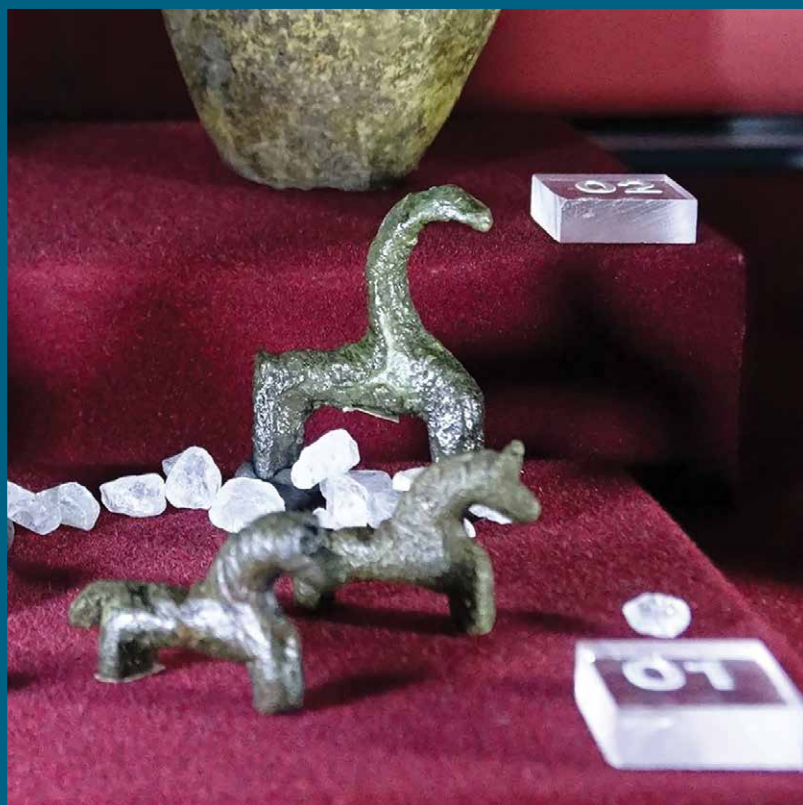


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Razprave

Studi

Articles

Myth in Action? Figurative Images on Ceramics as a Source for Studying the Pre-Christian Beliefs of Western Slavs

==== Kamil Kajkowski =====

The spiritual culture of Western Slavs is becoming an increasingly prominent research field in archaeology. The dynamic growth of material evidence allows archaeologists not only to expand the corpus of evidence used in their work but also to formulate new hypotheses that broaden the current state of knowledge, as well as to develop new research trajectories. The study of relics of cult-places and the material remains of ritual ceremonies play a particularly significant role here. Research into material culture, including iconographic sources, is of great significance. Both these research topics can be broadened by the studies of objects commonly extracted from the earth, namely ceramic vessels. Moreover, not only the ritual behaviour that accompanies their production, or the symbolism of vessels, as such, or their forms but also about their ornamentation is of interest. Thus far, the issue of ornamentation has remained on the fringes of mainstream scholarly debates. Marek Dulnicz is among the scholars who have made the most substantial contributions to this field of research. However, since 2008, there have been no further studies on this topic. Although the corpus of completely preserved or fragmented vessels with figural depictions known today has expanded, the body of material with narrative scenes remains fairly small. New finds of vessels (or their fragments) with such imagery are found very rarely – even though numerous excavation campaigns are being undertaken – leading to the situation in which vessels with narrative scenes become rare and exceptional sources. This paper will specifically address this particular body of material. Around twenty different vessels will be considered here. Most of them are known from the area inhabited by the Baltic Slavs and the territory of modern-day Poland (Masovia and Silesia). One shard comes from Slovakia. The present paper seeks to provide answers to questions about the purpose of placing figural imagery on vessels, as well as to investigate the spatial and chronological occurrence of such finds, and the possible functions the vessels had in the everyday lives of their users.

KEYWORDS: Western Slavs, material culture, vessels, narrative depictions, mythology, religion

In studies concerning the traditional religious beliefs of the Slavs, Stanisław Urbańczyk's famous claim that this field of study brings "nothing but disappointment" is no longer valid. Even though, from time to time, some scholars are sceptical or even hypercritical, today we no longer ask *if*, but rather about *who*, *how*, *when*, and *where*? The main tools

used by researchers to answer these questions are analyses of written and archaeological sources, conducted by religious scholars, cultural anthropologists, linguists, and researchers of folk culture.¹ However, still neglected and underestimated is an in-depth reflection on the meaning and symbolism of imagery (which, for our needs, we can call *art*), which fully incorporate the methods developed in the broad field of iconology. It seems that the theoretical models proposed by Erwin Panofsky (1939) and his successor Rudolf Wittkower (1990) can be particularly fruitful in the studies of Slavic beliefs. Their methodology has already been applied in work on symbolic images of early medieval Western Slavs (Panfil 2002, Kajkowski, in print b) but, thus far, scholars have exclusively focused on elite material culture.

The method developed by Panofsky analyses each iconographic image/idea in a historicising approach. The basic aim of this kind of research is, primarily, to discover the internal meanings of these images, which are characterised by a certain “symbolism”, and thus beyond- or even out-of-time meaning. Therefore, the method of iconological analysis consists of three stages. The first is the interpretation of individual elements of the considered image, to place its specific/individual context (which can appeal to religion, mythology, tradition, literature, politics, social relations, and similar). The second concerns the explanation of the conventional understanding of the images/scenes and determining their potential meanings (illustrative, symbolic, allegorical, and similar.). Finally, most importantly, the third stage, in which the work/image/figure/scene should be considered as a symptom of the epoch (or, as Panofsky himself sees it, a *document*), finding its place in archetypes and cultural history. In other words, based on the method of iconological analysis, we place an image within the frames or, rather, against the backdrop of tradition, customs, and historical events. In this way, we aim to discover the events that gave rise to the foundations of the image’s creation, and thus to read the essential meanings encoded in it, which may significantly differ from the conclusions based on traditional (formal) analysis (see Panfil 2002: 18–19; Lang 2006; Davison 2009; Alloa 2015).

A similar course of reasoning is intuitively indicated by some archaeologists dealing with the analysis of (mainly antique/ancient) visual messages, often referred to as a form of communication or “expressive-affective symbolism” (Tanner 2006: 19–21). In this kind of approach, the task of art directly influences the senses and emotions or/and transmission of particular ideas or codification of specific matters. Furthermore, although we are not always able to recognise the message hidden behind them, their presence should not raise any further doubts (Bugaj 2012: 888).

Equally important for further analyses should be the acknowledgement of the fact that the actions taken by artists/craftsmen, as well as their value/aesthetic assessment can be – and most often are – a result of a meaningful development, which takes shape through the prism of magical or sacral valorisation (Kowalski 2007: 160). Unfortunately, there is no place here for a detailed discussion of the relationship between art and religion (e.g., Poniatowski 1962: 184; Zdybicka 1993: 370n; Duvignaud 2010: 218; Barrowclough 2014:

¹ About the problems, hopes, and results related to the application of these solutions, see Antosik, Łuczyński (ed.) 2020.

152; Mamzer 2018: 43–44). Let us merely note a significant argument by Cassirer and Mioletinski, who consider historical art as a form of visual expression deeply rooted in mythological narratives while simultaneously maintaining its unique character (Cassirer 1953: 98; Mioletinski 2009: 20).

Attempts to apply these cursorily presented theoretical inspirations to investigate the “model” of the spiritual culture of early medieval Slavs remain at a nascent stage. Until recently, many researchers have denied these communities not only an extensive belief system (or even mythology) but also any skills in creating visual art. This was likely the result of suppositions based on the views of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), who created the theory of *Volksgeist*, according to which all societies that inhabited pre-historic Europe had a specific position in the development of the Old Continent’s culture. The Slavs – as a young ethnic element, entering the arena of history after the significant achievements of Frankish and other Germanic tribes occupied (in Herder’s classification) the position of agrarian civilisation – in contrast to people whose development was based primarily on military activity.

As a consequence of such a way of thinking, the interpreters of Herder’s thoughts denied the Slavs the ability to create epics, sublime forms of art or compositional thinking in general (Kalinowski 2016: 22). It is also likely that perpetuation of similar views may have been favoured by stereotypes seeing the beginnings of culture (including the artistic culture) in the West. There are views according to which the development of culture/art should be firstly associated with the Mediterranean world (Hellenic, Roman, Byzantine) area and then with the areas affected by Christianity. As a consequence of such thinking, the remaining areas of the known world were referred to as uncivilised or semi-civilised *barbaricum* (cf. Pankalla, Kośnik 2018: 24). In the mid-20th century, this line of thinking resulted in the perception of early medieval Slavs strictly as agricultural communities, and – which has important meaning to us – to the conviction that all skillfully made or decorated artefacts excavated during archaeological research (especially military equipment) represented imports or evidence of the presence of other ethnic groups on Slavic territories (cf. Abramowicz 1954: 326, 348; Gardęła, Kajkowski, Ratajczyk 2019). Some scholars even claimed that these items represented early Christian art (Kóčka-Krenz 1998: 558–559). Recent re-evaluations of all these finds demonstrate that they are most likely of local origin and the ideographic/figural motifs depicted on some of these objects have been associated with very specific pre-Christian beliefs of Western Slavs (Gardęła, Kajkowski, in print). The links of these items with the material culture of the elite are also beyond doubt.

Relatively recent records also have theories concerning the symbolical interpretations of its ideographic/figurative motifs, which are connected with the pre-Christian beliefs of Western Slavs (Gardęła, Kajkowski, in print). Its relationship with the elite culture is also not doubted. However, mythological convictions and beliefs could not be an ideological system limited to the early medieval aristocracy exclusively. They constituted the existence of the entire community. Thus, we should also, in my view, search for the signs of mythical thinking with relation to the objects that were within reach of “ordinary” people (participants of the common culture). Therefore, researchers have long been considering ceramic vessels, which represent the most common element of material culture.

Moreover, it is not just about the ritual behaviour that accompanies their production, or the symbolism of the vessels, as such (or form/appearance), but also its ornamentation (Buko 1990: 191–198; Dalewski 1990: 19; Kowalski 2000; 2013: 36; Janowski, Kurasiński 2008; Kara 2009: 106). Among the latter, several distinct groups can be indicated: carvings at the bottoms, geometric carvings, stamps and – the subject of the present study – figural or narrative scenes. Research on this topic is not new. Twenty years ago, it drew the attention of Polish archaeologist Marek Dulnicz (2001: 86nn; 2008). Since the release of his work – apart from a short article by Thomas Kinkeldey (2008) concerning monuments of the Elbe region – narrative scenes on ceramics have never been the subject of specialised and detailed investigations.

A relatively large group of artefacts with imagery that interests us here has been found in northern Germany, an area occupied by the Polabian Slavs in the early Middle Ages. Slightly fewer of them are known from Poland. Occasionally, they are also discovered in Slovenia and Slovakia. Regrettably – with one exception – all these items are fragmentarily preserved, and the shards are sometimes very small – sometimes exceedingly so – which causes serious problems with reconstruction of the figural scenes originally placed on them, and thus also with diminishing the narrative meanings encoded within them. In this regard, certain possibilities can appear (surprisingly, generally omitted in the studies on the topic at hand), such as the context analysis of some discoveries as also comparative studies based on contemporary knowledge about figurative and visual art of early medieval western Slavs. Therefore, let us examine the available source material more closely.

From the 7th/8th-9th century settlement in Gallin in Mecklenburg (Germany) comes a fragment of the edge of the vessel with the image of a wagon. You can see here a rectangular wagon-chest (according to Wietrzichowski 1988, 148 roofed), two wheels with four spokes, shaft and most likely the back of an animal. There is also a small *X* under the front wheel. Above the wagon, you can see four slightly wavy lines (Fig. 1). One question, in relation to the vessel form, is why the image is “upside down”. It is not known either – as already noted by Dulnicz (2001: 86) – whether the drawing was made on the already finished vessel, or perhaps on its damaged fragment that was later burned-out. The latter of these possibilities could explain the reverse arrangement of the figural scene. However, taking into consideration the space on which the cross symbol is placed, there are some doubts about such an interpretation.

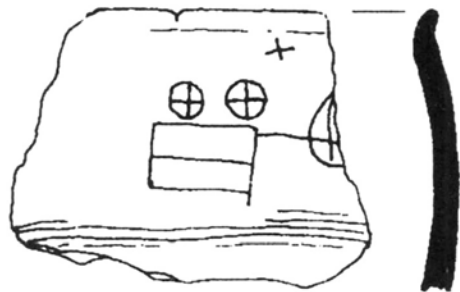


Fig. 1. Gallin, Mecklenburg, Germany. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Dulnicz 2008: 317, ryc. 7.1.

If the presence of an *X*-shaped symbol on non-ceramic early medieval products still arouses discussion (cf. Kotowicz 2013), so too in the case of ceramic vessels: symbolic content is much more often allowed (including those related to traditional religious systems) (see Łęga 1929: 253; Buko 1988: 101; 2005: 334nn; Kurasiński 2018: 259). In the case of the Gallin vessel, an early chronology is possible, as the whole visual composition

may support exactly this interpretation. So, it remains to ask what function the symbol *x* played here? This is an important question, because it implies further analytical proceedings, in which this symbol could indicate directions of the world or have astronomical indications (Forstner 1990: 13; Brzozowska-Krajka 1994: 84). In my opinion, the oblique arrangement of the *x* symbol in relation to the rest of the scene speaks for the second of the mentioned possibilities. I think that the intention here was to depict the sun or star. If so, at the same time, it would also confirm the desirability to place the wagon upside down. This, in turn, opens two possible ways of interpreting the entire scene. If we considered the *x* as a celestial body, Dulnicz (2001: 86) could have been right when he saw a wagon moving through the sky here. However, if – moving after the suggestions of researchers of religious symbols – we recognise the spoked wheels as a symbol of the sun and/or a deity of uranic competences² (Forstner 1990: 400; Szyjewski 2003: 103), then we could look here for a visualisation of the Slavic mythological narrative. It is about a (referring to the Indo-European tradition) motif, according to which the solar god has had to fight the chthonic powers. In some cases, the deity fought from a wagon, in others sitting on a horse.

Interestingly, a fragment of such a myth is also known for Western Slavs. It was transmitted unknowingly by Saxo Grammaticus, describing the Sanctuary in Arkona and more precisely, a horse belonging to Svantovit. According to the chronicler, each morning the animal was covered with foam and mud, which was supposed to be the evidence of night battles of a divine sovereign with forces opposing to him as well his followers (Saxo XIV, 39). In this sense, the *x*-sign on a Gallin vessel could be a star (Svantovit fought at night), while the wagon “driving” against the laws of nature is a deity’s vehicle.

However, the possibility that the discussed vessel fragment shows a ritual procession also cannot be ruled out. The significant role of wagons in the various ritual dramas of past communities (cf. Małecki 1995) is clearly shown in written,³ archaeological,⁴ and iconographic sources.⁵ In this case, however, there are some doubts about the wagon’s upside-down position, which excludes the appearance of an event in which the vehicle was pulled by an animal. However, it does not exclude the wagon’s function in the rite itself. This interpretation could be indirectly supported by the information collected by ethnographers. What we find here are the descriptions of funeral customs in which, after the burial ceremony, the wagon (which takes the deceased to the cemetery) was found overturned (Fischer 1921: 145; Biegeleisen 1929: 55).

Let us add that the same sources identify souls of the dead with the stars and recall the name of the Pleiades, which are related directly to the Veles – the Slavic sovereign of the Netherworld (Gładyszowa 1960: 21 nn). However – apart from the nature of these types of records – such an interpretation could not be confirmed either in archaeological sources or in medieval written accounts. Even though the wagons or its fragments and models

² Eliade (1993: 21) believed that only understanding of the sun-wheel symbolism could enable the “discovery” of the wagon as the source of transport.

³ With the Tacitus’ (I, 40) passage about the Nerthus goddess.

⁴ Famous Trudholm wagon (West 2007: 373–374) or two wagons of Manse swamp in west Jutland (Glob 2004: 168).

⁵ With the example of Oseberg tapestry (Shenk 2002: 37).

played a specific function in the ritual life of early medieval west Slavonic communities (Hołubowicz 1956: 294; Kunicka-Okuliczowa 1959: 113, 115; Kowalczyk 1968: 113), there is no evidence of any burials in wagons that could be considered distinctively Slavic.⁶

We have to finally consider the third option, in which the scene depicted on the Gallin shard has no relation to religious life. Could the wagon placed here illustrate any element of everyday life? By adopting such a solution, we should expect a mapping of the real situation, meaning one in which the cart should not be turned upside down, because it is difficult to imagine people or goods being transported in this way. Thus, in my opinion, the scene shown on the Gallin shard should be associated with the spiritual culture of the Baltic Slavs.

The extensive figural motif has also been preserved on four small fragments of the vessel found on the fortified settlement, dating back to the 9th-10th century, in Repten on the border of Brandenburg and Lusatia (Lkr. Oberspreewald-Lausitz, Germany). There is a scene depicting four animals and one human figure, probably holding a bow. The possibility that originally there was a figure of a man depicted on one of the animals cannot be excluded (Dulinicz 2001: 86; Kinkeldey 2008: 497). (Fig. 2) Thus far, the most prominent hypothesis interprets the whole scene in a military aspect. Less often, it indicates hunting for wild animals or capturing horses (Kinkeldey 2008: 499–500). Researchers' attention is also given to abstract imagery, which – I think – has recently gained quite good support. I am referring to the discoveries in the area of the former stronghold in Dąbrówka (Greater Poland). This stronghold dates back to the 9th century and the first half of the 10th century, so it functioned at the same time as the object in Repten (Kinkeldey 2008: 497).

A similar chronology is not the only aspect that attracts our attention. Essential to these considerations is one of the finds within the relics of one of the buildings (no. 29) in Dąbrówka. It is the bottom of the ceramic vessel decorated with an ornament that reveals common features to the Repten figural scene (Pawlak, Pawlak 2019a: 249). (Fig. 3) Significantly, object 29 is supposed to be an element of a larger ceremonial structure and, in addition to the mentioned vessel fragment, there were other shards decorated with isosceles crosses and a swastika motif. Human bones were also here (Pawlak, Pawlak 2019b: 168). Therefore, it is quite likely that all remains excavated at Dąbrówka may indicate their relationship with ritual activity. Consequently, it is possible to hypothesise that it is no accident that vessels decorated with religious symbols were found here. In connection with this assumption, a similar meaning can be combined with the mentioned alleged figural image. What then could the Repten/Dąbrówka narratives deal with? Before we attempt to answer this question, let us pay attention to a detail, specifically to zoomorphic characters. For scholars, it is difficult to recognise, however, why two of the horses are clearly drawn smaller than the others? If it was not about the space perspective (which should be considered unique, not to say atypical, ornamentation), or having to show adult horses with foals (Kinkeldey 2008: 498), the goal of this could be to show not the same, but different animal species. If so, it is possible to recognise the smaller figures as a depiction

⁶ This is, moreover, a broader problem that should be considered as a custom related to elites, not necessarily connected with the “ethnic differentiator”.

of dogs? Taking this interpretation for a moment – and following the hypothesis proposed by Felix Biermann (2000: 262) – let us note that the scene on the Repten vessel (and probably also Dąbrówka) could be surprisingly coincident with everything we know about beliefs focusing on the plot about the so-called Wild Hunt (*Wilden Jagd*).⁷ The main actor of the myth is a supernatural being (often a chthonic one), sitting on horseback, accompanied by (moving on horse or on foot) fallen warriors (or their shadows/souls) and other out-of-this-world or mediating creatures – mainly horses and dogs (Czerny 1896: 68; Dźwigoł 2004: 157; Bonowska 2008: 50; Kropej 2008: 188–191). According to current interpretations, the Wild Hunt motif should be related to former beliefs connected to fertility and renewal to nature (Kropej 2012: 52), or ritual activities related to the band of warriors who formed a cult groups bound by common beliefs (Pollington 2013: 110). The latter could be attractive because, both in Repten and in Dąbrówka, there are remains indicating the presence of militarised elites. However, Dąbrówka excavations revealed traces of ritual activity (animal skeletons and plant remains) perhaps connected to fertility and renewal (Pawlak, Pawlak 2019b: 169).

