuṇa, have been incorporated in the cosmos as part of the nether world. Kuiper further maintains: *Hence, it is that Varuṇa is said to dwell amidst his seven sisters and these seven rivers, when they flow from the central mountain over the earth, are said to emerge from the samudra [ocean] in the nether world through Varuṇa's throat as trough a hollow reed* (Kuiper, 1970: 27).

As is evident from the passages quoted, Vedic ritualists associated the very name Varuṇa by assonance with Sanskrit *ā-var-ta* “whirlpool”, since it contains the syllable *var* (related to water, cf. *vār* “water”, *varī* “streams, rivers”, etc.). According to Hillebrandt (1929/1980: 225) in the Rig-Veda II 38.8, the term *varuṇa* as an appellative means “fish” only, and the word is connected etymologically with *vār* “water”.

In Czech folklore, *Veles* in proverbs commonly appears mostly associated with the sea, his abode being *nekam k Velesu za moře* or *nekam Velesu pryč na moře* “somewhere to Veles beyond or upon the sea” (Jakobson 1969: 36). Moreover, Jakobson argues that *the connection of Varuṇa with the waters could be associated with the aquatic bent of [Lithuanian] Vėlinas [sc. Velnias] and with the bond between the sea and Veles in Czech sources* (Jakobson *ibid.*: 41, 42).

Analogously, the *samudra* viz. “ocean/sea” is specified as the abode of Varuna (Mahābhārata I 19.5, and I 171.24), and full of *gambhīra āvartas* viz. “deep whirlpools” (*ibid.* I 19.8).

NB. Note again Varuṇa’s connection with whirlpools.

In the Rig-Veda, Varuṇa himself is spoken of as *veda nāvāh* “one who knows the ships”, and is styled *samudrīya* “pertaining to the ocean/sea” (Rig-Veda I 25.7). Furthermore, Varuṇa is titled *jaleśvara*, “Lord of the waters” (Mahābhārata II 9.7) and *apām ādhipati* “Overlord of the Waters” (Atharva-Veda V 24.4). Incidentally, the identification of Vedic Varuṇa with Avestan/Vedic *Apām Napāt* as proposed by Boyce (1975: 48) is unfounded, since her proposition also presupposes the identity of the Vedic character of the same name with Varuṇa himself, which is untenable, as all such attempts to prove it have failed (cf. Hillebrandt *ibid.*: 6). Furthermore, the Avestan hypothetical form **Vouruna* proposed by her is impossible by any phonetic law (see below). Moreover, the name of the latter, viz. *nāpat* designates him specifically as “the offspring, viz. son of the Waters”, whereas Varuṇa is “Lord and Overlord of the Waters”.

Varuṇa’s connection with ships and ocean is vividly described by the seer Vasiṣṭha, Rig-Veda VII 88:

Verse 3. *ā yād ruhāva vāruṇaśca nāvam prā yāt samudrāmīrāvāvamādhyam ādhi yādapām snūbhiścārāva prā preṅkhā īṅkhayāvahai śubhé kam*
(When Varuṇa and me [sc. Vasiṣṭha] embark together and urge our ship into the midst of the sea/ocean, when we two voyage over the ridges of the waters, we will swing with that swing for beauty [sc. of the verses].)

Verse 4. *vāsiṣṭham ha vāruṇo nāvayādhād, rṣim cakāra svāpā māvobhiḥ*
(Varuṇa placed Vasiṣṭha on the ship, and skillfully with his might made him a seer.)

After the conversion to Christianity, the Slavic god *Veles* often appears disguised under the name of his Christian substitute, viz. St. Nicholas (cf. e.g., Uspenskij, 1982, chapter III Nikola i Volos/Veles; cf. also Katičić 2008: 53). In South Slavic folk tradition, *Veles* as Nicholas is invariably associated with the sea and ships as his main domain (just like Vedic god Varuṇa), e.g., an ancient folk-poem from Boka in Montenegro, titled *Car Nebeski kad ženjaše Sunce* viz. Wedding of the Sun (Vrčević 1883: 71,72; Nodilo 1886: 216) narrates how the Tsar of Heaven invited all the saints to attend the wedding of his son the Sun, and St. Nicholas/*Veles* as the bridesman (viz. the best man):

Verse 8: ...*starog svata svetoga Nikolu (the best man St. Nicholas)*

At the bride's house, the gifts were presented to the saints, fitting to their particular divine domains and functions:

Verse 21: ...*a Nikoli more i brodove (...to Nicholas the sea and the ships).*

Another folk-poem titled *Najveći grijesi viz.* The greatest sins (Karadgitch, 1823, Book I, Poem No. 209) adds more elaborate details on the subject, viz. Thunder-god Peru, who, like Veles, appears in Slavic folk-tradition disguised under the name of his Christian substitute St. Elijah (cf. Katičić 2008: 53, 117, 124, 128, 133, 135, 140, 173), invites Nicholas/*Velesъ* to join him in their common divine function, acting as protagonists of the same divine cause, not as antagonists, analogously as the Vedic pair Indra and Varuṇa.

Verses 16-20 ...*ta ustani Nikola, da idemo u goru, da pravimo korabe, da vozimo dušice, s ovog sveta na onaj.*

(...*well, get up, Nicholas, that we go into the mountain, that we build the ships, that we carry the souls [of the deceased] from this world to the other).*

The last three verses are indicative of his function as King of the netherworld. With regard to the preceding verses, it should be noted that the realm of the dead is called *navъ* in Slavic (the term is related to Sanskrit *nauh, nāvah* “ship(s)”, Latin *navis, navigium* “ship, vessel”) due to an ancient custom of building a funeral pyre on a ship. The burning of the dead among the Slavs in medieval times (analogous to Hindu custom) is attested by the Arabic explorer Ibn Foslan (cf. Leger 1901: 202).

NB. There is no evidence adduced by Ivanov, Toporov, and Katičić that either Vala or Vr̥tra were associated with the ocean/sea, ships and whirlpools.

BLACK WOOL (BLACK FLEECE) BENEATH THE WORLD-TREE SACRED TO GOD

In an attempted reconstruction of authentic Slavic ritual formulas, Katičić (2008, 254) adducing various comparative examples from Lithuanian, Latvian, Belarusian, and Russian folklore, the thunder-god Perkūnas/Perkōns or Perun appears involved in the battle against a serpent or dragon (Slavic parallel of the mythical fight between Vedic Indra against demon Vr̥tra), extracted presumably a common ancient mythical formulation:

A) *Perunъ бѣjetъ змѣjъ (viz. Perun smites a dragon).*

B) *Perunъ бѣjetъ џьртъ (viz. Perun smites a devil).*

With regard to Katičić's claim that *Indra as the name of the thunder-god is not Indo-European* (Katičić 2008: 213,214), it should be pointed out that the name “Indra” appears in a sequential relationship with the term *bhaga* attributively to form a single expression, viz. *Indra-bhaga* literally “Strong-dealer, i.e. „Strong-god” ((cf. Rig-Veda III 30.18, III 36.5, etc.) of which a perfect match in Slavic divine terminology is the name of *Jako-bogъ*, the Vedic term “Indra” having been successfully translated by the Slavic synonymous word expressive of the very essence of its authentic meaning. The Slavic *Jako-bog* is attested by Orbini: *Della religione di questi Anti scriue Geremia Russo ne gli Annali di Moscouia, fra gli altri Dei...e lo chiamauano Iacobog, cioe Dio forte* (Orbini

1601: 19). In South Slavic folk-poems, Jakobog appears under his cryptic hypocoristic name *Jakša* < *jak(ostan)* “strong, powerful” (cf. Nodilo 1885: 84).

On the Vedic version of the myth, Kuiper remarks *It has long been recognized by several students of Vedic mythology that the Rigvedic myth of Indra’s combat with the dragon Vṛtra has no bearing on natural phenomena such as thunderclouds and rain, but represents an Aryan myth of creation³...Indra, while slaying the vṛtrá- (viz. the power of resistance of the inert Chaos, residing on the primordial hill), at the same time splits the hill (giri-)... and Fire and Water (Agni and Soma) are forced to leave the undifferentiated world of inertia and to join the heavenly gods. Indra further separates Heaven and Earth, by which act a cosmic dualism of upper world (represented by Devas) and nether world (represented by Asuras) is constituted* (Kuiper 1960: 218, 219).

Katičić assumes the identity between the dragon/devil and the Slavic god Veles. However, there is no adduced evidence, either by Ivanov, Toporov, or Katičić, of the existence of formula *Perun smites the god Veles*, as the indisputable proof (instead of mere conjecture), which is to be expected by an objective explorer. There is no necessity for further conjecture, since the Veda has preserved intact the authentic story in its pristine form, viz. after killing of Vṛtra, Indra invites Varuṇa to join him in their common divine function, cf. Rig-Veda X 124.:

Verse 5. *nīrmāyā u tyé aśurā abhūvan tvam ca mā varuṇa kāmāyāse ṛténa rājann anṛtaṃ vivinčān máma rāṣṭráyādhipatyamehi*

(These Asuras [viz. gods endowed with the power of māyā “magic” literally “change”] have become devoid of māyā. But thou O, Varuna [viz. an Asura himself] mayst favor me; discerning the Order [ṛta] from Dis-Order [an-ṛta], O, King, come over here [sc. from the nether world to the celestial sphere] and be the overlord of my kingdom.)

As Kuiper correctly observed, the demon Vṛtra was killed, but Varuna was incorporated among the gods of the upper world viz. celestial sphere (Kuiper 1979: 34), naturally, as the guardian of *ṛta* viz. (natural and social) world order.

Kuiper maintains that *To Varuṇa, the ancient god of the waters of Chaos, a new function is now assigned as the guardian of the cosmic law (ṛtá-)...As a result of this process of differentiation, the undifferentiated Chaos now constitutes itself as a nether world in opposition to the upper world* (Kuiper 1960: 219).

Furthermore, it is specified explicitly in verse 7 that Varuṇa, not Vṛtra, released the Waters:

Verse 7. *kaviḥ kavitvā divi rūpāmāsajadaprabhūtī vāruṇo nirapāḥ sṛjat*

(The Poet [kavi, sc. Varuṇa] has put on his form by poetry [kavitvā] in heaven: Varuṇa without predominance let the waters flow.)

Analysing various Belarus magic spells, Katičić (2008, 137ff, 153ff) equated god Veles with the serpent lying in the nest of black wool (or: on a black fleece) beneath the World-Tree, even though no single spell ever mentioned the name of Veles.

³ The same view had been expressed earlier by Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak, a noted Indian scholar, in his book *The Arctic Home in the Vedas. Being Also a New Key to the Interpretation of Many Vedic Texts and Legends*, published in 1903 (cf. Pleterski 2014: 86, 87).

Veles indeed, like Vedic Varuṇa, is connected with the World-Tree, but neither as a serpent nor as a dragon. The previously cited folk-poem *Najveći grijesi* describes this connexion marvellously:

Verses 1–5: *Raslo drvo sred raja, plemenita dafina, plemenito rodila, zlatne grane spustila, lišće joj je srebrno* (There's a tree in the midst of heaven, the noble daphne, it has brought forth noble fruits, bowing down its golden branches, its leaves are silvery).

Verses 5–11: *Pod njom sveta postelja, svakog cveća nastrta, ponajviše bosiljka, i rumene ružice; na njoj svetac počiva, sveti otac Nikola; k njem dolazi Ilija...* (Beneath is the holy bedding, made of flowers of all kinds, mostly of sweet basil and red roses; a saint rests on it, the holy father Nicholas; to him comes Elijah; afterwards Elijah/Perun invites Nicholas/Veles to join him, just as Indra invited Varuna above).

Vedic Varuṇa is depicted almost identically along with the World-Tree, Rig-Veda I 24.:

Verse 7. *abudhne rājā varuṇo vanasyordhvaṃ stūpaṃ dadate pūtaḍakṣaḥ nīcinā sthur upari budhna*

(In the baseless space, King Varuṇa keeps raised the stem of the Tree, He [viz. Varuṇa] of pure rightness, with those [sc. branches] hanging downwards, and root high above.

Verse 8. *urūṃ hī rājā vāruṇaścakāra sūryāya pānthāmānvetavā u*

(Wide indeed, King Varuṇa made a pathway for the sun to go after...)

Obviously, the World-Tree is not a concrete earthy tree as it appears to be in the common *interpretatio rustica* by unlearned village folks, and regrettably by modern scholarly interpreters. This the most ancient of poetic riddles, this Riddle of Riddles, viz. “the Cosmic Tree” stands as the metaphor for the *Sūrya* “Sun” (mentioned explicitly in verse 8). Thus, it makes the solar viz. celestial aspect of both Veles and Varuna absolutely undeniable. It is further confirmed by the Kauśītaki Brāhmana XVIII :

Paragraph 9. *yó ásau tápati ...ástam yanta... sá vā eṣo apāḥ praviśya vāruṇo bhāvati* (He who gives heat [viz. the Sun]...at the setting [sc. in the evening]...having entered the waters becomes Varuna.)

The (subterranean) waters (of the ocean) is the hiding (viz. resting) place of the *ṛta* “Cosmic Order” during night-time.

This can be inferred from the Rig-Veda V 62. devoted to Varuṇa and Mitra:

Verse 1. *ṛténa ṛtām ápihitam dhruvám vāṃ sūryasya yátra vimucánty áśvān*

(By the order of you two [sc. Mitra and Varuna] the hidden Order [ṛta] is established there where they unloose Sūrya's horses.)

Moreover, Varuna appears as one of 108 holy names of the Sun in the Mahābhārata III 3.24. (On Varuna's solar aspect, cf. also Sutherland 1991: 77; on Veles' solar aspect, cf. Petrović 1999: 446, 449; on Varuna as celestial deity, cf. Kazanas 2001: 259; for more peculiar views on Varuṇa, e.g., as the evening star, cf. Simson 1997: 1–35; or on Varuna as the constellation Aquarius, cf. Anghelina 2013: 129, 130).

Varuṇa, like Veles, is also associated with (hairy) bears, in the above mentioned hymn Rig-Veda I 24 immediately after mentioning the World-Tree and the Sun:

Verse 10. *amí yá ṛkṣā nihitāsa uccā náktam dáḍṛśre kúha cid díveyuḥ adabdhāni varuṇasya vratāni*

(Those Bears [Ṛkṣāh viz. 7 stars of the constellation Ursa Major] that are placed high to be seen at night, they depart somewhere by day. Undeceived are Varuṇa’s ordinances.)

Naturally, those Ṛkṣāh “Bears” are not wild hirsute beasts (as by *interpretatio rustica*) but the 7 heavenly ṛṣayah “seers”, and are associated with the Kṛttikās “7 stars of the Pleiades” which were considered the wives of the Bears (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa II 1.2.4). And again quite expectedly, the Pleiades in Slavic tradition are related to the god Veles whence their name *Volosožari*, *Volosyni*, *Vlašići*, etc. The Russian name [viz. *Volosyni*] is connected also with the god *Volos* whose cult became associated with that of a bear in the Northern parts of Russia and in regions near the Volga. The link between the Pleiades and the cult of the bear and/or the Great Bear may be confirmed by the Old Russian text of Afanasij Nikitin where both the constellation are mentioned together (Ivanov & Toporov 1973: 25).

In 19th-century Serbia, two stars of the Pleiades even bore personal names *Vole* and *Voleta*, derived undoubtedly from *Volos’*. Thus, the Vedic parallels indisputably confirm and give posthumous satisfaction to Nodilo’s interpretation of Veles (like Varuṇa) as a solar/celestial divinity (Nodilo 1887: 145), and at the same time discard unjustifiable criticism against his view by Živančević (1963: 54) and by Katičić (2008: 11–35).

Furthermore, the association of Veles with “wool” actually confirms his identity with Vedic sovereign god Varuṇa himself, namely, the black-coloured ram and “wool” are sacred to Varuṇa, and there is even specified “the woolly navel of Varuṇa”, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa II 5.2.:

Verse 16. tadyānmeṣāśca meṣī ca bhāvataḥ eṣa vai pratyākṣaṃ varuṇasya paśuryānmeṣastāpratyākṣaṃ varuṇapāśātprajāḥ prāmuñcati

(The reason that there are a ram and a ewe is that the ram is clearly Varuṇa’s victim, so that he thereby sets free the creatures from Varuṇa’s noose.)

and VII 5.2.:

Verse 35. imāmūrṇāyumityūrṇāvalimīyetaḍvaruṇasya nābhimīti vāruṇo hyāvistvācam
(Then that of the sheep, This woolen [viz. *ūrṇāyum*], ‘as they say, or ‘this woolly [viz. *ūrṇāvalim*], ‘as they call it - ‘navel [viz. *nābhim*] of Varuṇa, ‘for the sheep is sacred to Varuṇa.)

As for the black colour, it is said that *kṛṣṇam vāso*, viz. “a Black Cloth” is the fee to be given for the oblation offered to Varuṇa, since *tad(d)hi vāruṇam yat kṛṣṇam* “everything what is Black belongs indeed to Varuṇa” (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V 2.5.17).

Kāṭhaka Samhitā XIII. 2. states explicitly *mṛtyur vai varuṇas* “Varuṇa indeed is death” and “the ram which belongs to Varuṇa” *varuṇam kṛṣṇam petvam*, is equated with *pāpman* “evil”, *petva* “ram” *etad vai pāpmano rūpam* “is indeed of evil form”, *kṛṣṇa iva pāpmā* “for it is Black like Evil”. The Vedic demon *Vṛtra* too (just like Varuṇa himself) is equated with *pāpman* viz. “evil, sin, crime, wickedness, evil demon, devil” (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI 1.5.7).

In Indian mythology, Black is the color of Night, *Nirrti* [Destruction], of the Manes and of Rain (Hillebrandt *ibid.*: 15). Kuiper adds that the identification of Varuṇa with *pāpman* [Evil] should be noted in the light of the same identification of *Nirrti* (Kuiper 1979: 72). Naturally, this is in correlation with Varuṇa’s function as “seizer” and “injurer” who brings destruction to the transgressors of his law.

To the ancient Aryan mind (Hellenic also, cf. Preller, 1868: 313), the ram represented symbolically the fertilizing rain (assigned to Zeus), naturally, since the curled hairs of the sheep resembles visually the waving (viz. whirling, curly) surface of the flowing water. Moreover, this is how it is further associated (through the medium of water as essential natural liquid element) with the divinities of solemn speech and oaths.

In the view of the Vedic seers (viz. to their ears), the very name *Varuṇa* apparently sounded as if related to *ūrna* “wool”, which represents the reduced grade (called *sampras-ārana* in Sanskrit) of the root *var-*. Likewise, Slavic Veles (in its Russian variant Volos) is related to Old Slavic *вѣсна*, Russian *volna*, “wool, but also wave (of water, indicative of this ancient symbolism)” (cf. Pijović 2010: 204).

NB. Ivanov, Toporov and Katičić were not able to adduce any evidence of the association of *Vala* and *Vṛ̥tra* with wool and the world-tree, since there is apparently no such association in Vedic and Sanskrit sources.

KING OF THE DRAGONS/SERPENTS AND OF THE NETHERWORLD

Veles is considered the King/Emperor of the netherworld (Ivanov & Toporov 1973: 16; Katičić 2008: 149) and lord of deceased souls. In some folk tales, Veles is allegedly conceived (though not explicitly specified by name) as “Tsar⁴ Zmiulan (viz. Emperor of the Dragons/Serpents)” (Katičić, 2008: 174-175, 227-230), just like Vedic *Varuṇa* who is described as *rājan* viz. a king sitting in his assembly room *sabhā*, surrounded by many *nāgās* “dragons” and *sarpas* “serpents” in the Mahābhārata epic (II 9.8-11). The *samudra* “ocean/sea” is the home of both *Varuṇa* and the *nāgās* “dragons” (*varuṇasya ca nāgānām ālayam*. *ibid.* I 19.5), abounding with huge aquatic creatures *makaras* “crocodile-like monsters” (*ibid.* verse 3) and *grāhas* “seizers” (*ibid.* verse 4). It is also the abode of subterranean hell known as *Pātāla* the asylum of the Asuras (*ibid.*, verse 6) and is considered *sarva-bhūta-bhayamkara* viz. “the terror to all living beings” (*ibid.* verse 8).

Some critical data on *Varuṇa* from the historical point of view are the inscriptions from 11th and 12th c. CE found on the fountain-slabs, called *Varuṇa-deva*, in Chamba state, India.⁵

⁴ The Slavic term *tsar* < Latin *Caesar* viz. “imperator, emperor” was in fact used for translating the Greek term *basileus*, viz. “king” in Old Church Slavonic and other medieval Slavic texts. Hence, the Slavic term *tsar* and the Vedic *rājan* (etymologically related to the Latin *rex* “king”) are identical in meaning (cf. Katičić 2008: 206).

⁵ *As to the origin [and purpose] of these fountain-slabs, the inscriptions leave no doubt ...that they were designed to secure future bliss of the founder and its relatives, e.g., a deceased wife or husband... The slab itself is invariably designated as a Varuṇa-deva, i.e., “a god Varuṇa” for the obvious reason that Varuṇa, the patron of the waters, is usually carved on it. This name is no longer remembered (Vogel 1911: 33)... Sometimes they [sc. fountain-slabs] are connected with the Nāgās [viz. dragons]... Those at Trilokanāth are locally asserted to have been set up in honor of the Nāga. In epigraphs, however, no mention whatever is made of these demi-gods, so prominent in the popular religion of the Hills. Sometimes these huge stones with their quaint figures and mysterious characters – unintelligible even to the learned Paṇḍit – are looked upon with superstitious dread, and the villagers are often reluctant to give information regarding their whereabouts, for fear that some evil may spring from it (ibid. 34).*

The above is undoubtedly related to the Latvian terms *Velna Acs* literally “the Eye of the demon(onized god) Velns”, denoting “the part of a swamp clear from moss and vegetation”, and Lithuanian *vandens akis* “ibid.”, literally “water’s eye” denoting “well-spring” (Ivanov & Toporov 1974: 129, 130). There is an analogous toponym in Croatia called *Devil’s Eye*, derived from the name of a well-spring which Katičić relates to Slavic god Veles (Katičić 2012: 59, 60). However, it has nothing to do with Vala or Vṛtra, but with sovereign god Varuna instead, as is perfectly clear from its Indian parallels.

Kuiper opines that *the well-spring is the place where Man comes in contact with the nether world and, since Rta [Order] resided in these waters, also with Rta itself* (Kuiper 1960: 249).

The Balto-Slavic *Velna Acs* and *Devil’s Eye* undoubtedly received in antiquity the same level of honor and veneration as the well-springs devoted to Varuṇa and the Nāgās [Dragons], but unlike their Indian parallels, they were not artificially designed with stones and sacred inscriptions, but rather left intact in its natural estate (On the connection of Varuṇa with the Nāgās and serpents, cf. also Eliade 1978: 199–204).

In addition, cf. Atharva-Veda XII. 3. 57, Varuṇa is closely associated with the *ṛdāku* “a viper, adder, serpent”:

Verse 57. *ṛatīcyai tvā diśé váruṇāyādhipataye ṛdākave rakṣitré ‘nnāyēṣumate*
(*To the western region, to Varuna as Overlord, to Ṛdāku as Protector...*)

The connection between Varuṇa and the serpents and dragons has been noted by several researchers, e.g., Coomaraswamy enumerated the identifications of *Varuṇa* and his realm (*viz. Varuṇaloka*) with the *nāgās* and their realm (*viz. Nāgaloka*) in various Sanskrit texts (Coomaraswamy 1935: 390, 391), which is also corroborated by the findings of the fountain-slabs in Chamba State devoted to both of them. In the abovementioned verse from the Atharva-Veda, Coomaraswamy even equated Varuṇa directly with the serpent *Ṛdaku*. Earlier, Bergaigne identified the sovereign god Varuṇa with the serpentine demon *Vṛtra* himself (Bergaigne 1883: 147). Based on the references assembled by Coomaraswamy, Eliade had taken virtually the same standpoint: *It is to be noted that his [viz. Varuṇa’s] mode of being – terrible sovereign, magician and master of bonds – admits of a surprising closeness to the dragon Vṛtra...What is more, Varuṇa is assimilated to the serpent Ahi and to Vṛtra* (Eliade 1978: 202-203).

In this connection, Sutherland also maintains: His [sc. Varuṇa’s] *punishing, judgmental side is thought to be responsible both for the constriction or “binding” of humans in the bonds (pāśa) of sin and for withholding or “binding” of the waters. In this sense, he has been assimilated to the primordial Vedic asura Vṛtra, the supreme serpentine power imprisoning the waters* (Sutherland 1991: 77); *Their names have a common derivation, from the root ṽṛ “to cover, conceal, surround, obstruct”* (Sutherland 1991: 181). As regards etymology, it should be emphasized here that the name of the other demon *Vala* as an appellative designates “enclosure” and is derived from the root *val* ((Monier-Williams 1899: 927; being a variant of *ṽṛ* < *VAR* cf. Mayrhofer 1996: 524) of which the Zero Grade would read *ṽṛ*, meaning “to cover or enclose or to be covered”, being congruous and synonymous with the root *ṽṛ* “to cover, etc.” (from which derived both *Vṛtra* and *Varuṇa*). Thus, Hillebrandt’s remark *It is likely that the designation valá has been*

borrowed from another dialect... (Hillebrandt *ibid.*: 153) seems well-founded and quite in place. It should be borne in mind that in Vedic language, both Indo-European sounds *r* and *l* often merged together into one indistinctive phoneme *r* (e.g., Latin *sol* “the sun”, but Vedic *svar*, *sūr-ya* “the sun”).

As for the identity between Varuṇa and Vṛtra, Pleterski also developed a theory that Varuṇa and Vṛtra are one and the same figure, and that the personages can shift or change (cf. Pleterski 2014: 86, 87).⁶

It should be emphasized here again that the demon Vṛtra (just like Varuṇa himself) is equated with *pāpman* viz. “evil, sin, crime, wickedness, evil demon, devil” (in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI 1.5.7), thus, it is the Evil, which they share as a common characteristic.

However, Kuiper while objecting to Bergaigne’s view, argues: *Bergaigne, who rightly stated that there was a mythological relationship between Varuṇa and Vṛtra, was wrong in identifying them directly* (Kuiper 1979: 34).

In point of fact, however, Varuṇa himself is portrayed by the Vedic ritualists not as a serpent or dragon, or any other aquatic or tellurian (viz. theriomorphic) beast or monster, but rather as a man called *jumbaká*, described in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III 9.3.15, which represents Varuṇa’s true and awe-inspiring formidable form:

Paragraph 15. váruṇo vái jumbakáh antatá evá váruṇam ávayajate khalatér viklidhásya śuklásya piṅgākśásya mūrdhán juhoti etád vái váruṇasya rūpám rūpeṇa evá váruṇam ávayajate

That this is not just one of the many images of the god but the true and most essential and awe-inspiring form of Varuṇa is confirmed by the quotes from other most significant ritual texts, e.g., almost the same phrasing is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII 3.6.:

Verse 5. váruṇo vái jumbakáh sākṣádeva váruṇamávayajate śuklásya khalatérviklidhasya piṅgākśásya mūrdháni juhotyetaadvai váruṇasya rūpám rūpeṇaiva váruṇamávayajate

(*Varuṇa verily is Jumbaka in person; he [sacrificer] thus redeems himself from Varuṇa. He offers it on the head of a white-spotted, baldheaded leprous man [or: old man in bodily decay] with yellow eyes; for that is indeed Varuṇa’s form: by that form he [sc. sacrificer] thus redeems himself from Varuṇa.*) The term *viklidha* is explained variously as *dantara* “having oversized teeth, bucktoothed” or as *viklinnadeha* “old man in bodily decay” (cf. Hillebrandt *ibid.*: 298; Eggeling 1900: 343).

Moreover, this is corroborated by the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, which adds that the man representing Varuṇa in the ritual should receive oblation literally *apsu magna* viz. “while standing in the water” (Hillebrandt *ibid.*: 19).

⁶ Pleterski, argues: *Vṛitra obkroža vode, zmaj leži okrog njih, Vṛitra jih je ogradiril kot drevo... Če je Vṛitra drevo, to pa postavlja Varuṇa, če sta oba vladarja istega prostora, če oba nadzorujeta tok vode, je smiselna razlaga da gre za isti lik* (Pleterski 2014: 87).

Analogously, Slavic Veles/Volos, like Vedic Varuṇa, was portrayed rather as a man, sometimes with additional bull horns on his head (but never as a beast), as attested in the records of the destruction of Veles’ idols found in Old Russian Chronicles (Leger, 1901: 114, 115; Jakobson *ibid.*: 34; Katičić, 2008: 124, 129).

As for bald(headed)ness, Katičić (2008: 306) brings a bizarre finding about the inhabitants of place Mošćenice in *Istria* (above which the mount *Perun* is located, named after Slavic god of thunder) which still maintain the belief in supernatural powers that operate inside a cave called *Potuklica* on the near-by river *Potok*. Reportedly, on the Body Day of Roman-Catholic calendar, the devil (whom Katičić identifies with Veles) takes the gold [which is “yellow”, the colour of Veles and Varuṇa] from inside out to the entrance of the cave in order to dry it up in the sunlight.

There’s a story told by the locals how a man went with his son on that day into the cave searching for gold, but suddenly returned from the cave utterly terrified, and even baldheaded. Katičić wonders how that might happen to them when supposedly *Veles je zvijer medvjed, kosmat i bradat, pa bi se očekivalo da se vrate potpuno zarasli u dlake* (*Veles is a beast, a bear, hirsute and bearded, so one would expect them to return from the cave with fully grown hairs and beards*). This story and above mentioned Latvian *Velna Acs* and Lithuanian *vandens akis viz.* “bald spots in a swamp” are in fact related to the “bald(headed)ness” of Veles (and Varuna alike) and actually testify of the identity between Veles and Varuna, not Veles and Vala, since the Sanskrit appellative *valá* means only “enclosure, cave, cavern” (Monier-Williams 1899: 927; Hillebrandt, *ibid.*: 150, 151), and has nothing to do with baldness.

The other Vedic demon, Vṛtra, is not identifiable with Veles either. *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* IV 5. states explicitly:

Verse 1. girir vai vṛtró (*Vṛtra indeed is a mountain.*)

The Śatapatha Brāhmana repeats three times, cf. III 4.3.13, III 9.4.2 and IV 2.5.15: vṛtro vai sóma āsīt tásyaitachárīraṃ yádgiráyo

(*Soma, indeed was Vṛtra, those mountains [girayah] are his body.*)

Katičić apparently has overlooked the identification of Vṛtra with the *giri* “mountain”, when he says: *Ali goru na kojoj je ležala zmija Veda ne naziva riječju girih koja je etimološki podudarna sa slavenskim gora..., nego s njom sinonimnom riječi parvatah* (*But the mount on which the serpent was lying the Veda does not designate by the word ‘girih’ akin to Slavic ‘gora’ but by ‘parvatah’* Katičić 2008: 214).

Katičić as a former pupil of Paul Thieme (to whom he explicitly dedicated the chapter on Veles as Vṛtra of his work from 2008: 313, titled “Veles kao Vṛtra ispod Plovila kod Novoga Vinodolskog, *Dem Andenken an Paul Thieme*”) has not been able to realize the innate connection of Vṛtra and Varuṇa and to rid himself from the erroneous interpretation of Varuṇa as “True Speech” developed by his teacher, the theory that has been otherwise demolished by the contributions of many researchers of the Veda from past and present (e.g., Bergaigne, von Bradke, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Coomaraswamy, Eliade, Kuiper, Sutherland, von Simson, Kazanas, Anghelina, etc.). and rejected by most Sanskrit scholars as untenable (e.g., Lommel, Eliade, Kuiper, Sutherland, von Simson, Kazanas, Anghelina, etc.).

Moreover, quite contrary to Katičić's claim, even in the Vedic hymns the mountain on which the Serpent-Demon *Vṛtra* lied is also designated by the term *giri* (instead of *parvata*) within the same context, as in the Rig-Veda IV 17:

Verse 3. *bhinád girim śavasā vājram ...vadhīd vṛtrām vājreṇa*

(*Hurling his bolt he [Indra] cleft the mountain [viz. giri]...He [Indra] slaughtered Vṛtra with his bolt*)

And it appears juxtaposed with *parvatam* as in VIII 64:

Verse 5. *tyām cit párvataṃ girim ...vi stoṭṛbhyo rurojitha*

(*That hill indeed with rocky heights ...thou [viz. Indra] for thy worshipers brakest through.*)

On *Vrtra* as *giri* "mountain", cf. also Dahlaquist 1977: 124; and Kuiper 1960: 218,219, 251.

As Lord of the Netherworld, *Varuṇa* is depicted as ruler holding the *daṇḍa* viz. "staff", cf. Manuśmṛti IX 245: *īso daṇḍasya varuṇo rājām daṇḍadharo hi sah* (*Varuna is the lord of punishment, he indeed holds the staff over the kings*) just like *Yama*, another Vedic god of the dead. In the local legends of the city of Dubrovnik, Slavic *Veles* (under the guise of his Christian substitute St. Blaise, by then called Sv. Vlasi, viz. the honorific plural of Sv. Vlaho as he is called in Dubrovnik, related to the Old Slavic *volhvъ* "magic" the domain of ancient *Veles*) appears as a captain, an old man (with grey hair and beard), wielding a staff (just like *Varuna*) who saves the city with his wise advice to its defenders against the "Smardo-Dassi", viz. "Odorous Spirits" aiming at conquering the city by night. *Veles* also appears in folk-tales as old wise man called *Velimir* the Hunter, to be succeeded after his death by the young *Veljko Lović* (Nodilo 1885: 86-89), of which the name is just a hypocorism of *Velimir Lovac* (viz. *Hunter*), the term being actually congruous with and indicative of the function analogous to that of the gods *Varuna* viz. "seizer, injurer", and *Yama* synonymous with (the latter is related to Slovenian terms *u-je-ti* "to catch", *je-ča* "prison", *pri-jeti* "to hold, catch, grab" (Zero Grade of the root *yam-*), *pri-jem* "hold", *pri-jemati* "to hold, catch, grab"; and Croatian *kaj*-vernacular *jam-iti* "to catch, seize, snare, take hold, grab, grasp" (Full Grade of the root *yam-*).

NB. The justification for this evidence of the function of *Veles* as a Hunter comes from the analogous example found in Baltic folklore, since his Lithuanian counterpart *Velnias* figures as a skilful hunter and sharp-sighted teacher of a chase, who is famous for the wild pursuit of game (Jakobson *ibid.*: 38), which means that this role of his cannot be accidental.

It is said that a deceased soul will see both kings, *Yama* and god *Varuṇa* (Rig-Veda X 14.7) when they go forth on the path of the ancient forefathers, and will rest in a place called *gav-yūti* viz. "pasture-land [literally "cow-land or cattle-place"] replete with *adbhih* viz. "waters" (Rig-Veda, *ibid.* verse 9).

The association of cattle with the realm of the dead coincides with the function of the Slavic god *Veles* as *skotii bog* viz. the cattle god. ... *the line between 'the god of the cattle' and the realm of the dead may be explained by the common Indo-European concept of the netherworld as a pasture*" (Ivanov & Toporov, 1973: 16). However, it is

the realm of the god Varuṇa (and Yama as his double), not of the demon Vala. Furthermore, like Veles, Varuṇa is conceived as protector of cattle, viz. *irya go-pā* “a strong cow-herd” (Rig-Veda VIII 41.4). Varuṇa is also given the epithet *vṛṣabha* viz. “bull” (Rig-Veda V 63.3). The variant name of Veles, viz. Russian *Volos* has been drawn into etymological connection by Gržetić (1900, 31, 71) with the Slavic word *volъ* viz. “ox, bull”. Analogously, the Lithuanian demon(ized god) *Velnias* (related to Slavic Veles) is also said to assume the shape of a bull, cattle being protected by him (Jakobson, *ibid.*, 37, 38). Furthermore, Gržetić identifies Slavic Volos with the Avestan *gōus-uruuan* “soul of the cosmic bull”. Significantly, Avestan *uruuan* viz. “soul/spirit of the dead” has the same meaning as the Lithuanian word *vėles* viz. “spirits of the dead”.

The relationship between the Slavic term *Velesʹ* (god) and Lithuanian *vėles* (spirit/soul of the dead) matches exactly the Indo-Aryan Vedic and Iranian Avestan pair, viz. *Varuṇa* god vs. *Uruuan* soul/spirit (of the cosmic bull, described in the Yasna 29). The variant name of the Vedic god Varuṇa attested in the Mitanni-Hittite treaty of 1400 BCE is spelled in the cuneiform syllabic writing as *U-ru-ua-na*, is congruent with the Iranian form *uruuan*, and this could hardly have been accidental. Thus, it can be concluded that the Avestan counterpart of Varuṇa was authentically *Uruuan* Spirit/Soul (of which *Uruuana* is a dual form, coupled with the preceding *Mitra*), not those “invented” hypothetical names like **Vouruna* (proposed by Boyce, *ibid.*). As for the hypothetical non-existent **Vouruna*, the form *vouru* is attested in Avestan akin to Sanskrit *uru* “wide” (Mayhofer 1992: 227); hence, it is phonetically incongruent with and impossible to occur in place of the Sanskrit syllable *varu*; consequently, it cannot represent the Vedic *Varuṇa*. As all the prominent Vedic gods, *Varuṇa*, viz. *Uruuan*, quite expectedly, lost his high status during Zarathustra’s religious reform, since *in the Avesta, the ancient pre-Iranian mythology has gone through an advanced stage of corruption* (Hillebrandt *ibid.*: 112).

The association of Veles and Varuṇa with the nether world (analogously as the Iranian parallel *Uruuan*) testify unanimously of their connection with the deceased Souls/Spirits, at least in the mind of the ancient Slavic and Vedic seers, and may well be derived from the root *vṛ* “to cover, enclose, bind”, since the soul is “covered by the body, enclosed/imprisoned in the body, or bound/bonded within the body”, and is apparently related to Tocharian *wal* “to die”, *walu* “the dead”, the feminine plural (oblique cases) *walunt-* that coincides with Luwian *ulant* “*ibid.*” (Ivanov & Toporov 1973: 22). This is further justified by the Baltic parallels, viz. Lithuanian since *Vėlinas* [*sc. Velnias*] is *primarily the god of the dead, and located below the earth; hence the forest pools are said to be his eyes. His name relates directly to the Vėles, the spirits of the dead* (West 2007: 147).

For this reason, both the Aryans and ancient Slavs used to burn their deceased in order to set the soul of the deceased person free from the imprisonment of the body and to send him immediately into paradise.

NB. There is no evidence adduced by Ivanov, Toporov and Katičić that *Vṛtra* and *Vala* were considered Kings.

SWEET BASIL (OCIMIUM BASILICUM)

As for sweet basil, says Nodilo: *Bosiljak, ocimum basilicum ... ima veliku znamenitost sa dvojakog simbolizma: njegov cvijet znači i smrt i ljubav. U Indiji slična bilina, ocimum sanctum, znanuje isto ovo dvoje ... Što je bosiljkov cvijet sitan i bijel, time označuje boga tvorca, pri sutonu i uranku, a što je miomirisan, dolikuje ljubavi plodnoga boga (Sweet Basil, Ocimum Basilicum ... The plant is significant due to its two-sided symbolism, viz. its flower means both death and love. In India 'Ocimum sanctum' has the same significance ... Its tiny white flower symbolizes the creator god at dusk and at dawn, while his sweet scent appropriately indicates love and fecundity of the god; Nodilo 1885: 92). Its symbolic value is congruent with the symbolism of god Varuna (and Veles alike), viz. beside his designation as *mṛtyu* "Death" he is also designated as *āyu* "Life", since Varuṇa is *samvatsara* "Year", and *Life is the Year* (Śatapatha Brāhmana IV 1.4.10), for a woman, a cow, or a mare *vijāyate samvatsare* viz. "bring forth an offspring in a Year's time" (idem. XI 1.6.2). When invoked alone, Varuṇa represented to the minds of the Vedic seers the unity of opposites all by himself, i.e., the unified wholeness, the totality, like *Prajāpati* "Lord of Progeny" (for *Prajāpati* is the Year, Śatapatha Brāhmana II 2.2.3-5). Significantly, it is stated explicitly about Varuṇa in the Rig-Veda I 25.:*

Verse 8. *veda māso dvādaśa...vedā ya upajāyate (he knows 12 months and one being born besides them viz. intercalary one).*

The 12 months plus one intercalary month undoubtedly represent the Year. Only when invoked in pairs with Indra or Mitra, does Varuṇa appear as the embodiment of the opposite dark principle to either of them.

AQUATIC MONSTER GOD'S VEHICLE

In Hindu iconography, Varuna is coupled with an aquatic monster called *makara*, which is considered the vehicle of the God. *It is depicted with the head and forelegs of an antelope or a goat, and body of a fish or crocodile. It is also called jala-rūpa "water-form".* (Dalal 2010: 224).

The term *mākara* denotes: a kind of sea-monster, sometimes confounded with the crocodile, shark, dolphin, etc. (Monier-Williams 1899: 771).

The *Rūpamaṇḍana* (classic on iconography) describes Varuna the regent of the west as having four arms. In three of his hands, he holds a *pāśa* (noose), a lotus and a jewel box (lower left hand). Furthermore, his lower right hand is bestowing blessings on the devotee. He is riding a crocodile *nakra-arudam* (Sreenivasa Rao 2012).

The *Śilpa-ratna* (classic on fine arts) gives a slightly different picture of Varuna, viz. he is wearing yellow garments [the colour of Veles as well]. Varuna holds a noose (*pāśa*) in each of his two hands and is riding a *Makara* (Sreenivasa Rao 2012).

The association of the god Varuna (and Veles likewise) with aquatic and tellurian monsters was authentically meant to emphasize his power and control exercised over

those dreadful creatures in order to serve him as the instruments for maintaining Natural and Social World Order, viz. for punishing the sinners and violators of the law.

There is recorded an analogous belief in pre-Christian Europe among the Mediterranean inhabitants at Malta who regarded the function of the serpents to be the same as that of the gods, viz. as the avengers of sins, e.g., when the apostle Paul landed once on the shore of Malta, the *islanders ... built a fire and welcomed us ... Paul gathered a pile of brushwood and, as he put it on the fire, a viper, driven out by the heat, fastened itself on his hand...* The islanders concluded that *this man must be a murderer; for though he escaped from the sea, the goddess Justice has not allowed him to live* (The Holy Bible, Acts, 28:1–6).

CONCLUSION

After exploring all the existing data, it is difficult to see how it is possible to reconcile all the characteristics of the Slavic god Veles with that of the Vedic demons Vala or Vṛtra. In light of the materials presented here from Vedic and Sanskrit sources, only the character of the Vedic sovereign god Varuṇa appears to be fully congruent with the Slavic god in all his aspects, features and functions.

NB. Even Toporov (1987: 218) later realized his error and changed his mind on the subject, for he wrote: Само имя Варуна исследователи сопоставляли с хеттским морским божеством Аруной [viz. Hittite Aruna], с древнегреческим богом неба Ураном [viz. Ancient Greek *Ouranos*] наконец, со славянским Волосом (Велесом) [viz. Slavic *Volos/Veles*] литовским Велнясом [viz. Lithuanian *Velnias*] и т. д. Поэтому при сохранении ряда неясностей индоевропейские параллели к этому имени несомненны.

APPENDIX: A COMMON ETYMOLOGY OF THE SLAVIC *VELESЪ* AND VEDIC *VARUṆA*

THE FUNCTIONS OF VARUṆA AND ITS ETYMOLOGY AS EXPLAINED BY NIRUKTA

The foremost Vedic *nirukta* (viz. etymologist) and the chief authority on Vedic semantics and etymology [viz. *the Nighaṇṭu* and *the Nirukta*] Yāska (7.c. BCE) declares it categorically in the Nirukta X 3:

Varuṇo vṛṇoti iti sataḥ tasyaiva bhavati (Sanskrit text, Sarup 1963: 173).

(*Varuṇa is so called because he covers “vṛ”*; cf. Sarup, English translation, 1966: 154).

Yāska justifies his standpoint (on the account that Varuṇa covers the sky with the clouds), citing Rig-Veda V 85.3-4:

nīcīnabāraṃ varuṇaḥ kavandham pra sasarja rodasī antarikṣam tena viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā yavaṃ na vṛṣṭir vy unatti bhūma (*Varuṇa sent forth the cloud, opening downwards, and created heaven, earth and the intermediate space. With it, the King of the entire Universe moistens earth as rain the barley*; cf. Sarup, *ibid.*).

Yāska elaborates further his explanation of Varuṇa (Nirukta XII 23), citing Rig-Veda I 50.6-7 (which is to prove Varuṇa’s unquestionable Solar aspect)

yenā pāvaka cakṣasā bhuraṇyantam janānanu tvam varuṇa paśyasi vi dyāmeṣi rajas pṛthvahā mimāno aktubhiḥ paśyañ janmāni sūrya

(The eye with which, O pure Varuṇa, thou seest the active sacrifice among men, with that thou reachest heaven in various ways, measuring the wide region and days with nights, and seeing many generations, O Sun; cf. Sarup 1966: 191).

However, after taking into consideration *kavandham* the key term of the stanza, Sarup’s translation of the verb *vṛṇoti* seems somewhat misleading. Thus, a more detailed clarification is needed in this case.

In clarifying the name Varuṇa, the Nirukta X 3 refers to the Rig-Veda V 85.3 for clarification: *nīcīnabāram vāruṇaḥ kavandham pra sasarja rodasī* “Varuṇa sent forth the *kāvandham* (variant *kābandham*) literally “big cask”. Yāska explains the *kāvandham* as *megham* “cloud”, and identifies it as: *kabandham udakam bhavati* “kabandha is water”. The commentary on Nirukta further clarifies the term: *bandhiranibhṛtatve viz. bandhiḥ dhātuḥ anibhṛtatve* “the root *bandh* denotes an unfixed state with an opening below, between heaven and earth in the atmosphere”; (cf. Bhadkamkar 1942:957). However, the prior member *kad* (originally the neuter of the interrogative pronoun *ka*) of the compound *ka-bandha* is defined in the Nighaṇṭu 3.6. as *kad iti sukhasya viz. “kad means happiness, or literally good axle-hole”, whence kabandha originally “good-bond, well-bound” as a designation of cloud, since water is bound within. The verb vṛṇoti undoubtedly relates to Varuṇa’s function of binding, here the water in the cask (viz. cloud), which he then releases at will (cf. Bhadkamkar 1942: 955–958; Sarup 1963: (Sanskrit text) 17,173–174; Sarup 1966 (English translation) 153,154).*

The basic function of Varuṇa is indicated by the verb *bandh* “to bind”. The verb is applied to the performance of the officiating priest who binds a sacrificial animal for Varuṇa and loosens what is bound, e.g. *paśūm badhnāmi vāruṇāya rājñā* “I bind this animal for king Varuṇa”; (cf. Kuiper 1079: 73); *baddhām āva syati varuṇapāśād evāine muñcati* “He loosens what is bound; indeed, he releases them from the noose of Varuṇa” (Taittirīya Samhitā VI 2.9.1); *vāruṇo vā eṣā durvāg ubhayāto baddhó yád ákṣaḥ* “The axle which is bound on both sides is Varuṇa of bad voice (viz. sound)” (Taittirīya Samhitā VI 2.9.1). Varuṇa’s *bandhá* viz. “bond” is also mentioned: *rājño vāruṇasya bandhó ‘si só ‘múm āmuṣyāyaṇám amúṣyāḥ putrám ānne prāṇé badhāna* “King Varuṇa’s bond thou art, do thou bind a descendant of such a one, the son of a good family in breath and in food” (Atharva-Veda X 5.44). In post-Vedic scriptures the verb *bandh* is utilized in relation to Varuṇa’s *pāśa* “noose or fetters” in two verses of the *Manusmṛti* viz. “Law of Manu”: *sākṣye ‘nṛtam vadan pāśair badhyate vāruṇair bhṛśam* “He who speaks untruth is firmly bonded by Varuṇa’s fetters” (Manusmṛti VIII 82); *varuṇena yathā pāśair baddha evābhidṛśyate tathā pāpān nigrhñīyād* “As one (sc. a liar or sinner) is seen bound with the fetters by Varuṇa, exactly so let the king punish the wicked” (Manusmṛti IX 309). Another aspect of Varuṇa’s function of binding is expressed by the verb *muc, muñcati* “to be released (sc. from Varuṇa’s fetters)” in the Vedic rites which presupposes one’s being already “seized, held, or tied by Varuṇa” (cf. Kuiper 1979:67ff.). This is a common

function of both the Vedic god *Varuṇa* and Slavic god *VelesŦ* as the gods of oaths, contracts and peace agreements, viz. of social “obligations” (or bindings), which additionally and unquestionably strengthens the identity between them.

G. Dumézil accordingly has defined *Varuṇa* as “the binder” (cf. Dumézil 1988: 95ff).

Besides, the main function of *Varuṇa* is frequently expressed by the verb *grah* (variant *grabh*) “to seize, grasp, lay hold of, catch, imprison, capture” (analogous to binding), hence the sinners and sick persons alike, are considered *Varuṇa-gr̥hīta* “seized by *Varuṇa*” (Kuiper 1979: 73). When the law is violated *vāruṇo gr̥hṇāti* “*Varuṇa* seizes” too (Hillebrandt 1929/1980:21), or literally: *ánṛte khálu vái kriyámāṇe vāruṇo gr̥hṇāti* literally “Verily, when *án-ṛta* (viz. dis-order, in-justice, un-lawfulness) is being done *Varuṇa* seizes” (Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa I 7.2.6). Even the stationary waters are said to be “seized by *Varuṇa*” (Hillebrandt ibid.13). In accordance with his fundamental function, various aquatic creatures called *grāha* “seizers” (viz. crocodiles, sharks, serpents, alligators, etc.) and *makara* “crocodile-like monster”, along with the *nāgās* “dragons” and *sarpas* “serpents” are assigned to *Varuṇa* whose abode is said to be the *samudra* “ocean/sea”. Of the aquatic animals only those called *nakra* “crocodile” are sacrificed to *Varuṇa* (Hillebrandt ibid. 295). In Hindu mythology *makara* (and sometimes *nakra*) is considered to be the vehicle on which *Varuṇa* rides holding *pāśa* the “noose” in his hands (cf. Dalal 2010: 224; see also Sreenivasa Rao 2012, part VI, *Varuṇa* Iconography). Even *makara* is the creature with whom god *Kṛṣṇa* the “Black one” has identified himself.⁷ In this regard compare above the term *kṛṣṇa* as *Varuṇa*’s fundamental designation. There’s even more than that, since *Varuṇa* like *Kṛṣṇa* is also styled *hari* “golden” (Atharva-Veda V 11.1). Needless to repeat, Black (e.g. Black Wool, etc.) is a special characteristic of the Slavic *VelesŦ* and his Baltic cognates. In this respect compare the Latvian expression *melns kā velns* “black like *Velns*” (= *Vēl̥ns*). And *zoloto* “gold” and *zloti* “golden” are the preeminent designations of the Slavic god *VelesŦ* too (Jakobson ibid. 35,38; Katičić 2008: 306). Significantly, Slavic *VelesŦ* is likewise identified with a crocodile, lizard, dragon, serpent, etc. (Katičić ibid. 206, 207, 243–245), in one word, with the creatures which all belong to the class of *grāha* “seizers”.