It is hard to judge whether an *archer*-figure preserved on the vessel fragment from Sternberg (Mecklenburg, Germany) could be a part of the analogous narrative scene as depicted in the case of Repten. The find comes from a settlement dated to the 7th/8th–9th century. The character is incomplete. What we can observe is the head and a fragment of the bow with the cord and an arrow. The preserved composition indicates that originally the weapon was in the hands of the anthropomorphic figure (Dulinicz 2008: 315–316). (Fig. 4) Unfortunately, the condition of the drawing does not provide any

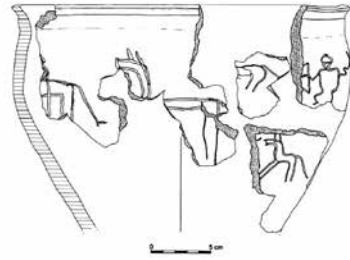


Fig. 2. Repten. Lkr. Oberspreewald-Lausitz, Germany. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Kinkeldey 2008: 498. Abb. 1:a.

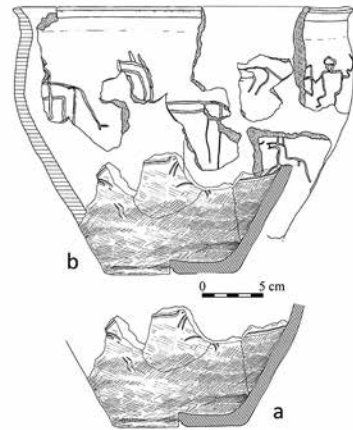


Fig. 3. Fragments of pots: a) Dąbrówka, wielkopolskie voivodeship, Poland; b) Comparison of Dąbrówka and Repten shards. A kind permission of Ewa and Paweł Pawlak.

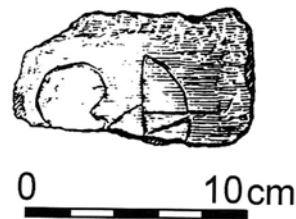


Fig. 4. Sternberg. Lkr. Ludwigslust-Parchim. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Dulinicz 2008: 316, ryc. 5.1.

⁷ Even if the genesis of this mythical story is derived from the world of Germanic tribes (Czerny 1896: 67; Czarnowski 1956: 186), its presence in folklore among Western Slavs, suggests that it could be adapted quite quickly by these societies. If we recognize that this tale is present on the 8th or 9th century Slavic vessels, then it can be assumed that Slavs became acquainted with them in the earliest stages of the Middle Ages or even during the migration period. However, these are presuppositions requiring more detailed studies.

grounds to state whether it was originally shown on foot or mounted. Therefore, it is difficult to find further similarities with the engraving on Repten shards.

Most likely, the schematically marked figure of the rider is depicted on a fragment of the 11th-century vessels excavated in Gdansk (pomorskie voivodeship, Poland) (Lepówna 1959: table 1: a). (Fig. 5) It is extremely interesting and rare that it was placed at the bottom of this vessel. Although, as already stated, some of the signs placed on this part of ceramic products could be combined with symbolic meanings; whether such significance was attributed to this bottom-shard is not known. Any further interpretation is not only hindered by the place of the image (invisible when using the vessel), but also no other fragments of it (on which further elements of a possible narrative scene would be visible), the lack of analogies, and the absence of any elements accompanying the *rider*. Consequently, we are unable to go beyond the frame of speculations.

More fortunately, an additional narrative elements accompany the rider from the vessel of Polabian Wessentin (Kr. Müritz, Germany). The find comes from an open settlement area dated to the 7th/8th–9th century. The depicted scene shows a man sitting on horseback, who is disclosed in a dynamic arrangement, suggesting movement. The impression of movement is also enhanced by the clearly marked bridle. Behind the rider, there is a group of vertical parallel lines engraved, and there is a serpentine-like line/shape before the horse. Above the figure, there is a horizontal, double engraved line. (Fig. 6) In current literature, various attempts have been made to interpret these drawing details, and thus the scene as a whole.

The vertical elements depicted behind the horse are considered to be a fence, a line of trees or a row of spears (Dulinicz 2008: 314; Łukaszyc 2012: 141), a double line above the



Fig. 5. Gdańsk. Pomorskie voivodeship, Poland. Bottom part of ceramic vessel. After Lepówna 1968: cover artwork.

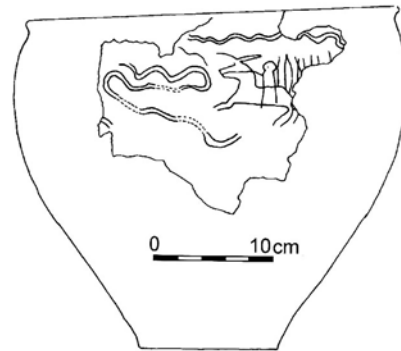


Fig 6. Wessentin. Kr. Müritz, Germany. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Dulinicz 2008: 313, ryc. 3.1.



Fig 7. Snake/dragon motifs on West Slavic artefacts, a) sword from Pokrzywnica Wielka. Warmińsko-mazurskie voivodeship, Poland; b) copper-alloy bar bit from Lutomiersk. Łódzkie voivodeship, Poland; c) silver bracelet. Poland; d) silver/copper-alloy kaptorga from Biskupin. Kujawsko-pomorskie voivodeship, Poland; e) silver ring from Brześć Kujawski. Kujawsko-pomorskie voivodeship, Poland. After Gardęła, Kajkowski, in print.

rider to be the sky-vault and the sinuous double line in front as a river or road (Wietrzychowski 1990: 59; Dulnicz 2008: 314; Kinkeldey 2008: 498) or snake/dragon figure (Szczepanik 2015: 187). Consequently, the scene itself is interpreted as a kind of map (Dulnicz 2001: 85), or as a visualisation of mythical narrative showing “a deity in action” (Dulnicz 2008: 314). This mythological interpretation is of particular importance. Adopting this line of reasoning, we can suppose that the scene could be a visualisation of the cosmogonic myth: more specifically, the part about the struggle of the thunder god against the chthonic serpent/dragon (Slavic *Žmij*) (Szczepanik 2015: 187–188). Although this character appears on other West Slavic artefacts/objects (cf. Gardęła, Kajkowski, Söderberg 2019), in this case, this interpretation is not truly convincing. It can be refuted by at least four arguments.

The first can be related to the rider figure. If he were to imagine a thunderer fighting a foe, then we should expect him to have some weapons or the weapon would be symbolically imagined here (e.g., as a zigzag/lightning, which is present on other ceramic vessels).

The second problem concerns the alleged spears depicted behind the rider. If three of them are placed directly on the right side of the horse, there are no warrior-figures that could hold them. In this case, however, we can conditionally allow a solution that the rider and his horse were shown in supernatural size. In iconological patterns, it would indicate the “inhumanity” of the rider, which could also be an explanation of why the sky-vault is placed just above the horseman’s head.

A third doubt concerns the alleged snake/dragon being, which has no anatomical details that would confirm this point of identification (in contrast to a horse or rider, who even has an eye indicating a direction of observation). The detail also has no analogies in Western Slavs’ figural art (Fig. 7). Even the most schematic images of snake/*Žmij* do not resemble the shape shown on the Wessentin shards.

In addition, it is noteworthy that the two lines in front of the “snake” suggest that, in the further perspective of the scene, it could be an analogous serpentine shape. This shape should be surely considered as a later landscape element. It could also be something completely different: something that could radically change the picture of the situation and the sense of the scene at all. We have to remember that we see just a small part of the whole. Thus, in building further interpretations, we are doomed to a large dose of subjectivity. However, in the context of the problems raised here, we have to consider whether the contents that the analysed scene could have been coded.

If we consider the lines behind the horse to be armaments wielded by “human” warriors and the meandering shape in front of them to be a river, then (based on what was said above) the narrative could relate to a Wild Hunt story. However, if we consider the “monstrous” interpretation of the rider to go too far, we can indicate one more possibility. It could relate to pre-Christian eschatology and illustrate the journey to the Netherworld. In such a way (on horseback and/or crossing the river/water), the Slavs imagined a way to the land of the dead (Bylina 1993: 80; Cooper 1998: 114; Maślowska, Niebrzegowska 1999: 325).

This way of interpretation may, however, find interesting exemplification in the case of another vessel that was discovered in 1939 in Chróścino (opolskie voivodeship, Poland).

It was excavated by the road leading to a crossing area of the Odra River. There was a pit discovered (not necessarily referred to as a grave) where a human skull was placed next to the vessel. It is even more intriguing because a triangular hole was observed at the bottom of the skull. According to some researchers, the hole was evidence that originally the head of the dead was stuffed with a stake/spear (Wachowski 1975: 46; Limisiewicz 2002: 358). Regardless of the validity of these hypotheses, the context of discovery allows connecting it with the manifestations of thinking in an abstract manner.

The excavated, well-preserved vessel was decorated with a row of oblique punctures. Below there is carving of a horse, which is covered with the lines running around the pot (Fig. 8). The whole composition gives the impression of an intention to show an animal moving behind some obstacle – perhaps transparent since the whole animal is visible to the observer. In this context, it is worth paying attention to the suggestions for reading other motifs present on the analysed artefact: horizontal rows of wavy lines (often appearing on Slavic vessels), which are sometimes considered to be related to aquatic imaginations (Chudziak 2015: 31; Woźny 2017: 30). Although on the Chróścino pot there are straight lines, so the dynamic layout of drawing and a (marked with diagonal lines) river bank (?) could – in my opinion – reflect the characteristics of flowing water. In relation to this interpretation, how the animal figure is placed is noteworthy. The horse figure is placed across the vessel, in a vertical arrangement (in relation to the standing container). Therefore, the arrangement of the whole scene seems to reflect the mediation properties of horses in the religious conceptions of pagan Slavs.

Let us return to the images of the riders for a moment. Such a character appears on yet another vessel shard found in Poland. The artefact comes from an open settlement, in the outskirts of the Wyszogród (mazowieckie voivodeship) stronghold, and was in use between the 7th and 8th centuries (Fig. 9). It was discovered in a pit situated between the relics of two buildings (dugouts).⁸ One of the preserved fragments of a vessel shows a well-preserved figural engraving with a mounted figure riding a quadruped; the animal is depicted in a manner that does not allow a clear description of its species. If the anatomical details on the animal's head may suggest antlers (a deer?), the anthropomorphic figure depicted on its back, indicates it is a riding animal, which can only be a horse in the early Middle Ages.⁹ The pose in which the anthropomorphic form is presented is not entirely clear. It is difficult to determine whether it is a sitting or standing (on horseback) figure. We also do not know whether the character has been depicted without head or the head was covered by lightning.¹⁰ The whole composition was considered by the discoverers to

⁸ Next to it was a second vessel decorated with a cross symbol at the bottom-part.

⁹ This, of course, cannot prejudice the matter, especially if we consider the possibility of mythological themes here. However, in this case, horses could play the first role too (what could be based on the already mentioned relation of Saxo Grammaticus about Svantovit's night expeditions).

¹⁰ In such a way (as a lightning, relatively including rainstorm; see Jelenski, Piatkov, Liybimtsev 2015: 69) three zigzag lines above the rider are interpreted (Szymański, Moszczyński 1988; Dulinicz 2008: 91). Ornamental motifs in the form of zigzag lines are known from several other shards (Bosau-Möhlenkamp, Fahrenhorst, Grimmen, Gross Strömkendorf, Lissa; see Dulinicz 2001: 87; 2008: 312). Unfortunately, the fragmentarily preserved decorations does not allow going beyond an assumption that originally they could have been a part of more complex narrative scenes (similar to the Wyszogród depictions)

represent the thunderer holding a lightning bolt (i.e., Perun) (Szymański, Moszczyński 1988; Pleterski 2014: 315). However, we can look at this scene differently: it seems that the anthropomorphic figure depicted here is not holding the lightning but has been struck by it, which would explain the way it was expressed on the animal's back. The dynamics of such a narrative could reflect the moment of knocking the rider down. If so, it could be a visualisation of the cosmogonic myth, and more precisely the moment of defeating the chthonic deity.

In this context, we should go back to the identification of the animal species. A second way of interpretation, indicating a horned animal (probably a deer), finds quite good support in results of research on animal symbolism. These statements confirm the strong bonds of deer with *sacrum*, where it played not only the function of mediator but was also a pluvial being associated with vitality, reproduction and rebirth of nature (Forstner 1990: 267–268; Mikoś 1997: 181). The matter becomes even more interesting if we note that, in Indo-European tradition, a deer was also associated with the world of the dead (performing a role of a conductor of souls) (Eliade 2002: 141) or guardian of cattle herds (identified with the spirits of the dead in the Slavic eschatology) (cf. Gardeła, Kajkowski, Ratajczyk 2019).

A similar scene may have been on another part of a clay pot, this time from Polabian Rerik (Kr. Bad Doberman, Germany). The shard comes from an open settlement area dated back to the 6th/7th–8th centuries. There is a figure of an animal with an unnaturally long neck (with a mane?) and a pointed, flat muzzle. The animal has a very emphasised and tight chest; the tail is also marked. Above it, there are horizontal lines (sky?), from which vertical zigzag and split lines (lightning?) depart (Dulinicz 2008: 315) (Fig. 10).

According to Kinkeldey (2008: 498), poorly preserved lines carved over the quadruped show the rider. It is difficult to determine whether the

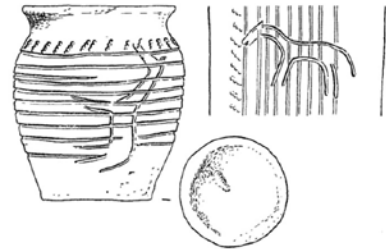


Fig. 8. Chróscino. Opolskie voivodeship, Poland. Ceramic vessel. After Wachowski 1975: 80.

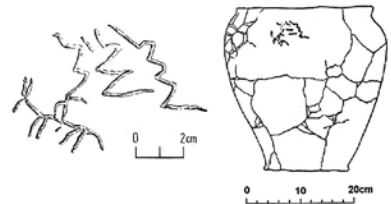


Fig. 9. Wyszogród. Mazowieckie voivodeship, Poland. Fragments of the pot. After Dulinicz, Moszczyński 2013: 63. Abb. 18.

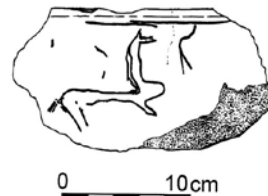


Fig. 10. Rerik. Kr. Bad Doberman, Germany. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Dulinicz 2008: 315, ryc. 3.4.



Fig. 11. Giecz. Wielkopolskie, voivodeship, Poland. A zoomorphic figure. After <http://www.lucivo.pl/2010/05/wykopaliska-2008-2009.html>. Access: 2020-04-19.

German researcher assessed this element correctly. However, more attention should be paid to the zoomorphic figure depicted here, because it seems to show an abstract image. This, in turn, raises the question of the author's intention. Was it to draw a being that we would call "fantastic" today? Before we attempt to answer this question, let us pay attention to "physical" features of the full-plastic, made of non-ferrous metals, figurines interpreted as horses.¹¹ If, in most cases, such identification raises no doubts, there are a few of them that differ from

realistic-made specimens. It is extremely interesting they have a long, curved neck, pointed and flat muzzle and a prominent breast (Fig. 11). If it is not an issue of a lack of skills or production mistakes, then we should ask whether "physical" features marked in this way should be taken as a clue to the species identification of these animals? If we accept this way of thinking, we must assume that these features are distinctive. It is difficult to attribute them as to the horses as well as to other species of fauna known at early Middle Ages. It could be, however, an animal inhabiting then imagination or/and connected to another (i.e., mythical) world. Such a solution would be extremely attractive, but due to the lack of more detailed research on this topic, it cannot be included in further discussion.¹²

According to Andrzej Sikorski (1991), the figure of the rider may have been originally placed on the vessel excavated in relics of building in Dębczyno (pomorskie voivodeship, Poland) (Fig. 12). The building was a residential element located within an open settlement area from the 6th-7th centuries. In the opinion of this Polish archaeologist, there are two legs and long tail preserved on the shard. Unfortunately, too small a fragment of the vessel has survived, which is why we are not able to justify and consider the proposed lead. Thus, Sikorski's guesses must remain in the realm of hypotheses difficult to verify.

Doubts about the animal identification could also apply the zoomorphic figure originally depicted on the vessel from Presenchen stronghold (Lkr. Dahme-Spreewald, Germany) (Kinkeledey 2008: 499). The details of the drawing do not indicate whether the quadruped should be considered a horse or deer. Similar doubts apply to two figures on the shard excavated at Stargard Gubiński (lubuskie voivodeship, Poland) (Biermann 2000: 262) (Fig. 13).

The image of animals is present on a partly preserved depiction on the vessel from Podeblocie (mazowieckie voivodeship, Poland) (Fig. 14). It was found within the relics of residential building (no. 10) excavated on the stronghold from the 7th/8th-9th centuries. The upper part of the vessel is covered by an ornament in the form of lines forming a circular shape interpreted as an image of the sun. Underneath and above it is a row of parallel and vertical lines. The lower part of the pot is decorated with two parallel rows of horizontal lines. For us, the most interesting is the first of the mentioned lines con-texture, which is interpreted as a "line [group] of zoomorphic images, horned animals"

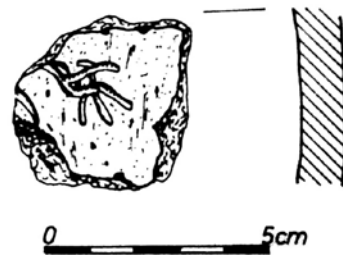


Fig. 12. Dębczyno. Pomorskie voivodeship, Poland. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Sikorski 1991: 284, ryc. 3.1.

¹¹ Associated with the spiritual life of the early medieval Western Slavs (Kajkowski 2019: 185nn).

¹² It is part of a separate studies undertaken by author and Dr Leszek Gardela from The National Museum of Denmark

(Barford, Marczak 1992: 130). Unfortunately, the originators of this interpretation did not explain what prompted them to such a view, and it seems this is too loose an attempt to give the sense to the form. Regardless, it does not change the fact that we are dealing with a narrative form here perhaps associated with solar/pluvial concepts. However, its primal sense is impossible to read.¹³

According to some researchers, the fragmentally preserved zoomorphic image (part of the neck, torso, forelegs) with horns could be placed on the second ceramic shard discovered in Pomeranian Dębczyno (Fig. 15). Martin Planert (2012: 316) believes that it is an image of a cattle turned (running) to the right. However, this interpretation seems to undermine two details: different from other (above-mentioned) zoomorphic figures, the limbs are not depicted realistically, and there is an element located above the animal (?) made using the of smudging technique. Sikorski (1991) sees it as the wing, and the whole depiction shows an animal; if so, it could only be a schematically represented animal of a fantastic nature.

There is much less doubt regarding the identification of a quadruped imagined on a shard from the 12th-century layers of Wolin (zachodniopomorskie voivodeship, Poland). A detailed designation of the animal's features allows it to be considered a deer (Łuka 1973: 32; Filipowiak 1993: 32; Dulinicz 2001: 87) (Fig 16). This image is usually connected to symbolic/mythological ideas and associated with eschatology (Łuka 1973: 32), fertility (Hensel 1984: 111–112), or cult as understood generally (Filipowiak 1993: 34).

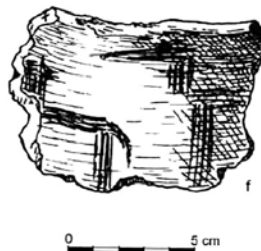


Fig. 13. Stargard Gubiński. Lubuskie voivodeship, Poland. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Kinkeldey 2008: 499, Abb. 2f.

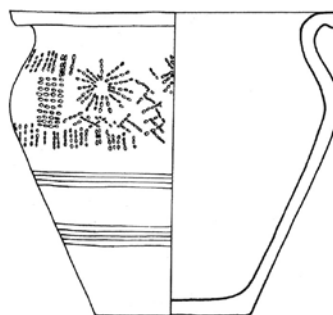


Fig. 14. Podeblocie. Mazowieckie voivodeship, Poland. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Barford, Marczak 1992: 130, ryc. 6.2.



Fig. 15. Dębczyno. Pomorskie voivodeship, Poland. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Sikorski 1991: 284, ryc. 3.2.

¹³ I find unlikely the hypothesis which connects this decorating patterns with Carolingian influences. I am also sceptical about suggestions pointing the Christian resurrection symbolism behind these ornamentations (Buko 2016: 18–19). This hypothesis, as it might be suspected, was formulated as a support for another one, i.e., concerned characters placed on (dated to 9th century) famous Podeblocie tablets. There are many scholars who consider signs engraved on its surface to be written in the Greek alphabet, abbreviations of holy names and the proclamation “Jesus Christ wins”. Thus considers them to be an important argument indicating the early reception of Christianity in the “Polish” lands (see Kollinger 2014: 398–399). Apart from the fact that this problem is still far from being resolved, one should agree with doubts indicating that “on this basis, no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn [especially] in the cultural and religious context” (Polek 2017: 42).

If images of animals on West Slavic ceramics are extremely rare, the avifauna representations are unique. One of them seems particularly interesting for the problems studied here. It is depicted on the upper part of a large vessel (and probably one more yet; see Messal 2001: 349, Abb. 4; 350, Abb. 6), discovered during archaeological research of the Glienke stronghold (Kr. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany) (Messal 2015: 84nn) (Fig. 17). The ornament of our interest consists of threads of alternately placed swastikas and stylised figures of birds with strongly accented, curved beaks. In studies on animal symbolism, the full-sized or engraved figures of birds most often are referred to two meanings: eschatological and cosmological.¹⁴ The first of these is expressed by the belief in the role of birds in the idea of metempsychosis. They were here an embodiment of the dead themselves, or a mediation being allowing reach the realm of Otherworld (cf. Szyjewski 2003: 195; Aldhouse Green 2005: 145; Waida 2005: 947).¹⁵ I think that it is quite likely that this is what the creator of the vessel and/or depiction of Glienke vessel wanted to show. Such a way of interpretation may be suggested by two details. One of them is a manner by which both figural motifs are shown. If the birds depict specified narrative and symbolic matters, and the swastika plays the role of the solar disc, the arranging of both these elements in one line and perspective may suggest a semantic relationship between them, the meaning of which could, in turn, be indicated by another decorative detail – a triple line under the entire scene. If we examine the other figural engravings analysed above, we will see that an identical (triple-) or similar (double line) motif in the context of entire narrative depictions symbolically designate (or can designate) the vault of the heavens. If we view the lines of Glienke vessel this way, this vault would be below the

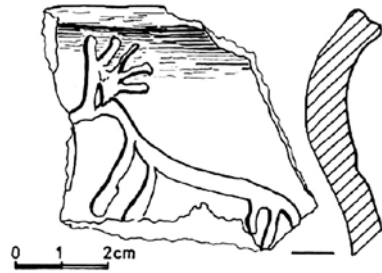


Fig. 16. Wolin. Zachodniopomorskie voivodeship, Poland. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Buko 1990: 138, ryc. 63b.

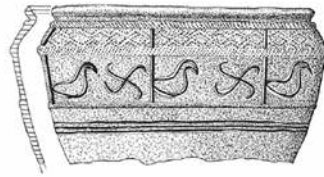


Fig. 17. Glienke. Kr. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Messal 2015: Taf. 78.2.

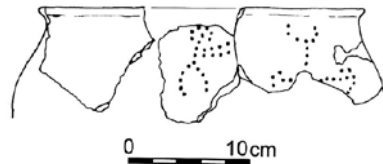


Fig. 18. Schulzendorf. Lkr. Dahme-Spreewald, Germany. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Gustavs 1979: 282, ryc. 4a.

¹⁴ However, it should be noted the opinions according to which a small number of avifauna images on Slavic artefacts is a proof of small or even any role of these animals in the spiritual life of this communities (Messal 2015: 92). Nevertheless, the set of such items is not as small as it seems to be. Moreover, the context of some discoveries and/or ideographic programme placed on their surface give foundations to consider specific functions of birds in religious life of early medieval Slavs (cf. Müller, Müller-Muči 1998: 58; Vaňa 1999; Kajkowski 2019).

¹⁵ It was known also to Christian medieval literature and art (Schmitt 2002: 180; Waida 2005: 949).

entire scene. This, in turn, could indicate that the craftsman intended to show the events taking place “in the heavens” (?) –beyond the realm at which the souls of at least some of them could aim.

However, a detail complicating the matter appears here. If we look at the ornamentation of other shards again, we will see that there is a more realistic and easier-to-identify image of the solar disk. It has the form of a circle-shaped object with lines radiating its centre. Another detail that draws attention is the way the birds are shown: most commonly floating. This finds good analogies in other images and the figural art of Western Slavs. In some cases, they are a part of extensive ideographic topics, which could be derived from mytho-cosmological narratives (Gardela, Kajkowski, Ratajczyk 2019). Based research results to date, both of proposed solutions seem acceptable.

Leaving the animal world for a moment, let us consider these ornamental motifs, for which the main narrative axis is a character of anthropomorphic attributes. A fragment of a vessel from Schulzendorf (Lkr. Dahme-Spreewald, Germany) was found in one of the resource pits excavated in the open-settlement site dated to the 8th–9th centuries (Gustavs 1979: 282). The fragment is decorated with two figural elements¹⁶ (Fig. 18). The first one, not causing significant identification problems, is the human figure pictured with his hands directed towards the second, harder-to-interpret image. Thus far, there have been two suggestions of its interpretation: as a boat (in profile) or wagon (horizontal projection – from above). Thus, the whole narrative, because of the human figure’s adoration gesture, is interpreted as a ritual performance (“the cultic event”, literally) (Gustavs 1979: 285nn; Kinkedley 2008: 499). Taking this approach, both attempts to identify the object next to the human figure offer interesting possibilities, which we became acquainted with by analysing the carvings on the Gallin vessel. Two options are under consideration: one characterised the whole scene as a “ritual procession”, while the other characterised it as a picture of a funeral drama. The latter interpretation, I think, could explain the presence of a boat image here: a vehicle, which among the elite members of early medieval coastal communities – including Slavic ones – fulfilled a certain function in funeral rituals (Kajkowski 2016).

Two human figures are also present in a miniature vessel from Radzim (Greater Poland). It was excavated on the stronghold located on the river island (on the Warta River). Unfortunately, no more detailed information on the exact location of the vessel has remained. The chronology of the stronghold dated between the 9th and 14th centuries (Jasnosz 1982–1984: 85–86) is also poor. The entire surface of the vessel is decorated with horizontal lines, whereas on the upper part of the container, the aforementioned engraving of two anthropomorphic figures is placed (Fig. 19). Although the nature and context of the discovery itself may indirectly indicate some relationship with the spiritual life of the stronghold’s users, the lack of further figural elements on the Radzim vessel does not enable attempts to include them in a wider narrative framework. There is indeed an attempt to identify them with divine dioscuric twins in the literature (Szafranski 1979: 370); however, no strong arguments sustain this view.

¹⁶ It is also unique because of the drawing technique: it is stippled, not carved.



Fig. 19. Radzim. Wielkopolskie, voivodeship, Poland. Ceramic vessel. After Buko 1990: 138, ryc. 63a.

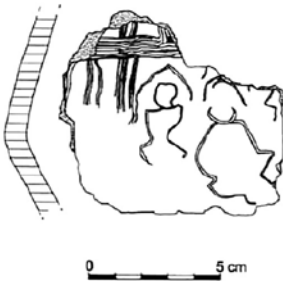


Fig. 20. Repten. Lkr. Oberspreewald-Lausitz, Germany. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Kinkeldey 2008, s. 498, Abb. 1:b.

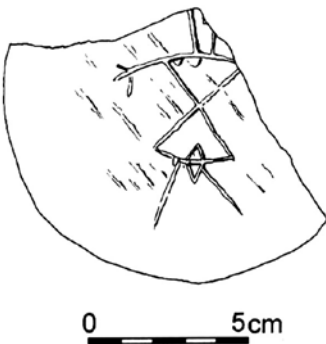


Fig. 21. Nitra. Obr. Nitra, Slovakia. Fragment of ceramic vessel. After Dulinicz 2008: 316, ryc. 5.3.

Similar problems, this time, however, as a result of the incomplete state of drawing preservation, which appears in the case of an iconological analysis of the second piece of ceramics from Polabian Repten (Fig. 20). According to T. Kinkeldey (2008: 499) the incomplete carving shows two schematically marked human figures, and the triangles or semicircles above them, he identifies with raised arms. As the bent “arms” as well as the way of “feet’s” expression he interprets as reflecting certain dynamics of the narrative scene. Consequently, we can be dealing with characters shown in movement (thus, these characters are interpreted here as a “group of dancers”) (Biermann 2000: 262, Kinkeldey 2008: 500). The researchers’ attention did not escape the pattern preserved in the upper left corner of the vessel’s piece, who attempted to identify it as a schematic figure as an animal (horse). In general, the whole scene would show a dancing or kneeling people with arms raised in adoration. However, Kinkeldey indicated yet another way of interpreting the “raised arms” gesture. This element of human figures he identified with masks as a requisite of alleged dancers. However, ultimately the author emphasises that, that due to the fragmentation of depictions, the meaning hidden behind the analysed image cannot be convincingly explained (Kinkeldey 2008: 500).

The final artefact to be discussed was excavated from Nitra in Slovakia. Unfortunately, there is no information about the place and context of its discovery. We can only indicate the chronology of the vessel; it was used between 7th/8th and 9th centuries (Dulinicz 2008: 316). The carving shows an anthropomorphic form, whose body was modelled with the help of two triangles touching each other (clepsydra). The figure also clearly shows both legs, one hand with a three-fingers and part of the neck and/or head. An interesting detail is the pair of triangles with touching bases, one of which is placed between the legs, the other slightly higher (Fig. 21). The detail in question and, above all the place of its location in the whole image context, was the basis of gender identification – and thus symbolic – of the figure,

which were subsequently recognised as female genital organs and as an image of Slavic *Alma Mater* (“Mother Goddess”) (Dulinicz 2008: 316).

However, it seems that the depiction in question can be placed in a broader context of religious symbolism, and not necessarily reducing it to the image of a static figure. I think that in previous attempts to read the meaning hidden behind this depiction, too little attention was paid to the repetition of geometric figures and the meanings associated with them. Researchers of the spiritual culture of the pre-Christian communities have long highlighted the distinct role that some of them played in the imagination of those societies (first of all, including a circle, a triangle, but also a square, penta- or octagon). In all probability, the basis for this predilection should not be sought in geometrical, or – if it can be said – physical features, but in its symbolism (Toporow 1974: 179; Lurker 1989: 253; Kobielius 1997: 39). In the traditional perception (particularly interesting to us here) a triangle was, as it is believed to, a visualisation of the archetypal symbolism of the number three: the tripartite world and the unity of the opposites. Exactly this approach is seen in Indo-European traditions, in which the number three corresponds to the “numerical paradigm of the oldest lunar calendar” (Kolczyński 1996: 95). The number three and its multiple also have a rich symbolism in conceptions of early medieval Slavs. In this context, we can mention even the cosmological competences of Triglav, the triangular stronghold of Svarožić, the number of spears used in the holy horse divination ritual (Arkona, Szczecin), the paradigm of “triple sacrifice” and many others. Space does not permit a detailed description of all these symbols; leaving it for another occasion, we have to indicate the most important conclusions drawn from it, which confirm the important role of this symbolism in the beliefs of Western Slavs.

In our further proceedings decoding the contents carved on the Nitra vessel, we have to recall further arrangements of religious symbolism researchers. This time, they relate to the direct object of our interest, which is the figure of the triangle. It turns out that it codes some values universal to past beliefs. Leaving aside the way the entire discussion on this topic runs, it should be noted that – simplifying the problem – in the symbolic structure, a pointing upwards triangle, associated with the mountain, flame, erection, etc., was seen as a symbol of light, uranic strength, and male reproductive powers. The triangle pointing downwards encoded conflicting meanings: a pit/water reservoir, aquatic element, symbol of telluric/chthonic forces, and also female powers of procreation. All this information provided an extremely interesting tool, which can be used in an attempt to decode the meaning of Nitra vessel depiction. I think, such a characteristic triangle arrangement forming the body of “goddess” (including the way they touch themselves) were an intentionally used, symbolical construct referring to the sphere of religious/mythical narratives. Images not necessarily, or perhaps not only, evoking the archetypal association with the goddess-mother, but a supernatural being focusing its essence on cosmogonic complementarity. That is, one that combined (by itself?) not just the above-mentioned, and seemingly opposite, spheres of activity, but also these elements organising the world order (birth/life/death, morning/day/night, rise/presence/set of the sun, youth/maturity/old age, heaven/earth/netherworld, etc.). In surviving narratives regarding such a being (interestingly three-headed sometimes), it was described as a “substance” used for the

construction of world elements (*macroanthropos*), or a matrix giving rise to the first deities (*dioscurs*) performing the act of creation (cf. Lincoln 1985; Grzybek 1994; West 2007: 356–359; Konečný 2008: 257). Even though these are just indirect source material, we have some traces that allow us to search for this type of mythical narratives in the religion of early medieval Western Slavs (Gieysztor 1982: 111; Kajkowski 2014). However, research on this problem is still far from satisfactory, which is why the proposed way of reading the image from the Nitra vessel should be considered a hypothesis that requires further verification.

Although the artefacts analysed above belong to an extremely rare cultural phenomenon of the early Middle Ages, ideographically they fit into the group of objects that can be regarded as communicative operators. Analysis of figural visual forms enables presuming that for illiterate communities of this period, they – next to oral tradition – were an important medium of communication between members of communities. (West)Slavic ones were no exception here. Considering this, we should recognise that the figural ornaments appearing on ceramic vessels were not determined by the practical function of the containers themselves. They coded specific socio-cultural information. However, the diversity of decorative type motifs could be related to ceramic forms whose function should be considered directly from the context in which they were used. In this approach, the type of ornament could fulfil the function of a non-aesthetic “source of information between the individuals and the community creating a general framework for information flow” (Bloom 2000; see also Łuczyński 2012; Kowalski 2013: 144). Interesting supplements are provided here by the results of linguistic research, showing the relationships between the oldest vocabulary regarding decoration, ornament and jewellery with the “value of agency resulting from mythical beliefs” (Kowalski 2013: 15).

Unfortunately, only for some of the explored vessels do we have detailed information about the discovery context. Circumstances of findings from Chróścino, Dąbrówka, or Wyszogród, suggest the non-utilitarian nature of the objects in which they were excavated. In the case of Chróścino and Radzim, it is worth emphasising the sizes suggesting a miniature rather, than a full-size container. It is interesting, because they are sometimes considered to be the ceremonial forms of vessels. Specially manufactured for such purposes, they would play a specified function in eschatological, votive or building-offering activities (see Kajkowski 2019: 202–203). In this context, it is also worth mentioning another hypothesis that indicates the problem of intentional barbarisation¹⁷ of (at least some) the ceramic vessels (Zoll-Adamikowa 1971: 111, 113, Buko 1990: 191–198). The Wyszogród exemplar, referred to Prague-type containers, had such a form. The special function of this vessel can be confirmed by a second, found next to the one in question. There was a sign of the cross engraved at its bottom. In contrast, the U-shaped object, in which these finds were found, was interpreted as a gathering-house (hall), or/and type of warehouse/granary. Both containers have to be a relic of the build-sacrifice (Moszczyński, Szymański 1988: 145).

¹⁷ I.e., creating in the technology and style characteristic for vessels dated to the older periods of Middle Ages

It is therefore not excluded, that Kinkedley (2008: 500) was correct, and the vessels decorated with figural scenes were used for religious purposes or/and were of great social significance. Among the latter are the celebrations of the heroic deeds of the stronghold rulers or living/dead or legendary warriors, producing/maintaining/preserving their legend, or other heroic stories. This image, as we had the opportunity to see, should be completed by mythological or ritual scenes, with –essentially – strong accents of zoomorphic symbolism.

Finally, attention should be paid to a quite important detail, generally unnoticed by the researchers dealing with the problem of our interest: the chronology of recent discoveries. Unfortunately, some of these findings are quite general and based on an imperfect method of analysing the ceramic materials. Nevertheless, these are sufficient to draw extremely interesting conclusions. It turns out that as many as 14 of the vessels analysed here were produced in the earliest stages of the Middle Ages (from 6th/7th, through 7th/8th to the 9th centuries), and the vast majority were found in the Baltic Slavs' territory. From the end of 9th/ beginning 10th century, we know only three exemplars so far, whereas the youngest (and the most realistic one) comes from the 12th century.