Besides, the function of seizing or binding performed by *Varuṇa* is essentially the same as the role of Slavic *VelesŦ* (like Lithuanian *Vėlnias*) appearing in folk-tales in the role of a wise old hunter called somewhat cryptically *Velimir* (the assonance with *VelesŦ* being so obvious) who at dying hands over his secrets to his successor a young hunter called *Veljko Lović* (Nodilo 1885:86-89) whose first name is actually a hypocoristic from *Velimir*; whereas his surname *Lović* is a derivative (viz. patronymic but also diminutive as well, indicative of his youthfulness) from the noun *Lovac* viz. “Hunter”. The stories about *Velimir* relate to a temporary death of the god and his rebirth in the form of a young hunter.

⁷ Bhagavad Gītā X 31: *jhaṣānām makaraś ca asmi* “Among the aquatics I am *makara*”.

In the Hindu calendar, Makara marks the end of the Winter Solstice (December/January)... it is the birth of time; and the first day of the New Year. Makara is associated with creation-process; thus it symbolizes time and its cyclical nature. Makara is therefore prominently placed in Sun temples (Sreenivasa Rao 2012).

VARUṆA AND YAMA

This is related further to *Yama* of whom is said that a deceased soul will see both kings, *Yama* and god *Varuṇa* (Rig-Veda X 14.7) when they go forth on the path of the ancient forefathers (Hillebrandt *ibid.* 21), and will rest in a place called *gáv-yūti* viz. “pasture-land [literally “cow-land or cattle-place”] replete with *adbhih* viz. “waters” (Rig-Veda, *ibid.* verse 9). In an attempted restoration of a common IE concept of the otherworld as a meadow for the deceased souls, Puhvel brought into connection the Greek *Elýsion pedíon* “meadowy field” and *gáv-yūti* “cow-pasture” the realm of the Vedic god *Yama*, to which he adduced also Old Russian *Volosŭ* (< **Volsŭ* or *Velsŭ* < **w^o/ls^u/-*) ‘cattle-god’ whose name he explained to mean literally ‘(deified) pasture’ (Puhvel 1969: 66). But he remained completely silent about the fact that the realm of *gáv-yūti* belongs equally to lord *Varuṇa* as specified explicitly in the Rig-Vedic stanza X 14.7 quoted above.

Varuṇa is closest to *Yama* in the Veda, both wield the *danḍa* “staff”, both carry in their hands the *pāśa* “noose” which is the attribute of the night, of the *druh* (viz. wrong, harm, falsehood), of death (Hillebrandt *ibid.* 20,21). Semantically, the root *grah* or *grabh* (expressive of *Varuṇa*’s primal function of seizing) is synonymous with the root *yam* “to hold, keep in, sustain, restrain, curb, subdue, control, etc.”. *Yamá* is the god who presides over the *Pitṛis* (viz. deceased ancestors) and rules the spirits of the dead (Monier-Williams 1899: 845, 846). Mallory and Adams treated the root **yem* as a far eastern Indo-Iranian-Tocharian isogloss, Sanskrit and Avestan *yam* “hold, sustain”, Tocharian B *yäm* “achieve, obtain, reach [< * ‘come to hold’ or the like]” and separate it from **yemos* > Sanskrit *yamá* “twin” related to Latin *geminus*, and god *Yama* with a possible Latin cognate of Remus, the brother of Romulus, derived from **yemonos* “twin” (Mallory/Adams 2006: 207, 276, 435). According to Pokorny all these forms are derivatives from Indo-European **jem* “halten, zusammenhalten, paaren, bezwingen” including Old Indic *Yamá-h* “twin, hermaphrodite” = Avestan *Yimō* (Pokorny/Starostin *ibid.* 1370). In his role as lord of the dead, it is highly unlikely that *Yama* authentically meant “twin”, but rather the term must have indicated the same function of seizing, binding, enclosing, as *Varuṇa* himself. Thus undoubtedly *Yama* by his very name was authentically intended to personify the main function of *Varuṇa* as his mythological double. As for his Avestan counterpart *Yima* who is considered to be the first man, it has no exegetic value since it contradicts the Vedic evidence (besides, in the Avesta, the ancient pre-Iranian mythology has gone through an advanced stage of corruption as stressed by Hillebrandt *ibid.* 112). It is said precisely in the Veda that *Yama* was *prathamo martyānām* “first of the mortals” (not *prathamo janānām* “first of the humans”) which relates equally to gods, since gods also were considered mortals, e.g. the moon is described as a dying god who is always reborn. On the other hand, Veda never refers to *Yama* as *jana* or *manuṣya* viz. “man, human” (Hillebrandt *ibid.* 223). This Vedic concept of the first dying god is confirmed by the stories about *Velimir* the Hunter who dies at the old age but is succeeded by (viz. reborn as) his young double *Veljko Lović* (as demonstrated above).

VARUᅇA AND VELESŦ IN THE TRADITION OF THE INDO-ARYAN PURĀᅇAS

In order to better clarify the historical and doctrinal parallelism between Varuᅇa and VelesŦ the ancient Indic tradition as preserved in the PurĀᅇas offers even more valuable evidence. In the Veda Varuᅇa seems to be subordinated to Indra who was placed above all other gods, but who in turn later became dethroned himself and allowed to occupy inferior position to that of *Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa*. Buddhist tradition made Indra even a worshipper of Buddha (Hillebrandt 1980/1929: 38) On the other hand, in the Buddhist texts Varuᅇa becomes a *NāgarĀjĀ* viz. “King of the Dragons” (Hillebrandt 1980/1927: 248) exactly like Slavic VelesŦ in Russian folklore under the title “Tsar Zmiulan”. But, there are some more striking parallels found in those PurĀᅇic texts which glorify *Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa*. As demonstrated previously above, the terms *hari* “gold-hued” and *kᅇᅇᅇa* “black” are the personal designations of Varuᅇa, expressing the same mythological concept

In the PurĀᅇas (viz. *Harivamsa*, *ViᅇᅇᅇupurĀᅇa*, *BhĀgavatapurĀᅇa*) there is a story of the thunder-god Indra, styled invariably *Parjanyā* (all three texts verify unanimously the identity of Indra and Parjanyā, related to the Slavic *PerunŦ*, cf. JeŦić 2011: 101), how he was defeated by Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa, who was thus capable of displaying his supremacy over the thunder-god. Since the Hindu god Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa shares the same epithets *hari* and *kᅇᅇᅇa* with the sovereign Vedic god Varuᅇa who lost temporarily his *prabhūti* viz. “predominance” (spoken of in Rig-Veda X 124.7) in opposition to Indra⁸, it becomes clear beyond doubt that Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa impersonates the character of the Vedic god Varuᅇa in this particular story of his clash with Indra, the story actually narrating how did Varuᅇa regain his lost supremacy over Indra. As is self-evident from the perfectly congruent features of Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa Varuᅇa and Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa himself, all their identical characteristics could not have occurred in the PurĀᅇas arbitrarily or accidentally, but were the innate constituent elements of their characters within the same mythological context, viz. their opposition to Indra.

The story of Kᅇᅇᅇa’s lifting of mount *Govardhana* in order to protect the cows and the cowherds of Gokula from the lightnings and thunderbolts sent by Indra (being furious because they were invited by Kᅇᅇᅇa to worship the mount *Govardhana* and their own cows as their divinity, instead of Indra himself). Following Ivanov, Toporrov and Katiĉić and their earlier erroneous identification of the Vedic demon *Vala* with the Slavic god *VelesŦ*, M.JeŦić came at a markedly erroneous conclusion: according to him the story does reflect the myth of the struggle between the two main divine contenders in the pre-Vedic myth of *Indra/Parjanyā* and *Vala*, or the Balto-Slavic myth of *PerunŦ* and *VolosŦ/VelesŦ*. As is clearly demonstrated above, it was not Vala but Varuᅇa who temporarily lost his supremacy over the thunder-god Indra, nor Vala ever bore the epithets *hari* and *kᅇᅇᅇa*, which only the sovereign god Varuᅇa shares with Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa.

Thus, it is not Vala whom Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa impersonated in the PurĀᅇas, but the sovereign god Varuᅇa, of whom Hari Kᅇᅇᅇa appears to be a double. It is true that “The correlations

⁸ The supersession of Varuᅇa by Indra is delineated in the Rig-Veda IV 42 and X 124; cf. Kuiper’s remark on it: “*Bergaigne and von Bradke had rightly stressed the antagonism between the two gods [sc. between Indra and Varuᅇa]*” Kuiper 1979: 22.

in content are strongly corroborated by Indo-European correspondences in expression” (Ježić 2011: 107) but the myth has preserved ancient formulas identifying Hari Kṛṣṇa, Varuṇa and *Volos̆/Veles̆* (not Veles and Vala) as is perfectly displayed below:

- 1) *Hari Kṛṣṇa Go-pāla* (variant *Go-vinda*) *Bhaga-vat*
- 2) *Hari Kṛṣṇa Varuṇa-Asura Go-pā Deva*
- 3) *Zoloti Čr̆n̆n̆b̆ Volos̆/Veles̆ Skotij̆b̆ Boğb̆*

Semantically and etymologically all the three formulas are absolutely identical (“Golden Black Cattle-protecting God”), except for the Slavic term *skotij̆b̆* which is fully synonymous with *Go-pā/Go-pāla*, viz. “cattle-protecting” though not of the same etymology. Note that Kṛṣṇa’s title *Bhaga-vat* comprises in itself the term *Bhaga* identical with Slavic *Boğb̆*.

There is only mount Govardhana which resembles Vala, since Vala is identified with mountain in the Rig-Veda VI 39.2: ... *pary adrim usra ṛtadhītibhir ṛtayug yujānaḥ rujad aruṅgaṃ vi valasya sānuṃ* (...*rushing against the rock/mountain [= adri], with the righteous-minded ones, whose yoke is justice, He [sc. Indra] succeeded to break the never-broken ridge of Vala*). Moreover, Vala is even in the Rig-Veda X 68.7 specified as *parvata* “mountain”, the term otherwise erroneously identified by Ivanov, Topotov and Katičić as the etymological source of the Slavic *Perun̆b̆*. These scholars were not able to discern properly the present participle *pervant* of the IE root **per-* vs. IE noun **Perkʷunos* or **Pergʷunos* from which actually derived Slavic form (in Slavic the labio-velar appears decomposed and the velar part subject to elision).

Therefore, the only possible identity between mountain *Go-vardhana* (viz. “cow-increase”) is with Vala (who is likewise called *go-vapus* “shaped like a cow”, a term synonymous with), but not with Kṛṣṇa or Slavic *Veles̆b̆*, since neither of them has ever been imagined as an unanimated object like mountain. Mount Govardhana an unanimated object appears a tool in hands of the god in order to fulfill his task.

Kṛṣṇa used mount Govardhana as a shelter for the cows, though the struggle was not between the mountain and Indra, but between lord Hari Kṛṣṇa impersonating Hari Kṛṣṇa Varuṇa (identical with Slavic *Veles̆b̆*) who thus regained his lost supremacy over Indra. The presented parallels between Hari Kṛṣṇa Varuṇa and Slavic *Veles̆b̆* additionally confirms the identity of the two gods.

There can be no single doubt in their identity. The only problem is to find and decipher a common etymology of the twosome. It is dealt with in the next section devoted solely to.

A QUEST FOR THE COMMON ETYMOLOGY

The Baltic viz. Latvian *Vēl̆ns* and Lithuanian *Vėlnias* cognates of the Slavic *Veles̆b̆*, closely match in forms the Vedic name *Varuṇa*. Since Slavic and Baltic forms are considered cognates, and both Baltic forms comprises *n*-suffix, they have nothing to do with *Vala*. The Latvian *Vēl̆ns* and *Velna Acs* obviously derived from the earlier forms **Velunas* and **Veluna Akis* due to the reduction of unaccented short vowels, especially *u* and *i*. This phonetic law is well attested in many IE languages, e.g. French/English *table* < Latin *tabula*; French/English *able* < Latin *habilis*, etc.; it occurs frequently in Slavic languages too, e.g. Old Slavic *b̆d̆d̆ti* “to watch, stay awake, keep vigil” > modern *bdeti*, Old Slavic *m̆n̆d̆ti* “to

think” > modern *mneti*. It is found operating even in non-IE languages, e.g. in Japanese the short unaccented vowels *u* and *i* are by the rule elided in speech (Devidé 1970: 62; 1976: 8).

The Lithuanian *Vėlnias* on the other hand corresponds exactly to the Vedic form *varuṇya* “pertaining to Varuṇa” (cf. *sārvasmād varuṇyāt* “all that comes from Varuṇa” Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa V 2.5.16). Both Vedic and Lithuanian forms were made on the model of other Vedic divine names featuring the same suffix *-ya*, e.g. *Sūr-ya*, *Parjaṇ-ya*, *Nāsat-ya*, *Pūṣar-ya* < **Pūṣaṇ-ya*, etc.

The older form *Vēlinas* might have well derived from the original **Vēlunas*, since the vowel *i* historically often stem from *u*, e.g. Old Latin *lubido* > Classical Latin *libido* “desire”; Ancient Greek *muthos* > Classical *mythos* > modern Greek pronunciation *mithos* as in English “myth” etc.

Thus, both Latvian and Lithuanian forms originally must have matched the Vedic *Varuṇa*. The problem arises with the Slavic forms of the god’s name which seemingly do not match the other three. Even there are attested two different variants of the name viz. *VolosŦ* and *VelesŦ* not only in Old Russian, but also in South Slavic, namely there are two toponyms in Croatia comprising the form *Volos* instead of usual *Veles*, one is *Voloski kuk* viz. “The Hip of Volos” a rock so named at the source of the river Potok in Istria, and within the same area a place called *Volosko* viz. “The Place of Volos” (Katičić ibid. 306).

R. Jakobson assumed the prototype of the Slavic god’s name to be **Vel-sŦ* but this is highly improbable, since both variants *VolosŦ* and *VelesŦ* were authentically three-syllabic forms. Jakobson treated *VelesŦ* as an archaic Slavic compound: “The same pair of constituents which serve as two autonomous words in *Varuṇa Asura* has merged into one compound in the corresponding Slavic name *VelesŦ*. As for the Russian doublet *VolosŦ* its most probable prototype had been **Vel-sŦ...*” (Jakobson ibid. 43). However, his analysis was fairly inadequate.

As a compound it must have been formed and spelled originally in accord with the Old Slavic phonetic rules, viz. the short vowels *u* were to be reduced in the prior member of the compound, which would give the 1st variant from PIE **uoluno-* > **Volūnū* > **Volŋnŋ*, and the 2nd one from PIE **ueluno-* > **Velūnū* > **Velŋnŋ* to which was attached the final member analogous to Indic *asu(ra)*, viz. from PIE **H₂ensu* > Proto-Slavic **ęsŋ* (= *ensu*) > Old Slavic **ęsŋ* and from either PIE **H₂nsu(ro)* or *H₂onsu(ro)* > Proto-Slavic **qsŋ* (= *onsu*) > Old Slavic **qsŋ*. In merging both members into a compound **Volŋnŋ + qsŋ* and **Velŋnŋ + ęsŋ* it would give inevitably due to obvious haplology (viz. repetition of syllables with nasals, hence the omission of one of two similar syllables in fluent speech) the forms **Volqsŋ* and **Velęsŋ*. The presumed Old Slavic forms with nasalized vowels naturally have undergone changes (viz. de-nasalization) in modern vernaculars similar to Old Russian *Volosŋ* and *Velesŋ* with the additional elision of the final stem-vowel *-ŋ* (e.g. Old Slavic *bogŋ* “god” > *bog* in modern vernaculars), whence the modern forms *Veles* and *Volos*.

The evidence presented is absolutely sufficient to establish an underlying identity between Vedic *Varuṇa Asura*, Lithuanian *Vėlnias*, Latvian *Vēlŋs*, and Slavic *Volosŋ/Velesŋ*, not only in mythological concept but equally by their common etymology. Thus, the Indic and Balto-Slavic forms indisputably represent the ancient common Proto-Indo-European **ueluno-* mythologem.

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NOVI UVIDI O STAROSLOVENSKOM BOGU VOLOSU/VELESU IZ
VEDSKE PERSPEKTIVE

MILORAD IVANKOVIĆ



Pri pokušaju rekonstruisanja pretpostavljene središnje teme u okviru drevne slovenske mitologije, t.j. kosmičke bitke između boga gromovnika Peruna i njegova suprotnika skotjega boga Velesa, filolozi Ivanov i Toporov (1973) oslanjajući se na primere iz baltičkog folklora i vedske mitologije, poistovetili su staroslovenskoga boga Velesa sa vedskim demonom Valom. Na istom tragu, njihov sledbenik Katičić (2008) došao je do gotovo istovetnih rezultata samo s tom razlikom što je poistovetio staroslovenskoga boga Velesa sa drugim vedskim demonom Vṛtrom. Nažalost, dokazi sabrani iz izvornih vedskih i sanskrtskih tekstova, te izloženi u ovoj raspravi, pobijaju i opovrgavaju gore pomenuta tumačenja i poistovećivanja, i otkrivaju sasvim drugo lice staroslovenskoga boga Velesa.

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Об архаических чертах народной культуры русин Восточной Словакии*

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This article continues the study of Ruthenian spiritual culture and aims at the determination of ancient elements in the selected rituals and their parts in folk meteorology, wedding, funeral and birth ceremonials, and beliefs about animals and birds in the all-Slavic context. It is shown that the traditional Ruthenian culture is very close to the West Ukrainian ones on the one hand and that it has substantive differences, which allow considering Ruthenian tradition a separate East-Slavic tradition with deep historical background.

KEYWORDS: Slavic ethnolinguistics, Ruthenian folk culture, archaic features, Slavic Carpathians

Статья представляет собой продолжение¹ изучения русинской традиционной культуры в диахронном аспекте и посвящена выявлению архаических черт в отдельных сегментах народной культуры. В качестве материала использовались полевые записи, сделанные с участием автора статьи в 2014 и 2018 гг.², а также опубликованные исследования и материалы (Вархол 1995, Вархол 2012, Хобзей, Ястремська, Сімович и др. 2013, Гусев 1974, Гура 2012 и др.), а также словари (Керча 2007, Николаев, Толстая 2001, Šišková 2009 и др.).

Карпаты – территория относительно раннего заселения славянскими племенами (Иллич-Свитыч 1960, Фусек 2015), и по мнению некоторых исследователей, славяне провели здесь достаточно долгое время, прежде чем двинулись на юг, на Балканы (Шувалов 1998: 9). Однако континуитет русинского населения Восточной Словакии

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¹ Первая статья *Об архаических чертах народной демонологии русин Восточной Словакии* вышла в журнале *Studia mythologica Slavica* в 2018 году. В ней дан краткий экскурс в историю заселения региона и литературу вопроса.

² В 2014 г. группа в составе М.М. Валенцовой, М.Н. Толстой, К. Женюховой работала в селах Убля, Руский Грабовец, Руска Быстра. В 2018 г. М.М. Валенцова и М.Н. Толстая проводили полевые исследования в русинских селах: Улич, Руски Поток, Волова, Руски Грабовец, Убля, Кленова, Стриговце, Кална Розтока, а также в г. Снина, где интервьюировали информанток из сел Уличске Криве и Нехваль Полянка.

прослеживается примерно с XIV в., когда восточные славяне были вовлечены в так называемую валашскую колонизацию, продвигавшуюся вдоль склонов Карпат с юга и юго-востока. Именно в результате этого процесса на территории современной Словакии распространился *руський* (русинский) язык и появилось заметное количество иноязычных заимствований, связанных прежде всего с отгонным пастушеством и хозяйственной деятельностью.

Русины Восточной Словакии – самая западная группа восточных славян, генетически наиболее близкая населению Закарпатья, с которым длительное время составляла единое целое. Народная традиция русин, благодаря географическому положению (ограниченность горными хребтами) сохранила ряд архаических черт, имеющих параллели в Полесье и ряде других славянских традиций, в том числе южнославянских. С другой стороны, русинскую культуру и язык выделяют общезакарпатские особенности, также им свойственны некоторые западнославянские черты, отмечаются и южнославянские параллели, являющиеся результатом совместного проживания и культурного обмена в рамках Венгерского и, позже, Австро-Венгерского государства.

Понятие «архаика», «архаические черты» используется в статье в широком значении. Архаическими считаются те этнолингвистические факты (представления о мире, поверья, обряды и их терминология), которые, как и архаизмы в языке, вышли из активного употребления или представлены реликтами (фрагментами), распространенными не повсеместно; значение их затемнено или вовсе неясно. «Возраст» этих архаизмов различен; наиболее интересны древнейшие архаизмы, выявляемые при сопоставлении с данными других славянских традиций, а в ряде случаев и традиций соседних неславянских народов, воспринявших и сохранивших древние славянские черты (подобно тому, как румынский и венгерский языки сохранили древние славянские лексические и фонетические особенности). Сопоставление и анализ реликтов духовной культуры из разных славянских ареалов делает возможной реконструкцию обряда, представления, поверья или хотя бы их более полного фрагмента, прояснение истории и этимологии «темного» культурного термина (о теории и методах этнолингвистической реконструкции см.: Толстые 2013). К архаизмам следует отнести также древние заимствования, появившиеся в карпатском ареале, в первую очередь, германские, романские, венгерские, которые восходят к дохристианской архаике самих традиций-доноров.

Вообще говоря, вопрос о культурных архаизмах и культурных инновациях (как и вопрос о степени славянской культурной общности) может быть решен только с привлечением исчерпывающих эмпирических данных, специальным вниманием к типологии и ареалогии (Толстая 2015: 104). Однако в статье ставится более скромная задача: указать на некоторые дожившие до наших дней архаические черты в русинской традиции небольшого ареала Восточной Словакии, обосновывая это данными имеющихся славистических исследований.

Архаические элементы присутствуют во всех сферах традиционной народной культуры. Некоторые из них будут рассмотрены подробнее, другие – лишь упомянуты.

В метеорологических представлениях и магии³ к архаическим следует отнести действия, направленные на остановку града. По рассказам наших информантов, для этого выносили во двор острые металлические предметы, которые, как считалось, способны рассеять градовую тучу – топор, мотыгу; а также печную утварь, которая благодаря связи с земным огнем, противостоит небесной влаге и льду=граду) – хлебную лопату или кочергу:

Град, а фурт гварят, же каменец падать. Знали гварти, же секеру, же балту у нас знали гварить, або мотыку знали выносить, бо же тым, каменец на тум разонаджуе, но... розыде. Я ще памнятав, же ...така лопата была, шо до пеца са давал хліб, та тоту лопату давали вонка, же потом перестане, же скорей. ...Огребло не (Стриговце). Кедь бурка іде, та зме знали – мати небужка, помнятам, же знала – вонка метати тоту лопату, ай кочерьга, шо хліб пеклы, шо давали хліб днука до пеца ай вугля одгребали, та тоту метали вонка. Памнятав, ай опачне сокиру сем клала, бо виділа, як маты клала сокиру опачне так, гри, бы стояла; поўперала, а же бы град не падал, а тоды не буде падать. Гострой вгорі, опачне. Гей, та поставити на дворі, няк подперти, бо вона бы ся перевернула. ...Не буде тода камень падать (Улич Криве).

Веря, что дым разгоняет грозовые тучи, во время бури сжигали в печи травы и ветки: для этой цели повсеместно использовались освященные в Вербное воскресенье (*Квітна неділя*) вербовые почки (*мыньки*). Например, в с. Стриговце махали ветками вербы на тучи и молились на все стороны света: *Або с тыми, в нас на Квітну неділю мыньки сятят, а с тыми мыньками знали... тютка знала, на вишитки світови страны туто няк са мольла ... же туто бурку... жебы не падал, жебы не грміло [Она ими махала?] Гей, так крыжом, же Господи, помилуй – она так робила на шитки світи страны (Стриговце).*

Аналогичные магические действия совершались не только в соседних западноукраинских селах, но и в других славянских регионах (Толстой 1995а), что говорит об их общеславянской древности. Кроме того, подобные действия известны румынам (ср.: в румынских селах Буковины выбрасывали во двор кочергу и хлебную лопату, выставляли лезвием вверх топор, втыкали в землю нож, сжигали освященную вербовую ветку, махали на тучу и угрожали ей веткой, освященной на Троицу, и т. п. – наряду с магическими действиями, исполняемыми профессиональным градобурником – *гриндинаром* – Мойсей 2008: 13, 15, 88–92). Учитывая, что практика грозить тучам и махать на них косою и серпом («резать» их) находят аналогии в сочинениях римских авторов I и IV вв. н.э. (Мойсей 2006: 258, сноска 3), можно предположить, что эти обряды или, по крайней мере, их часть, имеет индоевропейские корни (ср. аналогичный вывод по отношению к обряду вызывания дождя *додола* – Толстой, Толстая 1995: 79).

Чтобы быстрее прекратить град, кидали градину за пазуху: *Тото са брало, камень... Так, пресно. Баба Грейбичка то робила. Метала собі ту за тую. Вна довго*

³ Эта тема подробно рассматривалась в статьях Никиты Ильича и Светланы Михайловны Толстых (Толстой 1995а, 1995б; Толстая 1999; Толстая, Толстой 2003; Толстой 2003 и ряд др.)

носыла тудо пліча, то за плічети метала. Плічета є така блюзка із своєго полотна... як працюна, на каждый день са носыло с куртыма рукавами, вышивка была [Надо было, чтоб градина выпала снизу?] Гей, пресно (Убля). Иногда (как и в Полесье) градину бросали за пазуху ребенку, чтобы она там растаяла: до пазухи зме метали, кідь падало, та дїтьом... маты до пазухи давали метат, то метали нам... то са ростопыло. Информантка не помнит, должен ли был быть это первый или последний ребенок в семье, но помнит, что мать бросала градину за пазуху ей, а она была последним ребенком (Стриговце).

Подобные действия широко распространены у южных славян: у болгар градину раскусывал первый или последний ребенок в семье. У словенцев первые градины либо съедали, либо сovali их за шиворот под одежду. Известны эти практики и в Полесье, на Ровенщине и Житомирщине (Толстой, Толстая 2003: 135–136, 142–143).

Во время первого грома проводились превентивные лечебные ритуалы: брали первый попавшийся камень и слегка били себя им по голове с соответствующими приговорами: *то знали ўдарити каменем по голові, аби голова не боліла: «Аби ня голова не болила»* (Улич Криве). *Береме камень а так до головы покоўтав, жебы была така голова здорова, як тот камень. Кедь першы раз чубу, же загрїмить. Камень, а так до головы, по тры раз так поонаджуть, та верю, же бодай така была здорова, як тот камень. Бодай ня нич не боліло* (Убля). *Як перший раз загрїмило, та взяли камень, а по голові са били: «Грїмить, грїмить, в мене голова не болить, тоды ня заболит, коли Снинский камень сгорит»* (Нехваль Полянка), аналогичный приговор, но без битья камнем по голове, знают в с. Стриговце: *Грїмить, грїмить, в мене голова не болить, бодай ня тоди заболіла, як Снинский камень сгорить*.

Мифология камня обширна, в том числе камень воплощает и символизирует гром и молнию (громовые стрелы), участвует в мифологических сюжетах о «каменном небе», «каменном граде», а в русинских, словацких и румынских диалектах слово «камень» является также обозначением града: русин. *каменец, камень*, словац. диал. и литер. *kamenec*; румын. *piatra*. В румынской традиции слово камень мотивирует и название градоотгонника – *pietrar*. Можно говорить о мотивации «камень > град» и в германских диалектах, ср.: *steinern* ‘идти (о граде)’, *stein(d)eln* ‘идет град’, ср. также англ. *hailstone, stone* ‘градина’) (подробнее см.: Мойсей 2008: 86, 136, 128; Валенцова 2019).

Магия вызывания дождя основана на представлениях о связи земной и небесной влаги, что безусловно является представлением архаическим. По сообщениям информантов, если долго не было дождя, надо было из расположенного неподалеку ледникового озера Морске око взять воды и вылить понемногу в 9 источников – тогда вскоре пойдет дождь (Стриговце). *Кедь было су^охо дуже, та ходыли... на стунники, не знав кулько, сім, чи кулько? А з них брали тудо, воду брали. А не знав, де их лляли. – Ту до того, же Густёвого студника, гей до єнного студника. ...Ходыли хлопи, са позберали, а ходыли наўколо по тўой... шо суть таки стуннички по полю, і з сим стунникув брали ту воду, а потому вже вляли ту до того, ту еден студник быв, Густюв студник [лечебный родник, название которого производно от болезни гостец ‘ревматизм’]... (Убля).*

Архаическим также представляется магическая практика вызывания дождя с помощью закапывания в землю «хтонических» животных – лягушки, ужа, ящерицы, имеющих воздействие на небесную влагу. В с. Стриговце помнят о закапывании рака ради вызывания дождя: *То рака, щобы дощ падал, рака забили, а так горі* [закопали], *не так, а так горі, опачно* [то есть на спине]. В других областях Украины ради этого убивали пауков или рака (Хмельницкая обл.), рака (Львовская обл.), практика известна также южным славянам (Толстая 1986: 24–25).

В родинной обрядности сохранилось достаточно много магических запретов и предписаний, известных всем славянским традициям, некоторые из которых соблюдаются до сих пор (например, запрет беременной ходить на похороны). По записанному в обследованных селах данным, *черевата на погреб не мала іти, а як хоче іти, мусить червене дати на руку чи на ногу* (чтобы ребенок не был бледным, как покойник). Беременной нельзя переступать через веревку – *бо пупочна шнур коло шії са закрутить*; ей следовало остерегаться, чтобы при испуге не схватиться за свое тело – иначе будет родимое пятно на теле ребенка. Как рассказала информантка, у ее брата пятно на ноге в виде огурца – потому что мать, носившая его, захотела сорвать огурец в соседском огороде, но соседка увидела это и женщина, испугавшись, схватилась за ногу (Руский Поток). Подобные запреты широко распространены в славянском мире (см. в русинской традиции: Мушинка 1961: 107). Все эти действия имеют характер очень древней контагиозной или имитативной магии.

Общеславянским является и поверье о том, что ребенок, рожденный «в рубашке», будет счастливым: *у нас гварать, же як в чіпчати са народило та же тоты люди суть щасливи. – Но та вона ай знала* [т. е. та, что родилась «в рубашке», была еще и знахаркой, ведуньей] (Стриговце); *в чіпчати са народил – же тот дітвак щасливий* (Убля) и др.

В Уличе рождение «в рубашке» также считается добрым знаком: *народжений в чепечку – же аси добре іманя, добрі са мае. Гварят, добре са мае, же са в чіпчу́ народил*. И рассказали случай о том, как одна женщина, родив дочь в чіпчу́, не отдала его дочери, забрала себе, вместе со счастьем дочери (*же она од неї взяла, то вна мала щастя*). Этим действием и объясняли все дальнейшие несчастья ее дочери (сын погиб, сама рано осталась вдовой, потом овдовела и ее дочь) и одновременно счастье и долголетие самой матери (ей уже 86 лет). Рассказчицы были уверены в том, что если бы этот «чепец» мать передала своей дочери, жизнь последней сложилась бы более счастливо.

Другие знаки, с которыми рождались дети – зуб, длинные волосы, две макушки – информанты оценивали как неблагоприятные, предвещающие, что ребенок будет ведьмаком, «знающим», вампиром и т.п.

В крестильных обрядах архаической является практика передавать окрещенного ребенка в дом через окно. *Та знали же через окно* [передавати]: *«Зяли зме невінятко, принесли вам креснятко»* (Руский Поток). Аналогичный приговор произносили в с. Улич: *Однесли зме жидуу́ча, принесли зме креснуу́ча*; а если в семье часто умирали новорожденные, то в кумовья брали первых встреченных, а ребенка после крещения

передавали через окно: *Найдених кумув – иде путёу а кого стретнеш. Через облак го даты... та зостав жити* (Улич).

Передача человека или предметов через окно относится к древним способам обмана смерти и болезни. Через окно передавали ребенка для крещения или совершали обряд «купли-продажи» ребенка за символическую плату крестному, случайному прохожему, нищему (рус., полес., карпат., ю.-слав.) (Виноградова, Левкиевская 2004: 536).

В свадебной обрядности также отмечается множество архаичных элементов: реминисценции кражи и покупки невесты, дефлорации молодой жены не женихом, а старшим родственником⁴, как это можно заключить по словам песни, сопровождающей *шаровы* танец в конце свадьбы: *А молодой не може, та вже дружба поможе*; значение этих слов проясняет стоящий рядом *староста*, назначающий следующего танцующего с невестой, под аккомпанемент песни: *А пудь дівка до попа, кедь ти треба хлопа...* (Убля). На вопрос, кто первый шел с невестой танцевать, в Уличе отвечали: *Староста аси перший веде невісту танцювати, а потому чи кресный... вже пак родина иде, поступне, тота родина – то шитки идуть з неї танцювати. Жених послідний є, пак бере а...* [уводит].

К специфической терминологии в русинской свадьбе рассматриваемой области относится название обрядового пения и самих свадебных песен: собирательное *латканя*, *латкане*, глагол *латкати*, существительное *латканка*.

Латканя – *то суть пісни, яки са співають на свадьбі*: когда молодая прощается с родителями и с домом (*одбёрать са*), когда идут от молодой к молодому, *латкало са* и в доме у молодого, когда танцуют *шаровы*, собственно, в течение всей свадьбы. Но были на свадьбе и другие песни, которые «латканьем» не назывались, потому что имели другое содержание (Убля). Например, *латкали* при плетении венков из барвинка для жениха и невесты (Нехваль Полянка). *Латкане... свадьба, то латкало, не? співають, латкавуть, гей, так гварать, латкати треба. То были тоты свашкы, тоты латкали. Даколи то было...* (поет на печальную мелодию):

Попуд хыжу тенгерица (2 раза)

Десь то наша молодица.

Віночком обначена (2 раза)

Барвиночок посьвячена... (Улич)

Таки співанки, так латкали, так – як ішли за молодицоў, то так співали (Кто?) – *Жоны, свашкы, родакы, родáčкы; може там сокачки [кухарки] были... Шо сокачыли а то так співали. ... – Як ішли по барвинок, то так істо так співали, не? – Гей, на барвинок староста ішов с паленкоў...* (Улич).

Название песен образовано от общеславянского продуктивного корня **lad-* ‘порядок, согласие’. В описании русинской свадьбы XIX в. термин записан с

⁴ Например, у украинцев - *дядей, дружкой, старшим сватом, старостой*, братом или отцом жениха, мужем сестры или другими участниками свадьбы. Ритуальные отголоски этого действия сохранились также в свадебных обрядах у сербов, словаков, поляков (Гура 2012: 526–527).

этимологическим *д* в корне: *ладканка* в значении «свадебная песня», «песня свашек на свадьбе» и *ладкают* «поют свадебные песни»; *ладкали* при витье венков из барвинка, при походе на венчание, после венчания и далее в течение свадьбы (ЖС 1891: 145, 146, 147, 148 и далее). В одном из описаний свадьбы, уже середины XX в., помещенном в ж. Дукля, пение свадебных песен также названо термином *латкають* (Млинарич 1954: 68).

В монографии о славянской свадьбе Александр Викторович Гура приводит терминологию с корнем *лад-*, которая на разных этапах свадьбы маркирует достижение договора, славивания дела, согласия: в номинации сватов – рус. рязан. *ладило*, орлов. *лады*, *ладины*, поскольку сваты улаживали дело (Гура 2012:147); сватовства – рус. орлов. *лад*, *лады*, *ладины*, рус. тул., рязан. *ладковать* (Гура 2012: 385); обручения – рус. ярослав. *слаженье*, орлов. *лад*, *лады*, *ладины*, бел. брест., вилен. *лад*, укр. ровен. *добивать лад* (Гура 2012: 407); в названии договора о приданом (чаще всего на смотринах, запоинах, обручении): тул. *лада*, кур. *ладинки*, пол. люблин. *lady*, замойск. *ladzenie* (Гура 2012: 324).

В болгарской свадьбе *ладой* называли одетую в наряд невесты девочку, имеющую живых родителей, которая приносит воду для замешивания свадебного каравай (р-н Белоградчика, с.-з. Болгария – Гура 2012: 248). У словенцев корень *лад-* встречается в названии ритуальных персонажей – «ладариц», которые в воскресенье после Иванова дня устраивали символическую *ivansku svatbu*: девушки выбирали «жениха» и «невесту», изображали «друзек» жениха и невесты и т. д. (Бела Краина – Гура 2012: 751).

Термин *ладканье* / *латканье*, *ладканка* / *латканка* имеет ограниченное распространение. Рассматриваемые русинские обрядовые термины с корневым *д* или *т* включены в ряд словарей русинских говоров Восточной Словакии⁵ с общим значением ‘свадебное пение, свадебная песня’:

ладканка f (этно.) – свадебная песня: співали до нóчи; молодуй співали співанку: посяла-м круту руту в синѣх на помóстї; *ладканя* n – приговаривание, уговаривание; (этно. муз.) «печальная свадебная песня»; свадебная песня в том расходитя с простым пением, что ее поют особенным тихим и печальным тоном; *ладкати* (когó) – приговаривать, уговаривать; (этно. муз.) – петь свадебную песню; свашкы зáchали ~: «дай, Бóже, дóбрый час, // як у людий, так и в нас» (Керча 2007: 463);

ladkanka, f – свадебная песня, часто с эротическим содержанием; *ladkati* imp. (~ *sokašky*) – петь обрядовые свадебные песни: *svašky vže stali ladkati* (Šišková 2009: 90); *латкати*, *латкам* – петь песни бытового содержания (Пиртей 2001: 184).

Термин присутствует также в Словаре украинского языка Б.Д. Гринченко: *ладканка* – свадебная песня; *ладкання* – свадебное пение, а также и сами свадебные песни; *ладкати* – петь свадебные песни (Гринченко 1908: 340), но бытует преимущественно в западно-украинских (его нет, например, в полесских) диалектах:

закарпатских: *látkatr*: [при том барвинке латкали, таки пісні співали] (Николаев, Толстая 2001: 112); *ладкане* – пение свадебных песен во время приготовления

⁵ Однако его не оказалось в словарях: Hnát 2003, Дуда 2011, Турчин 2011.

венков для молодых, а также заплетания молодой; *ладкати* – пять свадебные песни во время приготовления венков для молодых, заплетания молодой: *Куй плетут вінки та латкайут* (с. Сокирница – Сабадош 2008: 158);

бойковских: *ладканка* – свадебная песня; *ладкати, латкати* – пять свадебные песни: *як прийїзд 'ит по молоду, то свáх 'е латкайут; іди латкайши* – иди к черту (Онишкевич 1984: 402); *латканка*, ф, этн. – свадебная обрядовая песня. *Латкают латканки тогди, коли в 'ют вінці, та молодому, та старості, та кухарці, та свáхам, та коли молодого заводят на посáд, та коли молодий приходит за молодів, коли рїжукт коровай, коли молодий забїрат молоду; латканя* п этн. – действие со значением *латкати*: *Зрána латканя, а ввчїри вáйканя; латкати* imp. этн. – пять свадебные обрядовые песни (латканки): *Моя тїтка Мáря по свих висїлях латкала* (Матїїв 2013: 252);

надднестрянских: *латкати* – пять свадебные песни (Шило 2008: 159);

гуцульских: *латкати* обр. – пять обрядовые песни (Негрич 2008: 104); *ладкати* – пять свадебные обрядовые песни (Закревська (ed.) 1997: 108); *латкати* пять свадебные песни: *Латкайте усї разом, Свáхи збїрали до шлюбу молодїх і латкали* (Хобзей, Ястремська, Сїмович и др. 2013: 363); *латкан 'и* – досвадебный обряд у молодой; *латкати* – совершать обряд *латкан 'и*; пять свадебные песни (Пїпаш, Галас 2005: 92);

буковинских: *ладкати, латкати*, обр. – пять свадебные песни: *Колїс висїлє зачинáлося в субóту, збїралисї жїнкї, дївкї, шїли молодї вінок і латкали. Висїлє б́уло малє, ни б́уло нáвїкь куму ладкати* (Гуйванюк 2005: 249).

Слово *ладкання* ‘разновидность свадебного пения’ с пометой «фольклорное», которое хоть и не совсем точно, но в целом удовлетворительно отражает значение, включено в современный словарь украинского языка (слово *ладкати*, однако, приведено как производное от *ладонь* с значением ‘хлопать в ладоши’) (СУМ 1973: 434).

Западно-волинским говорам, распространенным к северу от Карпат, известно слово *ладувáте* (редко) ‘пять свадебные песни’ (Корзонюк 1987: 152). Эта форма с аффиксом *-ува-* (а не *-к-*) нередка и в закарпатских говорах, но с другим значением, ср.: *ладувáти* ‘готовить, подготавливать’ (Гуйванюк 2005: 249), *ладувáти* ‘готовить’ (Шило 2008: 158) и др.

Кроме того, та же форма с *-ува-* представлена в болгарском: *ладувам* – 1. пять «ой, Ладо, ой, Ладо» и 2. опевание колец в песнях *ладанках*; *ладуване* – 1. от *ладувам*, 2. обычай в некоторых местах, согласно которому девушка *лада* ходит за водой, одетая как невеста, в венке и покрывале, в окружении свадебных свах и в сопровождении двух «деверей». Так называют и вынос «квитки», совершающийся рано утром в воскресенье, перед венчанием. Он сопровождается песнями, которые поют по пути от дома к источнику, около котлов с водой (далее приводится текст *ладунки*) (Геров 3: 1).

Морфологическая параллель между украинскими (волинской и закарпатской) и болгарскими формами, а также наличие однокоренных терминов с аналогичным значением в русинских диалектах является еще одним указанием на связи, существовавшие некогда между украинскими и болгарскими диалектами.

Также обращают на себя внимание семантические (со свадебными коннотациями) и морфологические (с суффиксом *-к-*) параллели к западно-украинским формам в русских диалектах: *ладкий* ‘хороший, годный’, *ладко* ‘хорошо, ловко, удачно’ (иван.), *ладковать* ‘примирять; сватать’ (ряз.) (СРНГ 1980: 235). Форма рус. *ладкий* является производной от **ladъ* с суффиксом **-ькъ*, и кроме русского есть в сербохорватском: стар. *ладак*, -тка, -тко ‘мягкий, легкий’, что отмечается как «любопытная сербохорватско-русская изоглосса» (ЭССЯ 1987: 12).

В семантическом отношении термин *ладкати / латкати*, производный от общеславянского **ladъ*, безусловно, испытал влияние слов **lada* и *lado*, обозначающих любимого человека, супруга, ср.: сербохорв. *лада* ж. р. ‘жена (своему мужу)’, др.-русск. *лада, лада* ‘ласкательное название супруга, возлюбленного и супруги, возлюбленной’, рус. диал. *лада* ж. р. ‘согласие, любовная сделка’ (ворон.), *лада* м. и ж. р. ‘муж, жена (обычно по отношению друг к другу)’ (фольк., арх., беломор., олон., волог., новг., курск. и др.), *лада*, фольк. ‘муж, супруг’ (волог., влад., костр., яросл.), укр. *лада* об. р., любовное название одного из любящихся или одного из супругов (в поэзии), болг. *лада* ж. р. ‘девушка в свадебном обычае ладуване’ и др. (ЭССЯ 1987: 8–9).

Формально мотивирующим свадебное пение мог быть припев свадебных песен «Ладю, ладо!», ср. в словаре польских говоров при слове *lado*: “O Łado, Łado, družebka z weselem!”, “Rozplećże mi, tatuleńku, Oj, ładoj, ładoj, jeszczе z raz!”, “Łado!” przyśpiew и т.п. (Karłowicz 1903: 60), при том что рассматриваемый термин не был обнаружен в польских говорах.

В похоронной обрядности русин также находим очень древние элементы, например: перекалывание тяжело умирающего на землю; зажигание около покойника свечи; открывание лица перед похоронами; оставление на столе хлеба, после похорон – воды и полотенца; охрана тела и бдение над ним по ночам; «прощание» покойника с домом; вера в дорогу на «тот» свет и некоторые другие. Эти обрядовые действия свидетельствуют о сохранении дохристианских представлений о смерти, о душе и ее путешествии в иной мир: покойник «уходит» не сразу, сначала он находится в доме, возле тела и все видит и слышит, его душа прощается с миром постепенно; на «том» свете и по пути туда он нуждается в том же, чем пользовался при жизни – еде, питье, мытье, свете, а также одежде, деньгах и т. п.

Так, мучительно умирающего (‘умирать’ – *замерать, конать*) перекалывали на пол (Руский Поток). *На землю знали класти – кедь вже доўго са трапил, а не умирав, то на землю, на голу землю [клали], а [голову] на сячену тоту, шо ся сътыла на Великдень, тоту хлібуўка, та на хлібуўку [салфетка, которой закрывали корзинку с освящаемыми кушаньями] са давало. Гварили, же на заголовку дуже са тяжко конать* (Стриговце).

На столе все время, пока покойник в доме, лежит хлеб (Руский Поток). *Хліб є на столі, як умре, положений, вода не, а шо пак с тым хлібом? Суль не. Вода не. На стул положат хліб, а веце нич* (Стриговце). *Йой, на столі є хліб, и чеснок, и суль. Кедь дома є [покойник]* (Улич Криве).

Омьтого покойника сначала клали на доски или на лавку: *На выслони або на дощки* клали (Убля). Потом делали гроб (*лада*), обивали его белым полотном. На лицо умершего клали белый платок (*на тверь давали білий капесник*), который снимали перед похоронами. Если покрывали тело тюлем, то открывали лицо; в других местах, если не открывали голову, то в саване, которым был накрыт покойник, вырезали отверстие для лица – *жебы видів*⁶. Говорили, что глаз у покойного открывается, если кого-то нет дома. По словам информантки, у ее матери глаз открылся, потому что ее сына не было в это время дома. Раньше руки клали вдоль тела, а теперь скрещивают на груди; когда-то хоронили без обуви, только в чулках, а теперь обувают (Стриговце).

Не оставляли мертвого одного в комнате. Около него молились, молодежь играла (*Лопатки*) (Руский Поток).

Клали покойнику в карман мелкие деньги, но «белые», не «желтые» (не медные), считалось, что будто бы «желтые» деньги покойник не видит: *до того мінці до кішені, а білі. Жовті не... Та гварать, же не виді жовті. А теперька уж не дають*. И когда хоронили, в могилу бросали «белые» деньги, чтобы выкупить эту могилу: *А кедь са ховало, то до ямы са металі білі коруны, жебы откупили тую яму*. Теперь священники не разрешают это делать (Стриговце). *Еште знали пенези даколи давати, до ямы* (Руский Поток). «Белые» деньги соотносятся с древним белым трауром, белым цветом «того» света или потустороннего мира (см. Толстой 1995d), ср. также в русской сказке: у лешего, к которому попадает герой, дома «деревенская посуда, хлеб, серебряные деньги» (Елеонская 1994: 49).

При выносе гроба трижды ударяли о порог, обозначая этим последнее прощание умершего: *цез двери, а на дверях, на поругу трикрат наняли ладу а так дуркнули до поруга... же такой як послідня розлучка, а так*. Но теперь поп запрещает это делать. Открывали все двери, хлев, чтобы животные попрощались (или: *жебы са годовала худоба, жебы не пушла за тым мерлым* – Руский Поток), открывали шкафы и сундуки, переворачивали стулья, на которых стоял гроб (Стриговце), *жебы [смерть] не шла до хыж сидити* (Руский Поток). [Гробом] *трикрат до порога бухну... Як с хыжи несли* (Руский Поток). *Три раз тым до порога, ладоў... не бухал... так – же са лучить* (Убля). Надо трижды ударить гробом о каждый порог, через который выносят – *то до поругу, то нормално, три крат на каждый поруг, кулько е поругов. Так бьют три крат, гей. Гварать, же то доты мертвый виетко чуе, шо са робит в хыжи. Же потом вже не [не будет слышать]* (Улич Криве). Это последнее объяснение, связанное с разлучением души и тела (поскольку это душа в теле или около тела видит и слышит все вокруг), имеет соответствие в русской традиции, где мотивировка обрядового стучания гробом о порог выражена эксплицитно и помимо этого есть специальный термин: «Страхом перед оставшейся в мертвом теле душой объясняется обычай «вытряхивать душу», т.е. трясти покойника на пороге, при выносе из хаты, в сенях, в воротах, в поле, при вносе в церковь и при выносе (рус. смолен.) (Толстая 1999а: 164).

⁶ О необходимости умершим зрения и света в загробном, темном мире см. подробнее: Толстой 1995с: 185–205.

Туто дощкы, шо лежал на них, туто так цез окно мечуть, ай смітя, як замете позад мертвого смітя, та дахто через облак мече, а дахто... даколи то было так, же своя родина не замітала, лем даки німий, шо су німи ... таки непотрібної, да того клькали хыжу замітаты, а вун так сміття дакде нєс. А муї умер, да я рано, рьянно я позамітала, тепер ўже не кличу никого, позамітала-м, та й... гварю, де я мам то смітя? Гвари, верз через окно (Улич Криве). Выбрасывание мусора после умершего в окно известно и в восточных частях Украины (Виноградова, Левкиевская 2004: 536).