If the interpretative suggestions proposed here are correct, and the engravings on the vessels illustrate religious events, the oldest ones would prove the presence of an extensive belief/mythological sphere not just since the Slavs appearance in the historical arena, but also a “core” of these beliefs common to all Slavic communities. Until now, we had only one source confirming such guesses – the famous passus known from the Prokopius of Caesarea (VII,14) work. This passus applies, as we believe today, an Eastern Slavic society.

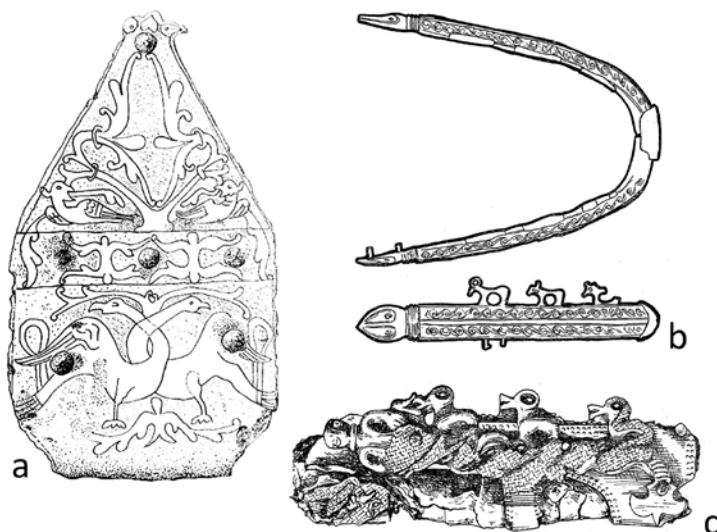


Fig. 22. Zoomorphic figures on Western Slavic elite items: a) Stirrup from Velds, Jutland, Denmark; b) copper-alloy spur from Cieple, pomorskie voivodeship, Poland; c) copper-alloy knife sheath, Brześć Kujawski, kujawsko-pomorskie voivodeship, Poland. After Gardela, Kąjkowski in print.

Also interesting is another conclusion derived from the chronological analysis, which seems to show that vessels decorated with narrative scenes disappeared around the mid-11th century, which is surprisingly coincident with the moment of socio-political changes in north-eastern Europe observed in this time, which resulted in the formation of centralised power organisms (the so-called early states). These processes were also accompanied by significant changes in the religious field, resulting in the institutionalisation of this sphere of public life. Therefore, it would seem that the disappearance of the production of ceramic vessels, decorated with traditional religious motifs, was a direct result of these transformations. However, this is an apparent conclusion in the context of still pagan in 12th century Baltic Slavs, as well as the lands under the rule of Piast dynasty until the 11th century. Apart from the results of research pointing to the traces of pre-Christian rituals (see Kajkowski in print a), something else is noteworthy. In the mid-11th century, we can observe an intensification of the appearance of pre-Christian mythological ideograms on objects related to the elites of that time (Fig. 22). At this stage of research, it is difficult to indicate whether the observed process was associated with a manifestation of elite identity (based on recent ideological system) forced to confront the new political order supported by Christianity, which could upset their *status quo*. Perhaps the need for cultural identification referred to the “primordial” *origo gentis*, legitimising (by religion) the social and perhaps religious position. Research on this issue is ongoing (Gardęła, Kajkowski, Söderberg 2019; Gardęła, Kajkowski, in print; Kajkowski in print b).

The similarity of figurative images known from vessels with later various items depictions enables speculation regarding the duration of at least some of the belief motifs. However, their function was rather different, which was due to the nature of the items on which they were placed. If jewellery, equestrian/military equipment played mainly prestigious/identifying role (but it may also be ceremonial), the ceramic vessels discussed in this text could be used as requisites for ritual activities, but precisely what function they performed is impossible to state indisputably.

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MIT W AKCJI? RYTY FIGURALNE NA CERAMICE JAKO ŹRÓDŁO
DO BADANIA PRZEDCHRZEŚCIJAŃSKICH WIERZEŃ SŁOWIAN
ZACHODNICH.

KAMIL KAJKOWSKI



Badania nad kulturą duchową Słowian Zachodnich, mimo sceptycyzmu niektórych badaczy, przeżywają w ostatnich latach wyraźny postęp. Dzieje się tak m.in. dzięki dynamicznemu przyrostowi źródeł wykopaliskowych oraz rozwojowi archeologii jako dziedziny naukowej. Dziedziny, której przedstawiciele coraz pewniej zawierają głos w kontekście pozostałości dawnych wierzeń, rewaluując lub formułując szereg hipotez pozwalających na poszerzenie dotychczasowej wiedzy. Ważną rolę odgrywają tutaj zarówno studia nad relikdami miejsc kultu czy aktów obrzędowych, ale również badania materialnych wytworów kultury – w tym czynności podejmowanych z chwilą ich produkcji, funkcji, formy czy w końcu ornamentyki. Badania te dotyczą nie tylko na ogół niezwykle atrakcyjnych elementów kultury ówczesnych elit, ale także najbardziej powszechnych rodzajów przedmiotów wydobywanych z ziemi, w tym najbardziej masowych źródeł, jakimi są naczynia ceramiczne. Zdziwienie może wzbudzać fakt, że mimo wyjątkowo rzadko występujących okazów zdobionych wątkami figuralnymi, nie doczekały się one dotąd zbyt wielu prób interpretacji. Prace poświęcone temu problemowi policzyć można na palcach rąk, a próbę całościowego ujęcia omawianych wątków podjął właściwie Marek Dulinicz poświęcając im nieco uwagi w szerokim kontekście kultury materialnej Słowian Zachodnich (2001) a siedem lat później odrębne studium. Od ostatniego wystąpienia tego badacza w 2008 roku, brak nowej refleksji nad tym zagadnieniem. Mimo iż zasób znanych dziś całych lub fragmentów naczyń z rytami figuralnymi uległ poszerzeniu, to wciąż w małym tylko stopniu dotyczy to scen narracyjnych. Liczba takich motywów zdobniczych nadal przyrasta bardzo wolno, co – biorąc od uwagę intensyfikację poszukiwań archeologicznych, stawia je na pozycji źródeł bardzo rzadkich i wyjątkowych. Do podjętych w niniejszym tekście analiz wytypowano blisko dwadzieścia zabytków, z czego większość to mniejsze lub większe fragmenty naczyń. Tylko w dwóch przypadkach pojemniki wydobyte zostały w całości. Oba można też zaliczyć do egzemplarzy małych rozmiarów. Niemal wszystkie (za wyjątkiem skorupy z Nitry) pochodzą z badań prowadzonych na obszarze Słowiańszczyzny Północno-Zachodniej, choć najliczniejszą grupę reprezentują zabytki z jej nadbałtyckiej części (Połabie i Pomorze). Po dwa egzemplarze znaleziono na Mazowszu i na Śląsku. Analiza ustaleń chronologicznych pozwoliła określić, że najczęściej pojawiały się one w nawarstwieniach datowanych od VI do IX w., zanikając około XI stulecia. Jest to zaskakująco zbieżne z momentem zmian społeczno-politycznych jakie obserwujemy w tym czasie w Europie Północno-Wschodniej. Zmian, które w rezultacie doprowadziły do wykształcenia zwartych organizmów o scentralizowanej

władzy (tzw. wczesnych państw). Procesom tym towarzyszyły także znamienne zmiany na polu religijnym dążące do instytucjonalizacji tej sfery życia publicznego. Wydawałoby się, że zanik produkcji naczyń zdobionych tradycyjnymi wątkami religijnymi był bezpośrednim wynikiem tych transformacji. Wygląda jednak na to, że jest to zależność pozorna. I to nie tylko w kontekście Połabia i Pomorza, pogańskich do XII w. ale także ziem do XI stulecia objętych władzą Piastów. Pomijając wyniki badań archeologicznych wskazujących na datowane na ten okres ślady miejsc kultu i/lub obrzędowości przedchrześcijańskiej warto tu zwrócić uwagę na coś jeszcze. Okazuje się bowiem, że właśnie od połowy XI w. obserwujemy wyraźną intensyfikację umieszczania przedchrześcijańskich ideogramów – zapewne o treściach religijnych/mitologicznych – na przedmiotach o charakterze elitarnym. Na tym etapie badań trudno wskazać, czy zaobserwowany proces wiązał się z chęcią manifestacji przekonań arystokracji zmuszonej do konfrontacji z nowym, podpartym chrześcijaństwem, porządkiem politycznym, czy może z potrzebą identyfikacji kulturowej odwołującej się do „odwiecznej” *origo gentis* sakralnie legitymizującego zajmowaną pozycję społeczną a zapewne i religijną. Podobieństwo wyobrażeń figuralnych znanych z naczyń ceramicznych oraz późniejszych zabytków elitarnych pozwala domyślać się trwałości przynajmniej niektórych wątków wierzeniowych, choć różna była ich funkcja, która wynikała z samego już charakteru przedmiotów, na których je umieszczano. I jeśli elementy biżuterii, oporządzenia jeździeckiego czy militaria odgrywały zadana głównie prestiżowe/identyfikacyjne (ale niewykluczone że także obrzędowe), to omawiane w tym tekście naczynia ceramiczne mogły być wykorzystywane jako rekwizyty do działań kultowych, choć jaką dokładnie spełniały funkcję nie sposób bezdyskusyjnie stwierdzić. Nie mamy też pewności jakie wydarzenia miały „opisywać: ryty umieszczone na powierzchni naczyń ceramicznych. Najczęstszym motywem figuralnym jaki obserwujemy na zachowanych zabytkach są wyobrażenia zwierząt, wśród których mogły być zarówno konie, jelenie, bydło a nawet gatunki „fantastyczne”. W trzech przypadkach zwierzęta były wierzchowcami dosiadanymi przez postaci antropomorficzne. Podobne przypuszczenia wysunięto do czterech kolejnych, choć trudno tu o pewność. Wyłączając jeźdźców, wyobrażenia antropomorficzne znane są z czterech kolejnych zabytków. Fragmentaryczny stan zachowania zdecydowanej większości omawianych rytów nie pozwala pewniej określić wyglądu całej pierwotnej sceny narracyjnej. Jednak zarówno materiał porównawczy (w postaci scen zdobionych inne zabytki), kontekst odnalezienia oraz (choć tylko pośrednio) rzadkość występowania skłoniły mnie do uznania ich za fragmenty scen figuralnych dotyczących wydarzeń religijnych lub mitycznych.

Mit o “svetim trokutima” temeljenima na “sunčevom kutu” – analiza “astronomije” ranih Slavena

Tomislav Bilić

A number of interconnected scholarly publications discussing the phenomenon of the so-called sacred triangles have appeared lately. The authors who believe in the existence of this phenomenon argue that such triangles are based on a precisely determined value of the obliquity of the ecliptic. However, a detailed analysis of some of the key tenets discussed in their publications has revealed the gratuitous nature of this hypothesis, as well as its fundamentally unscientific character and the methodological flaws inherent in its overall development. Especially worrying is the falling into the pitfall of circular argumentation (*circulus vitiosus*) by the authors adhering to this hypothesis, their avoidance of any dialogue with relevant scholarly literature and their questionable understanding of fundamental phenomena upon which their hypothesis is built. A glaring example of the lattermost is the misunderstanding of the obliquity of the ecliptic on the part of the adherents of the so-called sacred triangles hypothesis.

KEYWORDS: sacred triangles, solar angle, solstices, obliquity of the ecliptic, methodology, myth and science

Tijekom posljednjeg desetljeća svjedoci smo u Hrvatskoj pojavi niza publikacija uglednih znanstvenika iz raznih polja humanističkih znanosti u kojima raspravljaju o postojanju tzv. svetih trokuta, a kao dio te rasprave u pravilu se dotiču i teme “sunčevog kuta”.¹ Inspiraciju za tu, pokazat će se, ne-znanstvenu hipotezu, treba tražiti u radovima slovenskog arheologa i povjesničara Andreja Pleterskog.² Rasprava koja slijedi pokazat će da metodološki pristup – ili nedostatak istog – promicatelja hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” dovodi u pitanje osnovnu razliku između znanstvenog i ne-znanstvenog pristupa. Bojim se da je hipoteza o “svetim trokutima” jedan od simptoma nelagode, sumnjičavosti pa i straha od znanosti (često nesvjesnog) koji su toliko obilježili drugu polovicu 20. st. (Hobsbawm 1995: 530–532, 555, 570), a čini se da su tek u 21. st. dosegli svoj puni zamah.

¹ Jedan dio tih publikacija bit će citiran u daljnjem tekstu. Vidi osobito Belaj & Belaj 2014: 120–122 s popisom literature.

² Najraniji primjeri su Pleterski 1996a i Pleterski 1996b. Pleterski 1996a je objavljen na engleskom jeziku kao Pleterski 1995 (vidi Pleterski 1996a: 182), ali bez elaboracije o “sunčevom kutu”. Inspiraciju u radovima Pleterskog hrvatski autori spremno ističu, vidi npr. V. Belaj 2007: 422–426; V. Belaj & J. Belaj 2014: xviii–xix, 102–106, 111, 118 i *passim*; Goss 2016: 6, 35, 42–43; 2020: 52, 61.

Izravan povod pisanju ovog rada je relativno nedavna (lipanj 2016, Rijeka) objava knjige V. Gossa, *Space: Sense and Substance*, iako niti autor ni sama knjiga nisu presudno utjecali na genezu i propagiranje hipoteze o tzv. svetim trokutima. Međutim, kako već punih dva desetljeća ta hipoteza opstaje na akademskoj sceni Slovenije, a već više od desetljeća je prisutna i na hrvatskoj akademskoj sceni, smatram da je sazrelo vrijeme da se o njoj kritički progovori.³

Na nekoliko mjesta glavni pristalice hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” izlažu svoju osnovnu koncepciju, a sistematizacija donesena u Goss 2016: 36 (citirana niže u tekstu) ponavlja sistematizaciju u V. Belaj 2007: 423–424, Đermek 2009: 227, V. Belaj 2012/2016: 41–42, V. Belaj & J. Belaj 2012: 156, J. Belaj & V. Belaj 2013: 91 te V. Belaj & J. Belaj 2014: 106:

The pattern that has emerged is that of a sacred triangle the characteristics of which are:

Of the three points usually in visual contact with one another, two are occupied by male deities (Perun, Veles; Juraj), and the third by Mokoš.

One of the angles measures ca. 23 degrees (representing the deflection between the imagined orbits of the Sun at the equinox and the solstice; in Croatia, 23 degrees 27 minutes).

The two longer sides form a ratio of 1 to square root of 2.

The longest side usually links the two key opponents.

Perun's point is always on an elevated ground.

The female point is usually next to water.

There is usually water between Mokoš and Veles (Goss 2016: 36: cf. 2020: 54).

Fokus ove rasprave bit će na Gossovoj drugoj karakteristici “svetih trokuta”, koju on preuzima iz navedenih radova starijeg i mlađeg Belaja, koji opet slijede Pleterskog (osobito Pleterski 1996a: 180–182), i na nju će biti stavljen gotovo isključivi naglasak. Opovalgavanjem relevantnosti i utemeljenosti postavki na kojima se gradi hipoteza, kao i dovođenjem u pitanje razumijevanja pojava i procesa na kojima se ona temelji od strane njezinih promicatelja, rasvijetlit će se temeljna ne-znanstvena priroda navedene hipoteze.

ŠTO JE OBLIKVITET EKLIPTIKE?

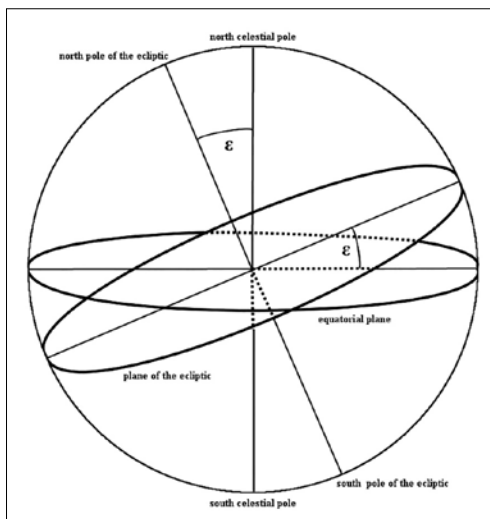
Kao prvo, vrijedi uočiti jednu neobičnu pojedinost u definiciji kuta od “ca. 23°”, koja pokazuje zabrinjavajući nedostatak u razumijevanju teme o kojoj se raspravlja: Goss ističe kako je kut između solarne putanje između ekvinočija i solsticija “in Croatia 23 degrees 27 minutes”. Iako to ne navodi, tvrdnju preuzima iz V. Belaj 2007: 424 (taj rad Goss redovito citira na str. 35–37), gdje stoji sljedeće:

³ Za raniju kritiku s drugih pozicija vidi Dzino 2010: 166–167 i – osobito – Kale 2010.

“Posebice je važan kut od 23 stupnja (otrpilike od 22° do 25°) koji predstavlja odklon između zamišljenih eklipsa (Sunčevih putanja)⁴ u dane ekvinocija i solsticija, a iznosi u našim krajevima 23°27’.”⁵

Iz navedenih citata jasno je da autori smatraju kako iznos oblikoviteta ekliptike (ϵ) ovisi o geografskoj širini. To je sasvim pogrešno i zapravo bi predstavljalo jednu nemoguću situaciju, koja bi izazvala gomilu apsurdna kakve je teško zamisliti (beskonačni broj različitih osi rotacije?; ili ravnina revolucije?), a vrijednost oblikoviteta mijenja se zapravo kroz vrijeme.⁶ Vjerujem da autori zapravo misle na kut između azimuta solsticijskih izlazaka/zalazaka sunca, koji se uistinu mijenja s geografskom širinom, ali to je potpuno različit fenomen koji se manifestira na horizontu. Kako se azimuti izlazaka/zalazaka sunca, osobito solsticijski, često spominju u arheoastronomskoj literaturi,⁷ čini se da su autori jednostavno spojili ova dva fenomena u jedan. No koji god razlog bio ovoj pogrešci, ostaje činjenica da je njihova tvrdnja netočna. Na taj način pokazano je upitno razumijevanje fenomena na temelju kojeg se gradi hipoteza.

Ovakvo razmišljanje o odnosu geografske širine i iznosu oblikoviteta ekliptike posljedica je činjenice da je promicateljima hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” i sam pojam oblikoviteta nejasan, što je još jedan prilog tezi kako se hipoteza gradi na temelju fenomena čiju se prirodu ne razumije u potpunosti. Naime V. Belaj (2007: 448) objašnjava oblikovit ekliptike na sljedeći način: “To je kut između Zemljine osovine i ravnine Zemljine orbite oko



Zemljina os rotacije i revolucije, ravnina ekvatora i ekliptike i oblikovit ekliptike (ϵ) (izradió autor).

⁴ Termin “eklipsa” potpuno je neprikladan (ponavljaju ga V. Belaj & J. Belaj 2014: 103: “... najviših točaka eklipsa (prividne putanje Sunca) na dan solsticija i ekvinocija...”) te J. Belaj & V. Belaj 2013: 90 (citirano niže), jer označava pomrčinu (Sunca), a ne solarnu putanju. Razlika između termina je nepremostiva i “eklipsa” se nikako ne može primjeniti u ovom kontekstu. Ovaj propust uočio je već Kale 2010, ali, iako je ovaj rad poznat V. Belaju & J. Belaju (2014: 108–110), u istome ignoriraju Kaleovu utemeljenu primjedbu (vidi citat niže).

⁵ Slična tvrdnja ponovljena je i u V. Belaj & J. Belaj 2014: 97: “Vrijednosti kutova našega gledanja na zamišljene točke u podne ovise o danu u godini, ali i o geografskoj širini točke s koje promatramo Sunčevu putanju. U našim širinama razlika kuta između ljetnoga i zimskoga Sunčeva zenita iznosi oko 47°, a između ekvinocija i oba solsticija oko 23°27’.”; V. Belaj & J. Belaj 2014: “Jedan od kutova takvoga trokuta uvijek [naglasili autori] ima oko 23° ($\pm 2^\circ$; točno bi bilo u našim zemljopisnim širinama 23°27’)...”; J. Belaj & V. Belaj 2013: 90: “Jedan od kutova takva trokuta stoga uvijek [naglasili autori] ima oko 23°, a ta veličina predstavlja razmak između najviših točaka eklipsa (prividne putanje Sunca) na dan solsticija i ekvinocija: u našim zemljopisnim širinama je to točno 23°27’.”; V. Belaj 2012/2016: 40: “Das wichtigste Merkmal ist ein Winkel der immer [naglasio autor] um 23° ($\pm 2^\circ$; genau müssten es in unseren Breiten 23°27’ sein).”

⁶ Ovaj propust uočio je također Kale 2010 (ovdje vrijedi ista primjedba kao i u prethodnom navođenju Kalovog rada iz 2010). Ispravno tumačenje može se naći i kod još jednog promicatelja hipoteze o “svetim trokutima”, vidi Đermek 2009: 231 i 2010: 80, kojeg V. Belaj & J. Belaj također citiraju (2014: 402–404).

⁷ Vidi npr., u kontekstu “svetih trokuta”, Đermek 2009: 230–231, 238, 242, 2010: 80–81; vidi i V. Belaj & J. Belaj 2014: 402 (cf. V. Belaj 2012/2016: 47–48), gdje i sami spominju azimute sunčevih izlazaka i zalazaka.

Sunca...” Na ovom mjestu citira jedan rad Andreja Pleterskog (Pleterski 1996a: 182)⁸: “To je kot med Zemeljino osjo in ravnino Zemljine orbite okoli Sonca: $\pm 23,5^\circ$ (Šprajc 1991, 14)...”⁹ Kako je oblikvitet ekliptike kut između osi Zemljine rotacije i osi njezine revolucije, tj. kut između ravnina njezine rotacije i revolucije, a nikako kut između jedne osi i druge ravnine (kut između bilo osi rotacije ili revolucije i ravnine revolucije ili rotacije iznosi $\pm 66,5^\circ$), jasno je da je Pleterski, kao i svi koji ga prenose, ovdje ozbiljno pogriješio. To je savršeno jasno iz rada kojeg sam Pleterski citira (Šprajc 1991: 14):

Če bi os Zemljinega vrtenja bila pravokotna na ravnino Zemljine orbite okoli Sonca, bi se Sonce navidezno premikalo po nebesnem ekvatorju. Toda Zemljina os je na to ravnino naklonjena za ca. $66\frac{1}{2}^\circ$, kar pomeni, da je ravnina Zemljinega (in nebesnega) ekvatorja naklonjena na ravnino Zemljinega tira za ca. $23\frac{1}{2}^\circ$. Sonce se med letom navidezno giblje po krožnici, ki se imenuje ekliptika in ki z mebesnim ekvatorjem oklepa kot ε (ca. $23\frac{1}{2}$)...

Vidljivo je to i iz sl. 15 na str. 15 istog rada. Dakle, do ovog ozbiljnog propusta došlo je već kod Pleterskog, a V. i J. Belaj tu pogrešku dalje nekritički prenose. Već ovih nekoliko primjera dovode u pitanje hipotezu koju njezini promicatelji grade na temelju upitnog razumijevanja prirode fenomena koji čini temelj te hipoteze.¹⁰

No, najveći metodološki propust čitave hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” ogleda se u potpunom zaobilazanju suvremenih dosega povijesti znanosti, u ovom slučaju povijesti astronomije i znanstvene geografije, kao i bogate literature koja tu disciplinu – ili discipline – prati. Kako V. Belaj & J. Belaj (2014: 107) tvrde, “[k]ut od $23^\circ 27' (\pm 2^\circ)$ je pak, čini nam se, i dalje čvrsti oslonac u istraživanjima. To je ‘Sunčev kut’, jasno zadan promatranjem Sunca. Što je veličina kuta bliža vrijednosti od $23^\circ 27'$, to možemo biti sigurniji da smo na dobru tragu u našim istraživanjima”, jasno je da se osporavanjem mogućnosti poznavanja “sunčevog kuta” od strane starih Slavena, kao i potpunom nedostatku neovisnih dokaza koji bi potvrđivali da su ga oni poznavali, ruši čitava hipoteza o “svetim trokutima”.

OBLIKVITET EKLIPTIKE IZ PERSPEKTIVE POVIJESTI ZNANOSTI

Dakle, potrebno je postaviti pitanje kako se navodno poznavanje prilično preciznog iznosa oblikviteta ekliptike od strane starih Slavena uklapa u spoznaje moderne povijesti

⁸ U popisu literature “Pleterski 1996a” i “Pleterski 1996b” ponavljaju istu referencu (V. Belaj 2007: 478), ali čini se da je V. Belaj, prema paginaciji, na umu imao upravo rad koji gore citiram.

⁹ Pleterski potpuno istu tvrdnju ponavlja i u radu Pleterski 1996b: 482, kao i u radovima Pleterski 2002: 19/40, Pleterski & Mareš 2003: 9/32 (gdje više – kao ni u kasnijim radovima – ne citira Šprajca), Pleterski & Belak 2004: 52, Pleterski 2008: 27 te Pleterski 2014: 125. Dakle, pogrešku nije uočio već gotovo čitava dva desetljeća, iako je u Pleterski & Mareš 2003: 10/32, Pleterski & Belak 2004: 53 i Pleterski 2014: 11 donesena ispravna definicija oblikviteta (dakle, u tri rada su istovremeno iznesene pogrešna i ispravna definicija).

¹⁰ Riječ je o sljedećim primjerima: (1) “eklipse” kao naziv Sunčeve putanje (V. i J. Belaj); (2) različiti iznosi oblikviteta na različitim geografskim širinama (V. i J. Belaj, Goss); (3) oblikvitet kao kut između Zemljine osi rotacije i ravnine revolucije (Pleterski, V. i J. Belaj, Goss).

znanosti o razvitku usporedivih znanja u grčkoj tradiciji, koja je nedvojbeno izvorište suvremene astronomije i znanstvene geografije i *jedina* tradicija koja u osnovi svoje kozmologije ima astronomiju baziranu na sistematičnim kvantitativnim promatranjima nebeskih kretanja (Kuhn 1957: 4–5)? U nešto opširnijoj i detaljnijoj raspravi pokušat ću objasniti razvitak poznavanja vrijednosti iznosa oblikviteta ekliptike u grčkoj tradiciji kako bih ilustrirao kompleksnost problema i rasprave koja se o tom pitanju vodi već gotovo dva stoljeća. Pristalice hipoteze o "svetim trokutima", čini se, nisu svjesni postojanja tog problema kao ni dugotrajne rasprave koja se o njemu vodi, a posljedično ni bogate literature koja je u međuvremenu nastala.¹¹ Od vremena Enopida s Hija (sredina 5. st. pr. Kr.) iznos oblikviteta ekliptike je uziman kao 24° (Dicks 1970: 157; Bianchetti 2015: 139; Zhmud 2006: 171, 201, 235, 265–267; 2012: 333; 2018: 185). Zapravo, uobičajeno je kao autoritet za ovu činjenicu citirati Eudema s Roda,¹² ali Teon iz Aleksandrije, koji donosi ovo svjedočenje, tvrdi da je Enopid samo otkrio *postojanje* oblikviteta, dok su zapravo drugi astronomi, kasniji, izračunali točan iznos oblikviteta (Heath 1913: 131, bilj. 4; Evans 1998: 58; Dekker 2013: 28; cf. Procl. *In Eucl.* I, str. 269.11–21 Friedlein). Eratosten, kojega slijedi Strabon, smješta ljetnu obratnicu iznad Sijene u Egiptu, koja se nalazi na geografskoj širini od 24° (Str. II.5.7 = Eratosth. IIB23 Berger, fr. 34 Roller), što sugerira da je upravo ovu vrijednost koristio kao iznos oblikviteta. Oba podatka – o Sijeni direktno ispod ljetne obratnice¹³ i o 24° kao iznosu oblikviteta ekliptike¹⁴ – često su spominjana u klasičnoj literaturi nakon Eratostena.

¹¹ Pleterski 2002: 19 je jedini pokušaj osvrta na tu raspravu, u svega pet redaka, u kojima usputno spominje kako su oblikvitet poznavali Eratosten, Hiparh i Ptolemej, te uz jednu bibliografsku jedinicu kao potkrijepu.

¹² Eud. fr. 145 Wehrli *ap. Derkild ap. Theon* 40, str. 198.14–15, 199.2–8 Hiller (= Martin 322.19–20, 324.7–12) = Anatolije iz Laodiceje, Fabricius iii.464 = Heron *Definitiones* CXXXVII.1, str. iv.168 Heiberg (Neugebauer 1975: ii.733). Vidi npr. Pinotsis 2005: 131.

¹³ Eratosth. fr. 41 Roller = IIB38 Berger (*HN* II.75.183, dalje citiran *ap. Bede, De temporum ratione* 31 (*PL* XC.432A)), fr. 43 Roller = IIB40 Berger (*Amm. Marc.* XXII.15.31), fr. 57 Roller (Str. II.5.35), fr. 58 Roller (Str. II.2.2), fr. 59 Roller (Str. II.5.36), IIB34 Berger = M6 Roller (Cleom. *De motu circ.* I.10.53–54, str. 96.28–98.5, 18 Ziegler = I.7.71–75, 85–86 Todd); Posid. fr. 49.22–23 E-K (= *FGrHist* 87F28) *ap. Str.* II.2.2, fr. 115 E-K *ap. Cleom. De motu circ.* II.1.79, str. 144.23–27 Ziegler = II.1.270–273 Todd, fr. 210.4–5 E-K (= *FGrHist* 87F78) *ap. Cleom. De motu circ.* I.6.31, str. 58.3 Ziegler = I.4.93 Todd; Str. II.5.37; Luc. *Phars.* II.587 s *Macr. Somn.* II.7.15–16 (nepotrebna kritika); Cleom. *De motu circ.* I.8.42, str. 78.8 Ziegler = I.5.59–60 Todd, II.1.76, str. 140.7–8 Ziegler = II.1.211–212 Todd; *HN* II.75.183; Arr. *Ind.* XXV.7; Plut. *De def. or.* 4.411A; Paus. VIII.38.6; Aristid. *Aegypt.* 36.59 (ii.282 Keil); Alex. *Meteo.* str. 133.30–31 Hayduck; Achil. *Isag.* 31; Serv. *Ecl.* III.105, iii.42; na sunčevim satovima Sijena je smještena na 24° (Rockford, London) ili 23.5° (Tischendorf, Aphrodisias) (Talbert 2010: 266 Table 16.1; za posljednja dva vidi i De Solla Price 1969: 260–261 Table 2, 3)); podatak se ponavlja i u srednjovjekovnoj literaturi, npr. kod Gervasea iz Tilburyja, *Otia Imperialia*, str. 892 (Liebrecht 1856: 1) te, manje precizno, u Honorius Augustodunensis, *De Imagine Mundi* (I.36, *PL* CLXXII, 132D) = Gervase iz Tilburyja, *Otia imperialia* (ii.759 Leibnitz); Heath 1932: 110; Diller 1934: 266–267; Pinotsis 2005: 134.

¹⁴ Hipparch. I.10.2, str. 96.20–21 Manitius ("oko", Neugebauer 1975: ii.734, bilj. 11); Gemin. *Elem. Astron.* V.46, str. 58.21–60.2 Manitius; Vitruv. IX.7.4; Plu. *De gen. Socr.* XXII.590E (nešto manje od 24°); Theon *Astron.* III.23, str. 151.17–18 Hiller, 40, 199.6–8 Hiller, 42, 202.8–203.14 Hiller; Achil. *Tat. Isag.* 26, 29 (Neugebauer 1975: ii.951); Procl. *In Euclid.* str. 269.13–18 Friedlein, *Hypot.* III.28, VI.13 (Neugebauer 1975: ii.733, bilj. 10); Leont. *De sphaer.* 4–5, str. 564–565 Maass; *Comm. Arat. Anon.* II.17, str. 132.1 Maass; podatak se ponavlja i u srednjovjekovnoj literaturi, npr. u Anon. *Log. et. Quad.* (Ἐὐσύνοπτον σύνταγμα εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας ἐπιστήμεις iz A.D. 1008.), str. 104.21–22 Heiberg te Bar-Hebraeus, *Sullarat Haunānāyā* II.1.1, 2.3–4 (Neugebauer 1975: ii.734, bilj. 11); podrazumijeva se i u svim tekstovima koji prihvataju podjelu nebeske sfere u omjeru 6–5–4. Evans (1998: 59), slijedeći Prokla, vjeruje da je bio poznat i Euklidu (*Elem.* IV.16).

No, čini se da je Eratosten zapravo poznao precizniji iznos oblikviteta, kojeg je kasnije prihvatio i Klaudije Ptolemej: $23^{\circ}51'$ (Ptol. *Syntax*. I.12, str. 67.22–68.6 Heiberg i Theon *Commentaria ad loc.*, str. ii.528.20–529.3 Rome = Eratosth. IIB42, M8–9 Roller = Hipparch. fr. 41 Dicks; cf. I.14, str. 76.10–79.6 Heiberg, I.15, str. 81.50; Dicks 1960: 91; Neugebauer 1975: ii.734; Rawlins 1982: 260, 262; Fowler & Rawlins 1983: 557; Jones 2002: 15–16; Pinotsis 2005: 131, 134, 136; Bianchetti 2015: 139). Ptolemej je u izračunima u *Almagestu* zapravo koristio Eratostenov i Hiparhov iznos za oblikvitet,¹⁵ iako je sam izračunao da ta vrijednost iznosi između $23^{\circ}50'$ i $23^{\circ}52'30''$ (Lloyd 1982: 155 = 1991: 324, referirajući se na *Syntax*. I.12). Drugdje Ptolemej koristi $23^{\circ}51'20''$,¹⁶ $23^{\circ}51'$,¹⁷ i 24° (*Planisph.* 20, str. ii.259.13–14 Heiberg). Nadalje, ljetnu obratnicu i geografsku širinu Sijene smještao je na 24° , $23^{\circ}50'$ i $23^{\circ}51'$ (*Geogr.* I.23.1 (= 7 Nobbe = 6 Berggren-Jones 2000: 85), 24.11, 14, IV.5.73, VII.5.15, 6.7 (Berggren-Jones 2000: 113–114); *Syntax*. II.6, str. 107.11–13 Heiberg). Eratostenov sljedbenik Hiparh prihvatio je ovo smještanje Sijene na obratnicu (Hipparch. fr. 43, 47 Dicks *ap.* Str. II.5.35–37). Prema Dilleru, koristio je iznos od $23^{\circ}40'$ za oblikvitet,¹⁸ iako Ptolemej eksplicitno tvrdi da je koristio isti iznos kao i Eratosten (Ptol. *Syntax*. I.12 (str. 68.3–4 Heiberg) (fr. 41 Dicks = Eratosth. IIB42 Berger, M8 Roller); cf. Hipparch. I.10.2). S druge strane, Dicks smatra da je Hiparh ponekad uzimao 24° kao iznos oblikviteta,¹⁹ ali da je poznao i precizniju vrijednost.²⁰ Slijedeći ovo izravno svjedočenje, Dicks tvrdi da je Hiparh koristio iznos od $23^{\circ}51'$ (Dicks 1960: 167, 169), te kritizira Dillerove zaključke (Dicks 1960: 194). Konačno, na globusu Farnese – na kojemu se, prema Schaeferu, prenose podaci iz izgubljenog Hiparhovog kataloga zvijezda – može se očitati iznos oblikviteta od $23^{\circ}57' \pm 48'$.²¹

Među kasnijim autorima Posidonije – neobično – koristi 24° kao iznos oblikviteta ekliptike (fr. 49 E-K *ap.* Str. II.2.2; cf. II.5.7; Diller 1934: 267–268). Pap iz Aleksandrije poznaje iznos od $23^{\circ}29'55''$ (*Synag.* VI.35, str. ii.546.22–27 Hultsch; Heath 1913: 132 bilj. 4), dok drugdje koristi $23^{\circ}51'$ (*Comm. Synt.* str. 76.4–5, 172.13, 194.4–6), ali spominje i 24° te $23^{\circ}50'$ (Str. 238.1–4 Rome, Neugebauer 1975: ii.968). Anonimni autor teksta *Summaria ratio geographiae in sphaera intelligendae* donosi iznos oblikviteta, kao i geografsku širinu Sijene, od $23^{\circ}45'$ (II.14, *GGM* ii.492). Naposlijetku, Bar Hebraeus donosi $23^{\circ}55'$ kao iznos oblikviteta (*Sullarat Haunānāyā* II.1.9, Neugebauer 1975: ii.734 bilj. 11), dok je u četrnaestostoljetnom *Tractatus de sphaera solida* iznos od $23^{\circ}33'$ preuzet iz arapskog izvora.²²

¹⁵ Shcheglov 2003–2007: 180–181 se protivi ovom zaključku i tvrdi da su precizni iznosi isključivo Ptolemejevi.

¹⁶ *Hypoth.* I.3, str. ii.74–75 Heiberg te na Kanopskom natpisu, Heiberg ii.149 (Neugebauer 1975: ii.901, 913).

¹⁷ *Proch. Kan.* (Neugebauer 1975: ii.979).

¹⁸ Diller 1934: 266, cf. Shcheglov 2003–2007: 178–179. Cf. Rawlins 1982: 265 bilj. 26, koji tvrdi da je Hiparh koristio dva različita iznosa za oblikvitet, $23^{\circ}55'$ i $23^{\circ}40'$. Za ostale prijedloge ($23^{\circ}41' \pm 4'$ or $23^{\circ}43' \pm 5'$) vidi Shcheglov 2003–2007: 178 bilj. 54. Prema Marx 2014: 201, 203, zapravo je Eratosten prvi koristio iznos od $23^{\circ}40'$.

¹⁹ Primjerice upravo u I.10.2.

²⁰ Kao u fr. 41 Dicks = Ptol. *Syntax*. I.12, str. 67.22–68.6 Heiberg; Dicks 1970: 158.