При прощании во дворе домашние не плакали, а причитали – *заводыли и бісідовали Бог знае шо не. [Причитали?] Дуже. У хыжи, але як вже брали туту труну, вон ішло, же: «Йой» - гоїкали, домашні, тоты блізі (Стриговце). Даколи кедь хлоп умер або жена – хлоп так не йойкали, але жены так йойкали, же чудо. Теперька вже не. [Как это называлось?] Нарєканя, нарека́ли (Нехваль Полянка), нарікання, даколи знали бабы (Улич Криве).*

Верили, что пока человека не похоронят, душа еще в нем или над ним, и все слышит и понимает, только сказать не может. Уходит она уже после похорон: *Я не знаву по кулькох дньох, гварать, же душа... же той чоловік ту. Покьял го не поховавуть до земни, так гварать, же тен чоловік кедь є мертвий, так душа ще в нюм є. А же внімать, же ще вишиткой наоколо внімать. Але уж кедь, незнам, ци в нюм ци над нюм, але же просте тен чоловік внімать. А кедь са поховать в земі, до глыны, так просте уж потом та душа одхадза, а де отхадза... Или: пока поп не придет на похороны, пока не перейдет через порог, человек все слышит: як пуп прийде ховать на ховання, а як вже перекрочить порух, а уж тоды уж не чує. Так хутонили, же поки ... же вун чує вишиткой, поки пуп не прийде ховати (Стриговце).*

Молодых хоронили как жениха и невесту, и обручальные кольца на подушечке несли (Стриговце). *Вишетко так, яко бы са оддавала (Уличске Криве).*

В могилу сначала бросали по горсти земли: *глину знали версти. А ще знали пенези давати – до ямы (Руский Поток).*

Интересна интерпретация похорон некрещеного младенца в с. Стриговце. Мертворожденного ребенка похоронили без попа, на краю кладбища; мать должна была семь лет не есть до св. Яна (Ивана Купалы) ягоды и поливать могилку освященной на Пасху водой, а на седьмой год дать младенцу имя. Как будто покрестила ребенка (Стриговце).

В первую ночь вечером после похорон ставили на стол миску с водой (иногда ведро воды на стул) и клали полотенце – *же душа са иде мыти ще вечер... По словам информантки, когда умер ее дед, полотенце было мокрое, потому что душа умершего приходила омыться (рьянно утерак был мокрый в рано – же душа иде ще са очистит (Руский Поток). В первую полночь на столе ставили тарелку с водой, рядом ручник – чтобы душа умылась. Семья не спит после похорон до полночи. Какой-то специальной поминальной еды не было (Убля). У нас як умре, то са дає танір на стил и ручник. ... Як вже го пуховають, швітять ще му світло, ну а на стил дадуть воду, пенези дадуть, таки дрібни до воды, ай рушник, бо са прыде душа мыти, жебы мала повтерать. Та вода на таньери. Тедь вылить*

вонка (Нехваль Полянка). И муку сыпали, чтобы увидеть следы умершего, когда он придет умываться в ту ночь после похорон: *Ай вода са дає, так вечур ўже так по погрибі са дає вода ай утерак. До лавора алебо до відра. Прийде, са мыє. А ще знали гварти, же муку так доокола того, же буду видити, же ци буду даки тудо стопы, же то ци то та душа пришла са мыти* (Стриговце).

Верили, что смерть члена семьи в целом оказывает неблагоприятное воздействие на оставшихся в живых и все хозяйство. Обычно об этом не рассказывают, но по опыту, говорили информантки, известно, что если был в доме покойник, то что-нибудь дурное да случится: *ци курки пуйдуть* [подохнут], *ци мачка, ци пес* (Убля).

Присутствие умершего ощущается целый год. До сих пор соблюдается запрет белить в доме в течение года после смерти кого-либо из членов семьи: *так знали же рук не білты. Не знав чом. А кедь дахто хотів же білити, та лишили один такий, трошку в розі же небіленой, але чом... То рук треба было жебы не білити* (Улич Криве). *За рік се не білять хыжу. Но то зато же умер з хыжи* (Нехваль Полянка). Запрет на беление соблюдался во всех славянских традициях ради того, чтобы не замазать глаза покойникам, т. е. чтобы они не ослепли, а при необходимости побелки оставляли недобеленным угол (Терновская 1995: 149).

К числу архаических похоронных обычаев, сохранившихся у русин Восточной Словакии, а также в западно-украинской традиции (см. Левкиевская 1999) принадлежат игры при покойнике. Обычай бдения над умершим известен многим индоевропейским народам, «причем, например, и хорватские «кармине» и немецкие Totenwache также сопровождалась играми, шутками и забавами» (Гусев 1974: 54). О языческих обрядах, связанных с танцами, пением и угощением при покойнике упоминает Ченек Зибрт, приводя в доказательство церковные запреты на их исполнение начиная с VIII в.: «запрещается над мертвыми петь дьявольские песни, вытворять шутки и танцевать», требовалось, чтобы «покойник был погребен серьезно, с уважением, с боязнью; никому не позволялось петь песни дьявольские, исполнять игры и танцы, которые выдумали язычники по наущению сатаны» (Zibrt 1895: 11–12). Приводил Ч. Зибрт и свидетельство арабского писателя XI в. Аль-Бакри (правда, заимствованное им у других авторов) о том, что славяне «радуются и веселятся при сжигании умершего и утверждают, что их радость и их веселость [происходит] от того, что его [покойника] господь жалился над ним» (цит. по: Куник, Розен 1878: 55). Обычай справлять тризну в память об умершем держались еще долго после принятия христианства, в том числе у чехов, судя по повторению запретов на игриша в XI и XII вв. (Zibrt 1895: 12–13).

Среди украинских игр «при мерци» наиболее архаичны те, где сам покойник оказывался объектом различных забав и шуток – когда покойника дергали, сажали, выносили, прятали, ложились на его место и т.п. По мнению Виктора Евгеньевича Гусева, в этом «наиболее непосредственно выражалось представление о причастности умершего к деяниям живых: он как бы продолжал веселиться со всеми и «шутя» переселялся из одного мира в другой». Но «уже в закарпатских похоронных играх к XIX—началу XX в. смех и шутки перестали выполнять древнейшую ритуальную функцию и в сознании самих исполнителей, по наблюдениям З. Кузели и

П. Г. Богатырева, воспринимались как увеселение присутствующих при покойнике, как собственно комическое представление» (Гусев 1974: 54–55).

Описанию игр при покойнике, называемых *лопаткування*, *лопатки* конкретно в регионе Пряшевщины (Восточная Словакия) посвящена статья Йосифа Вархола (Вархол 1995). Помимо обзора опубликованных сведений об этих играх в Угорской Руси (статьи Анатолия Кралицкого, Владимира Гнатюка, Владимира Шухевича, Юрия Жатковича, Зенона Кузели) в ней приводятся полевые материалы самого автора (34 игры), записанные в 70-80-х годах XX в. в селах Снинщины (в отдельных селах игры тогда еще практиковались), то есть в том самом регионе, где мы побывали спустя почти 30 лет.

Игры при покойнике, записанные Й. Вархолом, различаются тематически (игры с угадыванием ударившего, «парованием», т.е. составлением пар, целованием, борьбой и соревнованием) и практически не изображают собственно покойника (возможно, покойник мог подразумеваться в игре «Суль продавати», или «Суль тягати», см. Вархол 1995: 230), не говоря уже об игровых действиях с самим покойником. Описываются игры с войсковой тематикой, с мотивом подковывания (имеющим эротическую символику, см. Петрухин 2004: 21, Агапкина, Виноградова 2004: 423), помола муки на мельнице (эротическая символика помола аналогична символике подковывания, см. Петрухин 2004а: 221, Седакова 2004: 224), ярмарки и покупки девиц (с яркими матримониальными коннотациями), мотивом моста (символа обрядового перехода – см. Виноградова 2004), колодца (одного из символических каналов перехода на «тот» свет, особенно в сказках – см. Валенцова, Виноградова 1999). Среди архаических персонажей в играх присутствуют «дед», часто пачкавший девушек сажей, и «Смерть» в белой одежде и забеленным мукой лицом.

Специфическими и, видимо, важными элементами игр были битье (также имеющее сексуальные коннотации) скрученным и часто мокрым полотенцем по спине, по заду, а раньше – битье деревянной лопаткой по пяткам или по спине) и целование, причем часто девушки, отказывавшиеся целовать парня, принуждались к этому ударами полотенца. Сильная эротическая составляющая покойничьих игр уже отмечалась исследователями (Гусев 1974: 52, Вархол 1995: 217).

Во время проведения наших полевых исследований информанты помнили об играх при покойнике в общих чертах, но детали и даже некоторые названия игр уже стерлись в памяти. *Грали са, гры коло мертвого* (Улич Криве). *Даколи са и били з рушником, не? шо вечур са світило?* (Нехваль Полянка). *Лопатки, лопаткування. Кедь са люди сходжювали. Молоді са бавили. Єден припасал на задок. Лопаткою.* Надо было угадать, кто ударил. Участвовали и парни, и девушки. Изба была одна, получалось, что и играли около покойника, целую ночь (Улич). *На погрібі даколи, шо я памятаву, як са тому гварило... то ходыли так молоді а такой дашо... Знам же того Шантика, як умер їх нянько ... старый, та зме ходили такі молоді и там са ... ціловали [целовали]... – Такой дашо са робило, таки сранды [шутки], ... сміяли са тутю... а тото кликали на коліна а мав... дівка хлопца поціловаты. Хлопець діўку мав поціловаты, а вже с того сміхи, сранды єной другой, а вже охабили и тутю не робыли, вже роки* (Улич).

Например, играли «В студню»: один сел на стул, а другой сел ему на колени – это значит, что он упал в колодец. А третий шел «упавшего» вытаскивать из колодца, но первый его не пускал. Когда вытянули одного, садился другой. Или еще делали деревянную лопатку, завязывали водящему глаза и били его по ступням. Или били полотенцем – чтобы шел вытаскивать того из колодца: *Єден собі сів на столец, а гварать, же тепер падати до студні буде, а ... теперька другий го ішов як тягати із студні, же вправ до студні, не? Но а ўтяг, а теперька тен сі сів. Другого зесь кликали же падать до студні. Або мали таку деревьяну лопатку, зробили, а тому, шо сидів а завязали очи, а били го по споду, по нозі, а теперь мусів гадати, же кто го бухнув. Бив тым деревьяным, таков лопатков, не? А кідь не, то мали ручник, а завязали такий великий узел, а то кедь ударили ай по плечох...* [Когда играли?] *Тоды як у нас лежал мертвый. А ще са ціловали... кідь не муг ўтягнути, мусив поціловати, так было. А са кусали. Кусали са – не поціловав, та вкусив.* Назвали еще игру «Ярмарок», но подробнее никто из присутствующих не смог вспомнить, как в нее играли. О том, чтобы покойника тянули за руки-за ноги, не помнят. Теперь при покойнике только молятся. Покойник две ночи лежит в доме, около него горят свечи, и сидят до утра, молятся, в карты играют. И закусывают тоже (Стриговце).

Были, были, были, были [игры], з ручником, скрутили ручник, а гварать, же са муст ставлял. *Дівка си мала vybrати паробка, паробок діўку, а потому ціловати, за рядом ціловати.* [Когда целоваться?] *Но кедь дахто ўмер. А кет не ціловал, та ручником били, а ручник скрутили, ще й мокрый, а били са по задку. А знали си дати дашо до задку, жебы не боліло...* Теперь – только семья сходится, уже не играют. А раньше сидели до утра. *Мерлого не мавуть охабляти самого.* [Как это называлось?] *Лопатка* (Руский Поток).

«Лопатками» назывались и игры, и весь вечер и ночь, когда люди сидели около покойника и рассказывали страшные истории, а священник читал над умершим. В Убле вспомнили две игры, «лопатки» и «студню»: *Были-были* [игры], *то так, же «на лопатки», коло мертвого были «лопатки».* – *А то так, же єден сидів, а дахто пришов ... а ту дал голову на коліна... – Гей, сів, та де би голову... – тадь голову, а било са. – Але... и я зажила, бо ня били, ай я другого била, але то мусив ручник скрутити... – Але мусило са обернути, а ручник тот третий скрутив а тя биў по задку... – Не голову, лем сів, тот сидів, а тот собі попросив... – Не-не-не, я сиджю, а ты прийдеши ту, а голову даши ту, а тудо выставиши, а гадать са, а хто ударив, лем. – Я так знаву, же тот сидів... сіў але мусел очи... непозерати, лем мав або завязани, або заперти вочи ... Але мі са види, же на коліна сідало... А по плечох тот бив-бив, но тот мусив ізгаднути, же хто го ўдарив. ... – А кедь не ўгадне, та фурт бїе. Лопатки, а пак ше шо то было? – По плечох били, а ще знали и намочити ручник, а так са скрутити... Мертвый нич, мертвый там лежал. А ще перше са молили, а аж потому молоди могли тудо играти* (Убля).

У других славянских народов – у русских, хорватов, чехов, словаков – подобные игры сохранились лишь в виде календарных или свадебных игр «в покойника» (Гусев 1974: 49, 57). У русских они известны на святки, масленицу, а также на посиделках, когда в избу к девушкам врывалась целая толпа «покойников», при

этом «ряженные держали в руках тугие жгуты, которыми хлестали «пришедших парней из чужих деревень и приезжих девиц» (Гусев 1974: 53). Присутствует в русских святочных играх и насильственное целование «покойника» девушками, т. е. сохраняется «эротический характер прощанья с покойником» (Гусев 1974: 52).

Игры в «покойника» на свадьбе отмечаются у русских в Нижегородской области, где «*рядили упокойника*», то есть разыгрывали шуточные похороны с отпеванием «попом» и оплакиванием, а также в Пензенском уезде. Эротическую игру в покойника (*na mrtveho*) устраивали и в моравском Подлужье (Гура 2012: 541).

Русинские варианты игр при покойнике, как и аналогичные западно-украинские, представляют собой переходный тип от некогда существовавших похоронных игр с покойником – через игры при покойнике – к играм в «покойника» (см. подробнее описания вариантов игр в: Гусев 1974: 55).

Однако и у южных славян сохранились свидетельства об обрядовом веселье в случае смерти родственника, особенно если речь шла о престарелых родителях или новорожденном. Если похороны приходились на воскресенье или праздник, муж и жена – родственники умершего шли в коло танцевать, а вернувшись домой, исполняли песню (Толстой 1995е: 347).

В календарной обрядности среди архаических элементов следует упомянуть ритуал-диалог, исполняемый в рождественский сочельник ради хорошей яйценокости кур: когда подметут пол в доме, идут выбросить мусор на навозную кучу (*на гной*), а возвращаясь, у окна трижды спрашивают хозяйку: *Газдинько, несут са ти курки? – А мати из окна: Несуть, несуть, не переставуть* (Стриговце).

Магии ритуального диалога посвящена отдельная статья Никиты Ильича Толстого, в которой он писал, что славянский ритуальный диалог «можно считать хорошо сохранившимся фрагментом праславянского, восходящего к индоевропейскому прототипу», поскольку «ритуальные тексты в силу своей сакральности значительно устойчивее и консервативнее многих фразеологизмов и им подобных речевых клише, что делает их весьма ценным источником для этногенетических исследований другого типа» (Толстой 2003а: 313).

Еще один предрождественский обряд – угроза не приносящим плоды садовым деревьям: *шли, то тот що стром не родить, зяли сокирку: «А кед не будеш родити, так тя зрубаву»*. [Кто это говорил?] *Но то тот, газда, а кед невродил стром, но вже такий великий, а не родил, гварить: «Мусиш родити, бо кет не, так тя зотну», а так побухал-побухал* (Русский Поток). *Стромы знали кормити. То все я кормила. Но а даколи и вун знал кормити, з соломоу. До каждого строма зме таку... вйазку зробила, дала жебы родили ...* [Куда ее клали?] *но та де, там де є корч... то са кормило, але на Други Сяты вечур, не на Перши, на Водокці*. [Какие деревья «кормили»?] *Но овоцні, яки мали сте посажені дома. А воріх..., кедь не родить довго..., треба зобрати сокиру и гварти, же: «Кедь не будеш родити, так тя зрубаву», а буде родити вже пак други рок. Є то скор же праўда. На тот Други сяты вечер. [Не обвязывали], лем скрутив ту солому... єнну таку вйазку, а пхал за конарь, так лем... Жебы и вни мали, нет? ту вечерю* (Улич Криве).

Более полная форма обряда устрашения плодовых деревьев из того же региона приведена в упомянутой статье Н.И. Толстого: «у пряшевских русин (с. Нижние Чабины Земплинской жупы) в Сочельник (*на Святый вечер*) двое мужчин с топором идут к неплодоносящему дереву. Один из них берет топор в руки и говорит: *Я того строма зрубам* (Я это дерево срублю), а другой на это отвечает: *Дай му покї, вин уже буде родити* (Оставь его пока⁷, оно будет плодоносить). Затем они кнутом бьют дерево, чтобы оно испугалось и стало давать плоды». В другом селе, «Горяны близ Ужгорода, в Сочельник перед ужином хозяин берет солому и вяжет ею деревья, чтобы был богатый урожай фруктов. Плодоносные деревья при этом устрашаются определенным способом. Хозяин берет топор, а хозяйка баницу (род пирога или ватрушки), и они оба становятся у ствола дерева. Хозяин хочет срубить дерево и угрожает ему: *Рубаю тя*, а хозяйка умоляющим голосом ему отвечает: *Не рубай його, не рубай, оно буде родити*. Затем возвращаются в хату, куда приносят елку и зажигают свечи (Толстой 2003а: 353–354).

Этот обряд совпадает по форме и содержанию у всех славян.

Еще одной архаической особенностью рождественского ужина является ритуальное приглашение к столу. В разных славянских традициях приглашение могло относиться к умершим предкам, духам, природным стихиям или животным и являлось формой задабривания, кормления, жертвоприношения (см. Виноградова, Толстая 2009).

В записанном примере приглашение душ умерших заменено приглашением на ужин в сочельник Богородицы и ангелов: ... *Я лем кедь йем была сама, мий дїдо умер, закликала – мала-м двї мачки, псичка, дала-м йїм йїсты, прибїгли з пивници, горї сходами, а дала-м йїм, найїли са, а я са сіла, покклалам вшеткой а гварю: Господи, приды на вечерю, Мамко Исусова, придыте на вечерю, ангелїки вшетки мї придите на вечерю. Знаете шо, першы раз, як ем была сама, та такий ем білий Сяты вечер не мала не раз. Так мї приємно было, так мї добри было, тот Сяты вечер* (Улич Криве).

Много весьма архаических представлений, отражающих единство и взаимосвязь всего живого на земле, содержат поверья о животных и птицах. С их первым появлением весной были связаны гадания о жизни и смерти, о жизненной силе, о замужестве. Если человек услышит первое кукование кукушки сытым и с деньгами в кармане, он весь год проведет в достатке: *Кедь зозуля – кукучка – же кукуать, жебы был сытий, а ше жебы пенези мав в кішени. ... А немывам пенези* [если нет денег], *аспнь жем сытий. ... Зозуля прыходит скоро з ярї, як са розвивать бучки, а уходит – як зерно, ярец* [появляется], *вна са тоди задавить* (Стриговце). Если человек увидит первый раз весной убитую змею, то будет целый год такой же *здохлый*, то есть слабый. Если увидит ящерицу (*ящурку*), будет такой же шустрый, как ящерица (Стриговце). *Но а кей найдете здохлого* [гада первый раз по весне], *так же то недобре* (Улич Криве).

⁷ Скорее всего, «оставь его (в покое)».

Как и у многих других народов, предвещающими смерть считались крики около дома сыча (*квич*, или *квичка*): *Квічка кедь кричит – то не добрі. Кедь коло хыжи прийде. Кричит: «Кві-кві-кві» – то дахто в родині же умре. Єсли закричит у колиби, то знала колиба сгоріти* (Улич Криве).

Нерасчлененные представления о змее, ящерице, саламандре, а также мифологическая (книжного происхождения) связь саламандры с огнем отразились в приговоре, который произносили при первой встрече весной с ящерицей (*гнеда ящурка*): *Ящерочко молода, / Хрань ты мене од гада, / А я тебе буду хранити / Од великого огня*. Под «большим огнем» понимался лесной пожар. К сожалению, других записей о ящерицах нам записать не удалось, но информантка отметила, что есть и другой вид – черная ящерица с желтыми полосками, называемая *сліпи ящур* (Улич). Под этим названием скрывается огненная саламандра, которая, согласно средневековым книжным легендам, не горит в огне и может даже его потушить (см. Белова 2001: 220). Такие представления известны в Закарпатье (*ящур жовтий*, саламандра, не горит в огне), у поляков (она выступает как образ огня), на Балканах (поверье о том, что она не горит в огне) (Гура 1997: 38, 80, 359).

К широко распространенным у славян принадлежат поверья о змее, которая осенью не ушла в землю; она считалась грешной, поскольку укусила человека; ее нельзя было убивать, иначе примешь ее грех на себя (Стриговце). Очень интересно объединение в сознании информантки понятий ночь и зима (воплощенном, кстати, в календарно-суточных аналогиях: зима – это ночь года). Змея, не спрятавшаяся на ночь, так же считалась грешной, как и та, что не «ушла в землю» на зиму: *Знали гварти, не треба, кедь ўже так сонце зайде, же гада не треба забити, бо вун грішний, зато вун не сховаецця до землі, коли сонце гріє, зостає, же вун грішний, я не знав чом. Не треба його бити, бо вон є грішний. Гады ся ховавуть, як вже тепло не є, вже холодно, не? Но а котрий зостане повірх – же он є грішний... Гріх перейде на чоловіка, не знав, ци то праўда* (Улич Криве).

Другое поверье – о том, что первую змею, увиденную весной, надо убить, так же широко распространено у славян, однако мотивировка, известная русинам, не характерна для восточных славян, но встречается у южных и западных: первую встреченную весной змею полагалось убить, приговаривая: *Давай силу назад, давай силу, давай силу! Гада кедь першого увидиши, то треба забити, жебы силу не забрав чоловікові. ... А «давай силу», же забити, жебы я мала силу, не вун бы од мене силу забрав* (Стриговце). *Гварать, же першу [змею], кедь видит, так треба забити бо вна силу бере ...аж першу видите, та треба забити... силу возьме* (Руский Поток). *Та гварать, же кедь першы раз увидить, то треба забити, бо силу от нёго забере. – Но та силу бы маў забраты не гад, а чоловік, шо забіє. Гей, шо забіє першого гада* (Улич Криве).

Почти идентичные поверья зафиксированы у южных славян: если не убьешь змею, которую первую раз видишь весной, она отберет твою силу (боснийские мусульмане р-на Яйце, Езеро), отнимет половину твоей силы (Босния и Герцеговина), возьмет силы с мизинец (Босанска Краина); наоборот, у того, кто убьет ее,

весь год будет спориться работа (Сербия, Грбаль) (Гура 1997: 335)⁸. В районе моравско-словацкого пограничья считают, что тот, кто увидит змею до Юрьева дня (23.IV), должен убить ее, иначе она унесет с собой его счастье и удачу (*ujde so st'astím*) (область Горняцко). Аналогичное поверье встречается и у южных славян: если не отрежешь голову змее, увиденной до этого дня, она «ужалит» твоё счастье и весь год будешь несчастлив (Лиэпа Вина). Тот же, кто убьёт змею до этой даты (дня св. Войцеха, 23.IV), станет, по представлению поляков, таким сильным, что никто не сможет с ним справиться (Живецкий повят, Ляховице) (Гура 1997: 335). Единичность этого поверья у западных славян можно объяснить миграцией в восточную Моравию русинского населения уже в XIX в.

Архаизмы в языке и обрядовой культуре русин далеко не исчерпываются сюжетами, рассмотренными в статье. Русинская традиция действительно является одной из архаических славянских традиций, изучение которых следовало бы продолжать. Продолжать можно и полевые исследования, в результате которых происходит накопление эмпирических данных, поскольку люди все еще много помнят, а энтузиасты из среднего поколения записывают от стариков слова, поверья, песни и другие интересные данные в специальные тетрадки. Продолжать необходимо и систематизацию и осмысление собранного материала с дальнейшим включением его в общеславянские сравнительные и сопоставительные исследования.

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⁸ Вытягивание змей силы, но не у человека, а у солнца, представлено в малопольском поверье: солнце перестало бы светить, если бы змея (гадюка) смотрела на него, потому что своими глазами она способна вытянуть из него всю силу (р-н Тарнобжега и Ниско – Гура 1997: 284).

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ON THE ARCHAIC FEATURES OF THE RUTHENIAN FOLK CULTURE
IN EASTERN SLOVAKIA

MARINA M. VALENTOVA



Due to rather long existence apart from the west-Ukrainian mother ethnos, the Ruthenians formed a specific ethnic group with a specific culture and language. The linguists speak about the preservation of a great amount of archaisms in their dialects. The present study, based on the field materials from Snina region of Eastern Slovakia, shows that it is true also in relation to the traditional culture of the Ruthenians.

In the meteorological magic practices against hail were performed (throwing firing utensils and sharp tools into the yard during hail, firing blessed herbs or a candle, etc.), which were known in nearly all Slavic traditions, as well as in Romania. The specific details (threatening with an axe, waving with a scythe) were even mentioned in the writings of the ancient Roman authors. This fact gives a possibility to think about an Indo-European origin of such Slavic practices. Other ritual activities against hail, as well as the magic of providing rain – based on the connection of the earthly and heavenly waters – have ancient origins.

In the birth rituals, there is a lot of ancient elements, based on the contact and contagious magic of similarity, the beliefs about a child, born “with a caul” (=under a lucky star), magic against the death of a newly born child.

In the wedding rituals, there had been preserved the elements reminding of the stealing of the bride, the defloration of the bride by somebody else but the bridegroom, etc. In the field of lexics, a special term has to be mentioned, *lad-kanka*, *latkan'e*, *ladkane*, *latkati*, which means “ritual song at a wedding” and “singing such songs”. Though the base of the word *lad-* is widely known in all Slavic languages, this concrete term with its special meaning is presented only in Ruthenian and west-Ukrainian dialects. Some related forms are known to Russian and Bulgarian dialects.

In the funeral rituals of the Ruthenians, there are many actions with ancient background: moving of the decedent on the ground in case that he could not die; lighting candles or light by the decedent; wake by the decedent; the belief that his soul will come to wash itself, etc. They are based on the beliefs in life after death, where the decedent will need all the things which he had in his earthly life. That is why the special ritual games by (and earlier – with) the decedent, which had to gladden the decedent, to make him joyous while moving to the “other” world, endured nearly to the end of the 20th century in Ruthenian and western Ukrainian traditions.

In the calendar rites the most archaic rituals include the so-called “ritual dialogue” (when the host and the hostess of the house perform small prosperous dialogues for the fertility of the garden and poultry), then the invitation of the dead souls or saints to the Christmas dinner.

Archaic beliefs, reflecting the unity and connection of everything living on the earth are contained in the beliefs about animals and birds. By their first appearance, their sounds, etc., people told fortunes. A lot of such beliefs are known to Southern Slavs.

These selected examples indicate the necessity of the further study of the archaic Ruthenian tradition and enclosing it into the all-Slavic comparative studies.

Myth in 300 Strokes

Gregor Pobežin, Igor Grdina

This paper aims to explore the phenomenon of the *opera minute* which emerged from the avant-garde experimentalism after WWI; its beginner and one of the foremost masters, the French composer Darius Milhaud put three short, eight-minute operas on stage in 1927. Others soon followed, among them the Slovenian composer Slavko Osterc who composed the *opera-minute* “Medea” in 1932. This paper is the first to transcribe in length the manuscript of Osterc’s “Medea”, comparing it to Euripides’ original. Furthermore, the article aims to establish the fine similarities and distinctions between the approach regular opera took towards myth and that of the avant-garde *opera-minute*.

KEYWORDS: Miniature opera, Darius Milhaud, Slavko Osterc, Medea, myth, avant-garde

INTRODUCTION

While opera took shape in the late 16th century in a coincidental manner – so to speak – as a historical adaptation of the ancient tragedy, its one-minute version, the miniature opera,¹ emerged after WWI from the spirit of the avant-garde experimentalism; the first impulse of its birth came from the desire to shock. Darius Milhaud who first mastered the one-minute opera wrote in his memoirs entitled *Ma vie heureuse*:

“Between 1922 and 1932, Paul Hindemith was organizing concerts of contemporary music, first at Donaueschingen under the patronage of the Prince of Fürstenberg, and then in Baden-Baden under the auspices of the municipal authorities, and finally in 1930 in Berlin. Hindemith was absolutely his own master, and tried out all kinds of musical experiments. In 1927 he asked me to compose an opera, which had to be as short as possible.” (Milhaud 1995: 153)

Milhaud’s solution to Hindemith’s friendly task was an extremely compressed opera; its libretto was provided by the man from the diplomatic “literary island”, Henri Hoppenot (Milhaud 1995: 153) – the contemporary of Alexis Leger, Jean Giraudoux, Paul Morand and

¹ We will favour the French term *l’opera minute* in the following pages.

Paul Claudel. This bears some significance for the outline of the text which aims to tickle the senses of artistically ambitious connoisseurs. The musical experimentalism which projected the moment when it would be accessible to everyone² shook hands with literary elitism.

AN OPERA THAT LASTS ONLY NINE MINUTES...

However, the definitive birth of this new form was another step away: the French master tackled the matter as a unique problem. Milhaud's short opera *L'enlèvement d'Europe* posed a significant problem for the publishing industry which was itself dependent of its stage cousin. Neither had the capacity for this formally non-standard oeuvre. The solution was provided by the director of the Viennese musical publishing company Universal Edition, Emil Hertzka whom Milhaud paid a visit in the spring of 1927 (Milhaud 1995: 153). This esteemed music merchant had immense experience with artistic innovators – and a fine ear for their market value;³ he then told the composer of *L'enlèvement d'Europe*: “What an idea, an opera that only lasts nine minutes! [...] Now, [...] if you would only write me a trilogy ...” (Milhaud, *My Happy Life* 153) With the help of Hoppenot Milhaud responded to the later reiterated enticement (formulated, as it were, in the head of another man) by composing the – *opera minute*! The first three oeuvres of this new genre – *L'enlèvement d'Europe* (op. 94), *L'abandon d'Ariane* (op. 98) and *La délivrance de Thésée* (op. 99) – were first put on stage before a public audience in Baden-Baden Festival immediately after their composing in July 1927 or April 1928, respectively (Milhaud 1995: 263–264; cf. Rostand, Stevens 1951: 26).

The very phenomenon of the *opera minute* reveals that this was an innovation closely related to a tradition whose vestiges are traceable not only in the adherence to the original frame of the opera and the relevant dramaturgical forms (the *L'enlèvement d'Europe* comprises eight scenes (Milhaud 1963b), the *L'abandon d'Ariane* five scenes (Milhaud 1963a) and the *La délivrance de Thésée* six scenes (Milhaud 1994) – all three oeuvres were written for a classical ensemble i.e. soloists, chorus and orchestra) but also in the-matised myths, to which we will pay more attention below.

The miniature opera never sought to forge new relationships between the human voice and the instrumental sound, which was so energetically strived for in the expressionist monodrama, e.g. Schönberg's *Erwartung* (op. 17),⁴ nor it created its own tradition in the

² Experimentalism which flourished after WWI tried to avoid the fate of utopianism, which is why the advocates of this *musique nouvelle* established their own international society and systematically endeavoured to promote their works which would eventually influence the widest taste. However, the time of non-specialized concerts and opera stages which favoured up-to-date productions came to its end – much to the surprise of adherents to the new music who could thereafter stage their oeuvres mainly in the specialized concerts performed by their own societies.

³ Ernst Krenek doubted whether Hertzka really knew music technically; however, he acknowledged his proficiency as a publisher (Krenek 1999: 220–1).

⁴ Anton von Webern particularly pointed out the outstanding feature of this oeuvre composed by Schönberg in 1909 to the text of Elsa Pappenheim, i.e. its brevity. He wrote: “The work lasts approximately one-half hour. What brevity here, even in a theatre work!” (Frisch 1999: 227)

sense of Borges' maxim that artisans create their own predecessors (Žmegač 2003: 220). This is how Milhaud and his librettist Hoppenot saw the whole history of the modern musical theatre and the literary canon of the West in which the classical Greek culture holds a pivotal role; they refused to create their own predecessors. In essence, the *opera minute* was a turn within a well-established paradigm. While the opera sought to affirmatively invoke the (temporally) distant traditions, its one-minute cousin parodied the relationship between the original and the adapted form by causing "short circuits" in the authorship and reception, however, it never lost sight of the live tradition with which it tried to stay in close touch. The way it caused these "short circuits" never left the form epitomised in the motto *Épater la bourgeoisie!* which was so well established by the time the miniature opera saw the light of day; it certainly served well the motley crew of decadents, new romantics, naturalists and the advocates of the revolutionary art in the social Darwinist struggle for the spotlight "in the fair" (if we may invoke the term from Romain Rolland's once popular novel *Jean-Christophe*, denoting the meeting point of music traders and consumers).

In relation to the *opera minute* the avant-garde turn (regarding both the ancient classical traditions as well the early modern theatre at the end of the 16th century) affected primarily the relationship with the mythical matter and its reception. It radically shifted the idea as to what can and cannot be done with classical traditions: the criterion of decency ceased to exist. Still, the avant-garde turn wasn't total in this respect: it didn't erase the very edges of permissible. No stranger to parody, irony does indeed demolish myth by degrading it, while holding on to it as a background referential point – it does not proceed in the direction of its annihilation, quite the opposite, it requires recipient's good knowledge.

Deeply influenced by Milhaud, Slavko Osterc wrote three miniature operas himself;⁵ in the first presentation of this new artistic form in Ljubljana in 1932 he emphasised:

"The essence of the *opera minute* is the scantiness of text. [...] The principle of the orchestra is mainly transparent instrumentation, there are no longer passages for singers nor the chorus. In Milhaud's "Europe Taken" a singer interrupts his partner in the middle of a story by uttering the words: 'Don't! I know this already.' The words entail the audience's knowledge about the Greek mythology and history." (Osterc 1932: 4)

It is also worth pointing out that avant-garde *opera minute* wasn't the first to treat myth in such a fashion; the 19th century operetta which saw its peak in the Second Empire approached classical themes in an equally ironizing manner. Jacques Offenbach made little effort to recreate mythical stories but rather mobilised their heroes and *sujets* to allude to the present, often making travesties of them by placing them in contemporary contexts, thus testing the reach of their instructiveness within *le genre primitif et gai* (Kracauer 1994: 159). He quite similarly approached fairy tales, sagas and legends (Klotz 1997: 152–154), as well as the modern sanctuaries of the belief in the progress and technology – such as

⁵ Slavko Osterc's miniature operas have sparked interest before: cf. P. Andrascke 1992 and Kuret 2015.

train stations (Benjamin 2004: 153, 886). Myth (decidedly religious and educational in the Greco-Roman antiquity – which is not to say that it wasn't open for irony) descended to the non-holy ground of ubiquitous fun for everyone. The novelty of the *opera minute* was that it transported this innovation from the well-established (and rather industrialized) art form into the elite circles which expressed interest in this “new music”.

It is quite meaningful that no turn occurred in the attitude towards operetta whose use of myth the miniature opera obviously tried to evade, but could not deny it completely. Operetta was very much alive after WWI, not only reception wise but also in the creational respect, particularly in *Mittleeuropa*. Its shift from comedy satire towards sentimentalism did not occur entirely due to the “ageing” of the “young Vienna” but primarily due to its completely altered referential frame after the cruelties that came to pass between 1914 and 1918; operetta came to be much more like a canonized romantic opera in a process marked by democratization and other expressions of the revitalized bourgeois epoch. This shift was epitomized by the premiere of Lehár's *Giuditte* in the Vienna State Opera on January 20th 1934 (Endler 1998: 236–239; Traubner 1989: 262). Modernist avant-gardists obviously did not want to acknowledge operetta since they showed no interest in it – not even by opposing it,⁶ deeming it a genre that lost its flare – and, consequently, its independence; it died away when the environment “stopped being operetta-like”.⁷ *Opera minute* established a parodying attitude towards operetta in a completely indirect manner; it evoked operetta and its traditions only from the moment when it transcended its original forms with dramatic sentiments, thus obliterating its genre specifics. Operetta was actually quite close to the “Boulevard Mozart” Offenbach – however, it never strived for such referential value.

MILHAUD AND OSTERC

The fate of Milhaud's invention of the miniature opera was that of a typical avant-garde innovation: creators' focus on the never-before-seen or heard prevented this new form to become a mainstream tradition. The advocates of the “new music” busied themselves with the endeavour to forge their own solutions for the separation from the old traditions, while the more conservative composers expressed their scepticism over its emphasised modernism. Much later – when the waves of modernism had already subsided – *opera minute* became one of those art forms worth looking into from a perspective other than Milhaud's; the 2014 Zagreb Music Biennale Zagreb tender in the section of five-minute opera attracted a plethora of very diverse composers ten of whom made it to the finals.⁸

⁶ Ernst Krenek was one of those avant-gardists who exhibited interest in operetta – however, his creative attempt at operetta ended less than well. He tried to maintain his innovative trait in this stage genre the same way he did in his greatest opera hit *Jonny spielt auf* – by introducing elements of jazz into the musical body (Krenek 1999: 585–598).

⁷ Siegfried Kracauer wrote: “Die Operette konnte entstehen, weil die Gesellschaft, in der sie entstand, operettenhaft war.” (Willms 1988: 388) This is also quite true of the decline of operetta.

⁸ Information available at the webpage of the Music Biennale Zagreb: http://www.mbz.hr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1&lang=en (last consulted: January 8th 2016).

Immediately after Milhaud had produced the three mythically inspired one-act pieces, the *opera minute* inspired similar works. The Slovenian composer Slavko Osterc (1895–1941) created his own miniature trilogy as early as 1930. Having completed his studies in the Prague conservatory (1925–1927) he became one of the most fervent advocates of the “new music” in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (or Yugoslavia); he was a member of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) whose festivals in Florence (1934), Prague (1936), London (1938) and Warsaw (1939) featured his works too (Rijavec 1979: 198–199).

Having returned from Prague, Osterc became acquainted with the avant-garde explorations – one of his teachers was, importantly, Alois Hába – and continued to spread the “new music” which he felt to be an apostle’s task. He distanced himself even from his own early endeavours (which were close to the romantic tradition) despite the fact that he had written after WWI a series of solos, a piece for a string quartet, a symphony, a ballet, and three operas (Rijavec 1979: 207). His next five works – three of which were miniature operas – were an expression of his advocacy for the asceticism of the “new reality” and “objective melodic”; in the situation of his time this was seen as a sign of “extreme leftism”. His music was supposed to tie the ear to the mind instead of the heart, relinquishing all effects stirring the emotions of the crowd (Anonymous 1932: 1–2).

Osterc, a regular guest of the stage of the Ljubljana National Theatre, felt obliged to present an art form which would stir the audience; upon the premiere of his two *opera minutes* (accompanied by the premiere of his ballet pantomime *The Masque of the Red Death*) he wrote about his works committed to this art form:

“They came as a sort of a reaction to the immensely lengthy romantic operas, but also as a practical consequence of the modern stage outline which allows for quick scenery rearrangement, which means shorter breaks after each *opera minute*. [...] Darius Milhaud was the first to have composed these *opera-minutes*; piano excerpts of his three *opera minutes* were published in the edition Universal. [...] They were all performed in Germany. [...] Longer one-act pieces were later also treated as *opera minutes*, e.g. Hindemith’s sketch ‘There and Back Again’ and even Toch’s opera ‘The Princess and the Pea’ which lasts 45 minutes.” (Osterc 1932: 2–3)

Osterc came up with virtually the same “genealogy” of the miniature opera as Milhaud (Milhaud 1995: 153) – which means that he was completely up to date with what was happening in the community of the avant-garde composers after his schooling in Prague, which can also be recognized from his correspondence (Cvetko 1988). Meaningfully enough, his history of the *opera minute* lacks any mention of his own half-hour sketch entitled *From the Opéra comique* (Slov. *Iz komične opere*) which was premiered November 9th 1928 in Ljubljana; this piece which played upon the form of the *opéra comique* lasted some 30 minutes.

THE SHORTEST MEDEA

The audience that came to the premiere of his two *opera minutes*, i.e. the *Medea* and *Dandin in Purgatory* (Slov. *Dandin v vicah*) in 1932, was carefully prepared by Osterc for the artistic novelty – he wrote about this new form especially for this purpose. Without this sort of heads-up, the composer might have easily been completely and undeservedly misunderstood, even though he composed for an environment where opera had no profound tradition.⁹ Osterc wrote at the occasion:

“The *opera minute* is not about the characterization of the protagonists nor the characterization of the situation; it is rather about the fastest possible display of events which pass as quickly as if the protagonists spoke in prose. However, this does not exclude the possibility of a reiterated sentence or a word should this affect the display of events. Clearly, there are little protagonists in the *opera minute*. Milhaud even prescribed a reduced chorus of no more than 6 or 8 singers – and even the four-voice polyphony is reduced to two or three voices. Chorus is therefore fittingly discreet which is less than ordinary in large operas. The *opera minute* is, for its sheer brevity, such that it has to limit romantic effects and completely negate the pathetic ones. According to its discreetness and length it should be deemed suitable more for chamber theatres than large institutions.” (Osterc 1932)

Osterc indeed left out his part in the history of *opera minute*, as we have shown above (this shows that that he perceived his own sketch from 1928 in which he followed the opus of Henri Murger as an independent response to the challenge of the late-romantic musical drama¹⁰); he later recognized his debt to Milhaud, yet his chosen art form which Milhaud invented was not entirely copied. The Slovene composer indeed saw the brevity and textual scarceness as two definitive characteristics of the miniature opera, but not also its irony, even though he noticed it and commented upon it in his analysis of Milhaud’s *L’enlèvement d’Europe*, as we have shown above. For Osterc the essential thing in *opera minute* was its opposition to the lengthy late-romantic musical drama.

This is very much evident in his approach to myth in his *Medea*, a highly compressed version of Euripides’ tragedy which did not want to distance itself from the original by means of parody or travesty. It maintained the same degree of respect for the classical tradition as Josip Stritar’s long monologue poem (some 100 verses) about the princess from Colchis (Stritar 1953: 367–370). Osterc was literature-savvy, so he wrote his own libretto; no stranger to satire, Osterc purposefully abstained from irony in *Medea* – but it is quite meaningful that Milhaud, too, couldn’t manage the same kind of distance for

⁹ The first opera composed to a Slovene text took shape in the late 18th century, whereas professional ensembles have performed on stage in Slovene since 1892.

¹⁰ Osterc received good critics for his *From the Opéra comique* from the much revered critic Anton Lajovic, deemed the greatest musical authority among the Slovenes in 1930 (Lajovic 1929).

this theme (so intimate in its core) as he did in his approach to myth in his *opera-minutes*. His one-act piece *Médée* (op. 191) from 1938 (Milhaud 1995: 266), whose libretto based on Euripides, Seneca and Corneille was written by his wife (Milhaud 1995: 193; cf. Nichols 1996), is very close to the ancient mythological version in its tragic capacity. Only the composer's typical musical talk maintains contact with his approach to mythical material from when he planned his *opera minutes*; however, even though *Medea* lasts about an hour, it is very close to the discipline his of brevity in the *opera minutes* (Lang, Frankenstein 1963: 515).

The libretto for Osterc's *Medea* deserves to be fully expanded here;¹¹ even though textual economy is, as we have noted above, of utmost importance for the effectiveness of the *opera-minute*, there are several instances of reiterated text – which is entirely in sync with what Osterc wrote in the 1932 playbill quoted *in extenso* above: "... this does not exclude the possibility of a reiterated sentence or a word, should this affect the display of events."

Medea:¹² *O, come, blessed Death! I cannot bear my shame anymore! I cannot bear my shame anymore! My unfaithful husband was enchanted by the king's daughter. Why? Why? Why? Why?*

[Kreon comes from the palace in the company of armed guards.]

Kreon: *I decree that Medea abandons the country forthwith. She is a threat to myself and to Jason's bride, my daughter.*

Medea: *Mercy, king! What have I done so terrible that I must leave Corinth? My fate is chasing me that is all.*

[Medea falls to her knees before Kreon.]

Let me at least stay one day so that I may prepare for the journey.

[Kreon thinks.]

Why did I leave my home? Why did I follow a stranger? Why? Why? Why?

Chorus: *Why did you leave your home? Why did you follow a stranger? Thou have been cast away into misery and shame ... o Medea, thou have been cast away.*

[Jason comes from the palace.]

Jason: *You could stay in the country ... I come to offer help – help for you and the children, because the misery and want abroad –*

Medea: *– shut your mouth! But no, it is a good thing that you came, I want to tell you this: I have saved you on the ship Argo, I have slain the dragon that kept the Golden Fleece. I left my home, my father, and in Iolcus I murdered Pelias the king – he was slain by his own blood! All this for you! But you have betrayed me, you have betrayed the children when you married another. I want no charity from your hands!*

¹¹ Osterc's text is only extant in manuscript; the authors made it an effort to transcribe it (his handwriting was quite exquisite); this is, as will be shown below, quite important because it seems the composer had different versions of the ending in mind. The chart numbers 29 pages altogether, but there are two sets of pages 22–23 with alternative plots.

¹² Text translated by authors.

Jason: *Is this how ...*

[Upon the king's signal two boxers appear.]

Kreon: *Right then!*

[Kreon leaves for the palace.]

Medea: *O holy vengeance! I swear upon Hecate! O holy ... o holy ... o holy ...
... o holy ... o holy ...*

Jason: *I leave now.*

Medea: *Yes, go! For too long you have left your bride alone.*

[Enter king Aegeus and his company from the right, all dressed in travelling attire.]

Medea: *Hail Aegeus, son of wise Pandion!*

Chorus: *Hail!*

Medea: *Where from you come?*

Aegeus: *I come from Delphi. I asked the oracle how I might produce offspring
– I have no children. I am on my way to Troezen to king Pittheus. And you?*

Medea: *I am to be banished, cast away by my husband. He married Kreon's daughter.*

Aegeus: *Come live in my land, for you be wise and know your magic potions
– maybe you can teach me how to become a father!*

Medea: *And so it shall happen. I will follow you to Athens – but not before I do what must be done.*

Aegeus: *Farewell, Medea!*

[Aegeus and his entourage leave.]

May Hermes the messenger of gods be at your side and let all your wishes come true!

Medea: *Maid!*

[A servant appears.]

Medea: *Call Jason!*

[The servant nods and leaves.]

Medea: *Careful now!*

Chorus: *Careful now! Careful now! Careful now! Careful now!*

[Jason appears.]

Jason: *You summoned me – I am here.*

Medea: *Forgive, oh Jason, my wretched self! I insulted you with no proper cause. I thought it over and came to realise: you act prudently ...*

[Jason isn't convinced; he summons for children and a servant brings them. Medea lifts them up and kisses them.]

Jason: *This is how a wise woman acts! [to children] I made arrangements for you with the help of gods.*

Medea: *Jason! Not for me – I ask you for the children, don't let Kreon banish them! I ask of you to convince the king; I ask your wife ... [to the servants] Quick! Bring the jewellery which I give to Kreon's daughter; the wedding gift!*

[Servants leave and quickly reappear with the jewellery and the clothes.]

Medea: *There is a saying that even the gods can be convinced by gold – and more so than with a thousand good arguments. Let her take this gift from my own hands so that she may be nice to you.*

[Jason and the children leave for the palace.]

Medea: [to herself] *The jewellery is poisonous and so are the clothes! Even he who touches the person wearing them is doomed to die.*

Chorus: *Oh you worthless groom, the king's son in law! Your bride and your father in law are doomed to die – the children will die too. Medea, she is vengeful and jealous – she conceived a sacrilege which is already under way.*

[The nurse brings children from the palace.]

Nurse: *The king's daughter gladly took your gifts!*

Medea: [to children] *Poor me! An exile I must leave for foreign countries – I know not what becomes of you. Should I leave you exposed to my foe's vengeance? No! No! Just for a moment I must forget that I'm a mother; I will do what I decided to do.*

[A messenger arrives.]¹³

Messenger: *Medea, flee! Dead is the king's daughter; dead is Kreon from your poison!*

Medea: *Oh, sweet report!*

Messenger: *What say you?*

Medea: *I wish you described the death of them both. But don't – I know the effects of poison all too well.*

[She leaves for the palace, the messenger follows.]

Chorus: *Alas! Her thirst for vengeance is not yet satisfied. She wants to desecrate her hands with the blood of her own body's fruit – her own body's fruit. Oh the suffering that comes from the vengeful passion of love!*

Soprano:¹⁴ *... the vengeful passion of love ...*

[Jason rushes from the palace in the company of servants.]

Jason: *Where is Medea? I have no wish for vengeance – but I am worried for my children – the king's vengeance might be upon them for their mother's crime.*

Chorus: *The children – gone! The children – gone! You will see what she did to them.*

Jason: *Servants, undo the bolt!*

Chorus: *The children – gone! The children – gone!*

[The gates open. Medea with dead children on a chariot pulled by two winged dragons.]

Medea: *Helios, my father's father, sent this chariot for me – so that I be safe from your vengeance!*

¹³ At this point there seems to be an alternative version which ends with the short line sung by soprano. For the purpose of transcription, we have joined both versions because the sequence makes sense from the contents point of view.

¹⁴ This particular point marks the end of what might be considered the end of the “alternative version”.

Jason: *You wretched woman! Leave my children here so that I may bury them.*
 Medea: *Never! I will bury them myself in the Hera's sacred grove ... Then I will go to Athens where I will live with Aegeus, son of Pandion. But you will die a death that you deserve ...*

[Curtain.]