²¹ Schaefer 2005: 179, 191; vidi i niz prijedloga, uključujući Schaeferov, u Dekker 2013: 87 Tab. 2.5 (u rasponu od $23^{\circ}54'$ do $26^{\circ}30'$). Dekker (2013: 111) se opredjeljuje za ca. $25^{\circ}18'$.

²² Dekker 2013: 343. U arapskoj tradiciji al-Battānī donosi $23^{\circ}35'$ kao iznos oblikviteta, a al-Zarqālī i Abul Hassan $23^{\circ}34'$ (Hartmann 1919: 19). Na nümberskim mapama sjeverne i južne nebeske hemisfere (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. br. Hz 5576–5577) iznos oblikviteta je $23^{\circ}24'$ (Dekker 2013: 417, 419).

Ovo je, ukratko, narativ o poznavanju iznosu oblikviteta ekliptike, kako ga rekonstruira suvremena povijest znanosti, a koju pristalice hipoteze o "svetim trokutima" u potpunosti zaobilaze (kao što i taj narativ, razumljivo, zaobilazi stare Slavene). Na koji način se Slaveni uklapaju u taj proces? Jesu li njihovim žrecima bili poznati Eratostenovi ili Hiparhovi radovi? Sumnjam da će bilo tko od promicatelja hipoteze o "svetim trokutima" tvrditi tako nešto. Je li zaista moguće da su drevni Slaveni, neovisno od grčke znanosti, ponovili ovaj proces, koji onda nije ostavio apsolutno nikakvih tragova, za razliku od bogate, sadržajne i dugotrajne rasprave u Grčkoj? Jer ako autori dokazuju slavensko poznavanje iznosa za oblikviteta ekliptike pomoću postojanja "svetih trokuta", a postojanje "svetih trokuta" dokazuju slavenskim poznavanjem "sunčevog kuta", a čini se da je upravo to na djelu ovdje, onda su upali u opasnu zamku cirkularnog razmišljanja, kojem u znanosti nema mjesta. Ono što nedostaje je neki oblik dokaza neovisan od njihove konstrukcije "svetih trokuta" koji bi potvrdio da su stari Slaveni poznavali iznos oblikviteta ekliptike, bilo neovisno došavši do njega ili preuzevši ga iz grčke znanosti. Iskreno sumnjam u prvu, a siguran sam da je druga varijanta nemoguća.²³

PREPOZNAVANJE I INTERPRETACIJA SOLSTICIJA IZ PERSPEKTIVE POVIJESTI ZNANOSTI

Druga važna tema koju autori koji pristaju uz hipotezu o "svetim trokutima" zaobilaze je pitanje prepoznavanja i interpretacija solsticija. Na toj temi se nužno mora bazirati bilo koja hipoteza o postojanju "sunčevog kuta", jer je on definiran upravo solsticijima. Rasprave koje su u povijesti znanosti vođene o prepoznavanju i interpretaciji solsticija (npr. Dicks 1966; 1970; Kahn 1970; Couprie 2011) pristalice hipoteze o "svetim trokutima" ne spominju, iako je koncept "sunčevog kuta" neodvojiv od koncepta solsticija. Kao i u slučaju poznavanja iznosa oblikviteta ekliptike, konceptualizaciju solsticija suvremena povijest znanosti promatra prvenstveno kroz grčku tradiciju, jedinu tradiciju koja, kako smo ranije napomenuli, u osnovi svoje kozmologije ima astronomiju baziranu na sistematičnim kvantitativnim promatranjima nebeskih kretanja.

Za opsežnu raspravu o najranijim konceptualizacijama sunčevih okretaja, tj. solsticija, u grčkoj tradiciji, bilo na horizontu ili (godišnjih okretaja) na meridijanu, upućujem na rad Bilić 2016. Iz tog rada prenosim (u hrvatskoj verziji) kraći segment o najstarijim konceptualizacijama solsticija u prostornom kontekstu (vremenski je ovdje sekundaran), koji je relevantan za hipotezu o "svetim trokutima" (Bilić 2016: 197–201). Najstarija spominjanja solsticija u grčkoj tradiciji možemo prepoznati već kod Homera i Hesioda.²⁴

²³ Kao usporedbu navedimo i da se u iscrpnim studijama prethistorijskih astronomskih orijentacija na Britanskom otočju i na Mediteranu (Ruggles 1999; Hoskin 2001) oblikviteta ekliptike nigdje ne spominje kao varijabla prisutna u orijentacijama (za razliku od činjenice da suvremenim istraživačima postojanje i iznos oblikviteta mogu biti korisni pokazatelji u *izučavanju* orijentacija).

²⁴ *Od.* 15.404 (Thomson 1948: 37 s bilj. 1; Kahn 1970: 113 bilj. 50; Kahn 1979: 109, 140, 313 bilj. 133; Vlastos 2005[1975]: 34 bilj. 21 (vjerojatno); Schibli 1990: 5. *Pace* Dicks 1966: 31 (oprezno); Dicks 1970: 32–33 (odlučno)); *Op.* 479, 564, 663 (Nilsson 1920: 316; Pannekoek 1961: 95–96; Dicks 1966: 31; Dicks 1970: 34–35, 37; Kahn 1970: 113; Ballabriga 1998: 107; Evans 1998: 4–5, 56; Vlastos 2005[1975]: 34 bilj. 21.).

Kasnija spominjanja solsticija potječu iz 7. i 6. st. pr. Kr.²⁵ Koncept solsticija kod Hesioda i Alkmana spomenut je u temporalnom, tj. sezonskom značenju, dok je prema tradiciji Kleostrat promatrao solsticije s otoka Teneda koristeći planinu Idu kao prirodni reper, na taj način referirajući se na ekstremne položaje sunca na horizontu.²⁶ Svjedočanstva o Talesu su ili neprecizna (1, 3, Th 265 Wöhrle) ili se odnose na temporalni aspekt solsticija (17) (cf. Bowen 2002: 311 bilj. 10), kod Anaksimena riječ je o prostornom aspektu (sunčeva maksimalna deklinacija – tj. udaljenost od nebeskog ekvatora – općenito), dok su kod Anaksimandera reference nedvojbeno odnose na prostorni aspekt, tj. na položaj sunca na horizontu ili meridijanu (1, 2, 4) ili općenito na sunčevu maksimalnu deklinaciju (27). Vezano uz prvu varijantu, Anaksimanderovo korištenje gnomona za označavanje (σημαίνω) ili određivanje (διάγνωσις) solsticija (12A1, 4) vjerojatno sugerira promatranje duljine podnevnih sjenki (Heidel 1937: 57–58; Gibbs 1976: 6; Hahn 2001: 207, 209 Fig. 4.13; Couprie 2011: 31, 32 fig. 13, s 34–35 i fig. 2.16 (dnevne krivulje)). Alternativno, moguće je da se upotreba gnomona može vezati uz promatranje solsticijskih izlazaka i zalazaka sunca, što se moglo dalje iskoristiti u konceptualiziranju mape *oikoumenê* definirane tim azimutima (Heidel 1937: 57–58; Hahn 2001: 8, 38, 44, 201, 205–206 s fig. 4.12 na str. 207, 208; Couprie, Hahn & Naddaf 2003: 52, 194–195; Naddaf 2005: 109; Couprie 2011: 80 s Fig. 6.1, 84). U svakom slučaju ova se svjedočenja odnose na prostorni aspekt solsticija. Potpuno je moguće da je Anaksimanderova mapa (kao i iz nje izravno izvedena Hekatejeva) bila determinirana solsticijskim izlascima i zalascima sunca (Heidel 1937: 17–20, 22, 33–34, 42, 47–48, 51, 53–54, 57, 133; Thomson 1948: 97–98; Ballabriga 1986: 147–149; Hahn 2001: 8, 201, 205–206, 285 bilj. 140; Naddaf 2005: 109–110; Couprie 2011: 80–82, 84; Couprie, Hahn & Naddaf 2003: 52–53, 195–197; Irby 2014: 89), što je kasnije preuzeo Efor u kreiranju svog paralelograma (Heidel 1937: 17–20, 33–34, 42, 47–48; Thomson 1948: 97–98; Ballabriga 1986: 147–149; Naddaf 2005: 109–110; Couprie, Hahn & Naddaf 2003: 52–53). U ovom slučaju Anaksimanderov koncept solsticija definitivno bi obuhvaćao ekstremne položaje sunca na horizontu. U kasnije vrijeme, eksplicitno promatranje solsticijskih položaja sunca na horizontu pripisuje se Eudoksu,²⁷ dok se u hipokratovskom tekstu *Peri aeron, hydaton, topon* promatranje položaja izlazaka sunca na lokalnom horizontu preporučavalo liječniku koji bi stigao u njemu nepoznat grad.²⁸

²⁵ Alcm. 17.5 *PMG*; Cleostr. 6A1 D-K; Thales 11A1, 17 (prema Eudemus fr. 144–145 Wehrli), 3 D-K, Th 265 Wöhrle (cf. Zhmud 2006: 239–241, 244–245); Anaximand. 12A1 (= Favorinus fr. 28 Mensching, iz Eudema?, Zhmud 2006: 249), 2, 4, 27 D-K (s Arist. *Mete.* 355a24–26 i Alex. *Mete.* 73.19–22, što nije citirano u D-K uz A27); Anaximen. 13A15 D-K (Stob. 1.25.1d).

²⁶ Fotheringham 1919: 168–169; Webb 1921: 71; cf. Pannekoek 1961: 107; Bowen & Goldstein 1988: 80. Isti izvor (Theoph. *Sign.* 4) pripisuje promatranje solsticija iz Metimne, s planinom Lepetimno kao reperom, nekom Matriketi, najvjerojatnije također astronomu iz ranog razdoblja. U oba slučaja promatranje je moglo biti izvršeno samo na zimski solsticij (cf. Rehm 1941: 138–139 bilj. 5). Rehm 1941: 135–137 vjeruje kako niti Matriketa ni Kleostrat nisu vršili promatranja solsticija, već samo meteoroloških prognostičkih znakova.

²⁷ Fr. 63b Lasserre *ap.* Hipparch. 1.9.2 (cf. fr. 63a *ap.* Hipparch. 1.9.1 = Attal. fr. 20 Maass), fr. 124 *ap.* Simpl. *Cael.* 493.15–17 (τὸν... τόπον ἐν ταῖς τροπαῖς... ἀνατέλλειν [sc. ἡλιος]), fr. 125 *ap.* Alex. *Meteo.* 703.32–34 (τὸν... τόπον τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἐν ταῖς τροπαῖς τὸν ἡλιον... ποιείσθαι); Dekker 2013: 9.

²⁸ Hippocr. *Aër.* 1. U istom tekstu (pogl. 12) (Mala) Azija je smještena “na pola puta između izlazaka sunca”, tj. između izlazaka sunca na solsticije, na taj način naglašavajući važnost ovih položaja u hipokratovskoj tradiciji.

S druge strane, Ksenofontov opis sunčevog godišnjeg kretanja, s jakim naglaskom na njegove okretaje (koristeći glagole $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$ i $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$), tj. solsticije, vjerojatno se odnosi općenito na sunčevo prilaženje (Ksenofont opisuje sunčevo kretanje u deklinaciji glagolima $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$, $\pi\rho\sigma\chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ i $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$), prije nego specifično na točke izlaska/zalaska sunca na horizontu (Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.8).²⁹ Na sličan način već je Hesiod tvrdio da sunce zimi odlazi do regije crnih ljudi (koristeći frazu $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ldots\sigma\rho\rho\omega\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$, "okreće se prema") (*Op.* 527–528; Ballabriga 1986: 20; Ballabriga 1998: 108; cf. Dionys. Per. 586, *GGM* 2.141), dok je Herodot vjerovao da je ono otjerano u daleke krajeve Libije (2.24.1, 25.1, 26.2),³⁰ a u hipokratovskom tekstu *Peri aeron, hydaton, topon* opisano je kako sunce dolazi najbliže Skitiji kada dosegne svoju ljetnu točku okretaja (*Aēr.* 19).³¹

Donosim i zaključak navedene studije (Bilić 2016), koji se izravno nadovezuje na koncept godišnjeg sunčevog kretanja u smjeru sjever-jug-sjever itd. na meridijanu, a odnosi se na lokaciju Homerovog otoka Sirije:

Na taj način se Sirija [koja se spominje u Od. 15.404] treba lokalizirati sukladno toj činjenici, tj. okretaji sunca u Odiseji trebaju se interpretirati kao lokacija gdje se sunce 'okreće' na sjeveru kada dosegne najsjeverniju točku u svom godišnjem putovanju, najvjerojatnije – u terminima koji pripadaju referentnom sustavu koji će nastati tek mnogo kasnije – na geografskoj širini od 54°. Vjerovalo se tako da sunce 'posjećuje' određenu lokaciju prilikom okretaja, što je slično Hesiodovim, Herodotovim i konceptualizacijama hipokratovskog autora... Ovaj koncept manje je specifičan od promatranja ekstremnih solarnih azimuta, iako inkorporira u sebi i koncept solsticijskih točaka na horizontu kao jednu od svojih najbitnijih karakteristika. 'Lokacija' Sirije je tako specifična geografska širina definirana sunčevim godišnjim kretanjem (Bilić 2016: 222).

Kao što je iz gornje rasprave vidljivo, nigdje u ovoj sofisticiranoj, dobro razrađenoj i relativno često spominjanoj tradiciji se ne spominju iznosi oblikviteta ekliptike u kontekstu solsticija. Dionici te tradicije su Tales, Anaksimander, Hekatej i Herodot, kao i Homer i Hesiod – sve redom ključne figure u povijesti zapadne civilizacije, neki od njih i začetnici zapadne znanosti, intenzivno zainteresirani za godišnje kretanje sunca. Kao što smo vidjeli, tek Enopidu se pripisuje određeni iznos za oblikvitet (24°), iako je, čini se, čak i to možda prerano. Kako se stari Slaveni uklapaju u ovaj narativ, zajedno sa svojim relativno preciznim izračunom oblikviteta (sigurno preciznijim od svih koji su prethodili Eratostenu)? Vrijedilo bi to detaljno raspraviti te argumentirano prikazati taj odnos.

²⁹ Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 19.268D, gdje se sunce na zimskim točkama okretaja okreće ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$) i vraća natrag k nama te Gemin. 5.5, 8, gdje se slično okreće ($\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$) na solsticijima. Filon *Mut.* 67 slično opisuje sunčevo kretanje u deklinaciji glagolima $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ i $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\nu\alpha\chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$.

³⁰ Cf. Arist. (?) *De inundatione Nili* BNJ 646F1.8, 3; Agathar. *FGrHist* 86F19 = D. S. 1.38.8 (cf. Theoph. Sim. *Hist.* 7.17.15); Anon. Flor. *De Nilo* *FGrHist* 647F1.7 = Ath. *Epit.* 2.87F, 1.132.5–6 Meineke (cf. 647F2.5 = Aët. 4.1.5 = [Plut.] *Placit.* 4.1.898A); Arist. *Aegypt.* 41, str. 341 Jebb, cf. 60, str. 347.

³¹ Cf. *De victu* 2.38 (sjeverni vjetar dolazi iz područja kojem sunce ne prilazi).

Razina koju je danas povijest znanosti dosegla na ovom polju, ukratko predstavljena u gornjem tekstu, pomaže kako bi se lakše kontekstualizirale nepotkrijepljene tvrdnje o “svetim trokutima” definiranim “sunčevim kutem”.

MIT O “SUNČEVOM KUTU” STARIH SLAVENA

Naposljetku, podupiratelji hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” u pravilu ne pristupaju raspravi o metodama koje su stari Slaveni mogli primjenjivati prilikom promatranja sunčevog kretanja, kao i o metodama primjene rezultata tih hipotetskih opservacija na organizaciju krajolika. V. Belaj (2007: 449) tako tek usputno spominje: “[t]o su sve odnosi koji se lako konstruiraju pomoću kolčića i vrpce i prenose u krajolik.” Jedino Pleterski relativno nedavno (2014: 125)³² – dakle gotovo punih dva desetljeća nakon inicijalnog formuliranja hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” – pokušava rekonstruirati način na koji su stari Slaveni mogli određivati iznos oblikviteta ekliptike, bez da nudi dokaze za upotrebu bilo koje varijante takve rekonstrukcije.³³ Uistinu, pomoću gnomona bi se iznos oblikviteta mogao izračunati, čak prilično precizno, no, za razliku od Grčke 6. st. pr. Kr. i kasnijih stoljeća, kod starih Slavena nije poznata upotreba gnomona. Ne postoji zapravo niti jedan dokaz o prisustvu bilo kojeg od navedenih pojmova ili postupaka (ekliptika, oblikvitet, solsticiji, ekvinočiji, praćenje godišnjeg kretanje sunca na horizontu ili meridijanu, gnomon, mjerenje sunčevog godišnjeg kretanja pomoću mjerenja dužine sjenke gnomona, itd.) u tradiciji starih Slavena izvan hipoteze o postojanju “svetih trokuta”.³⁴ Čitav proces izvođenja zaključaka vezan uz “svete trokute” je izrazito cirkularan – slavensko poznavanje iznosa za oblikvitet ekliptike dokazuje se postojanjem “svetih trokuta”, a postojanje “svetih trokuta” slavenskim poznavanjem “sunčevog kuta” – i ne može se uzeti kao validna znanstvena hipoteza. Naime, ne postoji metoda pomoću koje bi se ta cirkularna definicija opovrgla jer je ona jedan zatvoreni i samodovoljni kompleks. Zato bi čitava hipoteza o “svetim trokutima”, prema Popperu, pripadala metafizici.³⁵ Štoviše, kako je “possible to understand myth in general as a type of discourse using unfalsifiable propositions, whose validity cannot be empirically verified” (Des Bouvrie 2002: 49, 53, 57 bilj. 185, 61–62), tako i čitav narativ o “svetim trokutima” možemo prepoznati kao mit.³⁶ Riječ je o narativu koji

³² Dijagram 3.2.12 = Pleterski & Mareš 2003: 9 Abb./Sl. 2; tekst = Pleterski & Mareš 2003: 13/33.

³³ Usporedi Couprie 2011: 31–33, kojeg nitko od pristalica hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” ne citira, iako bi rasprava o metodama promatranja sunca koje Couprie donosi mogla čak i osnažiti njihovu hipotezu.

³⁴ Za sličnu kritiku s različite pozicije (narativna tradicija) vidi Kale 2010.

³⁵ Vidi Popper 1959/1980⁴: 40–41 = 2005: 18, cf. 2005: 315, 1963/1989⁵: 37, 256; Gattei 2009: 31. Za kritiku Popperovog koncepta mogućnosti opovrgavanja znanstvenih teorija vidi Barbour 1976: 98–101; Feyerabend 1993: 42–43 bilj. 12, 50–51, 145, 151–158, cf. 261–262.