There seems to be, as we have already mentioned, an alternative ending although this might not be the case; as we have already noted, the document has 29 numbered pages altogether (the composer carefully marked each page), but the text ends on page 25 and page 29 contains almost nothing but scribbles. Interestingly enough there are two sets of pages 22–23; it seems unlikely Osterc made that kind of mistake but we should allow for that possibility since, as already noted, contents-wise it makes sense to merge both sets of pages 22–23. However, another interesting point is that the “alternative ending” introduces a “soprano” at the very end reiterating the line “the vengeful passion of love”. Both “versions” are equally long.

The “alternative version”, if we may call it that, is also the one that contains the most Milhaud-like moment which Osterc wrote about: “in Milhaud’s ‘Europe Taken’ a singer interrupts his partner in the middle of the story by uttering the words: ‘Don’t! I know this already.’ The words entail the audience’s knowledge about the Greek mythology and history.” (Osterc 1932: 4) In his *Medea* there is the finest example of avant-garde respect for myth by omission, presupposing audience’s knowledge; Medea’s words that she “knows the effects of poison all too well” are a fine example of a lengthy original passage (Eur. *Medea*, messenger’s report, v. 1136–1230) substituted for a short, intellectually packed sentence, which only an educated audience could properly absorb.

MYTH DISPLACED?

A primordial tattoo on the back of civilization, myth has been the artistic vantage point for many cultures since the earliest beginnings of their cultural endeavours. Greek tragedy, with all its stylistic conventions, is justifiably deemed to be a document of “contemporary attitudes toward authority in the domestic, military, or civic sphere” (Gregory 2002: 147). Just as myth was a story told from a time other than the present one, Greek tragedy, too, was a world other than the one lived – even in the 5th century BC; however, this very anachronistic distance is exactly what insures the perennial modernity of both tragedy – and myth. The very essence of myth is the distance within which it takes shape (Vernant 1984: 113), i.e. the distance from the explainable *rationale*. Myths revived thus offer a chance to address the Thucydidean ever-present situations (τὰ ἀεὶ παρόντα), so to speak; the opera, on the other hand, was occasionally seen as anachronistic and forcibly traditional due to its “iron repertoire” (Kotnik 2004: 198). It is easy to see why the avant-garde composers Milhaud and Osterc chose mythological matter for their miniature oeuvres.

The Ljubljana Opera dignified Osterc’s affirmative approach to myth by putting its best ensemble together for the 1932 premiere. The role of Jason was played by the tenor

Josip Gostič who made a name for himself in many productions under the legendary conductor Karl Böhm.

Osterc did, however, remain faithful to Milhaud's irony towards ancient traditions in his minute opera *Salome* which hasn't been performed on stage yet: the princess dances her way to getting John the Baptist's head by incessantly annoying Herod who simply wants some peace and quiet for a nap. He grants her wish out of sheer pragmatism. Osterc designed his third *opera-minute*, i.e. *Dandin in Purgatory*, as a comedy inspired by Molière's motif of the punished husband and Hans Sachs' carnival play. During the Ljubljana premiere in 1932 it was performed last, which means that the same sequence was tried as in Puccini's one-act pieces in the *Il trittico*.

It is therefore safe to say that Osterc somewhat broadened Milhaud's idea of the *opera-minute* – regardless the omitted irony; consequently, this new form became possible in the affirmative relationship with the tragic as well. On the other hand Osterc's creative process significantly extended the possibilities for the motifs of the *opera-minute*: from then on even generally known drama themes could provide substance for it – if the librettist and the composer did not use them, they were confined, so to speak, to sketches, anecdotes and general situations due to the sheer brevity of the oeuvre. This is why the *opera-minute* had the capacity for any expression of the tragic or comic genre. Due to the compressed subject matter it generally stayed attached to themes that were deeply rooted in the audience's conscience (there was otherwise no room for a deeper evolving of characters' actions), which is precisely what fortified myth's foundations in the *opera-minute*.

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MIT V 300 TAKTIH

GREGOR POBEŽIN, IGOR GRDINA



Pričujoči članek naslavlja dve temi, in sicer fenomen t.i. *miniturnih oper* Slavka Osterca s poudarkom na primerjavi njegove *Medeje*. Miniaturna opera po Osterčevih besedah ne služi karakterizaciji protagonistov ali karakterizaciji okoliščin, pač pa čim hitrejši izmenjavi prizorov, ki morajo miniti čim hitreje, kakor da bi protagonisti govorili v prozi.

Osterčeve miniaturne opere časovno niso veliko zaostajale za deli francoskega inovatorja Dariusa Milhauda, ki je prve tri miniaturne opere uprizoril leta 1927; Osterc je svojo *Medejo* zložil leta 1932, še istega leta pa jo je ljubljanska Opera uprizorila s svojim najboljšim ansamblom.

Pričujoči članek prinaša transkripcijo Osterčeve *Medeje* in primerjavo z Evripidovo tragiško predlogo. Osterc, dober poznavalec antične tragedije, se je priredbe Evripidove predloge za libreto lotil z veliko mero spoštljivosti do izvirnega besedila – brez ironije, s katero se je denimo lotil *Salome*. Libreto, ki obstaja zgolj v rokopisu, šteje 29 strani, dva kompleta strani 22–23 pa kažeta, da je imel avtor morda v mislih dva različna zaključka.

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В ПОИСКЕ АРХЕТИПА: ОТ АРХЕТИПА МАТЕРИ К АРХЕТИПУ БАБЫ-ЯГИ

— Ирина Гусева, Владимир Иванов, Мария Иванова —

Archetypes express themselves in various forms and sources, but many of them can be traced in folk tales. This article describes the most significant symbols and images that reveal the deepest meaning and significance of the Mother archetype in Russian folk culture.

KEYWORDS: archetype, Russian culture, mother, Baba Yaga

Эта статья, посвящённая анализу архетипа Матери (на примере русских народных сказок), основана на общей методологии исследования знаковых архетипических символов (Иванова, 2017: 126–146) в рамках отдельной культуры.

Мифы, сказки, былины, легенды и т. п. – всё это можно назвать хранителями архетипов культуры, но «как сложноорганизованные феномены, архетипы не сразу поддаются логическому анализу, они «прячутся» за различные метафоры, чтобы наше несовершенное сознание не исказило их сути. Изучая историю, как всемирную, так и нашу личную, мы можем обнаружить некие общие закономерности. И таким образом выделить некоторые архетипы» (Балабаева, 2016: 7). То есть архетипы можно назвать совокупностью наиболее ценного человеческого опыта, в высшей степени глубинного по своей природе (Козлов, 1996: 194).

Смысловая систематизация мифологических архетипов, их генезис и классификация, попытка создания логических моделей последовательных фаз формирования архетипов (Щепановская, 2011: 273), а также разработка методологических стандартов применения архетипического подхода и «символического знания с позиции мифологического мышления как ценностно-смысловой реальности» (Щепановская, 2011: 273), стали темой ряда исследований по философии.

Мифы и сказки, как носители архетипического, являются предметом ряда уже известных исследований (в частности, в работах Дж. Фрэзера (Фрэзер, 2001: 528), Ж. Дюмезиля (Дюмезиль, 1968: 234), В.Н. Топорова (Топоров, 1967: 87–100), И.М. Дьяконова (Дьяконов, 1990: 246; Дьяконов, 1994: 382), А.Н. Афанасьева (Афанасьев, 1957), Б.А. Рыбакова (Рыбаков, 1984: 240; Рыбаков, 2004: 448), А. Голана (Голан, 1993: 375)), в частности по сравнительной этнографии (в работах Э. Б. Тайлора

(Тайлор, 1989: 573), Б. Малиновского (Малиновский, 2004: 959), К. Леви-Стросса (Леви Стросс, 1970: 152–164) и др. авторов).

Авторы статьи исследуют мифологические и сказочные образы, описанные в работах Е.М. Мелетинского (Мелетинский, 1994: 159–167; Мелетинский, 2006: 2006; Мелетинский, 1973: 385–394), Ю.С. Степанова и В.Я. Проппа, а также анализируют язык русских народных сказок, основываясь на работах Э. Сепира, А. Вежбицкой и др. Отдельного упоминания заслуживает работа Д.А. Гаврилова, в которой содержится описание особенностей традиционной культуры, а также существующих параллелей между славянскими, германскими и античными воззрениями на основе антропоморфных мифов, исследование в этих культурах архетипов силы, времени, пространства, судьбы и т.п. (Гаврилов, 2006: 272).

Существующие на сегодняшний день методы исследования архетипов можно условно разделить на несколько групп: генетический метод (в задачи которого входит изучение происхождения архетипических образов и символов культуры); историко-ретроспективный метод (исследующий развитие архетипических образов и символов во времени); филологический (основанный на исследование первоначального значения знаков и символов, выражающих значимые архетипы культуры) и философский (предполагающий синтез вышеназванных подходов). Выделяют также герменевтический метод, структурный анализ, сравнительно-типологический подход и др. Мы придерживаемся в первую очередь философского подхода, отмечая при этом исключительную важность исследования языка. В частности, изучение происхождения слов как объектов социокультурного мира, их этимологическое родство, даёт возможность для более глубинного понимания исконных образов слов, которые сегодня зачастую употребляются больше формально. Архетипическими по своей природе являются сами корни праязыков, ставшие фундаментом для современных словесных формул, «давшие жизнь целым ветвям понятий» (Иллич-Свитыч, 1971: 84). Язык, как и универсальные образы и сюжеты мифологии, может приблизить нас к пониманию архетипов культуры.

Согласно К.Г. Юнгу, архетипы лежат в основании значимых общечеловеческих символов, мифов, сказок, фантазий и пр. При этом именно в сказках наиболее полно отражаются архетипы отдельных народов, как описательные модели общечеловеческого развития, но в контексте отдельной культуры. С позиций аналитической психологии главное назначение сказки – символическое описание архетипического процесса достижения личностной целостности, тех этапов и трудностей, которые ожидают на этом пути представителя той или иной культуры. Поэтому герои и сюжет сказки отражают процесс внутренней трансформации, а также необходимые ритуалы и инициации, которые этой трансформации сопутствуют: «принц (герой) – сознание – ищет героиню – аниму, женское начало – и в процесс вовлечены его собственная мудрость (лесной старичок-советчик), слепая агрессия (дракон)» (Солнцева, Бобурова, 2009: 77–78) и так далее.

Сказочные символы имеют важное значение не только для исследования национального духа определенного народа, но и для понимания механизмов психологического разрешения кризисных ситуаций, принятых в той или иной культуре.

«Анализируя сказку, очень близко подходим к разоблачению таких понятий, как судьба, карма, рок и т.д. Облекаясь в форму игры воображения, сказка способна проникнуть очень глубоко и отразить, якобы в вымышленных образах и персонажах, самые тайные пружины психики попавшего в затруднение человека» (Козлов, 2010). При этом сказка не только описывает глубинный опыт переживания эмоционально значимых для этноса и её представителей сюжетов, но и осуществляет социальную обучающую функцию, позволяющую распознавать «правильное и осуждаемое» поведение (образы сказки словно «включают» глубинные механизмы бессознательного при помощи подчас непривычных для нас архетипических элементов).

Процесс трансформации главного героя сказки можно назвать «историей о его взрослении», эволюцией или переходом индивидуального сознания от низших к высшим формам, что очень хорошо описывается в психоаналитике через процесс индивидуации. При этом сказка символически отражает не «повзреление» вообще, а одну из его стадий, на которой уже сформировавшееся сознание (в образе главного героя) готово встретиться со своей подсознательной основой (сюжетом сказки) для того, чтобы обрести доступ к своим более глубинным ресурсам и знаниям (вознаграждение, которое герой получает в конце повествования) (Юнг, 1991: 86).

Сказку можно рассматривать как уникальное культурное явление, содержащее в себе описание личностной трансформации, доступной для любого представителя определенной культуры. Именно поэтому исследователи обнаруживают связь сказочных сюжетов с обрядовой и ритуальной деятельностью, сопровождавшей жизненные циклы наших предков. Поэтому сказочные мотивы не могут утратить своей привлекательности и актуальности, тем более, что зачастую они сохраняют в себе отражение первичных архетипов культуры (Зинкевич-Евстигнеева, 2012: 220) и не потому ли они остаются ценными и эмоционально близкими уже многим десяткам поколений людей определённой культуры.

Вместе с тем некоторые учёные настаивают на определении сказки как всего лишь вымысла (И.С. Аксаков (Аксаков, 2008), А.Н. Афанасьев (Афанасьев, 2013) и др.). Но это утверждение подверглось критике со стороны, например, В.П. Аникина (Аникин, 1977), Н.А. Добролюбова (Добролюбов, 1975) и других исследователей, которые считают, что сам факт веры народа в описанные в сказках события уже является доказательством их глубины и силы влияния на сознание людей. «Было время, когда в истину сказочных повествований верили так же непоколебимо, как мы верим сегодня историко-документальному рассказу или очерку» (Аникин, 1984: 21).

При этом, как тонко подмечает профессор В.В. Козлов, «в универсальности содержания сказок (применимости для любого и каждого) – мудрость сказки. Но не конкретная мудрость, которой не существует, а мудрость метафоры: “сказка – ложь, да в ней намек...”. Мудрость, привлекательность, можно сказать, сила сказки в ее метафоричности. А использование метафор является одним из основных средств психоанализа. Поэтому сказку используют как архетипическую метафору, в целях психодиагностики (проективная диагностика, описывающая целостную картину личности, ее проблемные и ресурсные элементы), психокоррекции (развитие креативности личности как расширение спектра альтернативных решений), психотерапии

и психологического консультирования (исцеление с помощью сказки)» (Козлов, 2010). Более того, сказочные образы легко запоминаются, превращаются сознанием в удобные культурные маркеры и впоследствии могут служить для представителей одной культуры обозначением определённых тем. Возникает своего рода «индивидуальная мифология» (Соколов, 2001).

Исследуя конкретные образы и символы русских народных сказок, отметим, что анализу каждого из них (будь то волшебные предметы, помощники или сами сказочные герои) посвящено немало работ. Как уже отмечалось, многое из того, что считается в сказках вымыслом, «волшебными явлениями», находит отражение в реальных обрядах и обычаях народа. Например, о том, что происхождение мотивов волшебных сказок объясняется их обрядовостью, писал и В.Я. Пропп (Пропп, 1986: 23), доказавший ритуальное и обрядовое происхождение описанных в сказках «волшебных действий», «волшебных слов», предметов, обладающих сверхъестественными свойствами, «излечений чудесным способом», способности живых существ превращаться в волшебные предметы и т.п.

Следует отметить, что В.Я. Пропп осуществил одно из самых масштабных исследований русских сказок и в своей известной монографии «Морфология сказки» (Пропп, 2001: 144) исследовал сказку с позиций структурного анализа. Можно вполне определённо утверждать, что выводы В.Я. Проппа на несколько десятилетий предвосхитили идеи Леви-Стросса о структурном анализе мифа. Так, В.Я. Пропп приходит к пониманию того, что, несмотря на разнообразие и представленное множество сказочных персонажей, «на сложность фабулических интриг, заговоров и вообще динамики сказочного действия, во всех сказках неизменно возникают одни и те же повторяющиеся функции» (Пропп, 2000). Функции сказки у В.Я. Проппа – это ключевой концепт, включающий в себя типы действий, совершаемых сказочными героями, определяемые критерием их значимости для развития событий в сказке, например, «и фея, наряжающая Золушку на бал, и мертвец, который дарит Ивану меч, - выполняют одну и ту же функцию Дарителя» (Пропп, 2001).

В.Я. Пропп проанализировал более ста русских сказок, на основании чего выделил и описал наиболее часто повторяющийся набор ролей действующих лиц: царевна, отправитель, герой, ложный герой, антагонист, даритель, помощник (Бобурова, 2011: 12–13). При этом функции в сказках (согласно В.Я. Проппу, всего 31 функция) постоянны и устойчивы, они не зависят от имён и персонажей, их выполняющих, здесь важным становится само значение поступка того или иного персонажа, а не его авторство (Пропп, 2001).

Фактически исследования и структурный анализ Проппа, сделанные им выводы закрепляют и расширяют юнгианскую аналитическую концепцию, углубляют понимание архетипической реальности, стоящей за сюжетами и мотивами народных сказок.

Рассмотрим один из архетипов славянской культуры на примере сказок. Так, наиболее значимым архетипом у любого народа считается архетип Матери или материнского начала. К.Г. Юнг обозначил этот архетип как образ «Великой Матери» (Юнг, 1996: 211–249). Типичными формами проявления архетипа Матери в разных культурах являются: богиня, Мать Божья, дева; родоначальница, кормилица,

конкретная мать – героиня, образ которой становится номинальным. Данный архетип мог быть и воплощением некоего поиска рая (Царство Божье, Небесный Иерусалим), в предметном смысле это могли быть церковь, город, земля, море, лес или, например, дерево (как символ Древа Жизни) и т.д.

Стоит отметить бинарность архетипа Матери, которая выражается в образах «любящей или ужасной Матери» (Юнг, 1996: 37–45). «Двуликость» архетипа Матери в русской традиции выражается в противопоставлении матери и мачехи, при этом образ мачехи (символ разрушения), на наш взгляд, в русских сказках представлен более ярко и подробно, в то время как образ матери, если и присутствует, то очень блекло, описан фрагментарно (как правило, мать благословляет героя на опасный путь в начале сказки и этим её роль в сюжете ограничивается).

С другой стороны, такая дихотомия темной и светлой стороны Матери становится колыбелью для роста и развития главного героя сказки. По сути, показывается, что созидание и разрушение – это две стороны одного процесса, который мы видим на примере природы, которая считается как бы тёмной стороной мира, хаотичной и не подвластной человеку. Но она же выступает и как сознательная сила, творящая и благословляющая всё живое.

Однако такая двойственность свойственна не только описанию духовных или надличностных сил, она являет себя в сюжетах древних мифов и сказок, в образе древнегреческой богини подземного мира Персефоны, богини из индийских эпосов Кали, древнеегипетской богини Сехет и т.п.

Сказочные персонажи Матери также имеют большое символическое значение – они, к примеру, более злы или добры, чем земные женщины. Это связано как раз с тем, что в сказках выражает себя не внешняя, а внутренняя реальность, воплощающая глубинные переживания представителей этноса на эту тему.

Хотелось бы отметить, что, согласно аналитической психологии, проявление светлой или тёмной стороны Матери связано с появлением в мифе или сказке архетипа Дитяти (который и есть символическое отражение сказочного главного героя). Ребёнок, как символ индивидуального сознания, становится тем элементом, появление которого приводит архетип Великой Матери в движение, и из первоисточника жизни и благоденствия Мать вдруг перевоплощается в образы хаоса, рока, злой судьбы: это «...дикая природа, колдунья, кровь, смерть; начинается бегство от матери и сопротивление ей» (Мелетинский, 1994: 6). В русских сказочных сюжетах этот мотив выражается образами злой матери, мачехи, ведьмы, колдуньи (Бабы-Яги).

Отметим, что в западных сказках архетип Матери представлен своими, характерными для данной традиции образами: «ужасная мать, ревнивая мачеха, мать, превращающаяся в животных, огненная мать, колдунья-тюремщица, безразличная мать, мать как судьба, природа-мать, трансформирующая мать, великая мать» (Биркхойзер, 2006). Однако образы архетипа Матери в русской культуре имеют свои особенности.

Ведущим мотивом архетипа Матери у русского народа можно назвать образ Богородицы (возможно, поэтому в сказках образ матери также появляется не часто, как образ высшего, духовного начала). Богородица символизирует всеобщее материнство, при этом в русской культуре Мать Божия словно сближается или

полностью сливается с Матерью-сырой землей. По мнению А.Д. Синявского, «... полного отождествления, разумеется, не происходит, поскольку Мать-сыра земля — это всё-таки мир нижний, земной, а Богородица — мир верхний, небесный. Но в этом соседстве какие-то качества Богородицы переносятся и на Мать-сырую землю. В результате языческий в основе образ Матери-сырой земли христианизируется, наполняется чистотой и святостью. Ибо Мать-сыра земля — это тоже наша заступница и кормилица» (Синявский, 2001: 97). Интересно отметить, что в некоторых фольклорных источниках Мать-Земля представляется, наоборот, в образе мачехи, что, в частности, Л.В. Милов связывает с трудностями выживания людей в суровых природных условиях.

Можно сказать, что Божья Мать выступает в качестве символа благословения и защиты всего человечества, а Мать-сыра земля — это символ молитвенного обращения к Творцу с просьбой о преобразовании на земле.

С другой стороны, существует мнение, что архетип Матери необходимо понимать в самой его простой форме, без психологического содержания. Так, Б.А. Рыбаков редуцирует архетип Великой Матери до исключительно натуралистических образов и символов, полагая, что в русской традиции Великая Мать это, прежде всего, «очень древнее земледельческое божество», «матерь урожая», богиня жизненных благ и изобилия (Рыбаков, 1981: 379–392). Согласно Б.А. Рыбакову, архетип Матери тесным образом связан у русских с образом земли и с такими человеческими качествами, как способность к сопереживанию, сочувствию. Ведущими мотивами архетипа становится материнская заботливая любовь (которая противопоставляется, например, безразличию мачехи), безопасность, защита, благословение и незримая поддержка. Недаром в русской традиции благословение матери ставится на одну чашу весов с поддержкой сверхъестественных сил.

На наш взгляд, архетип Матери даже в своей натуралистической форме не ограничивается символом Земли. В более широком смысле он соединён с символами Родины, а также универсальными силами плодородия, красоты, защиты. До Крещения земледелие на Руси соотносилось с Родом и божественными силами как прародителями земли и всего живого (Мудрова, et al, 2010).

Можно заметить, что архетип Матери содержательно наполнен самыми разными смыслами. Основными его мотивами становятся — покровительство, благословение и старшинство.

«Двойное лицо» архетипа Матери в русской культуре ярко проявляется в образе сказочного персонажа — Бабы-Яги, которая рядом исследователей обозначается как герой-антагонист, или персонаж, противостоящий главному герою (Сергеева, 2016). Тем не менее, на наш взгляд, Баба-Яга, хотя формально она и является антагонистом главного героя сказки, фактически всё же является носителем архетипа Мудрости и трансформации.

Сам образ Бабы-Яги отличается многозначностью. С одной стороны, это «уродливая, злая и коварная старуха, обладающая большой колдовской силой» (Степанов, 2004: 855), она питается человечинной, может насыпать порчу и т.п. Всё это олицетворяет тёмную сторону Бабы-Яги. С другой стороны, в Бабе-Яге чётко

просматривается и нечто светлое. По мнению Е.Л. Яковлевой, Баба-Яга – это древняя значимая богиня, но её «сакральное значение несколько раз трансформировалось» (Яковлева, 2014: 839), и потому в сказках не всегда находит отражение указанный аспект. Однако некоторые исследователи убедительно показывают, что в образе русской Бабы-Яги находят отражение древние архаические обряды: обряды инициации (посвящение огнем), обряды захоронения и пр. (Пропп, 1986; Топоров, 1963).

Ряд исследователей проводит параллель между персонажем Бабы-Яги и образами древнеиндийского бога Ямы, древнеримского бога Януса, Ясоном и т.п. (Степанов, 2004: 858–860), что можно соотнести с силами «смерти» и «возрождения», проводником которых выступает Баба-Яга. Помимо связи этого персонажа с миром мёртвых, образ Бабы-Яги является также и символом небесного – как метафоры духовной силы, способствующей герою в трансформации, переходе в иное качество и статус.

Это подчёркивается и косвенными атрибутами Бабы-Яги. Так, её избушка чаще всего стоит в глухом лесу либо на границе с «тридевятым царством» (то есть, на границе между «нашим» миром и тем, куда герою предстоит отправиться). Причём пройти «испытание Бабой-Ягой» означает возможность «пройти дальше», потому что только Баба-Яга может указать верный путь, а всех ложных героев она, наоборот, запутывает, отказывает им в помощи.

Примечательно и то, что Баба-Яга наделена чудесными силами – она способна понимать язык зверей и птиц, различный стихий и волшебных существ, которые при том часто находятся у неё на службе. Баба-Яга может излечивать травами, умеет перемещаться по воздуху в своей ступе, становится невидимой. У неё есть волшебные предметы (скатерть-самобранка, сапоги-скороходы, ковёр-самолет и т.п.). При этом Баба Яга выступает одновременно и хранительницей леса, защищающей его обитателей от всякого рода бед и напастей.

Образ Бабы-Яги достаточно мозаичен и «включает в себя матриархальные, патриархальные, шаманские, амнистические, тотемистические элементы» (Яковлева, 2014: 839).

Е.М. Мелитинский отмечает, что Баба-Яга символически воплощает в себе образ Великой Матери, превращенной в ведьму (Мелитинский, 1994: 7), и поэтому несмотря на то, что она выступает, как правило, в качестве второстепенного персонажа, её функции являются очень важными: например, дарительницы, похитительницы, воительницы (Пропп, 1998).

Выделяют ещё одну её функцию: «Баба-Яга играет по отношению к другим роль воспитателя, организуя прохождение испытаний в условиях рисков и непредсказуемости. Неслучайно Ягу считают вдохновителем великих дел чужой судьбы» (Яковлева, 2014: 841) (недаром, многие герои сказок обращаются к ней ласково – «бабушка», «Ягишна» и т.п.).

Важно и то, каким образом герой сказки обращается к Бабе-Яге. За условно правильное обращение («Поклонилась ей девица низёхонько, рассказала ей все скромнёхонько» (Пёрышко Финиста Ясна Сокола 1978: 13) главный герой получает помощь Бабы-Яги.

Как мы уже отметили, Баба-Яга представляет архетип Мудрости, наделённый атрибутами власти и силы (этот персонаж владеет волшебными предметами, ей повинуются волшебные животные и т.п.). Мудрость реализуется здесь также через её функции (сообщает герою важные сведения, даёт мудрый совет, мобилизует героя на определённые действия, одаривает волшебными предметами или животными) (Сергеева, 2016). Нельзя не отметить и такие качества этого персонажа, как хитрость, скрытую власть, умение одерживать победу «чужими руками» (в частности, когда она косвенно помогает главному герою одолеть своего давнего соперника Кашея) (Карищенко, 2013). Хочется отметить, что нередко и другие героини сказок (Василиса, Елена Премудрая) действуют так же, как и Баба-Яга, – «задают герою трудные задачи, снабжают его волшебными средствами, наказывают ложных героев», но, в отличие от Бабы-Яги, их «авторитаризм оценивается однозначно положительно» (Карищенко, 2013), ибо именно к ним устремлены истинные герои, их они спасают и завоёвывают.

Кроме мудрости, ума и проницательности, Баба-Яга обладает рядом привлекательных для русского народа нравственных качеств. Бабу-Ягу можно по праву считать одним из женских образов – архетипов, совместившим в себе мудрость, покладистость и своенравность, доброту и театральность, интуитивность, смелость, смекалку и пр. Недаром этот образ являлся источником вдохновения для многих русских деятелей искусства: А.С. Пушкина, В.А. Жуковского, А. Толстого, В. Васнецова, П. Чайковского и других. В целом сакральная архетипичность образа Бабы-Яги, на наш взгляд, обладает особым значением для русской ментальности. Добавим даже, что Бабу-Ягу без натяжки можно было бы назвать ярким персонажем литературы эпохи постмодернизма!

Рассуждения об образе Бабы-Яги может быть бесконечным, о нём можно говорить с поэтическим упоением, поскольку он совершенно неоднозначен и многогранен, и это может стать предметом отдельного рассмотрения в наших будущих исследованиях.

Подводя итог, можно сказать, что Баба-Яга – это сложносоставной персонаж, в одной ипостаси – это символ злой силы и смерти, в другой – богиня исцеления, «обладающая жизненной силой» или, буквально, «вливающая жизненную силу» в главного героя сказки (Степанов, 2004: 857). Именно Баба-Яга помогает главному герою пройти испытания и стать личностью в подлинном смысле этого слова. Можно сказать, что Баба-Яга – это Мать, которая притворилась злой и пугающей, чтобы помочь Герою пройти путь взросления и становления. Необходимость инициации Героя и связанный с этим отрыв от всего привычного, знакомого, например, от ласковой и доброй Матушки, сами по себе являются необходимым архетипическим сюжетом или этапом его духовного роста.

Фактически Баба-Яга воспринимается как педагог, помогающий главному герою правильно выполнить стоящую перед ним задачу, а её страшный – на первый взгляд! – облик – это лишь ещё одно испытание для героя, проходя которое, он обретает в лице Бабы-Яги нового союзника. Инициация героя и прохождение им испытаний во многом зависит от того, получится ли у него снискать поддержку

Бабы-Яги. Кроме того, Баба-Яга проверяет нравственные качества и других персонажей сказки, что позволяет и герою и нам отличить ложного героя от подлинного. А не это ли и есть та самая главная задача разделения Добра и Зла, решению которой служит искусство, в нашем случае литература, от глубокой древности до ещё не наступившего будущего?

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IN SEARCH OF THE ARCHETYPE: FROM THE MOTHER ARCHETYPE TO THE ARCHETYPE OF BABA YAGA

IRINA S. GUSEVA, VLADIMIR G. IVANOV, MARIA G. IVANOVA



The archetypes can be distinguished as universal (generic), common to every culture, and these similarities can also be traced in particular national archetypes. The article analyses one of the universal archetypes – the Mother archetype. However, the authors aim to research the basic concepts and characters of this archetype within the Slavic culture. In this case, features of the Mother archetype in Russian culture are revealed mainly in the material of Russian folk tales. The main research value of folk tales is explained by the fact that they contain the first historical “prints” of the archetypal consciousness of our ancestors. Even though the tales were passed through generations orally and therefore were often changed due to the historical and social contexts of the narrators and listeners, the general plot lines, characters, and hero trials have undergone just slight changes (this fact

is confirmed in the article based on the wide array of researches of many Russian linguists and philosophers). Also, for the analysis of the archetypes of the culture, folk tales have become indispensable material, revealing psychological and emotional themes of nations and ethnic groups. Thus, according to Karl Jung, a tale, like a myth, reveals the psychological mechanism of self-development or the way in which a representative of a specific culture passes the initiation on the path of self-development. So, the process of individuation, which is associated generally with emotional crises and requires a transformation of human consciousness from lower to higher levels, is also reflected in a tale as a symbolic passing of the trials and tests by a character.

The Mother archetype has its own unique images in Russian fairy tales and is presented both with its bright and dark sides. If the light side of the mother is reflected in its blessing power, the dark side, in contrast, symbolically prevents the hero in his quests and achievements. Most clearly, the two-faced nature of the Mother archetype manifested in the form of Baba Yaga. The character of Baba Yaga is at once intimidating and attractive. The special charm of Baba Yaga is that she always supports the good and punishes the evil, but she does it with specific, unique methods. Etymologically, the word “Baba Yaga” has affinities with the characters in the folklore of other Indo-European languages – deities of death Yama and Janus. This confirms the link of the image of Baba Yaga with the views of the Slavs on the other world. No wonder Baba Yaga lives on the border of the two kingdoms (“ours” and “far, far away”), she tells the hero the right path, and sends false heroes in the wrong direction. The article points to other features of this character and offers them psychological interpretation and meaning for the individual consciousness of a representative of Russian culture. The image of Baba Yaga was the inspiration for many famous Russian writers, musicians, and poets that proves the deep connection of this character with archetypes of culture.

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Reuse of Ancient Sacred Places in South Ural Region – The Case of Emir Edigey’s Grave

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The processes of the sacralization of archaeological sites in the South Urals are analysed in the context of Emir Edigey’s Grave. The history of the archaeological study of the subject is considered in detail. The works of domestic and foreign authors, electronic publications, and internet video resources are being analysed. Based on personal field research held in May 2015 within the Russian Foundation for Humanities’s grant for “Islam in the South Urals geographical information system”, the chronology of the formation of the sacred space on the territory of historical and cultural heritage is being restored. In conclusion, the modern sacralization processes taking place on the significant site under consideration and throughout the whole South Urals are characterized.

KEYWORDS: archaeological site, sacralization, saint (awliya), holy place, Emir Edigey’s Grave

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological sites are truly organic elements of the natural and cultural landscapes and up to the present day continue to take a vital place in ritual and spiritual practices of the population of the South Ural region. Moreover, the sites as before endowed with various forms of sacralization and belonged to a group of ritual markers. Information about traditions, legends and rituals associated with the objects of the archaeological heritage is fragmented and not systematized. Some of the aspects of sites sacralization process in South Ural region are covered in books, review articles, and abstracts (Aminev, Yamaeva 2009; Garustovich 2013: 141–142; Savelev 2012: 160–161; Tuzbekov, Bahshiev 2013: 99–102; Kupriyanova 2014: 22–29; Yunusova 2015: 106–115; Shnirelman 2015: 53–65), but the question of formation and transformation of this phenomenon, has not become the subject of a separate study.

Meanwhile, there have been increasing archaeological stories in the formation of new sacred spaces and sites on the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan in recent years, although the “archaeological” factor of this phenomenon has not been defined, but is only one of its components. Let us give an example. Near Ilchigulovo village (Miyaki district Republic of Bashkortostan) on the top of the high syrt, there is a well-known medieval necropolis – Ilchigulovo IV (Emir Edigey’s Grave), the stone walls of which have now become the object of worship and the epicentre of the formation of new sacred spaces.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The very first archaeological research near Ilchigulovo village was conducted in the 19th century by the anthropologist Maliev. To the southeast of the village, he studied an abandoned cemetery, which people know as *nogayskoe*. On the burial site, the researcher found several levelled-down burial mounds, some of which were surrounded with stones. According to Maliev's description, there were several Muslim burials sites dating back to the period of the Golden Horde, which had been researched. The author mentions that local Bashkirs prevented further excavations. In 1986 during an archaeological exploration, Garustovich found seven new mounds in the same area, the mounds belonging to various eras, including a necropolis Ilchigulovo IV which residents call as "cemetery of saints" or Edige'y's Grave. The burial consisted of two stone lay outs located in 400-500 meter from each other. Round in shape, the lay outs were of stones. During the thorough study of the significant site, it was found that the border №1 was empty, whereas under border №2 there was a burial of a male warrior with traces of chopped wounds.

The buried man was lying on his back, laid on his right side, in a wooden coffin with his head to the west. The skull was turned to the right side and was lying on the temple. Clothes were absent. The scientist referred the burial to late Turkic-speaking nomads (cumans) and dated it to 14th or 15th centuries (Fig.1-2) (Garustovich 1987: 37–39). The researcher attributes the studied complexes with inventory burials of the Ilchigulovo barrow, which had been previously studied by Maliev. Also, he concludes that the studied fences were built of stones taken from the destroyed mounds of the cemetery and were built not earlier than 19th century which later became "a sacred place" (Garustovich 2013: 142).

An indirect confirmation of the data mentioned above is the storyline of the Bashkir epic "Idukay (Edige'y) and Muradym (Nurraddin)" dated the end of the 14th-beginning the 15th centuries, where the area adjacent to the mountain Narys-Tau is defined as the burial place of the protagonists.

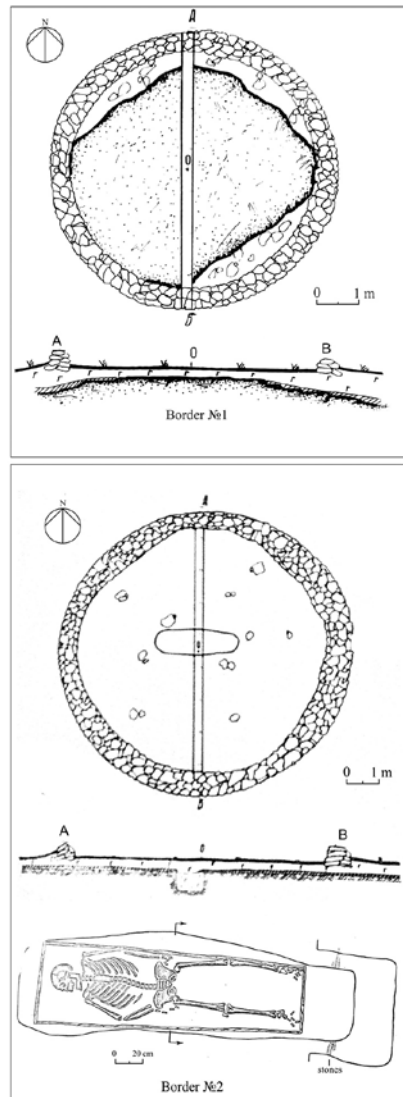


Fig. 1. Borders №1-2 and burial plans of necropolis Ilchigulovo IV (G. Garustovich 1986).

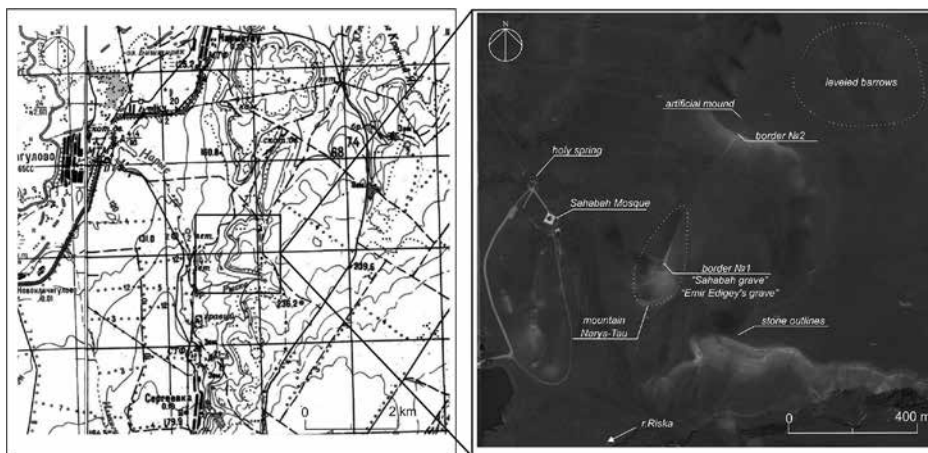


Fig. 2. Necropolis Ilchigulovo IV and new cult objects.

“Ending finally the war
 Sword he wiped, his face washed
 Once again he stayed at those places
 Where the Grave of Idukay (Emir Edigej) and Ynye (Edigej’s son Nurraddin)
 Was located at Mount Narys” (Zaripov 1999: 186)

According to local residents, as well as data contained in Garustovich’s scientific report, a few pilgrims were observed, who would come to the borders and to the “sacred”. In subsequent years, the site was probably losing its importance as, according to his observations, in the survey area the “holy spring” was used for cooling milk (Garustovich 1987: 37). There was no information at all on the likely Sahabah (Companions of the Prophet) burial.

How, then, has the structure of the sacred object changed? Let us try to trace the chronology of the events.

THE MYTH CONSTRUCTION

The beginning of the active search for the graves of the faithful companions of the Prophet in the Volga-Ural region goes back to the last decades of the 20th century. It is associated not only with the growth of religious identity but also with popular and controversial ideas of Khisam ad-Din Ibn Sharaf ud-Din al-Bulgari Muslim and Taj ad-Din Yalsygul al-Bashkurdimn whose works were sharply criticized by non-traditionalists Mardzhani and Fakhretdinov as well as Usmanov. (Usmanov 1972: 134–166).

The next stage is connected with the visit in 2010 of a Sufi delegation from Bashkortostan, when they visited Sheikh of Sufi Order Naqshbandi Muhammad Nazim Adil al-Haqqani al-Qubrusi (residing in Turkish Republic - Northern Cyprus). During the

meeting, he was shown some photographs of alleged Sahabah burial sites within the territory of the Republic. Having examined all the photos, sheikh pointed to mountain *Narys-Tauas* the burial place of the Prophet's Companions (Mehmet Shk 2012).

After the return of the delegation of the Sufis, several articles appeared in some national media about the discovery of Sahabah burial site and an active construction activity started within the cemetery Ilchigulovo IV borders. In 2011, on the ground of border №1, there were build a monument with the names of the two of the Prophet's companions, Zubair ibn Zait and Abdurrahman ibn Zubair, and a dome-shaped structure, whereas on the ground of border №2 there was only a dome-shaped structure (Fig. 3–4). In 2012, at the foot of the mountain, they started to build a mosque, timed to the monument (Fig.2).

Additional impetus and “legitimation” the object received in 2013 after accompanied by representatives of the local religious leaders' visit of Muhammad (Mehmet) Adil Haqqani al-Qubrusi, the son and power recipient of Muhammad Nasim Haqqani. Mehmet Adil's annual tour (2013 2015) of the “holy places” includes such archaeological sites as stone fences of burial Ilchigulovo IV, Hussain Bek and Bendebike mausoleums, among other. It was the day of his visit to the “holy places” when one could watch more than 1000 pilgrims wishing to honour the shrine.

The zealous pilgrims do not limit themselves to visiting “Sahabah grave” and bathing in the “holy spring”. Trying to expand the boundaries of sacred spaces, they include in it more new objects. For example, employees of Institute of Ethnological Studies Ufa Scientific Center, Russian Academy of Sciences during the expedition trip in May 2015 recorded the inclusion into the complex *Narys-Tau*:

1) An artificial mound formed, most likely as a result of construction work - the so-called “Mound” located 40 meters from the fence to the north-east from border №2, which possibly emerged due to the construction works around border № 2 in 2011. Some pilgrims bypass the object for seven times, assuming that “Awliya” is also buried there.

2) Two stone outlines of a rounded shape with a diameter of 0.5 m and 0.7 m composed within 320 meters to the southeast of the border №1 on a cusp-shaped syrt.

Between the stones were detected pieces of thread, material, and crow feathers vertically stuck in the ground. The absence of moss and turf signify that stone throwings appeared relatively recently in the last 5–10 years.

Thus, by this example archaeological site, we can trace one of the models of the formation of contemporary sacred spaces and objects: the design of a completely artificial conceptualization supported by the official Muslim clergy as well as by the authorities at the local level. In this case, this model became the foundation for the promotion of Naqshbandi Sufi Order ideas in the region.



Fig. 3. Border №1 (“Sahaba grave”, “Emir Edigey’s grave”) (photo by A. Tuzbekov, May 2015).



Fig. 4. Border №2 (Awliya Grave) (photo by A. Tuzbekov, May 2015).

CONCLUSION

Today, there are more than hundreds of archaeological sites, in the South Urals exposed to sacralization. Representatives of various religious movements and sects, including prohibited ones, attract their new members using the traditional for Bashkirs worshipping the saints (*awliya*). This explains the significant increase in “places of worship” generated primarily owing to the relief expressing some burial mounds, stone fences, borders, insulated stones, caves, etc. Most of these spontaneous processes occur in the Urals densely inhabited by Bashkirs.

These observations are not unique and virtually similar examples have been recorded in other regions of Russia, CIS countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan), Western Europe, China and others.

This phenomenon, of course, requires further investigation, and the similarity of the processes occurring in the archaeological sites spread all around the world, shows the global crisis of traditional spiritual values, which made people search for new or revive some old religious systems that could provide answers to the challenges of the modern world.

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ПОВТОРНАЯ САКРАЛИЗАЦИЯ ДРЕВНИХ СВЯТЫНЬ НА ЮЖНОМ УРАЛЕ (ПРИМЕР МОГИЛЫ ЭМИРА ЕДИГЕЯ)

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В ходе реализации проекта «Геоинформационная система «Ислам на Южном Урале» исследователями Института этнологических исследований им. Р.Г. Кузеева УФИЦ РАН были изучены и картографированы святыи места, почитаемые населением региона. В ходе детального изучения объектов была выявлена тенденция современной актуализации сакральных представлений о ранее известных памятниках. Отдельные личности или религиозные группы в последние годы через СМИ, интернет или социальные сети начали активно распространять информацию о святых местах, их значении и т.д. Зачастую объекты, воспринимаемые населением в прошлом как места захоронения легендарных личностей, духовенства, правителей, воинов, начали преподноситься современникам как могилы святых людей. Одним из таких объектов является могила Едигея (Ильчигулово IV, курганный могильник). В статье подробно рассматривается история археологического изучения объекта. На основе архивных материалов автор устанавливает датировку памятника и его историко-культурную принадлежность. Используя данные собранные в ходе полевых исследований, анализа печатных СМИ и интернет изданий восстанавливается хронология реформатирования объекта историко-культурного наследия в сакральное пространство. В заключении подводятся итоги исследования, характеризуются современные процессы сакрализации, происходящие как на рассмотренном памятнике, так и на всей территории Южного Урала в целом.

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Танатологические мотивы «Страшной мести» Николая Гоголя в контексте этнокультурных связей украинцев

Константин Рахно

This article deals with the description of the posthumous destiny of the dead in the horror story *A Terrible Vengeance* by Mykola Gogol. It describes the patrimonial cemetery of the sorcerer, where all his ancestors were buried. Their corpses rise from their graves, but the first local dead man, the largest of them, cannot rise, and his movements cause earthquakes. These images can be fully understood only in comparison with Chuvash beliefs about the first buried dead person as the cemetery master and also with Zoroastrian and Ossetian mythological concepts. The Chuvashes and the Iranian-speaking nations, primarily the Ossetians, have parallels to the plot about a father coveting his daughter and killing his grandchild, the soul's wanderings during sleep, and other related motifs. Thus, the folkloric motifs on which the story is constructed help to reveal the ethnocultural connections of the early Ukrainians.

KEYWORDS: Mykola Gogol, thanatological motives, ethnology, literary studies, Ukraine, *A Terrible Vengeance*

Почти все критики единодушны в том, что «Страшная месть» Николая Гоголя, которая в первом издании была дополнена подзаголовком «Старинная быль», – одна из самых сильных и наиболее поэтичных его повестей. Это чрезвычайно сложное и крепко скомпонованное произведение, в причудливо закодированных мифологических структурах которого автор пытается прояснить причины упадка козацкой Украины. В ней устанавливаются основные мифологические оппозиции, которые касаются всех сочинений Гоголя на украинскую тематику, а сам автор проявляет глубокое понимание культуры и истории своего народа (Грабович 1994, 137–140). Давно обращено внимание на то, что «Страшная месть», переключаясь с другими повестями «Вечеров на хуторе близ Диканьки» и «Миргорода», построена на знании Гоголем старины и народного быта (Шенрок 1893, 54–68). Даже те исследователи, кто полагал, что в основе лежат украинские варианты бродячих сюжетов, настаивали, что они обставлены у Гоголя подробностями из украинской народной жизни и поэзии (Петров 1902, 66–67). Верно и исторически точно писатель передавал дух козацкой эпохи (Каманин 1902, 102, 105, 107–108, 114–115, 128). Хотя звучало мнение, что влияние украинских народных сказаний и легенд на фантастическую

тематику «Страшной мести» следует признать малосущественным и почти сплошь недостоверным (Державин 1927, 331), тем не менее, к каждому из мотивов повести можно найти соответствие в украинском фольклоре (Невірова 1909, 41). Исследования украинских фольклорных корней «Страшной мести» продолжаются (Стецюк 2004, 147; Иванов 2006).

Следует обратить внимание, что в «Страшной мести», воздвигнутой, как и большинство произведений великого писателя, на родном ему украинском быте и сказаниях, описывается родовое кладбище колдуна – отца Катерины, на котором встают из могил мертвецы, его деды и прадеды:

«На берегу виднелось кладбище: ветхие кресты толпились в кучку. Ни калина не растёт меж ними, ни трава не зеленеет, только месяц греет их с небесной вышины.

– Слышите ли, хлопцы, крики? Кто-то зовёт нас на помощь! – сказал пан Данило, оборотясь к гребцам своим.

– Мы слышим крики, и кажется, с той стороны, – разом сказали хлопцы, указывая на кладбище. Но всё стихло. Лодка поворотила и стала огибать выдавшийся берег. Вдруг гребцы опустили весла и недвижно уставили очи. Остановился и пан Данило: страх и холод прорезался в козацкие жилы. Крест на могиле зашатался, и тихо поднялся из неё высохший мертвец. Борода до пояса; на пальцах когти длинные, ещё длиннее самых пальцев. Тихо поднял он руки вверх. Лицо всё задрожало у него и покривилось. Страшную муку, видно, терпел он. «Душно мне! душно!» простонал он диким, не человеческим голосом. Голос его, будто нож, царапал сердце, и мертвец вдруг ушел под землю. Зашатался другой крест, и опять вышел мертвец, ещё страшнее, ещё выше прежнего; весь зарос; борода по колена и еще длиннее когти. Еще диче закричал он: «Душно мне!» и ушел под землю. Пошатнулся третий крест, поднялся третий мертвец. Казалось, одни только кости поднялись высоко над землею. Борода по самые пятые; пальцы с длинными когтями вонзились в землю. Страшно протянул он руки вверх, как будто хотел достать месяца, и закричал так, как будто кто-нибудь стал пилить его жёлтые кости ...» (Гоголь 1979, 136–137).

После гибели колдуна мертвецы его терзают:

«Вмиг умер колдун и открыл после смерти очи. Но уже был мертвец, и глядел, как мертвец. Так страшно не глядит ни живой, ни воскресший. Ворочал он по стономам мёртвыми глазами и увидел поднявшихся мертвецов от Киева, и от земли Галичской, и от Карпата, как две капли воды схожих лицом на него.

Бледны, бледны, один другого выше, один другого костистей, стали они вокруг всадника, державшего в руке страшную добычу. Ещё раз засмеялся рыцарь и кинул её в пропасть. И все мертвецы вскочили в пропасть, подхватили мертвеца и вонзили в него свои зубы».

И только самый большой, самый старый мертвец – его предок Петро, который совершил грех братоубийства, – не может встать. Он не может подняться из земли, чтобы грызть своего потомка:

«Еще один всех выше, всех страшнее, хотел подняться из земли; но не мог, не в силах был этого сделать, так велик вырос он в земле; а если бы поднялся, то

опрокинул бы и Карпат, и Седмиградскую и Турецкую землю, немного только подвинулся он, и пошло от того трясение по всей земле. И много попрокидывалось везде хат. И много задавило народу.

Слышится часто по Карпату свист, как будто тысяча мельниц шумит колесами на воде. То, в безвыходной пропасти, которой не видал еще ни один человек, страшный проходится мимо, мертвецы грызут мертвеца. Нередко бывало по всему миру, что земля тряслась от одного конца до другого; то оттого делается, толкуют грамотные люди, что есть где-то, близ моря, гора, из которой выхватывается пламя и текут горящие реки. Но старики, которые живут и в Венгрии, и в Галичской земле, лучше знают это и говорят: что то хочет подняться выросший в земле великий, великий мертвец и трясет землю» (Гоголь 1979, 164–165).

Такие представления о кладбище, на котором всем руководит самый старый предок, присущи и чувашской мифологии, где существует вера в так называемого главу кладбища (çáва пуçё, масар пуçё, çává поç). На эту должность вступает первый похороненный, как правило, почтенный и мудрый, уважаемый всеми старец или пожилой мужчина, которому подчиняются все покойники независимо от ранга. Без его позволения они не могут уходить с кладбища. Правда, в позднейшее время в некоторых местностях пол и возраст первого покойника были неважными. С главой кладбища временами связывалось и самое наступление смерти, дескать, он и забирает жизнь, вставая из могилы к умирающему. Кладбище являлось его землей, у него те, кто «строит дом», то есть роет могилу, выпрашивали место для нового покойника, принося ему в жертву кусок хлеба и комочек сыра, которые отламывали и бросали на месте новой могилы. Иногда жертвовали деньги. Так, в деревне Старые Алгаши Симбирского уезда на действовавшем в начале XX века кладбище спрашивали позволения у некоего Ахмата, похороненного здесь первым. Старосту (масар пуçлăхё) могильщики просили при этом дать уголок земли. В его лице сосредотачивалось всё управление кладбищенским миром. Он должен был принять нового покойника, указать и отвести ему место, научить его порядкам загробного существования и т.д. Поэтому и могильщики не смели без его позволения начать рыть могилу. Только испросив разрешения у главы кладбища, они начинали копать (Трофимов 1993, 146; Трофимов 2003, 55; Салмин 1994, 213; Салмин 2007, 250; Месарош 2000, 46, 201; Комиссаров 1911, 375–376; Комиссаров 2003, 75–76; Денисов 1959, 49). Первый поклон и угощение от посетивших должны были принадлежать ему. Во время поминок с него начинали угощать предков – ему первому приносили в жертву хмельной напиток суру (сáра) и просили разрешения зажечь огонь, играть на скрипке и плясать после водружения нового надгробия в виде столба – юпы (юпа, йопа). Именно установление этого деревянного столба, как и у горцев Гиндукуша, завершало период траура по умершему. По верованиям чувашей, в поминках торжествовало добро: трагедия, как понимали они в древности, невозможна. Во Вселенной всё упорядочено и взаимосвязано, в ней нельзя отделить основное от второстепенного. Но мир, сотворённый участниками поминального обряда, как видим, уничтожается. Это нужно для того, чтобы предки без надобности, преждевременно, без приглашения не могли являться к живым. Промежуток времени от акта сотворения

до акта разрушения предназначался для общения с усопшими. Встреча с ними была необходима живым для того, чтобы соединить, приобщить новопреставленных к миру мёртвых, то есть превратить недавно умерших в предков. При этом следует подчеркнуть, что ими не могли стать дети. И как ни парадоксально, все это считалось осуществлением связей поколений потустороннего мира. В преемственности предков главную роль играли пожилые люди, особенно те, которые пользовались авторитетом при жизни. Но масар (сáва) пусё – глава кладбища – всегда был один и тот же мужчина, законы связей поколений его как бы не касались (Трофимов 1993, 146, 179; Трофимов 2003, 55, 67; Салмин 2007, 280; Салмин 2009, 205; Нейкова 2008, 69; Neykova 2009, 166). Схожие представления о первом покойнике на кладбище как о будущем его старейшине зафиксированы у проживавшей рядом с чувашами мордвы Буинского уезда (Мокшин 2004, 147).

Глава кладбища практически является в позиции властителя, которая проявляется и в старости как мифологической метафоре верховности и власти. Этот прецедент описан в древних иранских и индоарийских текстах – первый царь на земле, который одновременно является первым умершим человеком, становится божеством подземного мира (Бойс 1987, 21; Нейкова 2008, 69; Neykova 2009, 166). И именно в иранском фольклоре прослеживается точная параллель представлению о том, что первый мертвец, лишенный возможности двигаться, обретает космические размеры, и его движения вызывают землетрясения. У осетин Бог, боясь, чтобы первый нарт не разрушил всю землю, постепенно заманивает его в самый центр земли, где огромный массив сковывает его богатырские члены, и первый нарт так и остался навеки в недрах земли. «С тех пор, – говорится в предании, – первый нарт, когда хочет вырваться оттуда, потрясает землю, из-за чего и происходит землетрясение». Это одна из древнейших легенд, которая объясняет явления природы. Однако первый нарт, прежде чем быть скованным землей, успеваеет оставить на ней свое потомство (Туганов 1977, 142).

Петро в повести совершил страшный грех, связанный с ложью и предательством, а в Яште говорится о грехопадении Йимы. Дошедшие зороастрийские тексты не сообщают подробностей этого сюжета. Грех Йимы в разных источниках определяется по-разному: Заратуштра ставит Йиме в вину потребление в пищу мяса рогатого скота (Ясна, XXXII, 8); в Яште (XIX, 33–38) Йима представлен «солгавшим», «взявшим на ум лживое, неистинное слово» и «утратившим Хварно»; согласно Бундахишну (17, 4), он возомнил себя богоравным (Авеста 1993, 158–159; Авеста 1997, 385; Зороастрийские тексты 1997, 289; Рак 1998, 163; Вертиенко 2015, 16).

Наряду с возможными тюркскими соответствиями, этимология чувашского пусё/поё имеет параллель с родственным индоиранским словом *pati* – ‘вождь’, ‘глава’. Несомненный научный интерес представляет и родство между чувашским словом сáва ‘кладбище’ и санскритскими сáva – ‘трупный (запах)’, сáva – ‘труп, останки’, сávuа – ‘похоронный обряд’, сva-bhга – ‘яма; пещера; преисподняя, ад’ (Салмин 2010, 58, 190; Салмин 2016, 522). У чувашей надгробие сáва пусё отличалось своими размерами, оно было выше других и обычно располагалось в центре кладбища. Это единственная юпа, которую живые заменяли новой, если старая завалится

(Трофимов 1993, 146; Трофимов 2003, 55). Очевидно, это намек на его гигантские размеры. Одно из древних кладбищ некрещёных чувашей возле села Сабакаево, расположенное на древнем кургане, называлось Улӓп тӓми 'Холм великана'. Хоронить там перестали давно, но ещё сохранялись деревянные скульптурные изображения, и поминки всё ещё проводились каждой весной и осенью (Трофимов 1993, 152). Дополнительная параллель с повестью Гоголя прослеживается и в том факте, что кладбища некрещёных чувашей, в том числе и средневековые, всегда были расположены на открытой возвышенности у реки (Трофимов 1993, 66, 152; Трофимов 2003, 55; Нейкова 2008, 74; Neykova 2009, 172).

Важно, что и название столпообразного надгробия, и ритуального хмельного напитка, и сыра у чувашей являются индоиранскими по происхождению. Чувашское юпа, йопа 'столб', 'столб, изображающий покойника', юпа мунӓи 'мытьё в бане после поминок', юпа-палли 'грубое деревянное изображение покойника, которое ставят на могилу при похоронах', юпа туни 'отправление поминок (в том числе и православных)', юпа ту 'справлять поминки', юпа тӓратни 'обряд при котором остатки костей после поминального угощения бросают на избранное место', юпа уйӓхӓ 'октябрь'; юпа уйӓх, йопа ойӓх 'ноябрь, месяц поминок' (Ашмарин 1994а, 342–347; Федотов 1996, 488), пока что остаётся в словарях без этимологии, как и мордовское юба 'столб на мольбище' (Мельников 1981, 61). Предложение связать его с бурято-монгольским обоо 'насыпь', 'курган', 'куча', 'груда', обон 'сопка, где совершался религиозный обряд', калмыцким ова 'курган' (Ершов 1964, 369) ничем не обосновано, и скорее можно предположить обратное заимствование из буддийской практики у монголов. Попытки же соотнести это чувашское слово и понятие с ведическими традициями пока неубедительны (Трофимов 2003, 55–56), хотя и вполне правомерны. Ведь можно привлечь данные об индоарийских жертвенных столбах уйра, а́вауйра и подобных (Салмин 1994, 224; Топоров 1974, 65). Весьма характерные детали сообщаются, в частности, в Ригведе (III, 8. 9–10):

«Словно гуси, выстроившиеся рядами,
прибыли к нам (жертвенные) столбы, одетые в светлое.
Поднимаемые перед (огнем) поэтами,
боги вступают на путь богов.
Они выглядят, как рога рогатых (животных),
столбы с навершиями, (стоящие) на земле» (Ригведа 1989, 299, 694).

Эти данные Ригведы могут рассматриваться как довольно точное изображение ритуальных конструкций, широко используемых в шаманских культурах (Топоров 1974, 66). Индоарийское а́вауйра – коновязь, столб, к которому привязывается жертвенная лошадь, упоминается уже в древнейшем описании жертвоприношения коня, в гимнах Ригведы (I 162. 6) (Ригведа 1989, 196, 643). Оно является функциональным эквивалентом мирового дерева. Космический символизм столба, то есть его роль посредствующего, связующего звена, объясняется тем, что к нему привязывалась жертва. Жертвенная лошадь устанавливала связь между двумя космическими зонами

– миром людей и миром богов. Связь жертвы столба особенно наглядно подтверждается этимологией названия столба – уйра, образованного от корня уи- ('привязывать, связывать') при помощи форманта -р-. В дальнейшем символизм столба и жертвы был переосмыслен таким образом, что установление столба стало само по себе ритуалом, воспроизводящим акт сотворения вселенной. *Aśvaūpra* (буквально 'конский столб' или 'конь-столб') полностью соответствует бурятскому ритуальному термину азарга-сэргэ (от азарга 'жеребец' и сэргэ 'столб'; в целом – название березы, вырываемой с корнем из земли; к ней привязывается при жертвоприношении конь) (Огибенин 1968, 17; Иванов 1974, 99–101; Топоров 1974, 69; Дандекар 2002, 142). Водружение юпы у чувашей тоже было сотворением мира, что выражалось в зажигании огня и свечей, исполнении речитативного гимна-молитвы в честь богов и предков, возлияниях, угощении, музыке, пении и танцах (Трофимов 2003, 131). В повести Гоголя недаром упомянуты ветхие кресты. У чувашей упавшие от времени столбы-юпа, равно как и кресты, издревле и по сей день не принято не только заменять и ремонтировать, но и поднимать и устанавливать вновь. Если юпу обновить, то случится вторая смерть. Пожилые обижаются на молодых, пытающихся хотя бы приподнять упавший намогильный деревянный знак. Каменные надгробия воспринимались как оскорбление покойников. Характерно, что ещё в конце XIX – начале XX вв. крещёные чуваша во время обряда юпа изготавливали не столбы, а деревянные кресты, что, естественно, не соответствовало православным канонам (Месарош 2000, 204; Салмин 2007, 280, 285–289; Нейкова 2008, 63; Neykova 2009, 160–161).

Сăра 'пиво', алтан (автан) сăра 'петушиное пиво' - название обряда; ял сăри название 'обряд в честь нового урожая'; сăра-качка 'пиво и связанные с его приготовлением хлопоты'; сăра курки название 'особой раскрашенной деревянной чашки для питья пива'; сăра чўк(ё) название 'моления с пивом' и т.д. (Ашмарин 1994b, 271–273). Финно-угорские формы родственны: марийское сыра, сырă 'пиво, квас', удмуртское *sur, sur* 'пиво', *şed-sur* 'вино' (буквально 'чёрное пиво'), коми *sur* 'пиво', *ma-sur* 'пиво медовое', хантыйское *sar, sǝr* 'пиво домашнего приготовления', мансийское *sǝr* 'пиво', *soġ-vit* 'водка', венгерское *sör* 'пиво'. Относительно мансийского *sǝr* этимологи считают, что оно в мансийский язык попало при посредстве предков удмуртов и коми, то есть в общепермскую эпоху. Все они предполагают связь слова с санскритским *sūgā* – согласно древнеиндийской традиции, грубым опьяняющим напитком, используемым низшей кастой шудр. Его название традиционно считается заимствованием из неизвестного иранского языка, хотя форма слова соответствует индоарийскому источнику – санскритскому *sūgā* 'хмельной напиток (из зёрен)', пали, праkrit *surā* 'алкогольный напиток', маратхи, пахари *sūr* 'то же' при авестийском *hurā* – название алкогольного напитка; молочное вино, кумыс', среднеперсидском *hur*, персидском *shire* 'алкогольный напиток' (Егоров 1964, 183; Федотов 1996, 29–30; Лыткин, Гуляев 1970, 266; Борлукова 1997, 19; Joki 1973, 317; Rédei 1986, 76–77; Baitchura 1982, 58–59; Golden 2006, 19; Misra 2005, 200, 203). Этнологи полагают, что эти факты свидетельствуют в пользу индоиранского происхождения пивоварения и связанных с пивом обычаев у чувашей и финно-угров (Салмин 2010, 78–79; Борлукова 1997, 19–25; Напольских 2015, 57–58).

Сыр в районах теплого и жаркого климата – единственный способ сохранения питательных свойств молока (Салмин 2010, 67). Чувашское *çăкăт* ‘сыр’, ‘сырок’, как и караимское *çăğat*, марийское *çăgət*, венгерское *sajt*, восходят к осетинскому *сухт*, *siğd* ‘сыр’, родственному ваханскому *teyd* ‘острый’, древнеиндийскому *tikta* ‘острый по вкусу’. Это несомненное указание на связь между аланами и предками чувашей. При этом следует учесть оригинальность всей остальной терминологии осетинского молочного хозяйства (Munkaczi 1904, 329; Егоров 1964, 318; Федотов 1996, 400; Абаев 1949, 35, 58; Абаев 1958, 328; Róna-Tas 1986, 200). Языковеды давно показали несостоятельность попыток связать чувашский термин с османским *yoğurt*, якутским *suogat* ‘кислое молоко’ (Gombocz 1912, 113). Этнологи тоже признают индоиранское происхождение этого слова и указывают, что сыр у чувашей часто жертвовали душам предков (Салмин 2010, 67). Хлеб, пиво и сыр выступали в качестве основных жертвенных даров, поскольку они являлись главными продуктами жизнеобеспечения. Включение в состав жертвы сыра само по себе указывает на скотоводческие, степные, то есть в исторической перспективе иранские истоки всего обряда и сопутствующих верований, столь похожих на украинские.

Определённый интерес представляет плата первому покойнику за землю деньгами. Чуваша, укладывая родственника в гроб, в рот клали монету. К этому же семантическому ряду следует отнести эпизод «вкладывания» монеты в вырез намогильного столба, означающий «рот» умершего. Это действие происходило во время нахождения столба на кровати бывшего владельца. Деньги можно было также вложить в руки или карман усопшего при укладывании в гроб (Салмин 2009, 205–206; Салмин 2010, 91–92). Украинцы также бросали в могилу деньги как плату за место на кладбище его хозяину (Чубинский 1877, 710; Иванов 1909, 249–250; Афанасьев 1865, 577; Ящуржинский 1890, 131; Вакарелски 1990, 93–95). Очевидно, представление о последнем у них также является индоиранским наследием. Иранисты предлагают четыре мифологемы с жертвенной монетой: оберег, для приобретения пищи, плата владыке подземного мира, плата за перевоз через воду. «...В обширном регионе расселения иранцев существовало представление о водном потоке, который должна пересечь душа праведного покойника, чтобы попасть в загробный мир. Судя по ряду свидетельств, эти верования существовали и у иранцев Средней Азии. У них было распространено обыкновение помещать вместе с покойником монеты», а у согдийцев «монета вкладывалась в рот покойнику...» (Литвинский, Седов 1984, 159, 161). Объясняя отсутствие в некоторых могилах монеты, археологи отмечают, что давали её не всем, ибо иного мира в таких вариантах можно было бы достичь без пересечения водной преграды (Литвинский, Седов 1984, 150–169). Конечно, это определённое сужение круга возможных причин. Даже в качестве преграды на пути в иной мир, кроме воды, могут быть лес, гора, овраг и т.д., ибо, заблудившись в лесу, например, можно оказаться в ином мире (Салмин 2010, 92). Как показали исследования, поверья, описанные выше, восходят ко времени индоиранской общности. Есть данные, позволяющие предполагать индоевропейское происхождение этого представления. Наиболее устойчивым оно оказалось в погребальном обряде Бактрии – Тохаристана (Салмин 2016, 495). Как видим, украинский и чувашский

материал перекликаются с представленными там культурами. Подобный обычай существовал и у дунайских болгар: деньги клали покойному либо в карман, либо в руку, либо на лоб или в рот, чтобы тот смог откупиться на том свете (Вакарелски 1977, 492).

Описывая место погребения предков колдуна, Гоголь упомянул украинский обычай сажать на кладбище калину. У чувашей тоже был обычай сажать у могилы калину (чёрё палан йывăсӑне) (Одюков 1965, 180–181).

Модуляция между внешним и внутренним источником проклятия козацкой Украины подается у писателя в инцесте; хотя до него дело не доходит, уже само намерение предвещает беду и структурно равно действию. Попытка принадлежит тому, кто одновременно является чужаком и отцом. Ко всем преступлениям колдуна добавляются ещё и противоестественные наклонности. Исследователи отмечают, что такое объяснение могло принадлежать только художнику с исключительной интуицией и глубоким пониманием собственной культуры и истории (Грабович 1994, 137–140). Мотив отца, добывающегося противоестественной любви к себе от дочери, встречается в сказках украинцев и белорусов (Чудаков 1906, 26–27). Но этот же сюжет свойственен и фольклору ираноязычных народов, который перекликается с повестью, в том числе и в моменте убийства сына Катерины. В талышской сказке, умирая, жена велела мужу взять женщину, которой придётся впору её кольцо. Тот человек стал искать, но на чей палец он ни надевал кольца – оно не подходило. Годилось оно только дочери, и отец решил жениться на ней. Та плакала и говорила, что это невозможно. Отец ответил, что тогда убьёт её. Дочь согласилась, но попросила отпустить её в поле. Отец привязал к её ноге верёвку, но дочь отвязала верёвку, убежала и пришла в лес. Отец, потеряв её, вернулся домой. Встретив плотника, она попросила построить ей дом на берегу реки. Приехав напоить лошадь, старший из трёх царевичей сперва заметил в реке женский волос, а потом увидел на берегу девушку, подобной которой не было. Решив женить сыновей, царь велел каждому из них бросить по яблоку. Один бросил яблоко дочери визиря, другой – дочери векиля, а старший – на дорогу. Три раза ему давали яблоко, и три раза он бросал его на дорогу. Царь сыграл свадьбу двух своих сыновей, а старший сын рассердился и ушёл из дому. Десять дней спустя царь забеспокоился, где он, и отправил визиря на поиски. Визирь нашёл царевича на берегу с незнакомой девушкой и рассказал царю. Увидев её, царь одобрил выбор, и они вернулись домой, чтобы сыграть свадьбу. Через год жена родила царевичу сына, один локон которого был золотой, а другой серебряный. Царь его очень полюбил. Но однажды её отец под видом разносчика проник во дворец, отрезал ребёнку голову, а нож положил в карман матери. Когда царь обнаружил внука с перерезанной шеей, гость посоветовал обыскать всех, и у невестки нашли нож. Ей вырезали глаза и дали их в руки. Она взяла тело ребёнка, пошла на берег реки и стала молиться. После этого прилетели три голубя; она приложила по лапке двух первых к глазницам и прозрела, а лапку третьего потёрла о шею сына, шея зажила, и он ожил. Некоторое время она прожила на берегу реки. Когда царевич с визирем и векилем отправились на охоту, она послала сына пригласить их остановиться в её доме. Она приготовила вкусное

кушанье и велела им через сына не рвать цветы, но сама сорвала и положила их под одеяло царевича. Утром велела сыну узнать, кто сорвал цветы, тот обнаружил их у царевича. Потом она с сыном пришла к нему, он узнал жену и увёз к себе домой (Миллер 1930, 90–92). В осетинской сказке рассказывается, как жили-были жена и муж, и была у них единственная дочь. Жена заболела, позвала своего мужа и дала ему свой башмак и напёрсток, завещав ему, когда она умрёт, не жениться ни на ком, кроме той, кому подойдут эти башмак и напёрсток. Жена умерла, муж решил жениться. Носит туда-сюда башмак умершей жены, но башмак никому не годится. Пришёл домой, надел башмак на ногу своей дочери, он оказался ей впору. Вдовец предложил дочери жениться на ней. Дочь удивилась, мол, разве такое бывало когда-нибудь. Носит-носит отец башмак. То одной на ногу оденет, то другой, но башмак никому не годится. В конце концов, он пришёл домой, опять примерил башмак на ногу дочери, башмак подошёл. Опять сказал ей отец, что женится на ней. Тогда дочь ему ответила, что если он не оставляет её в покое, пусть сделает то, что она ему скажет, и она даст согласие. Отец согласился. Дочь сказала построить дом в семь этажей с потайными помещениями, чтобы, если кто-нибудь придёт его убивать, она бы его спрятала. Отец построил хороший дом, посередине установил большую деревянную трубу. Дочь согласилась выйти замуж за отца, и они жили в этом доме. Однажды отец куда-то ушёл, дочь же завернулась в волчью шкуру и залезла на эту трубу. Отец пришёл домой, смотрит по углам дома, а дочери нигде нет. Он обеспокоился, где её искать, разозлился, утопил весь дом в большой реке, оставив одну трубу, затем воротился в своё прежнее бедное жилище. Дочь, завернувшись в волчью шкуру, вылезла из реки волком и побежала в сторону леса. По дороге она встретила одного парня, тот очень обрадовался, что у него будет обученный волк. Привёл он её домой и завёл в комнату из золота. У этого парня было семь сестёр. Они каждый вечер ходили к реке купаться. Девушка тоже отправлялась за ними, но они не пускали её с собой. После нескольких раз юноша сказал, что поведёт волка на берег реки, посмотреть, что тот будет делать. Как только они подошли к берегу реки, девушка сбросила свою волчью шкуру и стала купаться. Юноша схватил волчью шкуру и унёс. Девушка заплакала и попросила вернуть ей шкуру. Юноша отдал ей волчью шкуру, но приведя её домой и запершись с ней в комнате, поставил сёстрам ультиматум, что женится на ней. Сестры подали повозку. Юноша открыл дверь, и девушка вся золотая вышла из комнаты. Они поехали в церковь и повенчались, став мужем и женой. Через некоторое время у них родился золотокудрый мальчик. Родители очень обрадовались ему. Как-то раз к ним попал отец девушки. Они не знали, кто он, и взяли его к себе в батраки. Через несколько дней дед отрезал золотую прядь у мальчика и убил его, а окровавленный нож положил в карман матери. Мать с отцом ужаснулись, что кто-то поднял руку на их мальчика. Они удивлялись, кто мог сделать это. Батрак предложил поискать, у кого в кармане окровавленный нож, тот ведь и сделал это, и отрезать тому руки. Нашли окровавленный нож в кармане у матери и отрезали согласно уговору ей руки. Саму её отнесли в поле и там оставили. Несчастливая женщина причитала в поле, но внезапно около неё появился ангел (заяд) и спросил, что с ней,

кто с ней это сделал. Она рассказала, что был у неё ребенок с золотой прядью, её отец устроился к ним батраком, убил её ребенка и свалил вину на неё. Поэтому с ней так поступили. Ангел ей молвил, что пойдёт и пустит золотой родник, и как только она услышит его звук, то должна пойти и омыть этой водой свои раны и раны своего ребенка, и они оба станут в семь раз лучше, чем были. Женщина согласилась. Ангел ушёл, и в тот же миг начал журчать родник. Женщина побежала, омыла водой раны себе и ребёнку, они стали в семь раз лучше, чем были. Ангел увёл их оттуда и завёл в золотую башню. Велел женщине жить здесь со своим ребенком и никого к себе не пускать. Она долго прожила в этом доме. Как-то раз к ней постучались двое мужчин. Женщина выглянула к ним. Один из них оказался её отец, который убил её мальчика. Она сделала вид, что не узнала его, завела их в дом. Накрыла им стол, напоила отца. Затем гостя завела в свою комнату, а отца отправила спать в сад. А сад был чудесный: там были разные фрукты и цветы, водились змеи, которые могут проглотить человека целиком. И рос там удивительный виноград. Она наказала отцу не трогать виноград, а то отдаст на съедение змеям. Тот заверил, что вообще не ест виноград. Когда он заснул, дочь вымазала нож виноградным соком и положила ему в карман. Утром она вышла и начала считать виноград. Отец сказал, что ничего не срывает. Женщина заявила, что надо поискать нож в виноградном соке. И отец неприятно удивился, когда в его кармане оказался такой нож. Женщина в ответ сказала, что как он не ел этот виноград, так и она не убивала своего ребёнка, но он поступил вероломно, свалив на неё свою вину, из-за чего она подверглась испытаниям. Она отдала мужчине, бывшего её отцом, на съедение змеям. Муж её возвратился к ней, и жили они хорошо (Сокаева 2010, 156–164). Много сказок об отце, возжелавшем жениться на дочери, было известно персам (Персидские сказки 1958, 77–86; Marzolph 1984, 106–107). На собственной дочери постановил жениться царь в язгулямской сказке, не найдя никого достойнее, и дочь совершила побег (Сказки народов Памира 1976, 389–390). Горные таджики в Дарвазе и верховьях Ванджа рассказывали, как царь полез на дерево, поранился о ветки, кровь капнула на снег. Он велел найти ему невесту такую же белую и красную. Старуха сказала, что это его дочь; он стал готовить свадьбу. Брат девушки спрятал её в сундук и спустил по реке. Тот сундук нашёл сын другого царя и взял девушку в жёны (Семенов 1900, 9).

В чувашской сказке, умирая, жена попа даёт ему свой перстень, велит жениться на той, кому подойдет. Он никому не подходит, но дочь случайно надела, и поп хочет на ней жениться, она убегает. Царский сын на ней женился, у них родился сын. Когда царевич уехал, поп пришел неузнанным, зарезал младенца. По наущению попа, его дочери отрубили руки и изгнали вместе с мёртвым ребёнком, но в воде реки её руки отросли, а таинственный голос научил, как воскресить ребёнка соком голубых цветов. Когда он вырос, то изблещил попа и воссоединил родителей (Чувашские сказки 1937, 237–247). Попом выступает отец-кровосмеситель и в некоторых украинских и осетинских текстах (Чудаков 1906, 26–27; Бязыров 1958, 334–335), а в повести пан Данило Бурульбаш саркастично называет своего тестя «турецким игуменом» (Гоголь 1979, 142).

Душа Катерины представлена в повести сходно с русалкой (Шенрок 1893, 67). Принципиально неправы были те критики, которые возводили отделение души от тела во время сна к влиянию немецких романтиков (А. К., Ю. Ф. 1902, 641–647; Чудаков 1908, 85–86). Представление о душе как об особом двойнике человека, о самостоятельном существовании человеческой души (чун) и тела довольно хорошо прослеживается и на материалах мифологии и фольклора чувашей. В их воззрениях вера в двойственность человеческой природы отразилась вполне определённо. В прошлом чувашаи, как и многие другие народы, верили, что если душа временно уходит из тела, то наступает состояние сна; если она уходит навсегда – смерть. Поэтому у них, например, запрещалось внезапно будить спящего из опасения, что при этом душа не успеет вернуться и вселиться в покинутое тело, потому что во время сна человека она может находиться далеко, и человек в таких случаях обязательно заболит или умрёт. По представлению чувашей, во время сна и в момент смерти душа покидает тело человека через его естественные отверстия – нос и рот. Тогда с ней могут общаться люди, и душа рассказывает им, где она была. После возвращения из странствий, если душе никто не помешает, она возвращается в покинутое тело. Когда спящий просыпается, он рассказывает сны, аналогичные рассказу души о своих странствиях (Денисов 1959, 23–24). У осетин тоже существовало поверье, что души некоторых людей во время сна оставляют тело и осуществляют странствие в таинственную страну, из которой могут принести или счастье и урожай, или болезни (Миллер 1882, 270–272; Чибиров 2008, 37).

Аналогичное украинское верование отображено в быличках (Чудаков 1906, 26; Гринченко 1897, 109; Гура, Терновская, Толстая 1983, 69–70; Народная 2012, 33–34) и «Страшной мести» Гоголя.

И отдельное место занимает развязка повести, в которой тоже пытались видеть влияние немецкого романтизма и литературы эпохи Возрождения (Dauenhauer 1936, 317–318; Driessen 1965, 109). Дело в том, что, по мнению исследователей, иранский миф о первой смерти не заканчивается собственно смертью первого «смертного» героя. Он содержит элементы мести и победы потомка/родственника погибшего героя над убийцей (и часто узурпатором), которая и восстанавливает справедливость и природное равновесие на космическом и социальном уровнях. Эти танатологические представления бытовали и у ираноязычных кочевников Северного Причерноморья (Вертієнко 2015, 16–17, 64–65), от которых они были впоследствии унаследованы украинцами. Отмечалось также, что показанное у Гоголя пожирание предками потомка – это реликт огромной мистической темы, прослеживаемой к иранскому манихейскому «самоуничтожению материи» (Вайскопф 2002, 77). Оно сопоставимо с пожиранием отца-грешника змеями в осетинской сказке, особенно если учесть, что змея у осетин может служить воплощением предка. В основе «Страшной мести» лежат древние фольклорные сюжеты, восходящие к этническому субстрату украинцев и показывающие их этнокультурные связи. Это ещё одно доказательство того, что образы Николая Гоголя принадлежат народной традиции, а не являются литературными конструктами.

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THE THANATOLOGICAL MOTIFS OF *A TERRIBLE VENGEANCE* STORY
BY MYKOLA GOGOL IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ETHNOCULTURAL
CONNECTIONS OF THE UKRAINIANS

KOSTYANTYN RAKHNO



Of all the stories by Mykola Gogol, *A Terrible Vengeance* is one of the most impressive and poetic. In this work, he shows a deep understanding of the culture and history of his nation. The story is based on Mykola Gogol's knowledge of the ancient folkways of Ukrainian life. *A Terrible Vengeance*, like other stories of the great writer, based on the everyday life and legends of his native Ukraine, focuses on the ancestral cemetery of a warlock, Kateryna's father. At this cemetery, his dead ancestors rise from their graves. After the warlock's demise, the dead tear him apart. Moreover, only the biggest and the oldest dead man, his ancestor Petro who committed the sin of fratricide, cannot get up. He cannot rise from earth to gnaw on his scion, and his motions cause earthquakes.

This notion of a cemetery where the oldest ancestor rules over everything is found in Chuvash mythology, where there is a belief in a so-called cemetery master. This position is assumed by the first buried man, usually a venerable, wise and generally respected old man whom all the deceased obey regardless of their status. They cannot leave the cemetery without his permission. The cemetery master was sometimes associated with the coming of death itself. He was supposed to take lives by rising from his grave and visiting the dying person. The cemetery was his land, and those "building a house" (that is, digging a grave) asked him for a place for a recently deceased person, sacrificing a piece of bread and a lump of cheese by leaving them at the site of the new grave. Sometimes they sacrificed money as well. During this ritual, the grave-diggers were asking the cemetery master for a piece of land. The latter consolidated all the reign of the cemetery world. He was supposed to accept the new arrival, allocate a place for him, teach him the rules of cemetery life, etc. It can be inferred that he was perceived as a giant. The cemetery master is virtually at the ruling position that is represented in the old age as the mythological metaphor of supremacy and power. This precedent is described in ancient Iranian and Indo-Arian texts – the first king on Earth, being the first deceased, becomes the deity of the underworld. It is Iranian folklore, among the Ossetians in particular, which shows the exact parallel to the concept that the first dead man loses the ability to move, he acquires cosmic size, and his movements cause earthquakes.

In the story, Petro committed a terrible sin connected with deceit and treachery, and the Zoroastrian texts speak about the same fall of the first dead. It is crucial that the Chuvash name of the pillar-like headstone, as well as the ritual alcoholic drink and cheese, are Indo-Iranian in origin. This alone points to the cattle-breeding, steppe, i.e., the Indo-Iranian roots of the entire ritual and concomitant beliefs, which show striking similarities to those in Ukraine.

The money payment to the first dead man for a place at a cemetery is also of interest. It is known among the Chuvashes, the Ukrainians, and the Danube Bulgarians. Judging by a range of archaeological evidence, these beliefs existed among the Iranians of Middle Asia as well. Describing the burial site of the warlock's ancestors, Mykola Gogol mentioned the Ukrainian tradition of planting an arrow-wood tree at the grave site. The Chuvashes also had a tradition of planting this tree at the grave.

The motive of a father seeking the unnatural love of his daughter can be found in Ukrainian and Belorussian fairy-tales. However, the same plot is typical for the folklore of the Chuvashes and some Iranian-speaking nations – the Talishis, the Ossetians, the Persians, and the mountain Tajiks. It has some motives in common with Gogol's story, including the moment of the murder of Kateryna's son. The Chuvashes and the Ossetians have mythological beliefs about the travels of the soul during sleep, and these are reflected in the Ukrainian narratives and Mykola Gogol's story. The warlock's demise is described in accord with ancient Iranian religious beliefs. *A Terrible Vengeance* is based on ancient folkloric plots dating back to the ethnic substratum of the Ukrainians. It is one additional proof of Mykola Gogol's images being not mere literary constructs, but an integral part of the folk tradition.

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Medkulturnost v pravljicah Dorotheae Viehmann, Laure Gonzenbach in Tine Vajtove ob primeru pravljic o začarani nevesti (ATU 402)

==== Milena Mileva Blažić =====

In the article, three female storytellers are compared – Dorothea Viehmann, Laura Gonzenbach and Tyna Vajtowa, with an investigation of their narrative repertoire and their socio-cultural background. Their fairy tales reflect multilingualism and interculturalism, with the influence of elements of German, Romance and Slavic cultures. Based on the comparative analysis of the ATU folktale types, it was discovered that they have all included in their repertoire a fairy tale of the folktale types ATU 402 (animal bride) and ATU 425 (searching for a lost husband). The article includes a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences of their variants of fairy tale type ATU 402 “The Animal Bride”.

KEYWORDS: women fairy tale writers, women storytellers, Dorothea Viehmann, Laura Gonzenbach, Tyna Vajtowa, ATU 402, language, literature, culture

PRVE OMEMBE ŽENSKIH PRAVLJIČARK

V monografiji *The Classic Fairy Tales* (1999), ki jo je uredila Maria Tatar, je Karen E. Rowe v poglavju »To Spin a Yarn: The Female Voice in Folklore and Fairy Tales« navedla dve metafori za pravljíčarki, in sicer za prvi model – pisateljice – navaja antični mit o Filomeli (Ovid, *Metamorfoze, knjiga VI*), ki je bila na podlagi mita viktimizirana ter dobesedno in metaforično brez jezika, nato pa je svojo zgodbo vtкала v tapiserijo ter jo poslala sestri v branje.¹

Mit o Filomeli iz Ovidovih *Metamorfoz* govori o Filomeli, hčeri atenskega kralja Pandiona, ki jo je posilil svak Terej in ji nato odrezal jezik. Ker o tem ni mogla pripovedovati, je svojo zgodbo vtкала v tapiserijo oz. jo vizualno ubesedila ter jo poslala svoji sestri Prokne. Nato sta skupaj umorili Terejevega sina in mu ga pripravili kot obrok. Ko je mož ugotovil, da je pojedel lastnega sina, ju je zasledoval, toda bogovi so spremenili Filomelo v slavčka, Prokne v lastovko in Tereja v smrdokavro.

¹ Motiv žensk – predic in tkalk je tudi v Svetem pismu: »Pohvala vrli ženi. Svoje roke izteguje k prestici, njene dlani prijemajo vreteno« (Prg 31,19). »Vse spretne žene so s svojimi rokami predle in prinesle, kar so napredle: višnjev in rdeč škrlat, karmezin in tančico« (2 Mz 28,5). »[...] in kjer so ženske tkale ogrinjala« (2 Kr 23,7) (Biblija 2016).

V Apulejevih *Metamorfozah* oz. v znamenitem mitu o Erosu in Psihi pa nastopa poleg glavnega pripovedovalca Lucija oz. zlatega osla tudi pripovedovalka – *okajena starka* (Ziolkowski 2006: 58).

Tako je o ugrabljeni deklici (Psihi) pripovedovala prismojena in okajena starka, meni [Luciju] pa, ki sem stal zraven, je bilo od srca žal, da nimam pri sebi ne tablice ne pisala in ne morem zapisati tako očarljive pravljice (Apulej 1981: 178).

Začetke ženskega avtorstva najdemo v pesmih srednjeveških trubadurk (12.–13. stol.) in tematiki *fin'amor*, ki pripoveduje o dvorski ljubezni in predstavlja srednjeveški evropski koncept ljubezni in občudovanja med plemstvom.

Tudi v zbirki arabskih pravljic *Tisoč in ena noč*, ki so v Evropo prišle s prevodom v francoščino (1702–1717), je osrednja pripovedovalka Šeherezada, ki je postala v Utherjevem indeksu pravljčni tip pod tipno številko ATU 875B* »Storytelling Saves a Wife from Death (Sheherazade)« (»Pripovedovanje pravljic reši ženo pred smrtjo (Šeherezada)«).

Pripovedovalke zgodb najdemo tudi v Boccacciovem *Dekameronu*, kjer je med desetimi pripovedovalci sedem pripovedovalk (Elissa, Emilia, Fiammetta, Filomena, Lauretta, Neifile in Pampinea).

V *Canterbury Tales* (Canterburyjske zgodbe, 1483) Geoffreyja Chaucerja sta poleg 14 moških pripovedovalcev (berač, duhovnik, gospod, mlinar, odpustkar, oskrbnik, pomorščak, posestnik, pravnik, trgovec, učenjak, upravnik, vitez, zdravnik) dve pripovedovalki (gospodinja iz Batha in mati prednica). Pripoved *Gospodinje iz Batha* se motivno-tematsko navezuje na motiv živalskega ženina/neveste oz. Amorja in Psihe.

Prva zbirka pravljic Giovannija Francesca Straparole *Le piacevoli notti* (Prijetne noči, 1551–1553) je bila namenjena odraslim bralcem. Pripovedovanje poteka v visokem sociokulturnem okolju na otoku Murano pri Benetkah. Tudi v posvetilu so nagovorjene ženske. Osrednja oseba ali beneška Madona je plemenita Signora Lucretia. Zgodbe pripoveduje poleg pripovedovalcev tudi deset pripovedovalk (Arianna, Cateruzza, Brunetta, Eritrea, Fiordiana, Isabella, Lauretta, Lionora, Lodovica, Vicenza). Med pravljicami je tudi »Obuti maček« (ATU 545B »Puss in Boots«), ki jo najdemo tudi v pravljčnih zbirkah Gianbattiste Basileja (*Pentamerone* II, 4) in Charlesa Perraulta (*Le Maitre de Chat ou Le Chat botté* 1697).

V zbirki pravljic za odrasle Gianbattiste Basileja *Pentamerone* (1634, 1636), ki je danes znana kot prva zbirka pravljic za odrasle »in mlade« (*The Tale of Tales, or Entertainment for Little Ones*), so vse pripovedovalke ženske, osrednja je Zoza, poleg nje pa še Antonia, Diana, Domenica, Francesca, Giacomina, Girolama, Giulia, Lucrezia, Vittoria, Pozia in Paola.²

Značilnost francoskih pravljčark – precioz je, da so v literarnih salonih pripovedovale zgodbe, katerih tekst je namenjen otrokom, kontekst pa odraslim (Seifert 2006: 45). Sociokulturno so bile precioze plemkinje, torej aristokratskega porekla, ki so pripovedovale

² V zbirki pravljic je Basile plemiška imena nadomestil s komičnimi Antonella, Cecca, Ciulla, Ciometella, Iacova, Meneca, Paola, Popa, Tolla, Zoza.

pravljice po dvorcih. Kljub temu so njihove pravljice močno vplivale na razvoj pisanja pravljič po vsem svetu, saj so ravno one redefinirale trubadursko tematiko *fin'amor* v pravljično tematiko (npr. *Zala in Zver*), njihovo pripovedovanje v dvorcih je bilo »salonska igra« (Seifert 2006: 45).

Najbolj znana otroška zbirka pravljič *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Otroške in hišne pravljice) bratov Jacoba in Wilhelma Grimma je prvič izšla leta 1812 (1. knjiga) in leta 1815 (2. knjiga), nato pa je doživela še več dopolnjenih izdaj. Tudi v tej zbirki so zbrane pravljice, ki so jih po večini pripovedovale ženske. Najbolj znana med njimi je Dorothea Viehmann.

DOROTHEA VIEHMANN (1755–1815)

Dorothea Viehmann (roj. Katharina Dorothea Pierson) je ena od najpomembnejših pravljičark Jacoba in Wilhelma Grimma. Prispevala je okrog 36 (od 210) pravljič (Ehrhardt 2012: 148–149), ki so objavljene predvsem v drugem zvezku *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*KHM*, 1815). Njen oče Isaac Pierson je bil gostilničar, čigar predniki so se preselili v deželo Hessen-Kassel zaradi pregona hugenotov v Franciji. Leta 1777 se je Dorothea poročila s krojačem Nikolajem Viehmannom in se leta 1787 preselila v Niederzwehren (danes del Kassla), kjer je živela do leta 1815. Po moževi smrti je s kmečkim delom (in kot branjevka) preživljala sebe in sedem otrok. Leta 1813 je spoznala brata Grimm in jima tedensko pripovedovala pravljice. Na njene pravljice je vplivalo sociokulturno okolje – kmečko življenje in delo v gostilni; poleg tega pa vsebujejo tudi francoske prvine. Brata Grimm sta bila vesela, da sta spoznala pravljičarko, ki jima je pripovedovala pravljice vedno s skoraj istimi besedami, če jih je morala ponoviti. Obiskovala ju je od 29. maja 1813 do 4. septembra 1814 (Ehrhardt 2012: 17). Septembra 2012 so dotlej neznano sliko v Univerzitetni knjižnici v Kasslu identificirali kot portret Dorothee Viehmann, ki ga je ustvaril Ludwig Emil Grimm, Jacobov in Wilhelmov mlajši brat. Ena od pravljič, ki jih je Dorothea povedala bratoma Grimm, je *KHM* 106 *Siromašni mlinarček in mucka* (*Der arme Müllerbursch und das Kätzchen*). Pri tej pravljici je močno opazno, da se navezuje na francosko pravljico *Bela mačka* (*La chatte blanche*) avtorice Madame d'Aulnoy (Marie-Catherine, baronica d'Aulnoy, 1650–1705), pa tudi na basen La Fontaina (1621–1695) *Mačka in stara podgana*³ (1694), ki je tematsko povezana z Ezopovimi basnami.

Dorothea Viehmann pa ni bila edina pravljičarka bratov Grimm, saj so jima pravljice pripovedovale še druge, med njimi tudi sestre Hassenpflug (Amalie, Johanna, Marie) in Wild (predvsem Dorothea, pozneje Wilhelmova soproga).

LAURA GONZENBACH (1842–1878)

Laura Gonzenbach se je rodila leta 1842 v bogati švicarsko-nemški protestantski družini v Mesini na Siciliji, Tako kot njeni štirje sorojenci je bila deležna dobre izobrazbe v zasebni

³ <http://classes.bnf.fr/livre/grand/382.htm>

šoli. Ko je bila stara pet let, ji je umrla mati, zato je zanjo skrbela sestra Magdalena, ki je bila izredna mlada ženska – svetovljanka, izobrazena in z naprednimi pogledi na položaj žensk. Laura je že v otroštvu govorila štiri jezike (nemško, francosko, italijansko in sicilijansko). Igrala je številne inštrumente ter znala na pamet številne antične pesmi. Takrat ženske niso mogle študirati na univerzi, zato so sestre Gonzenbach imele salon in se udeleževale neformalnega izobraževanja v drugih salonih, kjer so razpravljali o umetnosti, srečevale so umetnike in razpravljale o položaju žensk. Takrat se je v salonih začelo razvijati pripovedovanje zgodb. Laura se je poročila pri 27 letih in imela pet otrok ter živela v Neaplju. Umrla je v 36. letu.

V njeni mladosti je nanjo vplival dr. Otto Hartwig, ki je pet let vodil nedeljske maše za nemško in švicarsko skupnost v Mesini. Hartwig je organiziral tamkajšnje kulturno življenje in začel zbirati sicilijanske pravljice. Za Lauro je menil, da je ena najbolj nadarjenih pripovedovalk, zato ji je predlagal, naj izbere nekaj pravljič in jih zapiše, saj sam ni razumel sicilijanščine. Leta 1870 je izdala *Sizilianische Märchen*, knjigo je uredil Otto Hartwig. Laura je odlično znala tamkajšnji jezik, zato si je zapisovala zgodbe, ki so jih pripovedovale sicilijanske ženske. Očitno je Gonzenbachova poznala nemške, verjetno Grimmove pravljice, mogoče celo francoske. Zanimivo je, da je pravljice odlično prevedla v nemščino, čeprav ni nikoli živela niti v Nemčiji niti v Švici. Hartwig in Kohler (izdatelja sicilijanskih pravljič) njenih zapisov nista veliko spreminjala, nista jih olepševala, pustila sta tudi nasilne konflikte, saj so zgodbe tako pripovedovali.

Številne sicilijanske ženske so lahko zapustile dom le ob poroki, zato so mnoge pobegnile od doma, potovale, se zaposlovale kot pestunje. Če primerjamo motivno-tematsko podobo pravljič v Grimmovi in Gonzenbachovi inačici, lahko ugotovimo, da so Grimmove ženske npr. v *Kosmatinki* in *Motovilki* pasivne žrtve, ki so kaznovane, ko želijo pobegniti ali se osamosvojiti. Pri Lauri Gonzenbach pa so v pravljičah *Lepa Angiola*, *Lignu di Scupa*, *Betta Pilusa* pravljične osebe močne, tvorne in nimajo vloge žrtve. Ženske junakinje so svojo usodo vzele v lastne roke, na poti so jih dobesedno in v prenesenem pomenu čakali številni nasilneži, tudi sadistični morilci (*The Story About Ohmy*, *The Robber with a Witch's Head*). Zbirko ljudskih pravljič Laure Gonzenbach je težko razglasiti za feministično ali subverzivno, še težje pa je zanikati, da ima te prvine.

Sicilijanske pravljice so pripovedovali tudi otrokom, ne le odraslim, vendar niso očiščene nasilnih prizorov in nasilnežev. Njihov namen je bil, kot je zapisala Laura Gonzenbach, ohraniti avtentičnost pripovedovanja, ne pa spreminjati in prilagati zapisano. Zanimivo je, da jih ni zapisala v sicilijanščini, ampak jih je sproti prevajala v nemščino, pri čemer ji je pomagala sestra Magdalena.

Zbirko sicilijanskih pravljič Laure Gonzenbach *Sizilianische Märchen* (1870) je v italijanščino prevedla Luise Rubini kot *Fiabe siciliane* (1999) in dodala uvod ter komentarje, iz italijanščine pa jih je v angleščino prevedel vodilni literarni zgodovinar Jack Zipes. Najprej je prevedel prvi del *Beautiful Angiola* (Zipes 2003), potem še drugi del *The Robber with a witch's head* (Zipes 2004), zatem sta izšla oba dela v integralni verziji *Beautiful Angiola: The Lost Sicilian Folk and Fairy Tales of Laura Gonzenbach* (Zipes 2006). Šele s prvim, drugim in celotnim prevodom v angleščino ter s predgovorom in opombami Jacka Zipesa je zbirka dobila zasluženost mesto v literarni zgodovini.

Zipes je v drugi izdaji *Beautiful Angiola* vsem 94 pravljicam dodal številke ATU in kratko razlago tipa/motiva. V spremni besedi je življenje in delo Laure Gonzenbach kot tudi njene pravljice postavil v sociokulturni kontekst. Navedel je tudi nekaj pripovedovalk (informantk): Gua Lucia, Gua Cicca Crialesi, Gua Nunzia Giuffridi, Bastiana, Elisabetta in Concetta Martinotti, Francesca Rusullo, Peppina Guglielmo, Caterina Certo.

TINA VAJTOVA (1900–1984)

Valentina Pielich, poročena Negro, z domačim imenom Tina Vajtova, se je rodila 4. maja 1900 na Ladini pri Solbici (Rezija, dolina v Videmski pokrajini v deželi Furlanija - Julijska krajina, Republika Italija; avtohtoni jeziki v Videmski pokrajini so furlanščina, italijanščina, nemščina in slovenščina).

Bila je ena od štirih otrok (dve hčerki, dva sinova) očeta brusarja Giosuepa Pielicha Vajta (1861–1904) in matere Žvane Siega (1861–1930), z domačim imenom Mucove iz Osojan. Družina je doživela veliko tragedij: oče je zmrznil v snegu, starejši brat je utonil, mlajši se je smrtno ponesrečil. Že kot deklica je hodila z materjo od vasi do vasi, kupovali in prodajali sta lase, potem glavnike, gumbe, naprstnike, sukanec, trakove ipd. ter tako preživljali družino. Na teh poteh sta prenočevali v naravi, v hlevih, na kmetijah ipd. Tini so se vtisnile v spomin različne pravljice, pesmice, pregovori, uganke, šege, navade, spomini, dogodivščine ipd., ki jih je slišala na teh poteh, tudi od svoje matere.

Hodila je v osnovno šolo in zaključila dva ali tri razrede. Leta 1921 se je poročila z brusarjem Žvanom Negrom (1898–1953); rodila je osem otrok (štiri hčerke in štiri sinove). Žal so štirje umrli že v zgodnjem otroštvu, trije pa pozneje. Otroštvo je preživela le hčerka Gelinda (1937–), ki še danes živi v Pordenonu v Italiji. Tudi njeno življenje je bilo prežeto s tragičnimi dogodki, med drugim ji je mož pri 29 letih umrl v prometni nesreči. Ostala je sama z dvema otrokoma, zato se je Tina preselila k njej v Pordenone. Tudi Gelinda pripoveduje pravljice. Tina je zadnjih deset let življenja (1974–1984) bolehal, vendar je vsako poletje preživela v rojstni Solbici. Umrta je 21. februarja 1984 v Pordenonu, kjer je tudi njeno zadnje počivališče.