³⁶ Promicatelji hipoteze o “svetim trokutima” često koriste termin “mit”, bez da se jasno izjašnjavaju o brojnim teorijskim pozicijama koje postoje u suvremenoj znanosti o tom složenom problemu – kao da je on nepostojeći. Za pregled općenitih teorija o mitu, kao i specifično o grčkom mitu, vidi npr. Kirk 1970, 1974; Burkert 1979; Segal 1980, 1999, 2004; Steblin-Kamenskij 1982; Dundes 1984; Detienne 1986; Strenski 1987; Bremmer 1988; Edmunds 1990; Graf 1993; Meletinsky 2000; Von Hendy 2001; des Bouvrie 2002; Dowden 1992; Csapo 2005; Iles Johnston 2018.

omogućava otklon od rigorozne znanstvene metode (uključivo i kritičku komunikaciju s ranijom literaturom te postavljanje provjerljivih hipoteza) te raspravi zatvorenoj unutar začaranog kruga svojih samodovoljnih "dokaza" i "hipoteza".

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THE MYTH OF "SACRED TRIANGLES" BASED ON "THE SOLAR ANGLE" – AN ANALYSIS OF THE "ASTRONOMY" OF EARLY SLAVS

TOMISLAV BILIĆ



Over the previous decade, a number of scholarly publications discussing the so-called sacred triangles have appeared in Croatian academia. These studies are all inspired by the work of the Slovenian scholar Andrej Pleterski, who developed the basic tenets of this hypothesis starting in the mid-1990s. In short, Pleterski and his followers recognise the appearance of sacred triangles in the landscape based on the so-called solar angle, essentially reflecting the obliquity of the ecliptic (i.e. the angle formed by the axes of the earth's rotation and its orbit). The adherents of this hypothesis all recognise certain mythic resonances of this phenomenon, but this aspect of their theory is not studied here.

Instead, the focus is on certain methodological flaws inherent in the approach to the subject, manifesting themselves on several levels. First, the adherents of the sacred triangles theory apparently do not fully understand the nature of the fundamental phenomena upon which their hypothesis is built. Thus, some of them (V. and J. Belaj) believe that the term "eclipse" designates the solar movement, which is manifestly false, since it only refers (in a solar context) to the occultation of the sun by the moon; some of them (V. and J. Belaj, Goss) believe that the obliquity changes with latitude, which is absurd, since it only changes over time; finally, almost all acolytes of this hypothesis (Pleterski, V. and J. Belaj, Goss) define the obliquity as the angle between the earth's rotational axis and the plane of its orbit, while it actually represents the inclination of the earth's orbital plane with respect to its rotational plane (or the angle between the respective axes of these planes). These errors – persistently repeated in various publications, sometimes (but rarely) alongside more correct explanations – certainly raise questions regarding the

competency of the authors who construct their solar triangles in landscape based on the sun's movement they call "eclipse", with a latitude-dependent obliquity and one – in their definition – amounting to ca. 66.5°.

However, there are even more serious problems with the sacred triangles hypothesis. Its adherents systematically avoid any dialogue with the abundant scholarly literature on the development of the estimate or calculation of the value of the obliquity in ancient Greece, as well as on the complementary development of the understanding of the annual solar movement, with its defining moments, the solstices. This process of refinement of astronomical knowledge, as understood by the modern history of ancient science, for the most part, evolved in ancient Greece, and its results were then disseminated elsewhere. However, the modern scholarly reconstruction of this development at no point mentions the ancient Slavs, which is only reasonable in the light of the non-existence of any reliable data on the existence of astronomical knowledge in early Slavic societies, as opposed to the well-documented study of these phenomena in ancient Greece. So, how do the ancient Slavs fit into this development? Did they repeat the evolution of astronomical knowledge independently of Greece, or were their religious leaders familiar with the works of Eratosthenes or Hipparchus? I sincerely doubt that either of these alternatives can be taken seriously, while the "sacred triangles" school does not discuss this question at all.

However, are there no traces of the familiarity with the solstices and the obliquity of the ecliptic in ancient Slavic societies? Beyond the presence of sacred triangles based on the solar angle, no, there are not, and the sacred triangles school indeed does not offer any. At this point, the non-scientific nature of the entire hypothesis comes to the fore: the adherents of this hypothesis wish to prove that the ancient Slavs were familiar with the value of the obliquity of the ecliptic solely by the existence of sacred triangles, simultaneously proving the existence of sacred triangles themselves by the familiarity of the ancient Slavs with the solar angle (i.e., the value of the obliquity of the ecliptic). This is a clear example of circular argumentation, creating a self-contained and unfalsifiable system. Since the impossibility of empirical verification of its propositions can be understood as an essential characteristic of myth, one has the impression that the advocates of the hypothesis of sacred triangles have themselves created a myth, the myth of sacred triangles.

The Theme of the Exodus in Russian Folklore: The “Pharaoh” Mythical Creatures, According to the Archive of the Estonian Literary Museum

==== Elena Boganeva, Mare Kõiva =====

In this article, we will consider the Russian folklore retellings of the Exodus, with special emphasis on the narratives about mythical creatures called “pharaohs”. The current analysis is based on a Russian collection of folklore. The data were collected in the 1920–‘40s in the territories of Estonia, Russia, and Latvia (Lutsi region, Estonian settlement) in the context of Slavic belief systems and legends about these characters. Currently, folklore materials are stored in the archive collection of the Estonian Literary Museum (ELM) (Tartu), and in the Skriptoorium. The article gives an overview of the most characteristic motifs, the origin, appearance, and habitat of these mythical creatures. The actions of the Pharaohs are described in more detail.

KEYWORDS: Exodus, parabiblical motifs, Russian folklore, Pharaoh people, myths, mermaid

Why were the Tartu archives of the ELM chosen for the consideration and analysis? First, because the materials of this archive about the pharaohs have not been published generally. Several texts published in Russian by Olga Cherepanova in her book “The Mythological stories and legends of the Russian North” are an exception (1996: № 187, 188, 190, 191) as well as one text (№70) in the book by Olga Belova and Galina Kabakova “At the origins of the world. Russian etiological legends” (2014: 74, text no.70). There are several interesting developments in the Estonian pharaoh tradition. It was Oskar Looris who earlier pointed out that Livonians and Estonians had developed a peculiar mythological connection between the seal and pharaoh people (Loorits 1926, 1935). We believe the connection between pharaoh people, mermaids, and seals as well as between pharaoh people and mermaids to be even more significant. There are some connections with Northern traditions about seal-humans, and these stories can be understood by today reader through the emotional and humane message. In narratives, creatures can be distinguished by appearance. For example, a creature with female characteristics who complains about babies staying home is caught in fisherman nets or is displayed at a fair. At the same time, they have emerged from the Pharaoh people, Pharaoh warriors, but residing in the Baltic Sea.

Nevertheless, such exciting developments are a separate topic and an interesting subject influenced by the Bible literary materials and parable texts, which evolved in the folklore in 19th and 20th centuries and supplemented the mythology. However, researchers in various regions have also pointed to some interesting developments in antiquity and the Middle Ages, such as the Pharaonic or Selkulla developmental characteristics (Kropej 2003, Klobčar 2012, Klintberg 2018, *et al.*).

Meanwhile, the texts of the archive of the ELM contain both transnational and original motifs, which can significantly expand the notion about these mythological creatures. Some of these original motifs have parallels in the folklore of other European peoples. Pharaohs or people with fishtails are widely known in European folklore, in the Baltic-Finnish regions (Kõiva 2018-2019), Livs (Loorits 1926), in Russian (Gorodtsov 1907: 408-409, Zelenin 1915: 858; Cherepanova 1996: 6, 36, 96; Ivleva 2004: 145; Kuznetsova 2012: 5-14;), Ukrainian (Dragomanov 1876: 96; Ivanov 1893: 82-83, Gnatyuk 1897: 17; 1902: 33-34; Chubinsky 1995: 208), Belarusian (Dobrovolsky 1891: 147; Federowski 1897: 108-109; Boganeva 2010: 54-56), Polish (Zowczak 2013: 172-174), Croatian (Bošković-Stulli 1975: 143), Slovenian (Kropej 2003, Klobčar 2017: 145-177), and Serbian (Loorits 1935) materials.

Representations and narratives of the pharaohs are also known in the extensive space of the Baltic States and Northern Europe, to the peoples of Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, and to the Saami of Lapland (Treiland 1887: 44-45, Loorits 1935), England (Marwick 1974), and even in Asia (Mongols, Loorits 1935).

One of the books of the Pentateuch of Moses (Ex. 14: 1-31) tells of the escape of the Jews from Egyptian captivity under the leadership of Moses. At the behest of the Lord, the waters of the Red Sea were divided before the Jews and closed over the heads of the persecutors. According to folk tales, the Pharaoh warriors who followed the Jews turned into creatures with a human torso and a fishtail. They swim in search of the Pharaoh and shout: “Pharaoh, Pharaoh, Pharaoh!” The pharaohs will become human only on the Day of Judgment, so part of the legends describe how they swim up to ships or boats (or rock them) with the question of whether Judgment Day is coming soon (see Loorits 1935: 40; Kõiva 2018: 63).

Our representative collection includes 54 texts about pharaohs recorded in the 1920s and ‘40s (for comparison: there are 404 Estonian texts about pharaohs in the archive of the ELM; there are only 12 in Belarusian in the archive of the database of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences have only¹). In the Lutsi region (which was Estonian-speaking in 1920–‘40s), in Latvia, the Estonian collector Paulopriit Voolaine recorded texts about pharaohs in the Russian language using the Latin alphabet or in the Estonian language. The nationality of the informant was not always indicated, so we included texts in Estonian from informants who had Slavic names. Materials of Russian folklore archives of the ELM strikingly reflect the process of assimilation of Russians in Estonia, many of whom in the second generation were speaking in the Estonian language, although they

¹ Given that Belarus is a landlocked country, the very fact of the presence of “sea” characters in Belarusian folklore is indicative; 9 of the 12 texts were recorded in the modern period from 1998 to 2018.

still could pass on the tradition learned from their Russian parents. Latvian records also included some texts from Polish, Belarusian, Roma, or Polish people.²

Let us consistently consider the collection of Russian texts about pharaohs in the following categories: 1) names and terminology, 2) origin 3) appearance, 4) actions of the pharaohs in relation to people and of people in relation to the pharaohs, 5) acoustic characteristics, 6) habitat.

NAMES (NAMES, TERMINOLOGY)

The semantic field of the lexeme “pharaoh” (phonetic variants “paraon”, “paramon”) in the texts of the Estonian Literary Museum unites 1) metaphorical names 2) designations of mythical hybrid characters (half-human/half-fish), the origin of which presumably comes from Pharaoh’s army.

The word “pharaohs” in a metaphorical sense could mean:

1. Representatives of the ruling aristocracy and power state institutions (kings, princes, police, etc.).

Фараонами называли палицейских, раньше бывала жандармов называли фараонами. Откуда оно взявши эта слова – Бог ведает, такое паулашное [уличное] слово. И царей называли фараонами.

The police were called pharaohs (formerly gendarmes). Where did they get that word – God knows, just such a kind of the street vocabulary. The tsars were also called pharaohs. [ERA, Vene 15, 661 (11) < Setomaa, D. Budowizh village - Olga Brandt < Klaudia I. Znamenskaya, born 1880 (1940)].

2. A dirty word.

Фу, фараоны египетские, идите от окошка прощ. [детей ругают].

[Children are reprimanded]. Fui, Egyptian Pharaohs, get away from the window! [ERA, Vene 15, 638 (13) < Setomaa, D. Kirshino (Kiršino k.) - Olga Brandt < Pavel G. Shpilev, born in 1865 (1940)].

3. Bears (single interpretation)

Фараоны — это медведи в ледавитам океане. Аны абрывают подводные суда.

Pharaohs – these are bears in the frozen ocean. They sneak/attack ships in the water. [ERA, Vene 15, 645 (6) < Setomaa, Kirshino village - Olga Brandt < Maria K. Lozina, born in 1894 (1940)].

As for the bears, this interpretation, although single, but perhaps not accidental, is not so much metaphorical as mythological. In particular, if you recall that, in the traditional beliefs of Estonians, Finns, Scandinavians, and Saami, the drowned Pharaoh army became seals (about the pharaohs in the form of seals, we will talk further). It is possible that the Russian informant identified polar bears and seals by one polar habitat, especially in her message bears-pharaohs pose a threat to ships.

² Belarusian Catholics could feature self-identification “the Pole”, today they call themselves “Poles” not by nationality but by religion.

4. The word “pharaohs” could designate the representatives of peoples (the Gypsies, the Egyptians, and seldomly the Jews).

Считали, что цыганы из Ягипта вышедши, фараонава племя.

The Gypsies were thought to be Pharaoh tribes that emigrated from Egypt. [ERA, Vene 15, 598 (21) < Setomaa, Zabolotie / Sootaga village - Olga Brandt < Phrasenja V. Yurkina, 45 yrs (1940)].

Some old Jewish woman I meet in Ludza on 13 Krosu Street. III 1934 refers to the Pharaoh's people who remained in the sea: „Цыгане вроде гнались за евреями.“ / “Seems like Gypsies were chasing the Jews”. [ERA II, 79, 644 < Lutsi, Ludza I. - Paulopriit Voolainen < old female, Jewish (1934)].

However, here too, as in the case of the seal bears, the metaphorical meaning is mixed and becomes mythological. Roma in the representations and folklore of different European nations can be identified as descendants of Egyptians involved in the Exodus, in connection with which they were marked as descendants of the ancestral line of the Pharaoh. The fact that the Roma come from Egypt, according to the names of the Roma in European languages: *Gypsies* (Eng.), *Gitanos* (Span.), *Gitans* (Fr.), *Pharao nerek* — the Pharaoh's people (Hun.), *Tso'anim* (צ'וֹאֲנִים) — comes from the name of the biblical Zoan province in Ancient Egypt, etc. (see: Strakhov 2004: 282-283).

So, let us move on to the mythological meaning of the words “Pharaoh”, “pharaohs”, in which the concept is inseparably linked with the origin of these creatures.

ORIGIN

Pharaohs – people-fish, whose name comes, according to the oral Bibles of different peoples, from the “pharaohs” – the Egyptians who persecuted the Jews when they crossed the Red Sea.

The biblical text:

“And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea on dry land: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left. And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen. [...] the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horsemen. And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to its strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it, and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea. And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen of all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of them. But the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea; and the waters [were] a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left” (Exodus 14: 21–23, 26–29).

In oral traditions, the biblical text “is specified”, short, focused on the main activities, it acquires new episodes and details which are not present in the original.

Маисей вел явреев через залив. Он вдарил жезлом, и вада ушла. А кагда Фараон пагнался са сваим народом за Моисеем, то вада нахлынула, и ани утанули. Есть сказание, что ета и есть фараоны. Живут в Черном море — галава целовецьа плюсни [ноги] рыбе и весь сам как рыба. Зла человеку не применяют, а живут сами по себе.

Moses led the Jews through the Gulf. He hit with the stick, and the water receded. But as Pharaoh hastened with his people after Moses, the waters returned, and they were drowned. It is said that these are pharaohs. Living in the Black Sea – they have human heads, fish legs and themselves are a type of fish. They do not harm people but live on their own. [ERA, Vene 15, 394/5 (9) < Setumaa, Kolpino village – Olga Brandt < Tatiana Federovna Pavlushina, born 1905 (1940)].

In some texts of the Russian archives, there are “clarifications” about how the event of the Exodus occurred. In particular, it is said that Moses did not divide the sea with a wave of his hand but waved his handkerchief — and a bridge appeared across the sea (a motif peculiar to fairy tales).

M. T. talks about the difference between the people [of which] the pharaohs and Moses [descended].

От еврейки родился Масьяш. Царь цыган был фараон. Фараон плыл 12 дней через море Египта. Массей перевел свой народ через море; платочек кинул, махнул, сделался мост. Цыгане, которые гнались за ними, утонули.

Masiah was born from a Jewish woman. The Gypsy tsar was Pharaoh. Pharaoh swam for twelve days across the Egyptian Sea. Moses led his people across the sea, grabbed a stick, waved with it, made a bridge: The Gypsies who were chasing them drowned. [ERA II 109, 135/6 (1) < Lutsi - Paulopriit Voolaine < Magdalena Tumaševič, 80-year-old Gypsy (1935)].

Ukrainians have a similar motif associated with the appearance of the bridge. [Translation from the Ukrainian:] And the pharaohs, who are they? It was Moses who led the people through the water. God told him to wave over the water. Moses waved his hand, and the bridge was over the water] (Dragomanov 1876: 96).

In one of the texts, Moses did not divide the sea but read from the book, “when the sea diverges”.

Paraons — half fish, half human. With a head like a man, and the tail of a fish. Paraon chased the Jews from Egypt. Moises read from a book, when the sea diverges. He led his people and the paraon drowned with his. They ask: “How soon is the end of the world?” When they say, ‘Soon!’, then they rejoice. Will [dwell] in the sea until a judgment day. [ERA II 109, 138/9 (4) < Lutsi, Nirza v. - Paulopriit Voolaine < Kazakevič, 70-year-old female (1935)].

In the Russian archive of the ELM, there are several original interpretations of the origin of the pharaohs (one text). So, pharaohs descended:

1. From the Gypsies, who were punished for their pride and disbelief.

Израилы перешли через море, а фараоны были гордые, не малились Богу. Они утонули и сделались как рыба (нижня часть), и как человек (голова). Они были цыгане. Волоса курчавые. Когда тихая погода, тогда красиво спевают.

The Israelites went by the sea, but the Pharaohs were proud and did not pray to God. They were drowned and made like fish (bottom body) and humans (head). They were Roma. Curly hair. When the weather is nice, they sing beautifully. [ERA II 109, 143 (10) < Lutsi, Plitnitsa village - Paulopriit Voolaine < Mikalina Stachovska, 66 yrs. (1935)].

2. From the Jews, who doubted the correctness of the path that Moses took.

Мойсей вел фараонов через море. Царь начал мучить фараонов. Они стали молиться Богу. Бог и послал им своего посланника Мойсея. Тот государь (täh. vaarao) был волшебник и сильный царь, вел своих людей тоже через озеро. Он некоторых перевел, а некоторые дошли в озеро до груди и сказали: “Не так идем! Нужно назад вернуться!” Но как Мойсей ударил жеслом, так они (т.е. которые хотели назад ‘вернуться’) остались до груди в море. У них сделался рыбий хвост, а верхняя половина осталась как у человека. Они кричат в море: “Скоро ли второе происшествие?” Когда будет второе происшествие, тогда выходят они на суд.

Moses led Pharaohs through the sea. The tsar began to bother the Pharaohs. They started praying to God. God sent his envoy Moses to them. This ruler (i.e., Pharaoh) was a wizard and a strong tsar, led his people as well through the lake. He led some people through the water, but some went into the lake up to the chest and said: “We took the wrong way! Let’s turn back!” However, when Moses hit the water with a stick so that they (those who wanted to go back) stayed in the sea up to the chest. They had a fish tail, but the top part remained human. They scream in the sea: “Is it Doomsday yet?” When Doomsday comes, they will go to trial. [ERA II 109, 137/8 (3) < Lutsi, Zvirgzden region, Gorka village - Paulopriit Voolaine < Egorov, 75 yrs, Russian (1935)].