Milko Matičetov (1919–2014), ki je raziskoval življenje in delo Tine Vajtove, je zapisal njen življenjski moto: »Kaj bi človek jokal, saj je že tako dovolj hudo na svetu!« Matičetov je bil prepričan, da so ji pravljice pomagale prenašati življenjske tragedije, saj je sama nekoč dejala, »da bi šla za eno pravljico po kolenih v Benetke ter da bi za njih skočila v ogenj ali vodo« (Matičetov 1984: 328). Matičetov je posnel kar 404 pravljice, ki jih je pripovedovala Tina Vajtova, okrog 27 jih je objavil v italijanščini, rezijanščini in slovenščini. Leta 1967 so za TV Slovenija posneli serijo dokumentarnih filmov *Pri naših pravljicarjih*, v enem od njih pripoveduje tudi Tina Vajtova.⁴

⁴ Milko Matičetov: Tina Vajtova [videoposnetek]: Solbica; scenarij Milko Matičetov, kamera Slavko Nemeč, režija Emil Rižnar. *Pri naših pravljicarjih*. Ljubljana. Hrani: Avdiovizualni laboratorij Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU, [2012], 1968.

Sociokulturno ozadje

	Viehmann, Dorothea (1755–1816)	Gonzenbach, Laura (1842–1878)	Vajtova, Tina (1900–1984)
• sociokulturni kontekst	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ena izmed 13 otrok • obrtniki, srednji razred • oče gostilničar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • oče trgovec, konzul • zgodnja smrt matere • ena izmed 8 otrok • zasebno šolanje • zgodnja smrt matere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • oče delavec (obrtnik) in mati prodajalka • ena izmed 4 otrok • nižji socialni položaj • kmečki sloj
• jeziki in kultura	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nemčija • Francija 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Italija • Švica • Sicilija • Malta 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Italija • Slovenija • Rezija
• družina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mati 7 otrok • smrt moža 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mati 5 otrok • zgodnja smrt (36 let) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mati 8 otrok (le 1 preživel), smrt moža
• pisateljice in/ali pripovedovalke	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pripovedovalka 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pisateljica (zapisovalka) • salon (sestra Magdalena) • zapisovala pripovedi kmečkih žena 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pripovedovalka
• spodbuda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • J. in W. Grimm 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Otto Hartwig 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Milko Matičetov
• število enot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 36 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 92 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 404

JEZIK, LITERATURA IN KULTURA – PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA PRAVLJIC
TIPA ATU 402

Vse tri pravljicarke – Dorothea, Laura in Tina – imajo v svojem repertoarju isti pravljичni tip ATU 402. Dorotheina pravljica je nastala v germanskem, Laurina v romanskem in Tinina v slovanskem kontekstu, hkrati pa v vseh treh variantah najdemo podobnosti in razlike. Pravljичni motiv živalskega ženina (ali neveste) omogoča čustveno, poetično izražanje pripovedovalk in pisateljic.

Na podlagi primerjave pravljic Dorothee Viehmann, Laure Gonzenbach in Tine Vajtove je ugotovljeno, da so vsem trem pravljичarkam skupni naslednji pravljичni tipi.

	Viehmänn, Dorothea	Gonzenbach, Laura	Vajtova, Tina
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ATU 400 The Man on a Quest for his lost wife 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Der König vom goldenen Berg</i> (92) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>About Joseph, Who Set out to Seek His Fortune</i> (81)⁵ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Benjamina</i> • <i>Mož išče izgubljeno ženo</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ATU 402 The Animal Bride (The Mouse (Cat, Frog, etc.) as Bride); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Die drei Federn, KHM 106</i> • <i>Der arme Müllersbursch und das Kätzchen, KHM 106</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The Wasteful Giovanninu</i> (82) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Žabica</i> (T 38 D)⁶
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ATU 425 The search for the lost husband, The animal as bridegroom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Der Eisen-Ofen</i> 1815 (št. 41), od 1837 <i>Der Eisenofen</i> (KHM 127) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Prince Scursuini</i> (12) • <i>The Pig King</i> (37) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dekle, ki je hotela rožico</i> • <i>Zelenec</i>

Vse tri obravnavane pravljice so klasificirane kot pravljичni tip ATU 402 »The Animal Bride«, kar je podobnost, razlika pa je, da je v pravljici *Tri peresa* (KHM 106) živalska nevesta *grda žaba*, v *Nespametnem Giovanninu* (Zipes 2006: 502) *bela ovca* in v *Žabici* (Kropej, Dapit 2018: 79–85) *žabica*.

Vse tri pravljичne živalske neveste so povezane z motivom tkanja (Filomenin motiv): v prvi gre za najlepšo laneno tkanino, v drugi za dvanajst srajc iz najfinejše tkanine in v tretji za sukno, tkano iz najfinejše niti, da lahko gre skozi prstan, kar je podobnost med Dorotheino in Tinino varianto.

Pravljica *Nespametni Giovanninu* bi lahko bila antipravljica (Lüthi 1987: 54), ker je pravljичni lik Giovanninu nespameten, pada iz sreče v nesrečo, iz bogastva v revščino. Ima zvestega službanika Peppeta, kar se motivno-tematsko povezuje z motivom Don Kihota in Sancha Panse ter grofa Lukanorja in zvestega Patronia (Don Juan Manuel).

Vsi trije pravljичni junaki, Tepko, Giovanninu in tretji brat kraljevič, so popotniki, ki odidejo od doma: v prvi pravljici gre Tepko po lan, preprogo in lepoticu, v drugi pravljici Giovanninu sreča živalsko nevesto – belo ovco, vendar zaradi uročenosti zaspri in ne opravi svoje naloge v osmih dneh, zato je pravljica bolj kompleksna. Ko je Giovanninu izgubljen, sreča govorečega orla (slepi motiv Gilgameša), ki ga s čarobnim letom prenese h kraljичni. Vendar je orel lačen, zato si Giovanninu reže kose svojega telesa, da nahrani orla. Ta motiv je psihoanalitično pomemben, ker se mora odreči infantilnemu delu sebe. Sledijo preizkušnje junaka, kraljичna pošlje Giovanninu 12 zašitih srajc in vezenino na srebrnem pladnju. Ta jo uporabi kot kunjzo za pospravljanje v kuhinji. Giovanninu in kraljичna si postavljata dodatne pogoje. V tej epizodi pravljica spominja na *Kralja Drozgobrada*, saj Giovanninu predlaga, da jo ob glasbeni spremljavi nosijo v krsti z duhovnikom čez mesto do njegovega okna. Konec je srečen, sledi namreč poroka.

⁵ Številka pravljice v knjigi *Beautiful Angiola*.

⁶ Magnetofonske trakove Milka Matičetovega hrani Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani.

Dorotheina in Tinina varianta sta si podobni, rahlo se razlikujeta v zaključku. Dorotheina je bolj ljudska, Tina je dodala čustvene prvine (sramota, ubogo dekle, žalost ipd.). Čeprav sta bila brata hudobna do najmlajšega, je na koncu oče nekaj podaril tudi prvemu in drugemu sinu, najmlajšemu pa zapustil kraljestvo. Tina je dodala misel: »Po eni strani je on rešil žabo, po drugi strani pa je žaba rešila njega, saj on sam ne bi mogel ničesar doseči.« (Kropelj, Dapit 2018: 84) Zaključek njene pravljice je podoben Laurinemu »Živel so veselo in srečno, toda mi smo ostali brez centa« (Zipes 2006: 508).⁷



Dorothea Viehmann, Ludwig Grimm, 1815.

SKLEPNE MISLI

Vse tri pravljicarke – pripovedovalka Dorothea Viehmann, pisateljica Laura Gonzenbach in pripovedovalka Tina Vajtova – so imele večjezikovno in večkulturno sociokulturno ozadje: Dorothea nemško-francosko, Laura švicarsko-nemško-italijansko-sicilijansko in Tina beneško-italijansko-slovensko-rezijansko. Vse so govorile več jezikov, bile so del socialne mreže: Dorothea – gostilniški gostje, brata Grimm, Laura – literarni salon in Tina – prodajalka in pripovedovalka. Maria Warner imenuje pravljice Laure Gonzenbach »sicilijanski orientalizem« (Warner 2014: 66). Vse tri so izhajale iz velikih družin, tudi same so imele številčno družino. Dorothea je bila obrtniško-trgovskega porekla, oče gostilničar, sama branjevka; Laura je bila iz visokega srednjega razreda, izobrazena, pismena, kulturna; Tina je bila kmečkega porekla, delavna ženska, ki se je preživljala s prodajanjem. Zgodovinska in zemljepisna podobnost med njihovimi pravljicami je evropski prostor, razlika je v subjektivizaciji avtoric. Za Dorotheo je značilen model pripovedovanja ljudskih pravljič prve polovice 19. stoletja (jasna dihotomija med dobrim in slabim), za Lauro pisateljski model druge polovice 19. stoletja (enakopravnejši položaj ženskih in moških pravljичnih likov), za Tino pa model sodobnejšega pripovedovanja, vnašanje socialne empatije za glavne in stranske osebe, tako moške kot ženske.



Caterina Certo (Laura Gonzenbach, *Sizilianische Märchen* 1870).



Tina Vajtova (Matičeto 1984: 187).

⁷ »And so they lived happy and content, but we've been left without one cent« (Zipes 2006: 508).

Na podlagi študija »pravljčnih« motivov trubadurk, precioz in pravljčark je ugotovljeno, da so osrednji motiv, motivni drobcji in slepi motivi (Lüthi 2011: 70) izraženi v jeziku simbolov (Kristeva 1987: 1). Avtorice se izražajo z metaforami, pogost je literarni paralelizem – pozunanjanje notranje pokrajine (dobesedna in čustvena zima). Podobnosti med pesmimi trubadurk so psihopoetične vrednote: ljubezen, zaupanje, zvestoba; medtem ko so sociopoetične vrednote trubadurjev čast, ugled, velikodušnost (Sankovitch 2008: 116). Gre za podobnost med pesmimi trubadurk in pravljčark, ki se intertekstualno navezujejo na literarno kontinuiteto in na svoj način tematizirajo ljubezenske teme. Trubadurke in precioze, ki so pripadale najvišjemu sociokulturnemu sloju (aristokraciji, plemstvu), so prve od avtoric, ki so v tematiki *fin'amor* tematizirale ženske biografije. Za precioze, ki so večinoma živele ali pripovedovale v literarnih salonih, so bile pravljice »salonska igra«, ki so jo kodirale v pravljčnost, namenjeno odraslim, in tekst, namenjen otrokom. Tako so v jeziku simbolov in v varnem kontekstu tematizirale tabu teme, ljubezen in predvsem spolnost.

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KRATICE

- AT je mednarodna oznaka oz. akronim na osnovi priimkov dveh folkloristov Antti Aarne in Stith Thompson (1928, 1961), ki sta objavila mednarodno klasificiran indeks pravljčnih tipov.
- ATU je mednarodna oznaka oz. akronim na osnovi priimkov treh folkloristov Antti Aarne, Stith Thompson, Hans-Jörg Uther, ki so objavili mednarodno klasificiran indeks pravljčnih tipov (Uther 2004, ponatis 2011).
- KHM je mednarodna oznaka oz. akronim na osnovi začetnic zbirke pravljčice *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* Jacoba in Wilhelma Grimma.

INTERCULTURALISM IN THE FAIRY TALES OF DOROTHEA VIEHMANN,
LAURA GONZENBACH, AND TYNA WAJTAWA, PRESENTED ON THE
EXAMPLE OF FOLKTALE TYPE THE ANIMAL BRIDE (ATU 402)

MILENA MILEVA BLAŽIČ



Dorothea Viehmann was a storyteller who told about 36 fairy tales to Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. Socio-culturally she was of French peasant origin, and her German fairy tales also included French elements. Laura Gonzenbah was a Swiss-German storyteller who was educated, multilingual, and her Sicilian fairy tales written in German reflect interculturality (Sicilian orientalism). Resian storyteller Tyna Wajtawa (Valentina Pielich) was from the Resia valley in Italy, where a Slovenian minority lived. She narrated in Resian, that is, in a micro-language (Slovene dialect), and her fairy tales also reflect multilingualism (Italian, Slovene, Resian dialects) and interculturalism. Based on a comparative analysis of the ATU fairytale types, it was discovered that they all included in their repertoire tale type ATU 402 (animal groom/bride motif) and ATU 425 (searching for a lost husband/wife motif). The article includes a comparative analysis of the similarities and differences of the ATU 402 (The Animal Bride). The comparative analysis is of fairy tales from the collection of the Brothers Grimm, Laura Gonzenbach's book of Sicilian folktales, and Milko Matičetov's audio recordings of folktales of Tyna Wajtawa.

Despite the German, Swiss, French, Sicilian, Italian, Resian, and Slovene backgrounds of the three storytellers who have different socio-cultural backgrounds, they all share common multilingualism and interculturalism as well as the primary motifs of love and the search of happiness.

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Onkraj delitve narave in
kulture: ontologije in
epistemologije

Oltre la dicotomia tra
la natura e la cultura:
ontologie ed epistemologie

Beyond the Dichotomy
of Nature and Culture:
Ontologies and Epistemologies

Bees and Beekeeping from the Perspective of the Ontological Turn

Monika Kropej Telban

With a particular emphasis on the perspective of the human-animal relationship, the author presents forms of beekeeping as well as related narrative culture and painted beehive panels, which came into vogue in the second half of the 18th century, decorating Slovenian apiaries. This practice was unique in Europe but was largely abandoned by the first decades of the 20th century due to changing economic, social, and spiritual conditions. While apiculture and the industry involving bee products have become very profitable worldwide, in Slovenia beekeeping is also perceived as a true national symbol. Beekeeping has also found its place in larger cities, mainly on terraces and in parks. In contrast, however, the often harmful human intervention has also accidentally exterminated bees in many natural habitats. The author discusses the relationship between man and bees in the light of posthumanism, which has revolutionized the way scholars perceive non-human mental lives and abilities.

KEYWORDS: bees, folklore, narrative culture, ontological turn, posthumanism, beehive panels

INTRODUCTION

The human-animal relationship in the 21st century has changed together with its related ontological premises. Researchers Graham Harvey (2006) and Colin Scott (2006) have called for “academic animism” or animist ontologies and a re-appraisal of the role of non-human agency and culture. Current theoretical movements in posthumanism (Wolfe 2010: 99–126) have discredited anthropocentric ontologies and emphasized that there exist other species with different ways of thinking about selves beyond the human (Kohn 2013: 94). Movements in ecocriticism have been making way for multispecies ontologies, and all this has changed the understanding of the habitat and cultural life on earth.

American anthropologist Tok Thompson has stressed that ontology has deep links with mythology, which is a branch of folklore, yet the discipline of folklore has likewise remained focused on the human, even while it is increasingly obvious that many of its core subjects are widely shared throughout the animal kingdom (Thompson 2019). Comparative mythological studies research folklore and narrative culture allows understanding associated worldviews through time and place, and in this sense also the changing

relationship of human towards non-human animals. In this realm, bees have (and always have had) – in contrast to the majority of other animals – an unbelievably high position, which gives them a kind of divine character. Roman poet Publius Vergilius Maro (70 BC–19 AD) even considered bees a part of God’s mind (Stanonik 2018: 22).

The origin of the collocation *The bee does not perish but dies*, which is still in use, is animistic in origin. According to France Bezlaj, thousands of years of Christianity could not take away the soul of the bee, as it did with all other animals (Bezlaj 2003: 1239). Because of this, and in contrast to the situation of other animals, neo-animism – presented by Philippe Descola (2013: 121–124), and advocated by modern anthropology – will not considerably change the position of the bees. Following this ontological concept of neo-animism, Viveiros de Castro in the sense of new animism stressed that human and non-human beings have the same culture and different natures, as reflected through this ontological turn (Viveiros de Castro 2003; after Telban 2017).

Bees are one of the rare species of insect that have been exploited by humans and moved closer to human dwellings. Because of the honey and wax produced by them, they have been perceived as prized animals, and soon their symbolic value found its way into the realms of the art and social culture of many nations. From their natural nests, created mainly in trees and hollow logs, they were moved to man-made artificial hives such as skeps and trunks, and finally to the beehives known as apiaries.

Among the insect world, the bee has been elevated to a high spiritual level and is perceived as a mediator between heaven and earth. According to ancient Slavic concepts of the World Tree, the bee is housed in the middle of the Tree’s trunk and represents the integrator of the earth and celestial spheres. At the top of the World Tree nests a bird (eagle, hawk, or nightingale), and at its roots lies a dragon or a snake. Bees were ascribed royal symbolism as well as liturgical roles. In Eleusis and Ephesus, priestesses were named after bees, for example, Melissa. In ancient Greece, bees were consecrated to Silenus and mentioned in Homer’s *Iliad* (2,87). Honey was highly praised by Euripides, Ovid, and Virgil, and commended by the Bible.

Ignorant of biology, people even associated the bee with parthenogenesis (immaculate birth) and palingenesis (rebirth). The bee was depicted on graves as a symbol of the afterlife. It represents the human soul that, upon death, flies out of the deceased’s mouth. The buzzing of bees was compared to the language of souls dwelling in the underworld (EM 2/1977: 305). Mead was perceived as the potion of immortality. According to the European emblematics of the 16th and the 17th centuries, the bee and beehives represent attributes of the personified golden age (EM 1977: 298).

In ancient Greece and Rome, sugar was not known; therefore, honey was the only substance to sweeten food. The Greek philosopher Plato, who was born in Athens, was called “the bee of Athens” since his speech was as liquid and sweet as honey; it was said that a swarm of bees had sat on his mouth when he was still in his crib. Similar characteristics were attributed to Xenophanes, Sophocles, Pindar, St. Isidore of Seville, St. John Chrysostom, and others. The association of the bee with speech was also common among the Hebrews. Their word for bee, *Dbure*, derives from the word *Dbr*, which means speech, hence the link between the bee and the word (Keber 1996: 32).

The bee is also associated, through words and speech, with the culture of language, rhetoric, poetry, and with diligence. Having lent its name to numerous Slovenian cultural and scientific institutions, the bee is a noble companion to culture in Slovenia as well as in other countries (more about this, see: Stanonik 2018: 60–86).

BEE DWELLINGS AND THE PRODUCTION OF HONEY

Through the dwelling perspective and the immersion of the organism-person in an environment of the lifeworld as an inescapable condition of existence (Ingold 2011: 153), the bees' lifeworld had rather prodigiously organized dwellings before man interfered and "domesticated" them.

Even in prehistory, people exploited bees, and collected honey by climbing trees and taking it from their nesting sites. The oldest representation of this activity can be found in eastern Spain in the vicinity of Bicorp, in the Araña Caves (Spider Caves). The painting shows two men hanging on a rope, gathering honey from a wild bee colony (Vodopivec/Koloini, Švigelj 2016: 8). It is unknown when people stopped collecting honey from wild bees and started to domesticate them; indeed, this occurred in different parts of the world at different times.

For quite some time, zoologists did not know what kind of organization took place within the beehive or how bees reproduced and were equally ignorant of the fact that bees pollinate plants. As a result, different theories were formed. Historian Hesiodus described beehives, worker bees, and drones, and compared the latter to lazy women (Keber 1996: 21).

Occupants of the beehive are the queen bee, female worker bees, and drones. Contrary to the queen, which may live over four years, the life span of workers is short; they live only six weeks during the honey production season. The offspring survive winter. The drones that mate with the queen have no sting but are larger and bulkier than worker bees, and have a short rounded abdomen. While they live in the beehive during the summer, they are killed off by the workers later or else ejected from the hive in the autumn (Keber 1996: 34).

Wild bees nest in hollow trees and even in treetops, in rock cavities, and in tunnels in the ground. Like other animals, they live in their environment and have their own cultural patterns (Ingold 2011). Their homes are known for their strict organization. While very different from other animals' dwellings, such as the den, barn, badger's burrow, bird's nest and so on, the internal organization of bee nests bears some semblance to anthills (Keber 1996: 33).

Copying the structure of bee nests, humans have domesticated the bee and built hives from truncated hollow or hollowed-out tree trunks. In the Orient, where trees are scarce, hives were made from horizontally placed clay cylinders. In grain-producing regions, hives in the form of skeps were made from straw or wicker.

The Slavs were originally keeping bees in forests, in hollow trees called the *brti*. They probably knew about domestic beekeeping because the terms *panj* and *ulj*, both denoting a beehive, were widespread. They were also familiar with skeps, baskets made of wicker, which housed bees and were also known in Greece (Čebelarski muzej 1973: 6). Later, they started to construct horizontal beehives from split or hewn boards. They also

produced differently-shaped baskets made of straw or willow wicker. Some hives were interwoven from clematis and coated with clay or cow dung. Beekeepers even used simple boxes covered with a wisp of straw tied together with vine or wicker. Basket hives were usually placed beneath gables or on some boards or racks away from the wind. Most of the still-preserved ones can be found in Pannonia.

Beekeeping has always been highly developed in Slovenia. Strabo (IV. 6) and Lucius Columella (IX) reported that Slovenian beekeepers exported wax and honey to Italy. Great contributions to Slovenian beekeeping were made by Peter Pavel Glavar (1721–1784); Anton Janša (1734–1773), the first teacher of beekeeping at the beekeeping school in Vienna; and Giovanni Antonio Scopoli (1723–1788), who was the first to write that the queen bee mates with drones in flight. In Slovenia, beekeepers have an association that was established in 1781, when they founded the Beekeepers' Brotherhood. The Beekeeping Association of Slovenia was founded in 1898.

In Slovenia, the most prevalent type of wooden beehive was named *kranjič*. Several such hives were placed in an apiary (the *ulnjak*), which was first attested in Slovenia in the 17th century. Such apiaries were most common in the region of Gorenjsko/Upper Carniola. Apiculture was very well developed at the time, which is further corroborated by the Slovenian polymath Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1689), who reported on the extensive export of honey. Bees were also transferred in special baskets, or else in specially equipped wagons, to pastures of higher quality.

The *kranjič* was followed by the so-called Albert-Žnideršič hives and later replaced by the modern vertically stacked hives with removable boxes.

Over the centuries, beekeeping techniques, tools, and other beekeeping supplies evolved hand in hand with increasingly more complex hive designs. Until the 20th century, the bee trade was quite vigorous with its many beekeeping fairs, among which those in Ig and in Kranj, where as many as up to three hundred hives were brought, were particularly well-known. The Slovenian domestic “Carniolan” bee (*Apis mellifica* v. *carnica*) is still cultivated in Slovenia. In the cross-border areas, the Italian (*Apis mellifica* v. *ligustica*) and the German (*Apis mellifica* v. *mellifica*) bees are also cultivated. The Carniolan bee is very adaptable to the climate and resistant to disease. It often produces new swarms, which is an essential trait in the constant battle for survival.

Beekeeping is becoming increasingly market-oriented, and bee products such as honey, pollen, royal jelly, propolis, beeswax, and even bee venom are used in nutrition as well as medicine (for more, see Adamič et al. 1984).

PAINTED BEEHIVE PANELS

The first painted beehive panel boards, unique in Europe, emerged in the second part of the 18th century in Slovenia. Graphic templates were often used for this technique, which flourished particularly in the middle of the 19th century. This method was used until the early 20th century but was later abandoned due to the changed economic and social conditions as well as different lifestyles. (More about this: Makarovič & Rogelj Škafar 2000: 22–27).

The fact that Valvasor (1689) never mentioned painted beehive panels indicates that they were not yet in vogue in the 17th century. According to Avgust Bukovec, it is very likely that older hives, which were the predecessors of the *kranjič*, bore simple signs such as the cross, the sun or the moon, spruce, and others. The authentic painted panels emerged towards the middle of the 18th century, at the peak of the Baroque period. Dated 1758, the oldest known painted panel depicts the Virgin Mary with Infant Jesus.

Slovenian painted beehive panels generally measured 14 cm in height and were about 30 cm wide. The paintings were usually done in oil, and others some still in chalk. Although it is true that bees recognized their own hive by the painting on it the original reason for these panel boards was apotropaic. In addition, apiary owners wanted to emphasize the wealth of their farms and boast to their neighbours (Giesemann 2007: 145).

Painted beehive panels emerged almost spontaneously from people's consciousness and imagination, and swiftly spread wherever the traditional Slovenian wooden hive, the *kranjič*, was in use. The painting adorned the front panel above the entrance to the hive. These painted panels have several names, for example, the *končnica*, *skončnica*, and the *čelnica* in Carinthia, and the *dovž* in the dialect of Rovte. Inspiration came from folk narrative and folk song tradition, some also from paintings on glass and from graphic reproductions, which came to Slovenia from abroad.

The painting of Slovenian beehive panels enjoyed its golden age between 1820 and 1880. It was probably conceived in Gorenjsko/Upper Carniola, the area of Slovenia with the highest number of the painted panels that have been preserved to this day. The technique was soon copied in Austrian Carinthia, especially in Rož/Rosental and Podjuna/Jaunstein.

The painted *kranjič* hives can also be found in Germany, where they travelled together with the Carniolan bees from Slovenia. Similar painted panels were known in Pustertal in East Tyrol and in Lammertal in the region of Salzburg, Austria. They are distinguished from the Slovenian ones due to their larger format and different content, and most importantly were not a general expression of folk culture (Makarovič, Rogelj Škafar 2000: 26).

Slovenian painted panels started before the end of the 18th century, and depict more than 700 different motifs. There are many biblical motifs from the Old and the New Testament (creation of the world, Judgement Day, Adam and Eve in paradise, Noah's ark, the lost son, the merciful Samaritan, etc.), folk narrative motifs, folk song and ballad motifs, and apocryphal legends (Legend of St. Genevieve ATU 383A, Receipt from Hell ATU 756C*, King Matthias, Pegam and Lambergar, The Devil Grinds a Woman's Tongue, Women's Mill, The Animals Bury the Hunter SNP 970, ATU*191* etc.), humorous and mocking themes, and motifs of the world turned upside down (the pig and the shoemakers, tailors fleeing the snail, the wind blows away the tailors, a woman drags her husband from the pub, animals dance with farmers, animals shave the hunter etc.), and historical themes (the French army, the Turks, two devils drive Luther and his wife Katra to hell, the farmer cradles the French soldier etc.). Further scenes of daily life, as well as farm chores. Beekeeping motifs were equally frequent (for instance the weighing of the beehive, the swarm capture). Depicted were also plants and animal motifs (the fox carries the chicken to her lair, the comedian with his bear, the camel and the elephant etc.). The panels also depicted exotic Oriental or Indian motifs, and many others.

The narrative motifs depicted on the panels provide an insight into the conceptual world of the people, and particularly of beekeepers (more on the motifs, see: Makarovič 1989, Makarovič and Rogelj Škafar 2000; Cevc 1962, Kuret 1955, 1960, 1974, Jagodic 1955, Kumer 1957, Orel 1960, Giesemann 2005, 2007; Globočnik 2005, Gočež Kaučič 2018: 320–330).

Beehive panels also feature various saints, for example, St. Nicholas, the patron saint of sailors; St. Peter and St. Paul; St. Martin; St. Catherine, St. Barbara; and most frequently St. Hiob, who was considered the beekeeper of the bible. According to Gorazd Makarovič, such depictions of St. Hiob are the result of the replacement of wasps with bees; the former are featured in folk songs with Hiob-related motifs (Makarovič & Rogelj Škafar 2000: 36). Hiob was considered the protector of beekeepers until the 19th century, when he was replaced by St. Ambrose. St. Ambrose was an excellent speaker, and a legend has it that this was due to the fact that nectar (ambrosia) trickled from his mouth when he was a baby. Waxers and beekeepers selected him for their protector (Miklavčič, Dolenc 1973: 472; as cited in Stanonik 2018: 92).

Since beehive panels were so firmly ingrained in the Slovenian collective consciousness, we were not really aware of their uniqueness and importance for a long time. This was first pointed out by Michael Heinko (in 1840 in *Carniolia* Nos. 37, 38). In 1929, Stanko Vurnik wrote the first professional essay about the subject. The most comprehensive text until that period was written by Avgust Bukovec (in *Slovenski čebelar* 1934, 1942, and 1943), who also presented the panels' historical development, provided an analysis of the subject material depicted on them, and discussed some of the artists that painted them.

In the second half of the 20th century, painted beehive front panels once again came into vogue. Traditionally painted beehive panels are modelled after the original design and sold as popular souvenirs.

FOLK NARRATIVES ABOUT BEES

Narrative tradition has preserved many folktales, riddles, proverbs, and folk beliefs about bees. Many aetiological legends speak about the creation of the bees. According to Egyptian tradition, the bee was born from the tears of the ancient sun god Ra that fell on the ground. In Christian legends, it was born from drops of Christ's sweat when he suffered on the cross, or from drops of his blood spilling from the wound inflicted by a peasant woman who had refused to give him his loaf of bread.

When Did God Create Bees?

Hanging on the cross between two thieves, the son of God suffered unbearable pain. In addition to other troubles and afflictions, he also became immensely thirsty. Then one of the soldiers brings a sponge soaked in vinegar to his mouth. The Redeemer takes several drops, but the bitter drink causes terrible pain to the suffering Son of God and elicits many droplets of sweat upon his cold forehead.



Fig. 1: Beehive panel depicting “Hiob on the dung”, 1884. From the archive of Slovene Ethnographic Museum: no. 2357 (photo: Marko Habič).



Fig. 2: Beehive panel depicting St. Ambrose, the patron saint of beekeepers and waxers (Kropej 1990: 49).



Fig. 3: Contemporary beehive panels from Petanjci in Prekmurje (photo: Kropej Telban 2017).

In order to preserve the memory of this bitter hour, Christ asks – as legend would have it – his heavenly father to create from these droplets small animals that will diligently collect sweet liquid – honey. People are to imitate their hardworking efforts but also consume the sweet comb in order to forget any bitter hour in their daily lives.

The heavenly father fulfilled his son's wish and on the very same day created bees. For their living quarters, he chose hollow trunks as a reminder that Jesus breathed out his last breath and soul on a wooden cross.

This is why bees have always liked to dwell in hollow trunks. Later on, people started preparing special dwellings for the bees, namely baskets or beehives. Their favourite home is a hive made of woven wild vines. Why is that? Because vine stems strongly resemble the crown of thorns on the head of the suffering Christ as he died on the sacred wooden cross.

Because God has created the bee in memory of the bitter death of our Saviour, people do not say that bees “perish” as other animals do but “die” like the humans.

The honeycomb gives wax for candles that burn during every sacred service that reminds us of the bitter death of our Saviour. [Kosi 1896: 26–27; Kedaj je ustvaril Bog čebele?; Kosi 1897: 190–191; Stanonik 2018: 91].

Christ and St. Peter (How Bees Came to Exist)

While Christ and St. Peter roamed the world, they chanced upon a woman who was just putting loaves of bread in the oven. Christ says to her:

“Will one of them be mine?”

The woman has a generous nature. No beggar has ever left her house without a present, so she does not want to send Christ off with only empty words: “Let this one be yours,” she says. She allots him the smallest one, which is on the peel at that moment. When she wants to put it in the oven, Christ says: “Wait, I have to mark it, so I do not take a different one once they are done.” He comes closer and inserts his finger in it. The woman then puts the bread in the oven, and the two strangers settle in the shade to rest.

Christ's loaf rises visibly. Soon it is the largest of all. The woman finds this strange. She is sorry to have promised it to the traveller.

“Why,” she thinks to herself, “it's not as if I had to give him exactly this one; it would be a pity because it has risen so much. Another one will do.” She quickly makes another loaf, pokes her finger in it, and puts it in the oven. Once all the loaves are done, she calls the travellers and gives Jesus his loaf. He pauses, looks at the woman harshly, and says:

“Woman, this is not my loaf, give me the one you have promised!”

The woman pretends ignorance, claiming that the loaf is the right one; he should take it. Since she can't persuade him, she gets angry and strikes Jesus in the temple. The Lord takes the proffered loaf, and he and Peter set off once again. After a while, Christ says to Peter:

“Come look at my temple, where the woman has struck me.”

Peter examines the temple and sees a wound, and there is a small worm in it. After a while, Jesus once again asks Peter to check his wound.

“It prickles and tickles a lot,” Jesus says.

Peter looks at it and sees – what? A tiny animal, like a fly, that quickly flies to a nearby rock.

“Behold, Peter,” the Lord says. This animal is a bee. It will produce wax, without which no mass will take place.

And so the bees came to existence. [Podgoriški, Kristus in sv. Peter. *Slovenski glasnik* 9/7 (July 1, 1863): 213–214; Kosi 1890a: 30–31; Stanonik 2018: 90].

This legend is related to the legend ATU 751A “The Farmwife is Changed into a Woodpecker”, but it is different because it explains how the bee has evolved from Christ’s drop of blood. Allegedly, bees also originated from some drops of water that fell when Christ was baptized in the River Jordan (EM 1977: 299).

Russian and Ukrainian etiological legends about bees often speak about the rivalry between God and the Devil. In one of them, God was trying to create the bee, but the Devil changed it to the wasp. Later, God nevertheless managed to create the bee (Gura 1997: 449–450).

Some legends explain why bees have to die if they sting:

Why Should a Bee Die After It Stings?

St. Gall was so fond of bees that he stole the whole beehive from his neighbour. As he was carrying it on his shoulder, the bees started to sting him. At that time the bee needn’t die after stinging. The saint got angry. “You’ve stung me – a holy man! From now on, every bee that stings me will have to die!” Since then, all bees die after stinging. But the bee never stings, unless it protects the honey or the brood. [Malenšek, *Plamenica – roman o Primožu Trubarju* 1957: 331 (Keber 1996: 23)]

Some of these folktales also refer to the negative side of bees, interpreting their sting as a means with which the bees originally wanted to kill other beings.

Why Does the Bee Have to Die after Stinging?

When God created the animals, the bee was one of them. Since the poor thing was so tiny, God wished to protect it by giving it the poisonous sting, saying: “Whomever you sting will have to die.” The bee joyfully flew into the wide world that was still young. It acquired many, many sisters. Whenever they bore a grudge against someone, or when the sun was too hot for their little bodies, they would get angry and sting both people and animals, all of whom had to die. Since they kept stinging people, there were fewer and fewer people in the world. The angels in heaven cried because they had too much work. So the good Lord called a bee to him and said:

“Bees are causing too much harm in the world, and for this, I shall punish you. Keep your stings and defend yourselves from the enemy. But from now on, every bee will have to die after stinging.” The tiny bee bowed to God, spread its wings, and buzzed away to its sisters to tell them of the wrath of God.

In silent sorrow, the bees hung their heads, settled on an apple tree, and mourned... From that day, every bee must die after stinging. [*Angelček* 36/2 (October 1927/28): 23–24; Stanonik 2018: 91–92].

Theokritos (Eidyllion 19) describes how a bee once stung Cupid, who then complained to his mother, Venus. However, she reminded him that his arrows, although he was still very young, were just as painful as a bee sting.

The legend ATU 774K, *St. Peter Stung by the Bees*, narrates how Peter had rebuked Christ for punishing a sinner. Soon afterwards, Peter was stung by a bee. Now Christ rebuked Peter for having destroyed a bee nest and with it the entire colony. Bearing in mind the period in which it originated, this legend is unusually non-anthropocentric for it values the animal just as highly as the human. One of these legends was recorded in Terska dolina/Val Torre by Pavle Merku:

The Legend of God, St. Peter, and the Bee (ATU 774K)

God and St. Peter were walking from one country to another, speaking and teaching the Gospel. They arrived at Sodom and Gomorrah, where all sorts of things were taking place. God sent an arrow and destroyed everything. St. Peter says to him: “Why have you destroyed everything? There also lived those who believed in you. This was a bad thing to do!”

“Oh, Peter, Peter” answers God, “what do you know? Let’s proceed!” And they do. When they come to another country, God beholds a swarm of bees. “Peter, take this and put it on your chest!” Peter obeys him and puts the bees on his chest. They walk and walk, and then one of the bees stings Peter. And although it was the only one to do so, Peter crushes them all. [Terska dolina, Italija, Merku 1976: 357; Stanonik 2018: 90–91].

Since bees produce wax, which is also needed for candles that are lit at Mass, bees are perceived as divine animals. A medieval text claims that the nobility of the bee comes from the Garden of Eden but, because of the sin of people, bees were banished from there. God showed mercy upon them, and no Mass can be sung without wax since then.

Why do Bees Celebrate Christmas Eve?

The story tells us that on Christmas Eve, on the night that Jesus was born, bees are very cheerful. While they jump around and buzz, the queen bee sings, and you cannot get enough of her singing. Let us ask the bees, let us ask their queen why they are all so merry. The bees will answer thus:

“When St. Joseph and Mary arrived in Bethlehem, they could not stay overnight in the city because all houses were filled with foreigners. So they left the town and stopped at a meagre stable in the field. At that moment, an old shepherd steps from the stable and urges them to stay there. Joseph and Mary enter, and the shepherd says to his wife:

“Attend to the strangers while I drive the sheep to pasture so there will be a little more room under our frugal roof. But before I go, I want to light up a wax candle so we can see one another.” He lights the candle and leaves. In a little while, darkness falls and, during the night, Jesus is born. The holy Virgin Mary swaddles the baby Jesus and lays him in the manger. Joseph and Mary celebrate and venerate God for all his mercy and kindness. And because a wax candle illuminated the stable in which the holy baby Jesus was born, the bees also celebrate Christmas Eve and Christmas with great joy and delight. Not only last year and this year; the hardworking bees will glorify them until the end of the days, as long as the world shall exist. And rightly so, for wax candles are made of wax, which they collect from flowers with great effort and suffering. Bees worship God, our Father, for bestowing such honour upon them and illuminating the stable in which baby Jesus was born, with a wax candle. [Kobali 1884: 188; Kosi 1890b: 31–32; Kosi 1897: 192].

Some people believed that the bees sang on the eve of Christ’s birth (Christmas Eve):

How the Bees Sing at Midnight on Christmas Eve

If you go to a spring at midnight, gaze into it, and see sheets and death, death will be visiting your house that year; but if you see a young woman, pretty as a bride, there will be a wedding. [...] In Livkovo, Matevž talked his family at midnight into going to see the bees and listen if they really sang. Of course, they were not singing; there was just some buzzing in the hive. [Podbrežnik Vukmir 2009: 266; Stanonik 2018: 92].

Slovenian legends explain how bees came to Carniola:

How Bees Came to Carniola

Noah, who had a sweet tooth, smuggled a beehive onto the ark. When the waters receded, the bees remained alone. After several generations of bees had grown up, the hive became too small. Their young queen bee, which was hatched during the flood, took three generations into a hollow palm tree. But the fourth time she was caught up in a storm and she, along with her family, was blown to Carniola. [Gnilšak 1989: 117; Stanonik 2018: 92].

Some historical folktales extol bees for helping to defeat the Turks by stinging them. One such example is the tale “The Bees Drive away the Turks” AaTh 1302*.

The Brave Cook

In Šilentabor, in the region of Notranjska, there was a castle with strong walls and nine solid towers. On a beautiful day, the Turks suddenly appeared beneath the walls. They wanted to break through the fortified doors to the castle, which at the time was empty except for a female cook. This was a Sunday, so everybody else had gone to attend Mass at the nearby church. When the cook hears noises and banging, she goes to investigate. And what does she see? There are many Turks in front of the door, and they want to storm the castle. At first, she is too scared to do anything. But she soon gets an idea. Close to the walls is the castle apiary. She hastens there and throws every hive across the walls so that they break on the sturdy Turkish heads. The enraged bees start stinging the Turks. Stung by the bees, they beat a hasty retreat back to Bosnia. Thus, the cook saved the castle with her courage and common sense and was richly rewarded by the lord of the castle. [Ivan Marinčič, *Hrabra kuharica*, *Izvir; list nižješolskega dijaštva v Marijanišču I/1*, pp. 5–6 (not dated, around 1922), after: Stanonik 2018: 97].

Similarly, the bees allegedly drove the Turks away from Begunje as well:

The Bees That Chased the Turks Away from Begunje

A story is still told in Begunje above Cerknica that bees drove the terrible Turks away. Like many of them in that period, the local church was surrounded by a strong wall that formed a stronghold. As the Turks were approaching Begunje, the local population took whatever they could in haste, and fled to the stronghold. As beekeepers loved their bees even in those times and did not wish to leave them to the Turks, they took the hives with them. Little did they know that these bees would save them from certain death! When the Turks launch an attack near the church, the local men, both old and young, defend themselves like lions. But how can their courage and strength measure up to so many? They start to waver. Any moment the stronghold will be defeated, and woe to those who are in it! Then a beekeeper gets an idea. He strikes his head, saying: “Perhaps my bees can help and defeat the Turks? Just you wait, Turks!” He quickly gets a hive and throws it over the walls among the Turks. The hive naturally smashes, and the furious bees fall upon the Turks. In the resulting confusion they yell, they swear, they call to Allah, but nothing helps. The Christians throw down several more hives from all sides of the walls. There was a real slaughter! The blood did not run, but the Turks did run, with swollen heads, as fast as possible down towards Cerknica. Some of them were so swollen they could not see a thing. Well, of course, they were! Turks were no beekeepers, so the stings hurt them all the more. They have never returned to Begunje, stating: “We never want to go back to Begunje, their flies are too angry!” [*Slovenski čebelar* 1902, after Ovsec 1984: 49].

Several animal tales and fables praise the diligence of the tiny bees in contrast to the greediness and frivolity of the bumblebees (Bolhar 1975: 13–14); others explain how the bees started to collect honey for people while the drones continued to wander. (Bolhar 1975: 14–16).

Internationally spread is the fable about the bee and the dove “The Bee Falls into the Water” ATU 240A*, which narrates how the dove saves the bee that fell into the water. When a hunter wants to shoot the dove, the bee stings the hunter in his hand (Uther 2004: 151, Kropej Telban 2015: 382).

In the valley of Resia, a tale has been preserved about the Sheep and the Bee:

The Sheep and the Bee

The sheep and the bee constantly argued. So they went to court in Poltabja, and the bee was asked why they were arguing. It replied: “How could I not be angered – the sheep eats all the flowers, all the blades of grass, so I cannot gather anything, and I cannot make any wax. But there are so many churches, so many dead, and many candles are needed!” The sheep then replied: “What about me? They strip off my coat in the worst time of the year! While it is still freezing, I am without any coat, but still I have to keep silent!” [Recounted by Milka Santičeva, Oseaco/Osojane, recorded by Milko Matičetov on March 31, 1974].

Many animal tales speak about the Bear and the Bees, for instance, the tale “The Bear Climbs a Tree” ATU 88*. In this tale, the bear tries to reach the honey in the bee nest on a tree, so he climbs on a cart. When the cart suddenly moves, the bear falls to the ground (Uther 2004: 73, Kropej Telban 2015: 194–197). The following story also recounts the different ways in which the bear tries to reach the honey but always fails:

The Bear Visits the Bees

A beehive stood in the forest. The sweet smell of honey lured a sweet-toothed bear out of the thicket. “I am bored,” says the bear to the bees. “Let me be in your company for a while. I’ll keep quiet and will not hurt you.” The bees consent.

The bear crouches in front of the beehive, sadly hangs his heavy head on his front paws, and stealthily watches the hives. Sniffing, his mouth waters at the sight of the sweet meal.

Finally, when he can no longer resist, he slips quietly to the first hive and licks around the entrance.

Seeing this, a bee swiftly stings him in his tongue.

Roaring, the bear tears back to the forest. His tongue keeps swelling. Thinking that he is approaching his final hour, the bear sighs and groans: “Oh, sweet death, oh, bitter death!”

But instead of dying, he recovers his health.

One day, he is again tempted and beckoned by the sweet honey. He creeps quietly from the forest to the beehive and sniffs around the entrance to lick the sweet honey.

The bees have had enough. They fall upon his head and blind him with their stings.

In terrible pain, the bear runs back to the thicket. He is met by a fox.

“Who has poked out your eyes, my friend?” the fox asks.

“My sweet tooth!” moans the bear.

Aren't many of those who do not reflect upon the fact that passion without a bridle is a surefire trap similar to this unwise bear? [Kosi 1894: 98 – 99].

In the tales of magic, the bee is a magical assistant helping the fairy-tale hero achieve the desired goal. In tales and legends, it can also represent the human soul that emerges from the mouth of the dying or sleeping person, for example in some variants of the ATU 808A tale *The Death of the Good and of the Bad Man*.

A fantastic giant bee appears in humorous tales about lies, e.g., in *The Great Bee and the Small Beehive* ATU 1920G, which also tells how a large bee gets into a small beehive.

As can be seen from above, the bees have a special status in narrative tradition, and are in most Christian legends considered to be “God’s creatures”. They have preserved this role also in other tales, where they are usually presented as good protagonists.

Like in other places, and particularly in the era of the Enlightenment and in the Baroque period, many Slovenian priests included bees in their sermons. They extolled their diligence and set them as an example to people, for example, Janez Svetokriški and Father Rogerij Ljubljanski (Stanonik 2018: 98). People also recounted superstitions related to beekeeping. One of them tells of a beekeeper who placed the holy host into his beehive, which greatly increased the production of honey. However, he had to atone for this act (For more see: Makarovič & Rogelj Škafar 2000: 35, Stanonik 2018: 94–98). The bees and their products were also incorporated in many medicinal practices and folk beliefs (For more see: Ovsec 1984, Adamič et al. 1984).

Many short folklore genres, like riddles, proverbs, and sayings about bees prove that in the 20th century, bees were still greatly present in daily life. Here are some proverbs and sayings and riddles: “Which bird is sweet but cannot be eaten?”; “Do you know the bird that sweetens the dessert?”; “You will live like a bird in honey;” and “Busy as a bee” (For more see: Keber 1996: 21, Stanonik 2018: 102–109).

Literary creations frequently tell of the harmonious coexistence between the bees, beekeepers, and other people who take care of bees. Many beekeepers are certain that bees can detect when a person approaching them is angry or in a good mood (Tucak 2012: 1098), and that the bees also instil a sense of happiness and strengthen family ties (Vaitkevičius 2016: 87).

URBAN BEEKEEPING AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUMAN AND NON-HUMAN BEINGS

Urban apiculture, the practice of keeping bee colonies in urban areas, especially on terraces and in parks, has recently become popular throughout Europe and in America. The Slovenian association of urban beekeepers *Urban Beekeeper (Urbani čebelar)* was founded in Ljubljana in 2014. The initiative had come from the municipality of Ljubljana at a time when the city was awarded the title of the Green Capital of Europe in 2016. The municipality also encouraged the beekeepers of Ljubljana to create the so-called Bee Path for which 110 linden trees will be planted over the next five years along the *Path of Remembrance and Comradeship*. There are many other bee-related events taking place in Ljubljana and elsewhere in Slovenia as well. Slovenia took the initiative to launch the *European Honey Breakfast*, which contains honey and is implemented under the name *Slovenian Breakfast* in kindergartens and elementary schools throughout Slovenia. An event named *Honey Day* is organized yearly along Stritarjeva Street in the very heart of Ljubljana. Among other popular events associated with the bee are Beekeeping Fairs that are also attended by beekeepers from a number of European countries.

Urban beekeeping is very well developed in Slovenia. In Ljubljana, beehives can be found on the roofs of the *Cankarjev Dom cultural centre*, the *Španski Borci cultural centre*, *Park Hotel*, and also the presidential palace; the latter is managed by the *Urban Beekeeper Society*. Some “urban beekeepers” attempt to initiate schoolchildren from nearby schools into beekeeping by organizing beekeeping clubs, and beekeeping societies organize lectures and other events for beekeepers and the general public.



Fig. 4: Beekeeper Grega Benko¹ in front of his apiary in Ljubljana (photo: Kropelj Telban 2017).

As part of the “Save the Bees” project, The Museum of Apiculture in Radovljica organized on September 22, 2016, a round table entitled “Cultural Heritage and Beekeeping” (Porenta 2016). Ljubljana Castle also hosted an exhibit that was opened on May 20, which is the birth date of the legendary Slovenian beekeeper Anton Janša. Slovenia has

¹ I am indebted to Grega Benko for a great amount of information about beekeeping in Slovenia and about urban beekeeping in Ljubljana, and also for introducing to me the patterns of life of the bees.



Fig. 5: Beekeepers' Learning Path (Čebelarska učna pot) in Tršće in Croatia (photo: Kroje Telban 2017).

also proposed to the United Nations to declare May 20 the World Bee Day. In December 2018, the proposal was adopted within the framework of the UN Conference, and May 20 was officially declared the World Bee Day.

Many exhibitions, TV shows, international projects, learning paths, and other events with the intention to present bees and their lifeworld, have been organized in Europe in recent years. Beekeeping and the industry of bee products have become extremely popular worldwide. The production of and trade in bee products, which emphasize their apitherapeutic properties, are highly developed and profitable. At the same time, many beekeepers have stopped giving the bees sugar for food because this is bad for their health; and some beekeepers are practicing biodynamic beekeeping and biodynamic therapy. The foundations as *Internationale Gabriele Stiftung* (in Slovenia: *Gabrielin sklad, Ajda Koroška*) encourage a non-anthropocentric relationship towards animals, to sell only the honey which the bees have left over and do not use for themselves.

Apimondia, the International Federation of Beekeepers' Association, organized the First International Apicultural Congress as far back as 1897. Slovenia hosted the congress of 2003. The *Beekeeping Association of Slovenia* is applying to be the host of Apimondia again in 2021. In the words of its President Boštjan Noč, who is actively engaged in solving the problems of bees and beekeeping, beekeeping is not only about the acquisition of honey but much, much more – it is really a way of life. He stated: “Being a beekeeper is a Slovenian trait, for it is written in our genes. For the beekeeper, the bee is only partly an

economic factor. Its greater value is in her usefulness to nature. One third of the world's food depends on bee pollination. Moreover, pollination is highly problematic in countries with plantation agriculture.” (*Glasilo Ljubljana* 2018).

Yet it is not just the beekeeping activities and the extraction of bee products that make apiculture so very popular in Slovenia. This is essentially a special Slovenian culture, which is unique in the world. Bees represent a festive part of life. Working with them, the beekeeper becomes serene and suffused with joy, and is able to enjoy them far into his or her golden years. Many have developed an almost egalitarian relationship to the bee that is in accord with the non-anthropocentric way of thinking and understanding the world around us.

CONCLUSION

Since bees (and other animals as well) are extremely important for maintaining the ecological balance in the world, some people have in the 21st century started to rethink their relationship to them from a perspective of posthumanism, which is broadening our understanding of culture and nature.

Beekeeping is expanded worldwide, and is very popular in many European countries, for example in Baltic societies, where family beekeeping is very much appreciated. In Lithuania, it was closely related to the notion of happiness and good fortune (Vaitkevičius 2016: 87), and mead used to play a significant social and political role in the life of nobility in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Vaitkevičienė 2016: 64). In Slovenia, the long-famed coexistence of the Slovenian beekeeper with the bees often focuses on the eco-centric understanding of nature and culture.

In contrast, human intervention in nature in many areas has had devastating consequences resulting in unintentional extermination of bees. Therefore, it is necessary that we improve our relation to the bees and our understanding of these extraordinary animals worldwide. Attitudes towards animals should be focused on cultural ecology and ethical awareness, and should also reflect the politics of animal breeding and exploitation. We can see that the shift from anthropocentrism towards ecocriticism, as Marjetka Golež Kaučič (2017: 40) defined it, has also influenced the ethical shift in apiculture.

Today, when the ontology is becoming increasingly oriented towards ecocriticism and non-anthropocentrism is making way for multispecies ethnography, the focus of our research is oriented towards the connection between the human and non-human, rather than merely on our species, or on a divide (Thompson 2019). The movements that we can observe in the contemporary societies and in changing sociohistorical epistemologies prove that the world is changing, and hopefully also the bees will be perceived as non-human beings with intrinsic value, without which there is no life on the earth.

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ČEBELE IN ČEBELARSTVO V LUČI ONTOLOŠKEGA OBRATA

MONIKA KROPEJ TELBAN



Čebele so zaradi medu in voska, ki ju proizvajajo, cenjene živali z bogato simbolno vlogo, prek katere so prišle tudi v umetnost in duhovno kulturo številnih narodov. Animističnega izvora je izraz, da *Čebela ne pogine, ampak umre*, ki je še vedno v rabi, kajti tisoč let krščanstva, kot ugotavlja France Bezljaj, čebelam ni moglo odvzeti duše kakor vsem ostalim živalim (Bezljaj 2003: 1239). Zaradi tega jim – za razliko od ostalih živali – neanimizem, ki ga zagovarja sodobna antropologija (Harvey 2006, Descola 2013), v tem pogledu ne bo spremenil položaja.

Znamenitega grškega filozofa Platona, po rodu iz Aten, so imenovali atenska čebela, ker je govoril tako medeno tekoče, kot da bi se v zibki roj čebel usedel na njegova usta. Podobno se je govorilo o Ksenofontu, Sofokleju, Pindarju, sv. Janezu Zlatoustem, Izidorju iz Seville in sv. Ambrožu, ki je poleg Joba zavetnik čebelarjev. Tudi pri Hebrejcih je čebela povezana z govorom. Njeno ime *Dbure* izhaja iz besede *Dbr*, ki pomeni govor, od tod tudi povezava med *čebelo* in *besedo*. Preko besede in govora je čebela povezana tudi z jezikom, kulturo, govorništvom in pesništvo, pa tudi z marljivostjo.

Čebelarstvo je bilo na Slovenskem že od nekdaj zelo razvito; Strabo (IV. 6) in Lucius Columella (IX) omenjata čebelarje na našem ozemlju, ki so v Italijo izvažali vosek in med. O gojenju čebel v klasičnih slovenskih lesenih panjih – kranjičih je leta 1689 pisal polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor. Na Slovenskem so tudi, kot unikum v Evropi, v drugi polovici 18. stoletja začeli poslikavati panjske končnice na kranjičih, katerih prednjo deščico nad žrelom so krasile. Poleg poimenovanj »končnica« najdemo še izraze »skončnica«, na Koroškem »čelnica«, v rovtarskem narečju »dovž«. Najstarejša danes znana končnica ima letnico 1758 in kaže podobo

Marije z detetom. Poslikave so čebelam pomagale prepoznavati svoj panj, vendar so bili prvi vzroki zanje apotropični. Z njimi so želeli tudi poudariti premožnost svoje kmetije in se postavljati pred drugimi. Poslikavanje panjskih končnic se je kmalu zaneslo tudi čez Karavanke na Koroško, kjer se je zakoreninilo v Rožu in Podjuni, poznajo ga tudi na Tirolskem.

Evidentiranih je preko 700 različnih motivov, ki so jih upodabljali na končnicah. Poleg nabožnih prizorov najdemo tudi motive iz ljudskega slovstva, zgodovinske motive, šaljive in posmehljive motive in prizore vsakdanjega življenja, živali in rastline, pa tudi eksotične, orientalske in indijske motive. Navdihovali so se ob slikah na steklu ali pa ob motivih z grafičnih listov, ki so prihajali k nam iz tujine. Panjske končnice so začeli ponovno izdelovati v drugi polovici 20. stol.; tiste, ki nastajajo po starem vzoru, prodajajo kot spominke.

Čebele so pogosto omenjene v slovstveni folklori: o njih so se ohranili kratki folklorni žanri, kot so uganke, pregovori in reki, poleg tega pa tudi bogato pripovedno izročilo, predvsem veliko legend o njihovem nastanku. Rodile naj bi se iz kapelj Kristusovega potu, ko je trpel na križu; ali pa tudi iz njegovih ust; iz kapelj krvi, ki so pritekale Kristusu iz rane, ko ga je udarila kmetica, ki mu ni hotela dati njegovega hlebčka kruha. Nastale naj bi tudi iz kapelj vode, ki so ob Kristusovem krstu padale v reko Jordan. Ker čebele proizvajajo vosek, iz katerega delajo sveče, ki gorijo tudi v cerkvah pri maši, nastopajo v legendah kot božje živali: Bog je razširil svojo milost po čebelah in zaradi tega se maša ne sme brati brez voska.

Nekatere povedke o čebelah razlagajo njihov pik, saj naj bi prvotno hotele z njim pomoriti druga bitja. Teokrit (*Eidyllion* 19) pripoveduje, da je čebela nekoč pičila Amorja. Ko se je pritožil svoji materi, ga je Venera opomnila, da so tudi njegove puščice, čeprav je majhen, prav tako boleče kot čebelji pik. Legenda »Sv. Petra pičijo čebele« (ATU 774K) pa pripoveduje, kako je Peter očital Kristusu, ker je kaznoval grešnika, a mu je Kristus kmalu za tem oporekel njegovo dejanje, ko je zaradi pika ene čebele uničil celo gnezdo, ki ga je imel pod srajco (slovenski originali so v prilogi, gl. Appendix). Tako poslikave na končnicah kot pripovedi o čebelah so, času nastajanja primerno, tesno povezane s krščansko vero. Tudi pozneje so čebele ohranile vlogo »božjega bitja« in so bile v slovenskem pripovedništvu predstavljene kot poduhovljena bitja.

Čebelarstvo in industrija čebeljih proizvodov sta v zadnjem času v svetu doživela velik razmah. Čebele so začeli gojiti tudi v mestih, predvsem na terasah in v parkih, kjer se je v zadnjem času razmahnilo urbano čebelarstvo. V Sloveniji je bilo društvo *Urbani čebelar* ustanovljeno leta 2014, pobudnik zanj je bila Mestna občina Ljubljana v času, ko je bila Ljubljana imenovana za zeleno prestolnico Evrope v letu 2016. V tem času so nastale tudi številne čebelarske poti, v Ljubljani so ob *Poti spominov in tovarištva* so zasadili še več lipovih dreves in uvedli *medeni zajtrk*, iz katerega je nastal *slovenski zajtrk*. Zelo se je razvila proizvodnja čebeljih proizvodov, pri čemer se poudarjajo njihove apiterapevtske lastnosti.

Decembra 2018 je OZN na pobudo Slovenske čebelarske zveze razglasila 20. maj – rojstni dan Antona Janše, prvega učitelja čebelarstva na Dunaju – za svetovni

dan čebel. Slovenski čebelarji ohranjajo svojo tradicionalno čebelarstvo kulturo. Marsikdo med njimi je do čebel razvil skorajda egalitaran odnos; čebele torej v življenju slovenskih čebelarjev zavzemajo pomembno mesto.

Vendar pa je človek s svojimi uničujočimi posegi v naravo čebele na številnih območjih nehote iztrebil. Odnos do živali je zatorej treba usmerjati h kulturno-ekološki in etični ozaveščenosti tudi pri njihovem gojenju in izkoriščanju. Danes, ko je v času posthumanizma ontologija usmerjena vedno bolj ekološko in ko se antropocentrizem umika etnografiji različnih enakovrednih vrst – človeških in nečloveških subjektivitet (Golež Kaučič 2017), mora biti fokus usmerjen v povezavo in ne v razlikovanje med njimi. Razvoj, ki ga lahko opazimo v sodobnih družbah in v spreminjajoči se družbenozgodovinski epistemologiji, dokazuje, da se svet spreminja in da bodo tudi čebele razumljene kot človeku enakovredna bitja, ki imajo svoje kulturne vzorce in intrinzično vrednost in brez katerih ni življenja na zemlji.

PRILOGA: SLOVENSKE LJUDSKE PRIPOVEDI O ČEBELAH

1 KEDAJ JE USTVARIL BOG ČEBELE?

Sin božji, viseč na križu med dvema razbojnikoma, trpel je neznosne bolečine. Poleg drugih težav in bridkosti, ki so ga obhajale, začelo ga je tudi neizmerno žejeti. Tedaj mu pomoli jeden vojakov v kis (jesih) namočeno gobo k ustom. Zveličar vzame nekoliko kapljic, toda grenka pijača izvabi grozne muke trpečemu Sinu božjemu mnogo potnih kapljic na mrzlo njegovo čelo.

Da bi postavil spomin na prebridko uro, prosil je – kakor pripoveduje legenda – Kristus svojega nebeškega očeta, naj ustvari iz teh potnih kapljic živalice, ki bodo vzgledno marljivo nabirale sladko tekočino – med. Njihovo trudoljubnost naj bi ljudje posnemali, sladko strd pa uživali, da pozabijo vsako bridko uro, ki jih bode trla v vsdakdanjem življenju.

Oče nebeški je izpolnil željo svojemu božjemu Sinu in je ustvaril še isti dan čebele. Za stanovanje jim je odmeril drevesna dupla v znamenje, da je izdahnil Jezus na lesenem križu svojo dušo.

Zato čebele že od nekdanj kaj rade stanujejo v votlih deblih. Kasneje so začeli ljudje čebelam narejati posebna stanovanja – koše ali panje, in najljubši jim je baje panj, spleten iz divje vinske trte. Zakaj neki? Zato, ker so stebelca te rastline zelo podobna trnjevi kroni, katero je imel trpeči Kristus na glavi, ko je na lesu sv. križa umrl.

Ker je ustvaril Bog čebelo v spomin na pregrenko smrt božjega Odrešenika, zato ljudje o njej ne govorijo, da bi »poginila«, kakor druge živali, ampak čebela »umrje« kakor človek.

Iz njene strdi pa se pridobiva vosek za sveče, katere gorijo pri vsakem svetem opravlilu, ki nas spominja na pregrenko smrt božjega Zveličarja. [Kosi 1896: 26–27; Kedaj je ustvaril Bog čebele?; Kosi 1897: 190–191; Stanonik 2018: 91].

2 KRISTUS IN SV. PETER (KAKO SO BUČELE POSTALE?)

Ko sta Kristus in sv. Peter hodila po svetu, prišla sta k nekej ženi ravno, ko je vsajala pogačo. Bagovori jo kristus in upraša:

»Ali bo ktera pogača moja?«

Žena je bila dobrih rok: noben berač ni brez daru šel od hiše, in tudi njega ni hotela s samo besedo odpraviti:

»Naj bode pa ta-le tvoja«, pravi.

Odločila mu je najmanjo, ki je ravno imela jo na loparji. Hotela je vže vsaditi jo, kar povzame Kristus:

»Čaki, moram jo zaznamovati, da ne vzamem kake druge, kedar bodo pečene. Stopi bliže in vtakne prst vanjo. Žena jo zdaj dene v peč; nepoznana sv. moža pa gresta v senco počivat.

Jezusova pogača je vidno rastla. Kmalo je bila večja nego vse druge. Ženi se to čudno zdi. Pokesa se, ker jo je obljubila popotniku.

»E kaj,« reče sama sebi, »saj ni, da bi morala dati to, odpravim ga z drugo. Vendar le škoda je, ker je tako lepo visoka.«

Gre, naredi brž drugo, potakne prst vanjo, pa dene v peč.

Ko so bile vse pogače pečene, poklicala je popotnika, dala je Jezusu odmenjeno pogačo, pa on je obstal, ostro pogledal ženo in rekel:

»Žena, to ni moja pogača, daj mi obljubljeno.«

Žena se je nevedno delala, tiščala vanj in trdila, da je prava; naj jo le vzame. Pa ker ga ni mogla pregovoriti, zgrabila jo je naposled jeza in udarila je Jezusa po senci. Gospod je zdaj vzel pogačo, pa ne svoje, in šla sta s Petrom dalje. Čez nekaj časa je velel Kristus Petru:

»Pogledi, pogledi, kaj mi je tu na senci, kamor me je udarila žena. Peter je pogledal in videl rano, v rani pa črvička. Dalje grede reče Kristus drugič Petru, naj mu pogleda rane:

»Zelo me ščemi in ščegeče,« pravi.

Pogleda in kaj vidi? – Živalico, muhi podobno, ki je precej izletela na bližnjo skalo.

»Gledi Peter,« reče Gospod na to, »ta živalca je bučela; delala bo vosek, brez kterega se ne bo brala nobena sv. maša.«

In tako so postale bučele. [Podgoriški, Kristus in sv. Peter. *Slovenski glasnik* 9/7 (1. 7. 1863): 213–214; Kosi 1890a: 30–31; Stanonik 2018: 90].

3 ZAKAJ MORAJO ČEBELE UMRETI, ČE PIČIJO

Sv. Gal je imel rad čebele, pa jih je sosedu ukradel cel panj. Nesel jih je na rami, čebele pa vanj in so ga opikale! Takrat čebelam še ni bilo treba umreti, če so pikale. Pa se je svetnik razjezil in je rekel: »Mene, ki sem svetnik božji pikate? Katera me bo poslej še pičila, bo morala umreti!« Od takrat čebela umre, če piči. Pa nikoli ne piči, razen, če varuje med ali zalego. [M. Malenšek, *Plamenica – roman o Primožu Trubarju* 1957: 331 (Keber 1996: 23)]

4 ZAKAJ MORA ČEBELICA UMRETI, KADAR PIČI?

Ko je Bog ustvaril živalce, je bila med njimi tudi čebelica. Ker je bila majhna – ubožica – jo je hotel Bog zavarovati in ji je dal strupeno želo in rekel: »Kogar boš pičila, bo moral umreti.« Čebelica je vesela odbrenčala v široki mladi svet. Dobila je še mnogo sestic. In kadar se jim je kdo zameril ali da jim je solnce preveč grelo telesa, so jezno pikale ljudi in živali, in vsak človek je moral umreti.

Čebelice so pa naprej pikale ljudi, in ti so mrli in mrli in bilo jih je vedno manj. V nebesih pa so jokali angelci, ker so imeli preveč dela. In dobri Bog je poklical čebelico k sebi in ji rekel: »Prehudo delate, čebelice na zemlji. Zato vas bom kaznoval. Obdržite svoja žela in branite se z njimi pred sovražniki. A kadar bo katera pičila, bo morala umreti.«

Sklonila je drobna čebelica glavico pred Bogom, razpela krilca in odbrenčala pod božje solnce k svojim sestricam, da jim pove o božji jezi.

V tihi žalosti so sklonile čebelice glavice, sedle na jablan in žalovale... Od tistega dne pa mora vsaka čebelica umreti, kadar piči. [*Angelček* 36/2 (oktober 1927/28): 23–24; Stanonik 2018: 91–92].

5. LEGENDA O BOGU SV. PETRU IN ČEBELAH (ATU 774K)

Bog in sveti Peter sta hodila od ene dežele do druge in sta pripovedovala in učila evangelij. Prispela sta do Sodome in Gomore, kjer so počeli vse mogoče. Bog je vse uničil, poslal je strelo. In sveti Peter mu reče: »Zakaj ste vse uničili? Tam so bili tudi tisti, ki so verjeli v vas. Grdo ste storili!«

»Ah, Peter, Peter,« je rekel Bog, »kaj ti veš? Pojdimo naprej!«. In sta šla. Prišla sta v drugo deželo. Tu je Bog zagledal en roj čebel. »Peter, vzemi to in si deni na prsi!« Peter je ubogal Boga in si ga je dal na prsi. Hodila sta in hodila. Toda ena čebela je pičila Petra in on, čeprav ga je pičila ena sama, je zmečkal vse. [*Terska dolina, Italija, Merku* 1976: 357; Stanonik 2018: 90–91].

6. ZAKAJ ČEBELE SLAVE SVETI VEČER?

Pripovedka nam pripoveduje, da so čebela na badnjik (sveti večer) vso noč, ko se je porodil Jezus, navadno vesele. Skačejo in zujejo, a matica poje, da se je ne moreš dosti naslišati. Vprašajmo čebele, vprašajmo njihovo kraljico, zakaj so tako vesele, in čebele nam poreko takole:

»Ko sta sv. Jožef in Marija prišla v Betlehem, nista mogla v mestu nikjer prenočiti, ker so bile vse hiše prenapolnene tujih ljudi. Šla sta zatorej iz mesta ven na polje in našla ubožen hlev, pred katerim sta se ustavila. V isti čas stopi star pastir iz hleva ter ju nagovori, da naj pri njem ostaneta. Jožef in Marija stopita v hlev in pastir reče svojej ženi:

»Postrezi tujcema, a jaz poženem ovce na pašo, da bode nekoliko več prostora pod našo ubožno streho. Nu predno otidem, prižgati hočem še voščeno svečo, da se vidimo.«

Prižgavši svečo, otide.

Za malo časa je bila temna noč in v tej noči je prišel Jezus na svet. Sveta devica Marija je povila dete Jezuščka v plenice in ga položila v jaslice. Jožef in Marija sta slavila in častila Boga za toliko milosti in dobrote.

In zato, ker je voščena sveča razsvetljevala hlev, v katerem se je porodilo sveto dete Jezušček, slave tudi čebele badnjik in božično noč z velikim veseljem in radostjo. A to ne samo lani in letos, nego slavile ga bodo do konca dni, dokler bode svet. In pravo imajo pridne bučelice, ker voščene sveče so od voska, katerega one nabirajo po cvetji z velikim trudom in trpljenjem. Čebelice časte Boga, našega očeta, ker jih je tako odlikoval, da je hlev, v katerem se je porodil Jezus, razsvetljevala voščena sveča. [Kobali 1884: 188; Kosi 1890b: 31–32; Kosi 1897: 192].

7 KAKO NA SVETI VEČER ČEBELE POJEJO OPOLNOČI

Opolnoči, kdor gre k studencu, pa da pogleda v studenec in vidi rjuhe in smrt, bo tisto leto smrt pri hiši; če pa vidi dekle, lepo kot nevesta, bo ohcet. /.../ Na Livkovem je Matevž pregovoril domače, da so šli opolnoči poslušat čebele, če res pojejo. Seveda pa niso nič pele, le malo je bilo v panju slišati brenčanja. [Podbrežnik Vukmir 2009: 266; Stanonik 2018: 92].

8 KAKO JE ČEBELA PRIŠLA NA KRANJSKO

Sladkosnedni Noe je v barko vtihotapil panj čebel. Ko so vode upadle, so čebele ostale same. Več rodov je zraslo in ker je domovanje postalo pretesno, je mlada matica, ki se je izlegla med potopom, odpeljala tri rodove v votlino palme. Četrtrič jo je zalotil vihar in jo z družino vred zanesel na Kranjsko. [Gnilšak 1989: 117; Stanonik 2018: 92].

9 HRABRA KUHARICA (ATU 1302*)

Na Šilentabru na Notranjskem je stal grad, ki je imel močno zidovje z devetimi trdnimi stolpi. Nekega lepega dne se nenadoma prikažejo Turki pod obzidjem in hočejo vlomiti skozi utrjena vrata v grad, kjer ni bilo razen kuharice žive duše doma. Ti so šli namreč, ker je bila nedelja, v bližnjo cerkev k službi Božji. Kuharica začuje šum in razbijanje ter gre pogledat, kdo je zunaj. In kaj vidi? Pred vrati je polno Turkov, ki hočejo vdreti v grad. V prvem strahu ne ve, kaj pošeti. Kmalu pa ji pride dobra misel v glavo. Blizu obzidja je grajski čebelnjak. Hitro gre do njega in pomeče vse panje čez obzidje, da se razbijejo na trdih turških buticah. Razkačene čebelice začnejo pikati Turke, ki vsi opikani hitro zbeže nazaj v Bosno. Tako je kuharica rešila grad s svojo hrabrostjo in razumnostjo, ter je bila od graščaka bogato obdarovana. [Ivan Marinčič, Hrabra kuharica, *Izvir, list nižješolskega dijaštva v Marijanišču* I/1, str. 5–6 (letnice ni, ok. 1922), po: Stanonik 2018: 97].

10 ČEBELE, KI SO PREGNALE TURKE IZ BEGUNJ (ATU 1302*)

V Begunjah nad Cerknico je še sedaj razširjena govorica, da so čebele pognale grozovite Turke v beg. Tamošnja cerkev je bila v turških časih – kakor mnogo cerkva – obdana z

močnim zidovjem, taborom. Ko so se bližali Turki Begunjam, skrili so se prebivalci za te utrdbe ter seboj vzeli, kar so v naglici vzeti mogli. Ker so čebelarji že takrat ljubili čebele in jih niso hoteli kar tako prepustiti Turkom, so jih vzeli s seboj v tabor. Niso si pa mislili, da jih bodo ravno čebele rešile gotove smrti. Turki napadajo tabor pri cerkvi. Možaki in mladeniči se branijo kot levi, a kaj pomaga njih hrabrost in moč proti tolikim! Jeli so omahovati. Zdaj pa zdaj bo tabor premagan in potem gorje onim, kateri so v njem! Nekemu čebelarju se pa nekaj zasveti v glavi, udari se po čelu in pravi: »Morda bodo pa moje čebele nam pomagale in Turke premagale? Čakajte Turčini, jaz vam bom dal popra!« Hitro skoči po panj čebel ter ga vrže čez zid med Turčine. Panj, seveda, se razbije, čebele postanejo zaradi padca ljute ter se zakade v Turčine. Med Turki nastane zmešnjava, kričijo, kolnejo, Alaha kličejo, a vse nič ne pomaga. Kristjani so vrgli še nekaj panjev med Turke in sicer na vseh straneh zidovja. No, to je bilo klanje! Kri sicer ni tekla, a tekli so Turki kar se je dalo tja doli proti Cerknici z oteklimi glavami. Nekateri niso nič videli, tako so bili otekli. Pa kaj ne bodo! Turki niso bili čebelarji, zato jim je pik tako škodoval. Nikdar več niso prišli potem v Begunje. Rekli so: »V Begunje ne gremo več, tam imajo hude muhe.« [*Slovenski čebelar* 1902, after Ovsec 1984: 49].

11 BČELA IN GOLOBČIK (ATU 240A*)

Bčela je bila padla v vodico; golobčik to viditi hitro s kljunom peresce od vejice odterga in ga v vodico spusti. Bčela peresce srečno doseže, se ga varno poprime in z njim iz vodice prigomazi; rešena je bila gotove smrti. Golobčik se zopet na drevo usede. Memo pride neki lovec, golobčika na drevesu zagledavši hitro s puško vanj pomeri in hoče sprožiti, pa – bčela pribrenči in pik! ga piči na roko. Lovec si roko mane, puška zmajana počí in vse zernje gre daleč od golobčika; golobčik zdrav in vesel z drevesa zleti. Kdo mu je življenje otel? –

Učite se, otroci! Od živalic hvaležnosti. [Anton Praprotnik, Bčela in golobčik. Šolski prijatelj 3/2 (10. 1. 1854), str. 14]

12 OVCA IN BEČELA

Ovca in bečela sta se zmerom pričkali. Tedaj sta šli kar na sodnijo na Poltabjo. Tam gori so jih začeli spraševati – najprej bečelo – kaj imata, da se pričkata.

Bečela je rekla: »Kaj se ne bi jezila, ko mi sne vse rožice, vse travice, da ne morem nič ubrati, ne morem dajati voska, pa je toliko cerkva in toliko mertvih, bi bilo treba dosti sveč!«

Tedaj ovca je rekla: »Kaj pa meni, ki mi slečejo plašč v najhujšem letnem času! Ko je še velik mraz, sem brez plašča in moram molčati!« [Minka Santičeva po pripovedovanju Paske Vecintave, Osojane, 31. 3. 1974. Zapisal Milko Matičetov.]

13 MEDVED PRI BUČELAH (AD ATU88*)

Tik gozda je stal bučelnjak. Prijetni duh strdi je izvabil iz gošče sladkosnednega medveda. »Dolgčas mi je,« prične kosmatinec čebelam, »pustite me nekoliko v svoji družbi; miren bodem in vam ne bodem storil ničesar.« – Bučele privolijo.

Medved se spravi pod bučelnjak, dene žalosten težko svojo glavo na prednje šape ter skrivaj ogleduje panje, voha in sline se mu cedijo po sladki jedi.

Naposled, ko se ne more več upirati, splazi se tiho k prvemu panju ter liže okrog žrela.

To videč, piči ga neka bučelica hitro v jezik.

Medved zarjove ter zbeži kakor besen nazaj v gozd. Jezik pa mu čimdalje bolj oteka, in ker misli kosmatinec, da se mu bliža zadnja ura, vzdihne in stoka venomer:

»Oh sladka smrt, a bridka smrt!«

Toda umrl ni, ampak zopet ozdravel.

Nekga dne ga mika in zopet vabi sladka strd. Na tihem se priklati iz gozda k ulnjaku, približa se panju ter voha okrog žrela, da bi lizal sladko strd.

Bučelam pa je to dovolj. Zaprša se mu v glavo ter ga s svojim pikanjem oslepe.

S strašnimi bolečinami pobegne nazaj v goščo. Sreča ga strinja lisica.

»Prijatelj!« Kaj pa ti je izteknilo oči? vpraša ga.

»Sladnost, sladnost!« stoka medved

Ali ni temu brezpametnemu medvedu podoben marsikdo, ki ne pomisli, da je brez uzde strast gotova past? [Kosi 1894: 98 – 99].

14 HOSTIJA V ČEBELNJAKU

Neki čebelar, ki s čebelarjenjem ni imel sreče, je prinesel v ulnjak hostijo, to pa mu je prineslo srečo in dobiček. Za to so zvedeli sosedje, šli so po duhovnika in v panju našli hostijo, okoli katere so čebele zgradile monštranco. Ta monštranca je bila upodobljena na končnici. [Makarovič, Rogelj Škafar 2000: 35; prim.: Stanonik 2018: 102 – 109].

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Razgledi

Orizzonti

Horizons

Daritvena pogača *župnik* in Valvasorjev *Hausgötze* – *gospodarček*

Ilja Popit

The author analyses the uses of the Christmas festive bread *poprtnik* and the age-old tradition of baking such offerings in Slovenia. These offerings, along with the names of certain Slavic deities, were first mentioned four hundred years ago. One of these Christmas breads has preserved its name – *župnik*, documented in Ribnica in Dolenjsko / Lower Carniola. This name *župnik* was passed on to this offering bread after the early medieval Slavic administrative unit *župa*, and not after the Slovenian term for a Catholic priest – *župnik*, which was first introduced only just after the year 1860.

KEYWORDS: offering bread, *poprtnik*, *župnik*, Christmas bread, *Gospodarček*, house spirits, Penats, *badnjak*

UVOD

Potem ko so na prelomu tisočletja (1997–2007) v gostilni pri Kuklju v Velikih Laščah pripravili več razstav božičnega kruha *poprtnika* – *žúpneka*, je to zamisel uspešno prevzel velikolaški Zavod za kulturo in turizem Parnas. Še več. S tem je resno in prizadevno oživil to našo prastaro šego tudi v obliki državnega varstva naše nesnovne dediščine. To se dogaja že kar v obliki tekme v obvladovanju te pekovske mojstrovine. Z izdajo blizu 200 let starih zapiskov ribniških graščakov Rudežev in kaplana Zime *Od volkodlaka do Klepca* v letu 2010 sem tudi sam prispeval k poznavanju te nekdanje kranjske, najbrž pa kar vseslovenske in širše slovanske šege, saj se je pokazalo, da so Rudeži zanjo razodeli tudi staro slovansko ime *župnik*. Zato so me Parnasovi povabili, naj Laščanom pridem o tem povedat še kaj. Za tisto priložnost (decembra 2016) sem tudi analiziral, kaj o teh rečeh piše Valvasor. Ob pripravi sem spoznal, da premalo poudarjamo tudi vsebino še sto let starejših zapisov izpod peresa učenjaka Hieronymusa Megiserja. Zdaj sem svojo takratn pripoved še precej razširil.

SPREMINJANJE IZRAZOV

Najprej spomnimo, da se tudi naša slovenska govornica marsikdaj spreminja. V tem spreminjanju je nastala tudi beseda *župnik* v pomenu duhovnik. To besedo so za duhovnika ustvarili šele na Hrvaškem najbrž zato, da so lažje razlikovali med katoliškim in pravoslavnim duhovnikom: pravoslavni je *pop*, katoliški je *župnik*.

Pri nas, na Slovenskem, so si torej besedo *župnik* pred okrog 160 leti sposodili, najbrž predvsem zaradi poenotenja in poslovanjenja dotedanjih latinskih in nemških izrazov. Do srede 19. stoletja so namreč pri nas župniji rekli *fara*, njenemu duhovniku pa bodisi *pleban*, *plovan*, zlasti pa *far*, *fajmošter*, ponekod tudi *pop*, *nunc*, *mašnik*, *mešnik*.

Murkov slovar »ročni besednik«, ki je izšel leta 1833, izraza *župnik* za nemškega *Pharrer* sploh še ne omenja. Tudi v nemško-slovenskem slovarju, ki ga je spisal Matej Cigale in denar za njegovo objavo priskrbel škof Anton Alojzij Wolf ter je izšel sredi januarja 1860, je bil nemški *Pfarrer* še vedno kar naš *fajmošter*, ki v svoji fari *fajmoštruje* (Wolf 1860: 1155). Res pa je Cigale tam sporočil, da mu Hrvatje v zadnjem času rečejo *župnik*, fari pa – zgledujoč se po staroslovanskem političnem okraju – pravijo *župa*. Ker pa izraz *župa* vodi v zamenjavo z juho, *župo* (*die Suppe*), je pravni terminolog in jezikoslovec Cigale odsvetoval, da bi Slovenci začeli posnemati ta hrvaški izraz. Fare tako odtlej pri nas ni zamenjevala *župa*, ampak *župnija*.

Beseda *župnik* za duhovnika se je torej na Slovenskem uveljavljala šele po izidu Cigaletovega slovarja, in to postopoma ne le med verniki, ampak tudi med samimi duhovniki. Kako je bilo še desetletje pozneje tudi okrog Velikih Lašč, si lahko preberemo kar v Mohorjevem koledarju. V njem so bila vsako leto objavljena tudi imena njegovih naročnikov in naročnikov Mohorjevih knjig. Tako se je v celovškem *Koledarčku družbe sv. Mohora za prestopno leto 1868* tedanji župnik z Roba pri Laščah Frančišek Rant sicer že podpisal kot župnik. Nasprotno pa se je tedanji bloški trojiški dušni pastir Šimon Jan dal še vedno vpisati kot fajmošter, tudi dobrepoljski Sežun je še bil fajmošter; prav tako je bil fajmošter še tudi Brodnik v Laščah.

Zdaj je ta jezikovni prehod pozabljen in je beseda *fajmošter*, *far* že marsikje razumljena kot zmerljivka za duhovnika.

MEGISER O BOŽIČNI DARITVENI PEKI

Zdaj pa k božičnim kruhom. O poprtniku sem seveda najprej bral pri Valvasorju, o peki pa sem več slišal v Zavrhu nad Iško.

Celo med poklicnimi etnologi (npr. *Slovenski etnološki leksikon* 2004: 445 piše pri besedi *poprtnik*: » prvič [je] omenjen v 17. stoletju«) je malo znano, da ga je že stoletje pred Valvasorjem, in sicer v besednjaku *Dictionarium quatuor linguarum* iz leta 1592, opisal učenjak Hieronymus Megiser, kar je bilo še v 16. stoletju. Megiser je bil iz Stuttgarta, med študijem v Tübingenu je bil prijatelj obeh Trubarjevih sinov ter Jurija Dalmatina in se v njihovi družbi navdušil za slovenščino (*Windisch*). Škofjeloški geolog in zgodovinar Alojz Pavel Florjančič pa je med tistimi, ki zdaj celo domnevajo, da bi utegnil biti Megiser potomec naših izseljencev Megušarjev, saj se mu je slovenščina zdela tako pomembna, da jo je prednostno uvrščal v svoje slovarje. Vsekakor je Megiser poznal slovenske šege, bodisi že od druženja z omenjenimi študenti ali iz poznejših srečanj. Pozneje je namreč več let deloval v Ljubljani in Celovcu, tako da se je o poprtnjaku poučil tudi neposredno na naših tleh. Tudi poznejši Valvasor je ravnanje s poprtniki opisal tako natančno, da je iz njegovih opisov videti, da gre za predkrščansko

šego. Vendar v nasprotju z Megiserjem tega ni več povedal naravnost, govori le o nastavljanju na mizo. Megiser pa je to storil brez dlake na jeziku, saj nam je leta 1592 sporočil, da je *popèrtnjak* nemški *Lebkuchen* (glej tam pod tem imenom), latinski *libum*, italijanski *bucellato*, torej vrsta sladke pogače. Enajst let pozneje, leta 1603, pa je v slovarju *Thesaurus polyglottus* napisal, da je *popertniak* ne le sladka pogača, ampak tudi *Opfferkuchen*, torej daritvena sladka pogača. Glede na poznejše Valvasorjeve opise in na eno od imen te pogače, namreč *župnik*, je to daritev kljub božičnemu Detetu treba razumeti tudi v predkrščanskem pomenu.

VALVASORJEVA POTICA IN POPRTNIK

O božičnih kruhah je pred polčetrnim stoletjem Janez Vajkard Valvasor v *Slavi Vojvodine Kranjske* (1689, VII/XVI: 472) pisal takole:

Za božične praznike [kmetje na Kranjskem] zvaljajo testo prav na tanko, ko list ali (tanko kot) papir, in ga namažejo z medom, ki je pomešan z zdrobljenimi orehovimi jedrci. To zmes zvaljajo, stisnejo ali zvijejo v krogu, da postane kakor hleb kruha [torej brez luknje v sredini, op. I. P.]. Naposled spekó, in ko je pečeno, se imenuje p o t i c a (potiza). Tudi pri plemičih in meščanih pekó take potice ob istem času in prav na isti način. Dalje zamesijo velik hleb kruha in ga okitijo zgoraj z vsakovrstnimi okrasi. Plemičem in meščanom pa, ki imajo delikatnejša usta, denejo v tale kruh veliko masti in jajc. Po vrhu ga na razne načine okrasé s testom in tak kruh imenujejo p o p r t n i g.

Tako začne Valvasor odstavek o božičnih praznikih.

NEKDANJI DVOMI IN ZDAJŠNJA POTRDITEV ZVEZE Z ŽUPO

O tem, da gre pri peki poprtnika za predkrščansko šego, govori prvotno ime tega kruha, namreč *župnik*, *župnek*. Nekatere dele božičnega praznovanja je kot poganske označil že Valvasor. Slovani, ki pečejo podobne kruhe, zanje sicer nimajo enakega imena. Vendar je etnolog Boris Orel leta 1937 že povezoval ime kruha župnika z župo, kot so stari imevali del zgodnj srednjeveške slovanske kneževine, torej večje ali manjše okrožje. V zgodnjem fevdalizmu je bila to lahko skupnost ene ali več vasi, lahko pa tudi vaški zbor.

Etnolog dr. Milko Matičetov je leta 1954 v obširni razpravi zavrnil zamisel zgodovinarja dr. Josipa Mala (1884–1978), da bi bil poprtnik v zvezi z zapečeno praprotjo, nekakšen praprotnik. Mal je bil sicer naš pomemben, uveljavljen zgodovinar, a se je včasih tudi zmotil. V *Glasniku muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* je leta 1940 objavil zanimiv prispevek o slovenskih mitoloških starinah, v katerem je vztrajno zagovarjal povezavo poprtnikove peke s praprotjo. To ne more držati že zato, ker praproti Bločani

rečejo *stela*, a kruhu *župnek*. Matičetov je to njegovo zmoto seveda na široko zavrnil, a je ob tej zagnanosti sam prezrl dokaz visoke starosti izraza *župnek*.

Omahovanja okrog župnika in župe bi morala pasti z objavo moje knjige *Od volkodlaka do Klepca*, ki je izšla leta 2010 pri radovljjski založbi Didakta. Knjiga prinaša prevod okrog 200 let starih rokopisov ribniških graščakov Rudežev in kaplana Janeza Zime, ki so se ohranili v zapuščini Prešernovega prijatelja Emila Korytka, a jih pred mano nihče ni resno prebral. V 76. poglavju o kolačih in gospodarčku Rudež piše:

Za božič spečejo v Ribnici matere svojim otrokom iz krušnega testa ptice in druge živali. Spečejo tudi večji in en manjši hleb pšeničnega kruha. Večji hlebec okrase s figurami iz krušnega testa, ki predstavljajo ptice ali druge, štirinožne živali. V sredino posade možička, ki je prav tako iz testa, ki mu je ime gospodarček (GOSPODARZIG) in je pokrit z rdečo čepico. Vsi ti kruhi stoje na božični, na novoletni in na trikraljevski večer na mizi, ki je pregrnjena z belim prtom. Poškrope jih z blagoslovljeno vodo in ob njih še molijo. Nato jih pojejo.

Nato poskrbe za gospodarčka. Zavijejo ga v krpo in privežejo na setveno košaro, misleč, da bodo tako zagotovili srečnejšo setev.

Ime tega kruha, ki v zgornjem zapisu ni navedeno, pa najdemo med tistimi ribniškimi besedami, ki sta jih stari Anton Rudež in njegov sin Jožef kot posebne, drugod po Slovenskem manj znane pošiljala še Jerneju Kopitarju na Dunaj: »**Ta kruh se imenuje 'župnik'**, das Weinachtsbrot«. Ta Rudežev zapis je ponovil tudi Maks Pleteršnik v svojem slovensko-nemškem slovarju (1894, II: 975).

Ker je Jernej Kopitar umrl že poleti 1844, je tako zgoden zapis tega imena božičnega kruha pomemben, saj pove, da ni v nikakršni zvezi z župniščem in zdajšnjim župnikom. Kot smo ugotovili v začetku, so do pozne srede 19. stoletja pri nas župniji rekli *fara*, njenemu duhovniku pa le *plovan*, *pleban*, *far*, *fajmošter*, *pop*, *nunc*, *mašnik*.

To zagotovo pomeni, da je ribniški kruh župnik, župnek dobil ime po slovanski krajevni enoti župa, iz katere izhaja tudi starodavno ime *župan* (plemenski poglavar, knez.). To sem v knjigi *Od volkodlaka do Klepca* seveda posebej poudaril. Pozneje sem pokazal, da je tudi kočevarski izraz za ta kruh, *žipling*, v zvezi z župo in ne s sitom, imenovanim na Kočevskem *žip* (*Slovstvena folkloristika* 13, 2015: 50).

Kot kaže, je bil Milko Matičetov tedaj prav zaradi Kočevarjev glede zveze z župo previden, saj je napisal: »[...] moramo podrobno in načrtno raziskati vso tujo soseščino, če hočemo, da bo podoba južnoslovanskega božičnega kruha jasna« (Matičetov 1954: 237).

Leta 1895 je namreč v Gradcu izšla knjiga Adolfa Haufna *Die Deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee*, kjer je na strani 64 opisan ta trikraljevski kruh. Haufen je kočevarščino zapisoval še v nemškem črkopisu in je torej izraz *žipling* zapisal kot *Sipling*. To se v nemščini bere kot *ziplink* in slovenskih bralcev ni privedlo do prebliška. A je v istem času Maks Pleteršnik v svojem slovarju (1894, II: 975) že zapisal tudi kočevarsko izgovorjavo: *žüplink*. Ta ponemčeni *Sipling* je iz virov, ki jih je imel, izpisal tudi Matičetov. Njegova avtoriteta na tem mestu še zdaj škodi. Zelo lična knjižica *Božični kruh in poprtnik na Slovenskem*

(Parnas 2016: 8) na svojem zemljevidu ta nesrečni *sipling* povzema po Matičetovem. V Tschinklovem slovarju (1973, 1976), v katerem je kočevarsčina zapisana s slovenskimi šumniki, pa je zapisan kot *žipling*. Torej tudi ta kočevarski izraz izhaja iz starodavne slovanske župe: *župnik*. Če bi Kočevarji od župe podedovali samo kruh *žiplink*, bi se to morda kljub nepovednosti – saj so okroglini sita podobni vsi okrogli hlebci – dalo primerjati s kočevarskim sitom: *žip*. Ker pa so tudi slovenski izraz za županovo njivo *župnico* Kočevarji nekoč pokočevali v *žiplitsə*, je zveza z župo tako pri poprtniku kot pri njivi nedvomna. Če bi kočevarsko sito imelo vsaj oblikovno zvezo s kruhom, pa z županovo njivo zanesljivo nima nikakršne: ne jezikovne ne vsebinske.

Kronski dokaz za visoko starost krušnega imena župnik je imel v svojem spisu nevede v rokah že Matičetov (1954: 226), ko je povedal, da je izraz *župnik* poznal že pesnik Valentin Vodnik. Vodnik je umrl leta 1819, torej še bolj globoko za »časa fajmoštrov«, kar 25 let pred Kopitarjem. Peko poprtnika je najbrž Vodnik poznal že od doma iz Šiške. Izraz župnik pa je zagotovo slišal pri Ribničanih, saj jim je pred koncem 18. stoletja tam skoraj pet let služil kot kaplan. Hkrati je pisal slovar in zanj zbiral naše besede. Med kaplanovanjem v Ribnici (1788–1793) si je od svojega nekdanjega sošolca Antona Rudeža izpisal imena nekaterih naših bajnih bitij, in sicer *vukodlak*, *vejdamec*, *pogorni mož*, *pogorna žena*, *povodni mož*, *Torka*, *Mora* (Rudež, Rudež, Zima 2010: 112). Predkrščanska boštva na Slovenskem so ga zanimala, da bi jih uporabil v svoji pesnitvi, kar je bilo takrat moderno po zgledu romantičnega škotskega pesnika Jamesa Macphersona. O tem se je kot 37-letnik resno pogovarjal z deset let starejšim Žigom Zoisom (*Zoisovo pismo Vodniku*, 30. nov. 1795; NMS: Zoisova korespondenca), vendar pa je, kot kaže, ni spesnil. Zois ga je sicer, duhovnika, spodbujal k uporabi staroslovenske »razumske religije« v takšni pesnitvi, a ga je hkrati opominjal, naj se v njej bojuje zoper še živo praznoverje.

Nasprotno pa je Vodnikov stanovski tovariš, koroški duhovnik Urban Jarnik okrog leta 1812 le napisal tudi tole občudujočo pesmico o Kresu, torej ne le o kresnem ognju, ampak tudi o našem starem božanstvu Kresniku, ki ni nepodoben Perunu:

Škopnjaki no žalik žene / v loge letajo zelene, / kresu hvalo spevajo. //
 Stari Kres, nekdam očóvam / našim svet, al nam sinovam / skoro iz spomina
 vzet; / tvoja glava celo siva / bode nam vselej častliva, / kolkokrat boš spet
 začel. // Naj se Zemlja v kroge vala, / slava tvoja bo ostala, / vsaki rod te bo
 častil! / Toti svet sedaj preide, / ti pa boš, al že odide, / druge rode veselil! //.
 (Gspan 1979, II: 33).

OMEMBE STARIH BOGOV IN ŠEG

Valvasor v svojih knjigah sicer ugotavlja, da na Slovenskem kmečko prebivalstvo rado hodi v cerkev. A to ni pomenilo, da prebivalstvo ne bi enako rado in zavzeto gojilo tudi starih domačih šeg in navad, in to ne le kmetje.

Zelo napačno je, če mislimo, da so bili še za časa Primoža Trubarja pri nas samo čisti luteranci in čisti katoliki. Še 21 let po Trubarjevi smrti (†1586) je katoliški škof Tomaž

Hren leta 1607 v eni od svojih pridig Kranjce svaril, ker še vedno verujejo v stare idole: v Lado, Plejna in Poberina (Hrenov rokopis v *Studia mythologica slavica* 13, Visočnik 2010: 65). Hrenov nastop zoper staro slovansko soverovanje zgodovinarji vere pri nas čudno preskakujejo, kot bi imel škof Hren tisto pridigo kje v odročnih, versko neozaveščenih zaselkih, ne pa skoraj v središču Ljubljane, v kapucinskem samostanu na kraju, kjer je zdaj park Zvezda. Morda k molku prispeva nenavadna oblika imen navedenih treh božanstev. A če bi neki tujeverec opisoval, v koga verujejo kristjani, bi seveda naštel predstavnike Trojice, ne pa le našteval kakšno sveto Emo, Avgušтина in Ciprijana. Tako je zagotovo tudi Hren z enim ženskim in dvema moškima takrat pri nas živima nadomestnima imenoma idolov zagotovo naštel Mokoš, Peruna in Velesa. K dešifriranju obeh moških imen idolov utegne pripomoči drugo našteto moško ime, namreč Poberin, saj je že leta 1466 v *Škofjeloškem rokopisu* Martin iz Loke za mesec september zapisal zelo podobno domače ime *poberuh*. September je seveda jesenski mesec, ko se – na račun Peruna, ki je poleti skrbel za rast, da bi pridelek dobro rodil, plenjal (Plejn!) – krepi vloga Velesa in je čas pobiranja (Poberin!) pridelkov.¹

Tudi Valvasor je mogel še celo 82 let za Hrenom (1689) prav tako zapisati zelo pomemben del pri nas ohranjenega slovanskega izročila o treh *božičih* (1698, VII/I: 382):

Že od starega pa Kranjci naprošajo malike (die Götzen), kakor Božiča (Boxitium) in še druge, o katerih so še dandanašnji nekatere praznoverske šege in imena. V svetih božičnih dneh nastavljajo ti [= Kranjci] na mizo ne le kruh, ampak tudi med, orehe, otrobe in podobno, in sicer v treh dneh: prvič na sveto Kristusovo noč, nato drugič na sveti novoletni večer in tretjič na večer pred svetimi tremi kralji. V kranjskem jeziku [= po slovensko] se imenujejo ti trije dnevi terje božičje, ali trije božiči.

Poleg vere v te tri zimske, božične »bogce« – praznike je na drugih mestih Valvasor našteval tudi tedanje verovanje v moč vode, vero v drevesa, v vedomce, kresnike, duhovine, v zmajsko kri ipd.

Tudi izraz *malik ni tujka*, ampak pomeni nekrščanskega boga. Kot tak se je zdel razlagalcem vere konkurenčen, a je zato po svoji nadnaravni moči ali zgolj po postavi nevpliven, mali bog, malik. Licemerje takratnih piscev – ali zgolj njihova večja verska sproščenost – se kaže v tem, da so nasprotno brez zadržkov opisovali stara rimska in

¹ Vsa ta naša imena starih božanstev, ki jih tu naštevam, sodijo v slovansko jezikovno izročilo, namreč v kategorijo basni v prvotnem pomenu te besede, saj jih je v Registru Dalmatinove *Biblije* (1584) protestantska jezikovna revizijska komisija teologov treh slovenskih dežel Koroščem označila za *prazne marnje*. Korošci so torej izraz *basen* tedaj še razumeli v pomenu predkrščanske slovanske svete zgodovine (prim. Popit 2010: 64, 65). Torej pri teh številnih slovanskih imenih ni tako, kot je v Dolenji Suhi Južni pod Poreznom od Pepa Šuligoja slišal Pavel Medvešček, namreč o neki **Nikrmani**, ki da ureja vse, kar je v naravi (Medvešček 1992: 5). Ta Nikrmana iz Baške grape že po imenu ni slovanska. Umestno se je tudi vprašati, ali ne gre pri Nikrmani le kar za podomačenje srednjeveškega izraza **nekromantija**. Stari novomeški menih Janez Adam Gaiger - Hipolit (ok. 1667–1722) je v svojem slovarju (1712: 968) razložil, da gre pri nekromantiji za klicanje mrtvih, za zarotitev. Torej naj bi pozvani mrtvi napovedali prihodnost in izdali skrivnosti. Prav o skrivnostih urejanja narave pa se je nad Baško grapo spraševal tudi Medveščekov znanec Šuligoj.

grška, torej tudi predkrščanska božanstva iz našega sosodstva. To je počel tudi Trubar. Valvasor pa jih je celo risal in to natisnil marsikje, tudi v leta 1680 izdani samostojni knjigi z naslovom *Ovidove metamorfoze*.

Tako Slovenci kot Rusi še zdaj pozno jeseni uporabljamo očitno izredno star izraz: *babje poletje* (sodobno rusko: *babje ljeto*), in: *pada babje pšeno, babja jeza* (več o tem gl. Hrobat 2010). »Baba ni le slovanski izraz, pač pa je to prastaro redupliciranje iz otroškega govora [...] V pomenu 'stara ženska' jo najdemo še pri Litvancih in v srednjevisokonemščini. [...] Vsaj v Sloveniji predstavlja Sredozimko« (Kuret 1997: 70– 71). *Baba* je tudi med ljudmi izraz za staro mamo, po starem izročilu pa *Baba* živi na slovanskem nebu in od tam občasno spušča mehke ledene kroglice.

Njena naslednica v slovanski mitologiji je Mokoš, ki je med drugim nadzorovala delo predic in jih kaznovala, če so predle ob nedovoljenem času. Podobno vlogo so pozneje prevzele Torka in druge sredozimke, ki so posebljale dneve v tednu.

Škof Hren je Mokoš poznal še kot Lado, Makedonci kot Samovilo (gl. Miladinov 1861; prevod v Kociančič 1984: št. 5): »Nato pa se je Samovila razjezila. Stani je iz očesnih jamic izdrla črne oči. Od ram ji je odlomila roke od kolen pa hitre noge ter rekla: »Zdaj vidiš, lepa Stana, kaj prinese, če se šiva in plete na velikonočni praznik.«

Krščanstvo je to hudo starodavno boginjo odrinilo z dobrotljivo Marijo. A ker so naši predniki imeli dotlej hude izkušnje z Mokošjo, so bili tudi pri na novo postavljeni Mariji previdni in tudi njej še dolgo pripisovali, da kadar je jezna, pobije s točo vsa žitna polja in vinograde (Trubar 1575: 201).

Dolgotrajnost, torej trdoživost teh ljudskih pripovedi, ki jih spremlja tudi spretno območno prilagajanje imen boštev novim časom, kaže na dolgoživo samoorganiziranost pripadnikov starih verovanj. Sega namreč daleč čez domnevne datume pokristjanjenja, kljub prizadevanju uradne Cerkve, da bi nam te stare verovanjske razlage v čim večji meri – če se izrazimo v Jarnikovem jeziku – »vzela iz spomina«, torej odpravila ali vsaj preuredila po svoji meri.

POPRTNIK – POTICA – PRESNEC

Potem ko nam je sporočil, kako je pri nas s potico in poprtnikom, Valvasor (1698, VII/XV: 472) pove, da ju denejo na sveti večer na mizo. V gradovih, mestih in trgih pride živila blagoslovit duhovnik, v vaseh pa ga nadomeščajo kmetje sami, škrepe jih z blagoslovljeno vodo in prižigajo prijetno dišeče kadilo. Isto store tudi na novega leta dan zvečer in naposled v tretje na dan pred svetimi tremi kralji. Jedo pa poprtnik na praznik sv. treh kraljev in tudi pozneje, dokler ga je še kaj. In tega se drže v omenjenih časih po vsej deželi (Kranjski).

Poprtnik - *poprtnjak* je bil sicer že vsaj stoletje pred Valvasorjevim zapisom većinoma, a ne povsod, na mizi pospravljen **pod prtom**, da je dobil takšno ime. Medtem ko je bila visokonoga miza za to postavitev primerna in tudi nujna že zaradi nadležnih miši v hišah, pa prt ni bil zaradi muh, saj teh o zimskih božičih ni. Prt je bil torej simbolična, a tudi zahtevana meja med starim in krščanskim. Moral je namreč biti bel, verjetno tudi brez vezenin, kajti tudi nekatere vezenine so služile predkrščanskim šegam (prim. Čok 2012: 55).

Pozneje pa je mejo med starim in krščanskim varovalo tudi k prtu postavljeno razpelo – *buh*. Zakaj pravim pozneje? Zato, ker analize ohranjenih zapuščinskih popisov imetja kmečkih gospodarstev v Sloveniji (Makarovič 1981: 244) kažejo, da so pri nas hišna razpela omenjena šele od leta 1772 naprej.

Če ugotovitev drži, je to dodaten dokaz dolgoživosti naših starih verovanj. Razpelo je namreč zdaj tudi sestavina hišnega »bogkovga kota«. Makarovičeva ugotovitev torej vodi k sklepu, da tudi takih bogkovih kotov za časa Valvasorja pri nas še ni bilo. Nemara je zanimivo, da se ta kót ne imenuje »Božji kót«, ampak s pomanjševalnico: *Bohkov*. Na poprtnikih tedaj tudi še ni bilo jasličnih dodatkov. Jaslice so namreč začeli postavljati jezuiti na podlagi dovoljenja iz leta 1591, torej šele po Trubarjevi smrti, a tedaj le po svojih cerkvah. Po naših kmečkih domovih jih nekako pred letom 1800 družine še niso postavljale (Kuret 1981: 164).

Testo so začeli valjati in mazati z medom in orehi pozneje. Tako so ustvarili potico – povitico, imenovano tudi *povávnica* (povaljanica) in s še enim našim imenom *presenc* v pomenu vreteno (gl. Megiser 1592: 233: *Spindelwirtel*, *verticulum*, *preseniz* in *Spindl, fusus, vretenu*).

PANJ – ČOK

Tudi skrb za celonočno razsvetljavo in kurjenje – torej pozorno bedenje – je bila v prvi zimski božični noči pri nas običajna, ne le v Istri. Drugi Valvasorjev primer zimskega božičnega praznovanja je namreč istrski (1689, VII/XVI: 476). Ker je pri potici in poprtniku povedal, da ju pečejo in se ju nato štirinajst dni ne dotaknejo, in to po vsej deželi, so to torej delali tudi v Istri. Vendar nas nato posebej seznanja, da je v njegovem času »neka druga navada precej ponehala, ker so duhovni prav ostro pridigali zoper njo«, češ da izhaja iz nekdanjega poganstva, ki da je bilo po Valvasorjevem mnenju **ostanek darovanja hišnemu maliku** (*ein Überbleibsel dess heidnischen Haus-Götzen-Opffers*). Ta navada pa je kurjenje panja (*pain, der Klotz*) na istrskih (in primorskih) hišnih ognjiščih na sveti večer. Prižganemu lesenemu panju – čoku so namreč dajali košček od vsake jedi in mu prigovarjali, naj tudi on jé.

Valvasorjevo oznako *pain, der Klotz* je Mirko Rupel v *Valvasorjevem berilu* prevajal s kraškimi izrazom *čok*, ki pa je izposojenka iz furlanščine.

Pri čoku gre torej za hrastov panj, štor, parobek, krcelj s koreninami vred. Zato se zdi povezovanje čoka s hišnim malikom, kljub vsemu spoštovanju do Valvasorja, napačno. Pri tem zapisu Valvasor očitno ni opazil, da je stopil na polje delovanja dveh »Abgottov«, ne le hišnega malika (*Hausgötze*), ampak tudi na polje tistega praznovanja in čaščenja kosa lesa, ki ga Belokranjci imenujejo *badnik*, ponekod drugod med Slovenci je bil znan kot *božičnik* (Kuret 1989: 279), med Srbi in Hrvati kot *badnjak*, Bolgari pa so ga imenovali *bədnik*. Ta badnjak je informatorju Senjanu Pavlu Ritterju in Valvasorju predstavljal še osebo, pogansko božanstvo, malika (*Abgott*). Kot so ugotavljali poznejši raziskovalci, je ta šega predstavljala čaščenje božanstva domačega ognjišča (*Slovenski etnografski leksikon* 2004: 43).

Čok vsako jesen znova izkopljejo in pripeljejo iz gozda, ga na prvi zimski sveti večer začno kuriti ter ga v teh treh svetih večerih v hiši tudi pokurijo.²

To počnejo tudi v času treh zimskih božičev, ko je Sonce najšibkejše, zato je treba s kurjenjem čoka, torej Perunovega lesa, pomagati staremu zimskemu Svarožiču. S toploto ognja in s ponujenimi koščki hrane in krepilne pijače se torej okrepi ali v ognju celo prerodi.

Ostrina cerkvenih prepovedi kurjenja čokov, izrečenih za časa Valvasorja, je pozneje znova otopela, saj so jih hodili blagoslavljat tudi duhovniki (gl. Čok 2012: 25). Kurjenje čokov na nekdanji način je zares, a šele nedavno, ustavila zamenjava hišnih ognjišč s štedilniki.

»SLEPO POGANSTVO« V SENJU

Valvasor opisuje tudi božično praznovanje v Senju in negoduje, češ da tudi prebivalci Senja goje iz slepega poganstva izvirajoče šege (1698, XII: 87). Pove, da imajo Uskoki v Senju (čeprav so katoliki) na sveti večer, ki ga imenujejo *badnji večer*, čudne šege. Ta dan povabi vsak gospodar ali gospodinja v goste mladeniča ali deklico (ki se v njihovem jeziku imenuje *gost*), kakor so delali njihovi poganski predniki, ki so častili malika (*Abgott*) Badnjaka. Bičje ali trstje, ki ga ta večer denejo na ogenj (debelejše drevje je bilo tedaj na tamkajšnjem krasu očitno iztrebljeno, op. I. P.), polijejo poprej z vinom in potem puste, da vso noč gori. Goreče bičje pa mora poleg fanta stražiti še kakšna oseba in paziti, da fanta ne prevzame spanec.

Ta večer pokrijejo mizo z belim prtom. Na sredi napravijo tri kupe vencev, spletenih iz bršljana ali zimzelena, in jih okrase z zlatimi in srebrnimi prstani in verižicami. Na mizo denejo tudi nekaj pšenice in drugega žita, kruha, vina, sveč, medu in soli. Za to mizo pa ne sme nihče sestiti, ker je bila nekoč posvečena poganskemu Badnjaku, zdaj pa novorojenemu Detetu (Jezusu) ali Božiču, to je novorojenemu Bogu. Tako pokrita miza ostane popolnoma nedotaknjena do sv. treh kraljev.

ŠTIRINAJSTDNEVNA NEDOTAKLJIVOST IN KDO VSE MORA PRITI K OBLOŽENI MIZI

Pri vseh treh Valvasorjevih omembah in pri Rudeževem opisu gre torej za prikaz praznovanja in daritvene pogostitve, ki traja kar štirinajst dni in pri kateri pridejo domači

² Pri iskanju povezave med drevesom – lesom in božanstvom se spomnimo pripovedi, ki jo je Valvasor slišal neke jesenske noči na Dolenjskem, ko si je od blizu sam ogledal, kako poteka lov na polhe (1698, III/XXXI: 438). Polharji so mu povedali, da polhe označi z zarezo na uhljih njihov pastir. A so barona Valvasorja pri tem opozorili na pomembno izjemo: mladih polhov, dokler so še v **drevesu**, v **drevesnem duplu**, polšji pastir Hudič ne more tako zaznamovati.

Ko je Valvasor to zapisal, ni prav nič negodoval nad kakšnimi poganskimi zmotami polharjev, čeprav je s tem zelo jasno povedal, da je drevo v rokah starega slovanskega zgornjega božanstva, torej Peruna, in to tako močno v oblasti, da Hudič, nekdanji Veles, kot polšji pastir nima moči, da bi segel po polhe v drevo in jim tudi tam zatrgal ušesa. Tudi lesene kočje so menda naše stare varovale pred Hudim. Pokop po starem je v leseni krsti. Tudi duša rajnih naj bi se včasih znašla v lesu. Če poleno ob gorenju cvili, pravimo, da se »duša matra«, muči. Na les marsikje v Evropi tudi trkamo, da Zlo česa občutljivega ne bi slišalo.

na vrsto pravzaprav šele zadnji dan. Kdo so torej tisti, ki trinajst dni pred njimi vsaj simbolično okušajo te dobrote?

Na severni zemeljski polobli smo v času zimskega sončevega obrata, torej v času najdaljših noči. Spet smo na polju ljudskih pripovedi in razlag, kaj se utegne zgoditi, če ne bomo gostoljubni, če ne bomo pripravljene usahlemu Soncu priti na pomoč, če ne bomo nudili prenočišča Sveti družini, če ne bomo poskrbeli za konjiča, nekakšnega prednika svetega Štefana (Delo, 10. jan. 2011: *Stara slovenska mitologija*; tudi [www: Svarun Ilja](http://www.svarunilja.com)), če ne bomo darovali Vodi za svojo rodnost in za lažji porod, če ne bomo okrepili rajnikov in rajnic ter nazadnje še samih sebe, svojih živali in semen za novo setev.

ROJENICE

Kot nam je zgoraj povedal Valvasor, se »ti trije dnevi imenujejo TERJE BOŽIČJE«. Novorojenemu Božiču – mlademu Bogu, staroslovanskemu Svarožiču (Kropej 2008: 137) – se pridejo poklonit obiskovalci. Kdo vse so to, lahko le ugibamo.

Po našem starem verovanju pridejo ob človeških rojstvih k porodnici rojenice, torej tri skrivnostne žene, ki napovedo, kakšno bo življenje novorojenca in kakšna smrt ga bo doletela. Kar šest takšnih zgodb sem še leta 1983 slišal v Zavrhu na Blokah (*Slovstvena folkloristika* 7, 2008: 42–44). Tam so tedaj vedeli povedati, da so rojenice še zdaj in da usoda, ki jo napovedo, za tiste, ki v rojenice verjamejo, še vedno velja.

Toda rojenice – po ustnem izročilu – usode ne napovedujejo le navadnim ljudem, ampak včasih tudi bajeslovnim bitjem, npr. hčerki vilinskega kralja (gl. Valjavec 2002: št. 44), grofom, kot kaže slovenski izraz, tudi Celjskim (*Celjska kronika*, pred 1458: *de Royenicis*); Šembilja pa je v pripovedi tudi Mariji napovedala, da bo rodila Jezusa (Matija Majar 1847, *Kolo*; Kropej 2008: 241).

Naši predniki so verjeli, da je treba rojenice čim bolj pogostiti, da bi novorojencu napovedale čim lepšo usodo. Zato so priporočali ob rojstvu na mizo postaviti kruh in steklenico z vinom. Kot se zdi, z božičnim hlebcom, potico in župnekom obložena božična miza ponuja pogostitev tudi trem rojenicam.

RAJNIKI KOT PODLEZKI, POLAŽAJNIKI, OTEPOVCI

Božični gosti bi lahko bili tudi predniki. To je čas odprte Zemlje, ko na svet prihajajo menda iz dežele »Raj« tudi tamkajšnji prebivalci: rajniki in rajnice. Na prvi božični dan naj ne bi nihče hodil iz hiše, so pravili pri nas. V Rudeževem ribniškem spisu beremo o tem: »Na božični dan ne gre nihče brez nujnega vzroka iz hiše. Tistega pa, ki to stori, imenujejo podlezek, podlezik« (Rudež, Rudež, Zima 2010: 40). Beseda *podlezek* pove, da gre za nekoga, ki bi rad lazil, nekam odhajal, podobno srbskemu *polaziti*, *položajnik*.

Torej je strogo preganjanje podlezka sad verske cenzure, bodisi še predkrščanske ali poznejše. V Bohinju je bilo v navadi, da so hodili okrog oteповci, maskirani moški, ki da so predstavljali vračajoče se rajnike.

Toda obiskovalcev niso povsod imeli za nadlego. To je povedal že Valvasor ob senjskem primeru, ko je mladenič – gost prišel znova na sveti dan ob času kosila s hlebom kruha in

vrčem vina ter voščil srečen božič in srečne božične praznike. Družina pa ga je nato nagradila. Res pa je tam veljalo še ostreje: da razen gosta kar tri dni v hišo ni smel nihče drug.

Tudi med pravoslavnimi Slovani v Srbiji so še znani *položajniki*, ki prihajajo v domove prav na božični dan voščiti uspeh, zdravje in srečo. Tam jim izkazujejo veliko čast. Če se njihova voščila uresničijo, smejo priti voščiti tudi prihodnje leto, sicer pa ne. Šega podlezka, *položajnika* je nastala iz verovanj, da je *položajnik* mrtvi prednik, ki prihaja kot naključni potnik, kot božanski gost.

Vse to se dogaja sredi zime, ne v dokaj toplih svetopisemskih krajih, ampak pri nas in še severneje. V shrambah je še hrana, zato – da ne bi do pomladi zmanjkalo krme – je to tudi obdobje kolin. Ker je še moka, se tudi potica speče v obliki hlebca brez luknje v sredi (za razliko od velikonočne potice, pri kateri luknja že je), nam je v Zavrhu zaupala Anca Jakič (*Slovstvena folkloristika* 7, 2008: 44) in že Valvasor. Dá se torej pogostiti, okrepiti vse naštete, in nazadnje najbolj neposredno okrepiti še žive člane nekdanje župe, torej zdajšnje bližnje in bolj daljno sosodstvo.

KOT ZADNI SE OKREPIJO ČLANI ŽUPE IN NJIHOVA ŽIVINA

Tudi tu je poudarek na okrepitvi življenjske moči, kar se zgodi, že če samo pokusiš malce poprtnika. S peko in uživanjem poprtnika se hoče doseči moč. Čim več poprtnikov pokusiš, močnejši si. Kdor jih poskusi devet, postane nadvse močan. Ta pogača okrepi tudi živali. Kruh razkosajo in ga dobi vsakdo v tisti hiši, ne le ljudje, ampak tudi domače in hišne živali. Že figurice na vrhu – ptice, kravice – izražajo to željo. Korlina Intihar iz Zavrha je rekla: »Vsak pri hiši dobi kos: ljudje in živina: goveja, konji, prešič. Ne pa maček, pæs, kokoši!«

To sicer ni kruh za hrano novorojencu, a rezina župneka, posajena na otrokovo glavo, pokaže, koliko naj bi v tistem letu domači otrok zrasel, zato naj bo kruh pečen v visokem modelu.

Kjer pri peki župnek počí, pokaže razpoka smer, iz katere pride k dekletu ženin. Tudi pletena krušna kita ima svoj povezovalni pomen, kot vezivka. Posel, ki je šel na letni dopust, se skuša do treh kraljev vrniti h gospodarju oziroma priti k novemu, da dobi kos poprtnika. Torej želi biti še naprej dovolj močan za službo ipd.

Za kaj vse je koristen župnek, so Kočevarji najprej izvedeli od Slovenk kot soséd in občasnih nevest. Ptico, spečeno zgolj iz namočene moke, trdo kot kamen, ki so ji pravili golobček (*Taiblain*), so nosili pri sebi, najbrž za svojo moč in varstvo. Na Kočevskem so drobtine župneka dobile tudi kokoši, »da jim jastreb ni odnašal piščancev«. Vampasto resasto testeno verižico, spečeno na *žiplinku*, pa so shranili, da jo je pojedla pravkar obrejena krava in se nazadnje srečno otelila.

RIBNIŠKI GOSPODARČEK

Postrežba z daritvenim kruhom in drugim je bila torej namenjena okrepitvi Badnjaka, pa tudi drugih gostov. S tem so pričakovali, da bodo nato ti okrepljenci v zahvalo prinesli žegen, blagoslov.

V ta namen so ponekod nastavljali okrog mize najrazličnejše pridelke in seme. V Loškem Potoku so leta 1837 na božični večer na tla potresli seno in slamo – in na mizo vse vrste žita, da vse to prinese naslednje leto bogatejši pridelek, je zapisal takratni kaplan Janez Zima. Pred dvesto leti pa so Rudeži v Ribnici na vrhu župneka zalotili še pečenega gospodarčka.

Tudi Gospodarček z Rudeževega župneka je eden od božanskih varuhov ognjišča, varuhov družine, ki ga je po starem pojmovanju kot družinskega prednika premogla vsaka hiša. To je vedno navzoče bitjece velike moči, nekakšen slovanski in s tem tudi slovenski *zasebni družinski bogek* in angel varuh. Pri starih Rimljanih so imeli to vlogo lari in penati, pri Germanih pa razni škratje. Kadar se je v Rusiji slovanska družina selila v novo hišico (Mal 1940: 20), so s seboj vljudno povabili tudi varuha ognjišča, zapečnika, domovoja, rekoč: »Dedek, oprosti, gremo v novo prebivališče.«

Rudeži so torej ime takega možička gospodarčka potegnili iz pozabe tudi v Sloveniji, čeprav so ga v njihovem času samo še pekli vrh poprtnika in ta župnek postavljali še **NA beli prt**. Ker zdaj za gospodarčka niti na kruhu župneku ne ve nihče več, je to znak, da je bil žrtev ne tako davne cenzure v korist jasličnih figur.

Cerkev je torej v gospodarčku videla prav tisto, nad čimer je negodovala, torej hišnega malika. Kot hišni prednik, domnevni prapraded, bi moral gospodarček spadati med vse verne rajne, ki se jih spominja drugega novembra. Pred 180 leti so v Ribnici ljudje od njega pričakovali tudi uspešno setev in ga privezovali na setveno košaro.

Pod imenom *domači bug* [domači bog], *malik*, *hišni malik* pozna hišnega malika (*Hausgötz*, *lar*, *shratel* in: *Abgot*, *idolo*, *malik*) tudi Megiser (1592). Kot hišni malik in celo domači bog pa je bil gospodarček očitno v nasprotju tudi s prvo božjo zapovedjo. Zato so tega majhnega prebivalca izgnali iz njegovega kota za ognjiščem ter so nato naše hiše dobile v enem od kotov poličko z majhnim razpelom: bogkov, *buhkov* kot. Torej ne Božji kot, ampak pomanjševalno Bogkov, saj tudi prejšnji božanski prebivalec zapečka ni bil Gospodar, ampak Gospodarček.

Če smo ugotovili večstoletno starost imena *župnik* (Kočevarji so se naselili okrog leta 1330, župe so še dvakrat starejše), pa je ob tem vendarle uganka, kakšna je bila zgodnja zgodovina te peke. Nekdaj so bolj kot pšenico sejali proso in jedli kašo. Kaj so tedaj mogli speči in iz česa? Staroslovanska ognjišča so bila majhna, kruh so pekli med dvema okroglima opekama. Kako so mogli na njem speči še okraske? So ti zato trdi, narejeni zgolj iz namočene moke?

Potica je za peko vsekakor zahtevnejša in mlajša. Med je že bil domač, orehi pa so bili zaradi mraza pri nas redkejši in zato morda kdaj celo uvoženi. Naši so namreč drevesu rekli *laški oreh*. Rusi mu še zdaj rečejo *grški oreh* (*gréckij oréh* – izg. *arjéh*; lešnikom pa *lesnoj oréh*). To pa le pomeni, da so med orehe pri nas šteli tudi lešnike, torej orehe, ki rastejo v lesu, gozdu, in so tudi iz njih pekli potice. V Loški dolini sem še slišal staro Potóčanovo mamo Fráncó lešnikom še reči *aréjhi*. In če so imeli lešniki lepa jedrca: »Pa kaku debéjla bedrésa imájo!« je pohvalila.

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THE OFFERING BREAD ŽUPNIK AND VALVASOR'S HAUSGÖTZE –
GOSPODARČEK

ILJA POPIT



In this article, the uses of the Christmas festive bread *poprtnik* and the age-old tradition of baking such offerings in Slovenia are analysed. These offerings, along with the names of certain Slavic deities, were mentioned already four hundred years ago. One of these breads has preserved its name – *župnik* (pronounce: zhoo-pneekh). It was named *župnik* in Ribnica in Dolenjsko / Lower Carniola after the early medieval Slavic administrative unit *župa*, and not after the Slovenian term for a Catholic priest – *župnik*, which was first introduced only after the year 1860.

Also discussed are old Slavic rituals and gods connected with this offering bread and Christmas, New Year and Epiphany, among them: *Božič*, *Svarožič*, *Gospodarček* (house spirit), *Baba*, *Torka*, and others, which were mentioned in old sources written by Primož Trubar (1575), Hieronym Megiser (1592), Tomaž Hren (1607), Jochann Weichard Valvasor (1689), Urban Jarnik (1812), Anton Rudež, (ca. 1812) and others.

Recenzije in
poročila o knjigah

Recensioni
di libri

Book
reviews

EDA KALMRE, *WHAT A WONDERFUL WORLD OF LEGENDS! ARTICLES ON RUMOURS AND LEGENDS*. TARTU: ELM SCHOLARLY PRESS 2018, 302 STRANI, ILUSTRACIJE.

Knjiga estonske folkloristke in dolgoletne predsednice društva International Society for Contemporary Legend Research (ISCLR) Ede Kalmre iz Literarnega muzeja v Tartuju predstavlja pomembno delo na področju raziskovanja sodobnih povedk in »urbanih legend«, ne le za estonske folkloriste pač pa tudi za raziskovalce drugod po svetu. V Estoniji je to delo tudi ena prvih knjig na to temo, kljub temu, da je prvo folkloristično študijo o sodobnih povedkah napisal baltško-nemški folklorist Walter Anderson, tedaj profesor Univerze v Tartuju, ki je leta 1926 objavil članek »Die Marspanik in Estland« v *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, v katerem je raziskal apokaliptične govorce v estonskih časopisih. Članek so spregledali ne le v Evropi pač pa tudi ameriški folkloristi, ki so v 60-ih letih minulega stoletja začeli pospešeno raziskovati sodobne povedke.

Avtorica je knjigo razdelila na pet tematskih poglavij v katerih obravnava estonske sodobne povedke in govorce, ki so značilne za in pogoste v sodobni estonski popularni kulturi. Pri tem je zajela značilne tematske sklope, kot so: vojna in katastrofe, zgodbe z zgodovinskim pridihom, Estonci in 'Drugi', nadnaravne prikazni, govorce na temo starih pripovedi; na koncu pa je dodala še nekaj komentarjev k sodobnim povedkam o AIDS-u, rendgenskih turističnih kamerah, smrti dekleta v nočnem lokalu in o klobasah iz človeškega mesa. V knjigi je objavila devet svojih študij o različnih sodobnih povedkah, ki so nastale ob specifičnih dogodkih ali družbenih pojavih, ki so bili na nek način nekaj posebnega, da so navdihnili časopisne članke in ljudi, da so začeli o tem

pisati in pripovedovati. Veliko teh zgodb je povezanih z obdobjem, ko je v Estoniji vladal sovjetski režim, ki je zapustil globoke sledi v življenju tamkajšnjega prebivalstva.

Skozi obravnavo posameznih pripovedi, ki so nastale iz govoric in medijskih objav, avtorica razkriva bistvo sodobnih povedk, njihovih zakonitosti in življenja, ki je lahko kratkega diha, lahko pa traja in se spreminja skozi stoletja. Nazorno predstavi razvojno pot in izvor sodobnih povedk, kot so »Vojak, ki ga je med vojno v Afganistanu rešila kača«, »Potop ladje *Estonija* 28. septembra 1994«, »Pripovedi o bratih Voitka«, »Balada o mladi vdovi«, »Lilac Lady«, govorce o kanibalizmu v Estoniji, govorce o solati, s katere so izprali preliv in govorce, ki so nastale po motiviki šaljivih zgodb o baronu Münchhausenu. Ugotavlja, da je koncept sodobnih povedk tesno povezan in se delno tudi prekriva s konceptom govoric, le da imajo sodobne povedke bolj izdelano vsebino in mnoge se širijo kot variante osnovne pripovedi z nekoliko spremenjenimi motivi, ki jih sestavljajo. Razlika med sodobno povedko in govoric, kot ugotavlja Eda Kalmre, ni toliko v definiciji žanra, pač pa v družbenem procesu, ki tovrstne pripovedi generira. Tako sodobne povedke in urbane zgodbe, kakor tudi govorce, so del družbenega razvoja, povezanega s kulturnim okoljem in diseminacijo izročil. Pogosto nastajajo na osnovi medijskih objav in se širijo prek družbenih omrežij.

V preteklosti so se govorce širile predvsem prek pisnih virov, kot so knjige in časopisi, zato so sodobne povedke dožive razcvet šele z razširitvijo družbenih in digitalnih medijev, ki imajo izjemno pomembno vlogo pri prenašanju govoric, sodobnih povedk in urbanih legend, ki so pogosto veljale za resnične ali vsaj verjetne. Na ta način se je generirala cela vrsta sodobnih

povedk in »urbanih legend«, ki so jih predvsem ameriški folkloristi, pa tudi evropski identificirali in začeli celo klasificirati, kar pa je ostalo le na nivoju enciklopedičnega dela Jana Brunvanda, ki je leta 2001 objavil *Encyclopedia of urban Legends*. Raziskovalci so fokus kmalu preusmerili na kontekst in odprli nova področja raziskovanja katerega središče je predstavljal moderni človek s svojimi interesi in načinom življenja. Gradivo, ki so ga zbrali je vseh vrst, od ironičnih govoric in sodobnih povedk s humornim pridihom, prek zgodb, ki so osnovane na določenih stereotipih, strahovih in predsodkih, veliko je verovanjskih zgodb, ki so pripovedovane kot resnične, v zadnjem času pa je vse več zgodb, ki jih generira t. i. 'digitalna era'. Na videz so to trivialne pripovedi in govorice, ki pa imajo pomembno vlogo v procesu nastajanja modernih vrednot in mentalitet.

Kot ugotavlja Eda Kalmre, lahko nekatere sodobne povedke odigrajo pomembno vlogo v procesu nastajanja identitete tako posameznika kot nacije, med njimi so npr. pripovedi o zgodovinskih osebnostih, ki jim je ljudska domišljija pripisala vsemogoča pomembna dejanja ali vloge in odpirajo vrata celi vrsti osebnih želja, fantazijam in spominom.

Raziskave evolucije, izvora in povezav teh, v osnovi pogosto tradicionalnih zgodb, ki jih danes najdemo ne le v pripovedih, pač pa tudi v fikciji, filmih, televizijskih oddajah, na internetu in socialnih omrežjih, morajo pogosto iskati njihove korenine v različnih obdobjih v preteklosti, zato jih je zelo težko prepoznati in najti njihove prvotne zasnove, ki pogosto izvirajo v tradicionalnem izročilu, v literaturi ali pa v starih virih, ki jih moramo iskati po različnih arhivih.

Mnogi motivi so mednarodno razširjeni in jih najdemo po celem svetu, kot primer je avtorica izbrala sodobne povedke in

govorice o prikaznih, kot je npr. *Lilac Lady*, ki je angleškega izvora, pripovedujejo pa o njej tudi v estonskem Literarnem muzeju. Tovrstne sodobne povedke so raziskovali folkloristi tudi drugod po svetu, npr. profesorica María Inés Palleiro je v Argentini zbrala številne tovrstne pripovedi in jih objavila v knjigi *La dama fantasma* (2018). Tudi Ambrož Kvartič je tovrstne pripovedi vključil v svojo knjigo *Sodobne povedke v Sloveniji* (2017), v kateri je postavil temelje slovenskim raziskavam sodobnih povedk in urbanih legend.

Knjiga Ede Kalmre je pomembna za vsakogar, ki raziskuje sodobne povedke, saj prinaša ne le študije določenih tipov sodobnih pripovedi, pač pa tudi nove metodološke in teoretične pristope k tovrstnim raziskavam.

Monika Kropelj Telban, Ljubljana

ЦИМАФЕЙ АВИЛИН, ПАМІЖ НЕБАМ І
ЗЯМЛЁЙ: ЭТНААСТРАНОМІЯ [СИМАФЕЙ
AVILIN, BETWEEN THE SKY AND THE EARTH:
ETHNOASTRONOMY]. MINSK: TEHNOLOGIJA
2015, 287 STRANI, FOTOGRAFIJE IN
ILUSTRACIJE.

Do pojava elektrike in večjih naselij so bile zvezde na nočnem nebu enostavno vidne vsem ljudem, danes pa so zaradi osvetlitve za večino prebivalcev mest pogosto že precej redek pojav. Vidnost zvezd nekoč ni bistveno vplivala na življenje, je pa zapustila svojo edinstveno sled v kulturi in nam danes bolj kot vedenje o nekoč znanih zvezdnih imenih sporoča, kakšne so bile nekoč ljudske predstave o zvezdnih svetilih. Poleg terminologije, ki so jo informanti uporabljali, je predmet Avilinovih etnoastronomskih raziskav primerjalno gradivo, ob katerem analizira belorusko etnoastronomsko izročilo v kontekstu z vzhodnoslovanskim in bolj oddaljenim evropskim izročilom.

Knjiga je razdeljena na pet delov, od katerih je vsak razdeljen na več podpoglavij. Prvi del predstavlja zgodovinske vire za astronomsko znanje, med katerimi so vzhodnoslovanske kronike, različni prevodi biblije od 16. do 17. stoletja, astronomsko besedišče in z njimi povezanimi predstavami v poljskih, vzhodnoslovanskih in prevedenih virih od 15. do 17. stoletja, viri iz 18. in 19. stoletja, etnoastronomske raziskave iz 19. stoletja in etnoastronomija druge polovice 20. in začetka 21. stoletja, kjer je predstavljen podroben pregled raziskav vzhodnoslovanskih avtorjev.

Drugi del, ki je tudi najboljšežnejši del knjige, je posvečen nebesnim svetilom, zvezdam, ozvezdjem, planetom, kometom in luni. Avtor začne s pregledom tradicionalnih predstav o zvezdah, ki so bile opisane kot oči, duše in druge metafore, nato pa sistematično

predstavi vsako zvezdno skupino, imena v ljudski kulturi in vzrok oziroma motiv za nastanek imen, ki so pogosto širše prisotna. V tem delu avtor predstavi podpoglavja, poimenovana po ozvezdjih: Rimska cesta, Veliki voz, Plejade, Orion, Druge zvezde in ozvezdja (mali voz, Kasiopeja, Sirius, Severnica idr.), Venera in kometi. K temu delu je avtor na koncu dodal še določitev časa glede na zvezde s podnaslovom elementi tradicionalnega zvezdnega koledarja in sončev ter lunin mrk. Slednja sta v ljudskem razumevanju največkrat predstavljala nevarnost, kot je vojna. Imena vsake zvezde oziroma ozvezdja uvrsti v skupine in prikaže primere iz drugih evropskih tradicij, ki spadajo v isto skupino, npr. orodja (grablje, ralo plug), voz, palica, križ idr.). Podpoglavja so zato kratka, vendar sistematična. Ozvezdje Orion, ki je enostavno opazno na nebu zaradi treh svetlečih zvezd, se v beloruski folklori najpogosteje pojavlja v obliki treh antropomorfnih podob, kot so trije kosci, tri sestre, trije kralji itd. Mnoge podobnosti so v zbranem gradivu s slovenskim izročilom o zvezdnih imenih tako na povsem jezikovnem nivoju, kot tudi na nivoju skupin, v katere uvršča zvezde in ozvezdja glede na imena. Vedno znova se pri zvezdnih imenih kaže, da mnoga med njimi, kot so sito, križ ali kača opisujejo različna ozvezdja in če ni ozvezdja, na katerega se ime nanaša, dobro opisano, je pogosto težko identificirati pravo skupino zvezd.

Tretji del zajema ljudsko astronomijo v folklori, prav tako pa tudi ljudsko astrologijo, verovanja, prerokovanja in magijo o zvezdah. Pri zgodovinskem pregledu poimenovanja 'zvezdar' za astrologa, avtor citira številne srednjeveške slovarje predvsem v slovanskih jezikih. Posebni podpoglavji sta namenjeni tudi semantiki izraza "šteti zvezde" in podobam nebesnih svetil v ugankah.

V četrtem delu so zbrane ljudske predstave o meteorjih, ki se delijo na animistične, kot so grešne duše ali nekrščeni otroci za “letečo zvezdo”, bitja v obliki angelov in leteče kače ter druge predstave, povezane z meteorji.

Zadnji, peti, del vsebuje etiološke predstave o mesecu. V njem avtor razpravlja o luninih lisah, ki so, kot pripovedujejo številne povedke, nastale zaradi bratomornega boja, lahko pa tudi zaradi različnih pregreh posameznikov. Drugo podpoglavje zadnjega dela je namenjeno biblijskim motivom, ki se navezujejo na nastanek lunarnih lis. Knjigo zaključuje 34 zemljevidov razširjenosti posameznih imen v knjigi obravnavanih nebesnih svetil in priloge, v katerih je zbrano različno gradivo: gradivo, ki ga je avtor sam zbral na terenu; gradivo drugih zbirateljev; kakor tudi gradivo iz Polesja, ki je objavljeno v spletnem arhivu. Poleg tega je na enem mestu dodano še gradivo drugih publikacij, ki se nanaša na ozemlje Belorusije, npr. gradivo poljske knjige M. Gladyszowe *Wiedza ludowa o gwiazdach* (Ljudsko znanje o zvezdah 1960).

Knjiga je zelo bogato podkrepjena z literaturo in sprotimi opombami za vsako astronomsko ime, ki ga uporabi. Od slovenskega gradiva se avtor na več mestih sklicuje na članke Matije Valjavca, do katerih je dostopal preko Digitalne knjižnice Slovenije. Škoda je, da ni poznal tudi obsežnih člankov Milka Matičetova. Žal so nekatera imena v knjigi napačno naslovljena kot slovenska, gre pa za zamenjavo s slovaškimi imeni, na kar kaže citiran vir v referencah.

Knjiga Avilina bo prišla prav vsem, ki jih zanima ljudska astronomija, saj je njena vrednost zaradi primerjalnega značaja obravnavanega gradiva širša od zgolj beloruskega gradiva, ki je sicer v središču pozornosti v tej knjigi.

Nejc Petrič, Dublin

SUZANA MARJANIĆ, TOPOI UMJETNOSTI PERFORMANSA: LOKALNA VIZURA [THE TOPOI OF PERFORMANCE ART: A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE]. ZAGREB: DURIEUX, HRVATSKA SEKCIJA AICA, 2017. 542 STRANI, FOTOGRAFIJE.

Suzana Marjanić, višja znanstvena sodelavka na Inštitutu za etnologijo in folkloristiko v Zagrebu, je ena redkih etnologinj na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije, ki se posveča raziskavam performansov. Raziskave izvedbe performansa so sicer aktualne v folkloristiki že vsaj od konca šestdesetih let 20. stoletja. Ben-Amosova odmevna definicija folklore kot “umetniške akcije / komunikacije, ki se odvija v majhnih skupinah” je spodbudila intenzivne raziskave folklornega dogodka kot takega – tudi v (severno)ameriški folkloristiki v zadnjih petdesetih letih v ospredju (v zadnjem času se sicer že čuti odmikanje od njih). Drugače kot v ZDA so bile te v evropski folkloristiki in etnologiji vedno bolj v ozadju in interes raziskovalcev vedno bolj usmerjen k rutinskim, ponavljajočim se praksam in tekstom v širšem družbenem, ne toliko ozkem performativnem kontekstu. Še več, folkloristi se navadno ne ukvarjajo s performansom kot obliko umetnosti in njegovimi širšimi družbenimi implikacijami. Suzana Marjanić v svoji knjigi stori prav to: njene raziskave se ne dotikajo izvedbe folklore, kot bi jo razumeli v ožjem folklorističnem pomenu besede, pač pa v obravnava performanse, ki jih sicer obravnavajo umetnostni zgodovinarji in kvečjemu morda še sociologi.

Avtorica v knjigi *Topoi umjetnosti performansa: lokalna vizura* nadaljuje raziskave, ki jih je začela že s knjigo *Kronotop hrvatskoga performansa: Od Travelera do danas* (2014), le da v tokratni knjigi, v nasprotju s prejšnjo, njen fokus ni več na kontekstu časa

in prostora performansa, pač pa na njegovih dominantnih motivih oziroma tematiki. Pri tem jo zanima zlasti njihova politična dimenzija, sporočilo, njihovi aktivistični aspekti. Knjiga predstavlja zbir člankov, ki jih je avtorica skozi leta objavljala v različnih znanstvenih in strokovnih časopisih na Hrvaškem, zdaj pa so v knjigi prvič zbrani na kupu in tako predstavljajo smiselno povezano celoto obravnav različnih oblik sodobne hrvaške performativne umetnosti.

V prvem poglavju se avtorica posveča tematiki “žive slike” (ali tudi “žive skulpture”), konkretno na primeru človeka z zlato pobarvanim obrazom v zlatih oblačilih in zlato rožo v roki, in Zlate sfinge/faraona, ki se ju navadno videva na Trgu bana Jelačića v Zagrebu. Avtorica najprej predstavi dileme, povezane s terminologijo, ter pokaže suvereno poznavanje zgodovine raznih pojavnih oblik te vrste “umetnosti” v mednarodnem prostoru, tudi v navezavi na likovne smeri, kot so t. i. “action painting” in “body art”, ter “happening”, poseže pa celo na področje hortikulture. V posebnih podpoglavjih posebej obravnava še delo umetnika Kreša Mustača, ki je v osemdesetih začel in končal ter v začetku 21. stoletja ponovno začel z javnimi nastopi. Obravnava tudi dramo “ležanja” žive slike v izvedbi Mustača in drugih avtorjev; ter na koncu na kratko še oblike performansa telesa v poziciji, ki implicira “mrtvost”.

V drugem poglavju se posveča “happeningu” (dogodku, dogajanju), ki se kot “prostorsko-časovni in vedenjski dogodek, v katerem sodelujejo umetniki in publika”, od umetnosti performansa razlikuje prav po sodelovanju publike, saj v deloma režirani ali neregirani situaciji publiko “spreminja v sodelujoče-akterje”. Tudi tu se avtorica po diskusiji o terminologiji in konceptualnem prepletanju z drugimi oblikami umetnosti ter

kratkem pregledu zgodovine happeningov v mednarodnem prostoru osredotoči na hrvaški prostor in njegove avtorje. Posebej predstavlja razumevanje happeninga dveh sodobnih hrvaških umetnikov, Tajči Čekade in Damirja Čargonje, ki se odmikata od začetne redukcionistične definicije le-tega, ter Željka Zorice Šiša, ki izvaja t. i. “nadzorovane happeninge”.

Naslednje poglavje je namenjeno performativni glasbi, glasbenemu performansu, “esejizirani pretvorbi zvoka v besedo”. Tudi tu sledi strukturi, kot jo je zastavila v prvih dveh poglavjih – po pregledu različnih oblik glasbenih performansov oziroma terminologije ter kratkem zgodovinskem pregledu tovrstnih performansov po svetu se avtorica posebej posveti glasbenim performansom v hrvaškem prostoru, in sicer glede na različne načine pristopa k izvedbeni manipulaciji oziroma izvedbenemu markiranju. Posebno podpoglavje je namenjeno skupini *Kuća ekstremnoga muzičkoga kazališta* in njenim delom, v nadaljevanju pa omenja še druge avtorje in skupine, ki bi jih lahko uvrstili med tiste, ki v hrvaškem kontekstu uvajajo glasbene performanse (bratje Sinkauz, Noel Šuran, Galeta, Neda Šimić-Božinović idr.).

V četrtem poglavju knjige se avtorica ukvarja še z eno obliko sodobne umetnosti, in sicer s “postdramskim gledališčem”, ki se po dominaciji dramskega teksta razvije konec šestdesetih in v začetku sedemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja. Tu v posebnem podpoglavju analizira postdramski aktivistični projekt skupine *Montažstroj* z naslovom “A gdje je revolucija, stoko?”, ki je bil prvič izveden leta 2014, in imel močno družbenokritično sporočilo, vezano na koncepte avtorskega prava (“copyright” v odnosu do “copyleft”, (avtorske) cenzure, problematizira pa tudi etično uspavanje neme večine v neoliberalnem kapitalizmu.

V naslednjem sklopu se v dveh poglavjih posveča naravi v umetnosti performansa oziroma ponuja fragmentarni pregled različnih načinov, na katere so lokalni umetniki v svojih performansih obravnavali ne-urbani prostor. V podpoglavjih tako obravnava različne hrvaške avtorje "land-arta" in performansov, izvedenih v naravi, ter nadaljuje z umetniki, katerih delo se je začelo kot land-art, nadaljevalo pa z družbeno-angažiranimi oblikami umetnosti (npr. Molnar, Grubić), tudi ekološkimi (Galeta), in nenazadnje instalacijami, ki so jih inspirirale tradicijske pogrebne šege (prim. "mirila" v Zagrebu – Zanki, Gagić), pa tudi druge oblike umetniške sakralizacije krajine in na koncu landartistične festivale. V posebnem poglavju avtorica obravnava tudi vrt v umetniških praksah – od gverilske prakse vrtnarjenja, do ekološkega in zen-vrtnarjenja in drugih oblik duhovnih izkušenj, povezanih z vrtom, ter umetnosti, povezanih z vrtom, pogosto tudi s političnimi sporočili.

Tema sedmega poglavja je hrana, ki se v performansih na različne načine uporablja kot politično sporočilo (zlasti kot metafora "politične kuhinje" v času tranzicije in recesije). V osmem poglavju avtorica tematizira žrtev kot spoj sakralnega in kriminalnega, ki jo obravnava zlasti z vidika njihovega političnega sporočila oziroma družbene kritike. Pri tem razume "hrano" zelo široko, tudi kot pitje lastne krvi, urina, avtokanibalizem, zaužitje denarja ... Avtorica, ki je znana tudi po svojem aktivizmu v boju za pravice živali, v posebnem poglavju problematizira (a ne moralizira!) ubijanje živali v imenu umetnosti, ki je v okviru performansov relativno pogost pojav, tudi z etičnega vidika oziroma znotraj interspecistične etike.

Naslednji sklop poglavij obravnava uporabo zastave v umetnosti, zlasti kot subverzivnega simbola. Po pregledu del

nekaterih tujih avtorjev se avtorica osredotoči na rabo zastave v hrvaških umetniških projektih, zlasti od leta 2005. Raba zastave v aktivističnih umetniških projektih se zdi, sodeč po celem nizu projektov različnih avtorjev, ki jih navaja Suzana Marjanić, na Hrvaškem izjemno pogosto uporabljana in – glede na nedavni slovenski škandal ob rabi zastave v umetniškem projektu Simone Semenić – očitno manj problematizirana v javnem življenju kot se je to pokazalo v Sloveniji.

Enajsto poglavje o demokratizaciji umetnosti je avtorica napisala navdahnjena s člankom pokojne hrvaške etnologinje Dunje Rihtman-Auguštin iz leta 1979. Temo demokratizacije umetnosti obravnava v kontekstu konceptualne umetnosti in polemike o elitni in množični kulturi v socializmu (na primeru mesta Zagreb) ter potrebi po demokratizaciji umetnosti, ki se je pojavila zlasti konec sedemdesetih 20. stoletja. Suzana Marjanić ugotavlja, da umetnost demonstrira, "da je mogoče do temeljev uničiti koncepte avtoritarnega mesta, da so mentalni svetovi drugačnega sveta uresničljivi, in da je z dogodki-modeli, v Handelmanovem smislu, mogoče transformirati politične koncepte blokade."

V naslednjem poglavju z naslovom *Performans in terorizem* avtorica najprej predstavi različna razumevanja terorizma kot takega, zatem pa se posveti vlogi, ki jo ima terorizem v imaginaciji 21. stoletja. To pokaže na sedmih primerih hrvaške sodobne umetnosti, pri čemer zadnji obravnava "mehki terorizem" slovenskega avtorja Marka Breclja, kot ga je ta pojasnil v svojem predavanju o performansu v muzeju sodobne umetnosti v Zagrebu in klubu KUNS na Reki ter v drugih performansih, ki jih je pripravil v sodelovanju s hrvaškimi avtorji. Z izrazito politično vsebino performansov se avtorica

ukvarja tudi v naslednjem poglavju *Izvedba EU*, v katerem obravnava performativne demonstracije ob vstopu Hrvaške v EU – kot alternative protokolarnim proslavam ob istem dogodku.

Zadnji sklop knjige predstavljajo poglavja, ki obravnavajo performanse, ki se že bližajo gledališkim performansom. V poglavju *Mit in umetnost* piše o razstavi, posvečeni hrvaškemu “mitologu”, zgodovinarju, politiku in publicist Natku Nodilu ter sorodni litvanski figuri Konstantinasu Čiurlionisu, oba s preloma 19. v 20. stoletje, v kateri so sodelovali trije hrvaški in trije litvanski umetniki. Na podlagi treh koncepcij mita – kot sakralne, ideološke in anarhične zgodbe – predstavi tri različne umetnike (Čekada, Fijolić, Kordić), katerih delo povezuje s temi konceptualizacijami. V naslednjem poglavju na primeru dveh predstav režiserk Crnojević-Carić in Udovički obravnava še feministično gledališče/performans. Medtem ko ti predstavi tematizirata nasilje nad ženskami in njihovo izkoriščanje, pa v naslednjih poglavjih obravnava tudi projekte, ki tematizirajo prisilne migracije, migrantske/humanitarne krize, rasizem in specizem.

V zadnjem poglavju spoznamo avtorico še z bolj osebnega vidika, kot sodelavko v predstavah postavantgardnih skupin Ljubičasti Deltoid in Zublja Agapa, ki ju je v 90-ih ustanovil njen življenjski partner Robert Franciszty. Skupina je v času vojne uporabljala strategije gverilskega, pouličnega gledališča za izvedbo performansov s političnim sporočilom; po ukinitvi le-teh je Franciszty nadaljeval umetniško delo sam.

Knjiga Suzane Marjanić je pomembna vsaj z dveh vidikov. Na eni strani nepoznavalcu sodobnih oblik performativne umetnosti ponuja hiter, zgoščen pregled, nekakšen uvod v spoznavanje sodobnih konceptualnih oblik umetnosti, njihovo razumevanje,

pa tudi umeščanje v vsakokratne družbene kontekste in ob tem tudi v razumevanje njihovih družbenokritičnih sporočil. Na drugi strani je to izjemen zgodovinski dokument o sodobni hrvaški performativni umetnosti, saj obravnava tudi performanse, ki so bili v hrvaški kritiki tako rekoč spregledani in neopaženi. Kot taka je knjiga seveda zanimiva ne le za hrvaško zgodovino sodobne umetnosti, ampak tudi za vse, ki se v Sloveniji in drugod na kakršen koli način ukvarjajo s sodobno umetnostjo. Da bi bila lahko še bolj zanimiva tudi za folkloriste, bi si želeli morda še posebnega poglavja, v katerem bi avtorica nagovorila in natančneje pojasnila svoje razumevanje odnosa med sodobnimi performativnimi oblikami umetnosti, ki jih v knjigi obravnava, in folkloro, konceptualizirano kot “umetniško komunikacijo v majhnih skupinah” – a to je tema, ki bi seveda zanimala le tiste, ki se ukvarjamo s folklorističnimi raziskavami. Kakor koli, knjiga takšna, kot je, vsekakor ponuja odličen in celovit vpogled v neko obdobje hrvaške sodobne umetnosti in obenem na zgoščen način in konkretnih primerih vpelje bralca v spoznavanje oblik sodobne performativne umetnosti tudi v svetovnem merilu.

Mirjam Mencej, Ljubljana

Navodila avtorjem

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