From the text, it is not quite clear what kind of king “the wizard and the strong king” was, but it is about Moses most likely. Then the pharaohs, according to this version of the legend, are not Egyptians, but those people of Moses (Jews?), who doubted the correctness of the road along which they were led by Moses, and they wanted to turn back.

3. From the sinful angels that God threw from heaven into the sea.

Парамоны — были ангелы, они согрешили. Бог стихнул с неба в море. Кричат с моря до Бога: “Когда будет конец свету?” От неба говорит ангел: “Один Бог знает, когда будет конец свету. Ни ангелы, ни горубоны не знают”.

Когда будет судебный день, парамоны будут как люди. Теперь у них рыбий хвост.

Paramons — were angels, they have sinned. God shoved them into the sea. They shout from the sea to God: “When will the end of the world be?” From heaven says an angel: “God alone knows when the world will end. Neither the angels nor goruboni know.” When the Day of Judgment comes, the paramons will be like people. Now they have a fishtail. [ERA II 109, 140/1 (7) < Lutsi, Põlda region - Paulopriit Voolaine < Mutyanka, 45 years. female (1935)].

A parabiblical motif of the angels who sinned, of which the spirits of the loci and of the element occurred, became an integral part of the oral tradition of the Slavs, and it is presented in diverse versions (see about Tolstoy 1995: 245–249; Belova 2004: 275, 289, 291; Belova, Kabakova 2014: 58–76, 342–350). The manuscript contains an unclear word “gorubons”, it might be a local name of some mythological creatures, though no analogues have yet been found.

4. From the persecutors of Jesus Christ.

When Jesus was born, the king ordered many children to be killed. The king wanted to kill Jesus because he was told that Jesus would be the ruler of all. But the angel told the child's parents to take him to Egypt. When they were running across the sea – they were being chased by the pharaohs. And God closed the sea before them, and they were half in the sea. The part of the body that's in the sea is like a fish. Starting from the middle to the head, they are completely like all people. They're black. They mumble (speak dimly). And they sing well and pray beautifully to God.

When the pharaohs are told that the end of the world will not be soon, they cry. And when they are told that it will be soon – then they laugh and rejoice.

The narrator says, among other things, that once he had seen one of the Pharaoh in Ludza. [ERA II 61, 145/6 (1) < Lutsi, Ludza city - Paulopriit Voolaine < Helena (Gel'ka) Katkevitiš, 70 years, Polish, female (1933)].

The interweaving of motifs of the Old and New Testaments are characteristic of many Slavic traditions. Magdalena Zowczak notes the symbolic likeness of some persons and events of the Old and New Testaments, which are characteristic of oral traditions of the Poles and other nations: Pharaoh and Herod; the drowning of Jewish children — the massacre of the innocents in Bethlehem, the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt — the Holy family's fleeing to Egypt; the Pharaoh's army – the army of Herod (Zowczak 2013: 316). The observation by M. Zowczak is also fully confirmed by the Belarusian material, which apart from such interweaving is also characterised by substitutions: Eve - Virgin Mary (among other things there is a phonetic correspondence: Jeva – Deva, Moses – Christos). The Russian archive also contains a text (ERA II 79, 630/2) where Christ gives Moses a “stick” with which Moses divides the sea.

In the Russian literature from the 16th to 19th centuries, the manuscript tradition existed about people-pharaohs with different titles — “The legend of the crossing of the Red Sea”, “The Legend of the Moscow merchants about the fish”, “The walking of Vasily Poznyakov”, “The walking of Tryphon Korobeinikov” (for details, see Belova 2004: 292–293, Kuznetsova 2012: 5-14). In the tale of the crossing of the Red Sea, the pharaohs are described as follows:

[--] люди же Фараоновы обратились рыбами; у тех рыб головы человеческие, а туловища нет, только одна голова, а зубы и нос человеческие; а где уши, тут перья, а где затылок, тут хвост, и не ест их никто. А кони и оружие превратились в рыб, а на лошадиных рыбах шерсть лошадиная, а кожа на них толстая на палец в толщину, ловят их и кожи с них снимают [---]. А из кож обувь и подошвы шьют. Воды те кожи не терпят, а если носить посуху, то долго носят, на год хватит. [ПЫПИН 1862: 49–50].

[...] the people of Pharaoh turned into fish; those fish have human heads, but there is no body, only one head, and human teeth and nose; and where ears should be – feathers seen, and where the back of the head, there is a tail, and no one eats them. And horses and weapon turned into fish, and on the horse-fish there is the horse fur, and skin on them is thick – a finger in thickness; they are caught and skin from them removed [...]. And leather shoes and soles are sewn from the skin. That skin cannot stand water, but if worn on dry land, then it can be worn a long time – for a year they will last. [Pypin 1862: 49-50]

As you can see, the pharaohs of the “Tales...” and the pharaohs of the oral traditions of different nations are different. The appearance of “literary” pharaohs differs significantly from the pharaohs of folklore. The “Tales...” describes creatures with one head without a body, while the folklore pharaohs – anthropomorphic or zoomorphic – always have a body. Information about that skin received from converted Pharaoh horses being used for making shoes has no analogues in oral tradition. Also, the literary source does not have motifs about the actions of the pharaohs towards people (questions about the end of the world, beautiful singing, etc.), which are widespread in oral traditions, in particular, in Russian tradition (these motifs will be discussed further). In this regard, as rightly noted by Vera Kuznetsova, “the similarity of the literary version of the plot and Slavic folklore tales about the same events is more of a typological nature, rather than geneticism which is how the mechanism of inclusion of pre-Christian ideas and beliefs brought into this biblical story in its interpretation by the bearers of the folk tradition” (Kuznetsova 2012: 13).

In some cases, pharaohs as mythological characters can be identified with mermaids.

Некоторые говоря, што русалки – это утопленники... А только это не так! Русалки – это фараоново отродье. А фараоны эти были вот каки: слышала, наверно, как Моисей свой народ из Египту выводил? Вот яму нужно было свой народ через одно море вести – как быть? А враг (это фараоны-то со своим войском) гоница, скоро уже догоня! Вот Моисей помолился хорошенько и получил вразуменье, как спастись. Образовалась в море как бы суха дорога, и народ пошел по ней, а фараоны погнались сзади. Да только, как зашли часть из них на середину моря, вода и залила их. Так яны вси и утонули... А только яны не погибли вовсе, а стали русалкам! Но только яны не остались только в одном море, а расселились повсюду, потому русалки умеют и по суши ходить!

Some say mermaids are drowned folk ... But only it's not so! Mermaids are the Pharaoh's spawn. And them, pharaohs, were like this: did you hear how Moses led his folk out of Egypt? He alone had to lead his over one of the sea – how to be? And the enemy (it's the Pharaohs with their army) is chasing, soon will catch up! So, Moses prayed well and received the words of how to be saved. Something like a dry road was formed in the sea, and people came along it, and the pharaohs chased behind. Yes, but when half of them came to the middle of the sea, the water poured over them. So, they all drowned... But only they did not die at all but became mermaids! And they did not remain in one sea, but settled everywhere, because mermaids know how to walk on land! [ERA, Vene 8, 415/6 (375) < Tartu city < Kodavere parish, Peipsi region – Valeria Jegorova < Anna Lovjagina, 58 years (1936)].

Such interchange of characters also exists in the Belarusian traditions. According to modern Belarusian records, mermaids are usually not called pharaohs, even if they have some characteristics of pharaohs: they live in the sea, sing beautifully, are dangerous for sailors who are fond of their singing and break the ship on the rocks. But the plot about the origin of the pharaohs can be explained with reference to mermaids (Boganeva 2010: 56), similar to the text referred to from the Russian archive.

APPEARANCE

The appearance of pharaohs according to the Russian archive of the ELM can be anthropomorphic, hybrid-anthropomorphic with zoomorphic features and zoomorphic (in the form of seals).

Most often, pharaohs are described as hybrid creatures, half-human-half-fish, which combine anthropomorphic and zoomorphic features (31 texts).

Фараон — хвост рыбий, а голова члавечья.

Pharaon – has a fishtail, but the head is human. [ERA, Vene 16, 432 (30) < Tallinn < Setumaa, Nartyshovo village – Olga Brandt < Anna Zimova, 40 years (1942)].

In one text, the pharaohs have the appearance of anthropomorphic beings, but with one zoomorphic sign — they have webs between the toes that makes them easier to paddle in the water to swim.

Фараоны в Черном море живут. Женщины и мужчины с долгим валасами. Как прайдешь, так или в воду. У них такие же руки и ноги, только между пальцами перепонки, так что они могут гребитца.

The Pharaohs live in the Black Sea. Women and men with long hair. If you pass, they go into the water. They have the same hands and feet, but between fingers and toes there are flippers, so they can scrape [ERA, Vene 15, 515/6 (13) < Setumaa, Kulje village – Olga Brandt < Andrei Semenovoch Vetlev, born 1875 (1940)].

In three texts about the pharaohs, they are described as ordinary people, but there is a sign of other-worldness that distinguish them from ordinary people — they are short.³

Ишла я мимо озера Дряби и вижу: в вады што-то плавая, подошла я поближи и што-ж! Плавають в воды маленьки человеки, мужик и баба. Мужик с бародой, плавають голыи, на спины. А сами таки маленьки. Спужалася я дюжа. Стала в их бросать каменя, а яны все плавають, я и убегла. А мне надо было крыкнуть: «Вы хто таки?» — яны и исчезли б. А это были фараоны. Можя слышала, что были таки фараоны, аише яны утопли в мори, кагда гналися за явреям. Яны ждуть конца света, тагда снова будут, как и мы, человеки.

I went past Drabi Lake and I saw something floating in the water, and I got closer and see what! Floating in the water are little people, a man and woman. The man had a beard, swimming naked, on their back. Well, such little ones. I started throwing stones at them, but they would keep swimming, and I ran away. I should have shouted: “Who are you, people?” and they would have disappeared. But they were Pharaohs. I guess I heard they were the kind of pharaohs that drowned in the sea while chasing the Jews. They’re waiting for the end of the world; then they’re like us again – the people. [ERA, Vene 13, 539/40 (7) < Setumaa, Brod village – Zoia Zhemchuzhina < Daria Beregova, 46 years (1939)].

In one text, the pharaohs are compared with cats, but any conclusions about their appearance cannot be drawn based on the text.

³ According to Sergei Neklyudov, “much more often the lower mythology characters appear to be very small creatures” (Neklyudov 2012: 85-122).

В Вильне фараоны рыженькие, тёмненькие, как кошки, вышли из воды. Сын мой хотел убить их, но не попал. На берег плавали.

In Vilna, the pharaohs, red-haired, dark as cats, came out of the water. My son wanted to kill them but missed. They swam to the shore. [ERA, Vene 5, 286 (1) < Setumaa, Staryi Izhborsk < Lithuania, Vilnius – Menda Ehrenberg < female in the retirement house (1934)].

In one text, the narrator calls the pharaohs “seals”.

„Параоны” sõidavad laevadel, nad mõtlevadki kõiksugu laule välja. Paraon” on pool kala, pool inimest. Selle juures nimetan Aleksander „тюлени” („tül’ni”), kel on koera pää.

„Параоны” плавают на кораблях и придумывают разные песни. „Параон” наполовину человек, наполовину рыба. При этом Александр называет их «тюлени», у которых собачья голова.

“Paraons” float on ships and dream up different songs. A “paraon” is half man, half fish. At the same time, Alexander calls them “seals”, which have a dog head. [ERA II 33, 72 (14) < Latvia, Lutsi region, Kukuevo village – Paulopriit Voolaine < Maria and Alexandr Kulakov (1931)].

The motifs of the transformation of warriors of the Pharaoh into animals or birds (whales, marine fish, certain types of noisy sea birds or seals) are widely known in folklore in the Estonian Islands and in the coastal villages of Livs. In Estonia, the social and economic situation on the islands contributed to this (Kõiva 2018: 12). In Western Estonia, hunting for seals was an important source of food, so the motif of turning into a seal is the most common (95 texts), it is also known in the folklore of the Livs (Loorits 1926: 159). Records show that the seal was sometimes identified as a mermaid, and mermaids were in the guise of seals. The appearance of a mermaid in the guise of a seal is also familiar to Estonian Swedes:

Der Neck, eine Art kleiner Teufel in Gestalt von Seehunden mit scharfen Zähnen, zieht den Menschen bei den Beinen ins Wasser.

Mermaid: a small demon with sharp teeth appears in the guise of a sea dog and drags people by the feet under the water. (Russwurm 1855: 250).

Narratives about the appearance of the pharaohs in the guise of seals are known in the natural habitat of seals on the Northern coasts of Europe. Since the body of the seal is similar to that of a human, it is believed that they too were once humans. Oskar Loorits (Loorits 1926: 159) concluded that the narrative of the Pharaoh warriors is the reason that the Livs treated them with respect, did not eat their meat and did not even want to sell the seal caught alive. In the expedition to Hiiumaa Paul Ariste wrote the following:

Seals are half-brothers of men. I heard that. They appeared when the Egyptian army drowned. [ERA II 1, 584 (10) < Reigi khk, 1928].

Ideas about the pharaohs-seals of the Northern peoples are typologically similar to the Ukrainian and Balkan beliefs about the pharaohs-dolphins. As Ivanov said:

The wide popularity of the present plot [about pharaohs] is caused by the fact that many peasants of the Kupyansky district⁴ serve on merchant ships as sailors, the Black Sea and upon a return home tell about the wonders seen by them, including about sea dolphins which, according to storytellers, make Pharaoh’s army. (Ivanov 1893: 82).

⁴ Ukraine.

[Dolphins] descended from Pharaoh's warriors, whom God drowned in the Red Sea and turned into fish. (Bošković-Stulli 1975: 143).

ACTIONS OF THE PHARAOHS AGAINST PEOPLE AND PEOPLE AGAINST THE PHARAOHS, ACOUSTIC PERFORMANCE

As the beautiful singing and questions to people (acoustic performance) are inextricably linked with the actions of the pharaohs, we will consider them together. Most often, pharaohs swim up to the ships to ask people a question about the end of the world (14 texts of the Russian archive in the ELM). If people answer that the end of the world is coming soon — the pharaohs rejoice and “sing beautifully”. If the answer is “not soon”, the pharaohs cry with disappointment. In the texts of the Russian archive of the ELM, the pharaohs, as a rule, are peaceful, harmless and do not cause harm to people. Only in one case, it is said that the pharaohs, having heard a negative answer about the end of the world, are in grief and trying to turn away the ship.

[Фараоны] догоняют моряков и спрашивают: «Скоро ли конец света?» Когда отвечают: «Не скоро!» — так <они> хотят корабли вернуть (перевернуть).

[Pharaohs] catch up with the sailors and ask: “How soon will the world end” When they are answered: “Not soon!” — then [they] want ships return (turn). [ERA II 79, 633/4 < Lutsi, Tsibla region - Paulopriit Voolaine < Anton Rublevski, 55 yrs, Polish (1934)].

Belarusians and Ukrainians have a motif that the Pharaoh singing is dangerous for seamen because when sailors hear it, they repel the pharaohs with shots (Chubynsky 1995 a: 208; Boganeva 2010: 55-56). In the Russian archives, some texts explain why the pharaohs are concerned about this question and answers to it. One of the explanations is that at the end of the world, they will become human again, and it is from them that the “new world” will arise.

У фараонов, которые утонули, сделался рыбий хвост. Они спрашивают от людей: «Скоро ли конец свету?» Если отвечают: «Не скоро», тогда они плачут. А если говорят, что скоро, тогда радуются, поют песни.

The pharaohs who drowned grew a fishtail. They ask people: “Is the end of the world coming soon?” If they are answered: ‘Not soon,’ then they cry. And if they are said that will happen soon, then *rejoice, singing songs.*”

Küsimusele: “Aga kui saab maailmale ots, mis siis neist saab?” vastab A. T.: На вопрос: когда будет конец света, что с ними будет? Отвечает А. Т. <Александр Тумашевич>. «Как будет конец свету, они будут первые свет плодить, как они первые плодили свет. У них не будет рыбьяво хвоста. Будут как люди».

To the question: when the end of the world comes, what will happen to them?

A. T. [Alexander Tumashevich] answers.: “As the end of the world comes, they will be the first to produce light, as they were the first to produce light. They won’t have a fishtail. Will be as people.” [ERA II 109, 130/1 (6-7) < Lutsi - Paulopriit Voolaine < Aleksander Tumashevich, 75 yrs (1935)].

In the oral Bibles, there is a cyclicity in the perception of time (as opposed to the linear concept of time in Christianity) and the idea that at the end of the world someone will remain to start a new world. In particular, such motifs about changing worlds also exist in Polish and Belarusian folklore eschatology (see Zowczak 2014: 201-218, Boganeva 2016: 464-467).

In ten texts of the Russian archive of the ELM and texts of the Ludza region, the beautiful singing of pharaohs is noted, as it brings together these characters with images of “sea people” singing, mermaids and “sirens”,⁵ peculiar to the Ukrainian and Belarusian traditions. These are not the sirens of antiquity, which feature only typological similarities with the East Slavic pharaohs and mermaids. Francisco Molina-Moreno, who studied the question of the ratio of East Slavic mermaids and ancient sirens, concludes that “the relationship between sirens and mermaids could be described not just as parallel, not even as divergent development of mythological characters, but in the form of two lines, which alternately either diverge or approach, and even almost touch” (Molina-Moreno 2015: 220).

Michał Federowski quotes an informant: “Sirens — the sea people, in a good day they come to the beach, sit and sing, or cry. And when they see a person, they ask: “Will the end of the world be soon?” If they are answered that it will be soon, they play and splash with their flippers. And when they are said that will not be soon, they cry and shout; because when the end of the world and other people will be, they will not be in the water, but on the land, as we are now, and instead of tails will have legs” (Federowski 1897, 108). Federowski notes that the informant speaks about pharaohs under the name of sirens.

In the archives of the ELM there is a text that speaks of the pharaohs singing songs, and people “copy” them.

Музей вывел евреев из Египта. Пан Езус дал Муисею палку. Он как подошел к морю и кинул палку, так дорога (<no>шла) на 2 половины. Где море с водой, он палку кинул, и сухая дорога сделалась. Как перешел он море, и он как кинул опять палку, так сделалось опять море. Параоны, которые гнались за ними, утопились. Когда тепло, летом, чуть солнышко восходит, поют они красивые песни. (Этих песен много списано).

Musei led the Jews out of Egypt. Pan Jesus gave Musei a stick. As he came to the sea, and threw the stick, so the road [went] into two halves. Where the sea is with water, he threw the stick, and the road became dry. As he crossed the sea, he threw the stick again, so there was the sea again. The pharaohs that were chasing them drowned. When it is warm in summer, and the sun rises, they sing beautiful songs. (A lot of these songs have been written down). [ERA II 79, 630/2 < Lutsi. - Paulopriit Voolaine < Breidak, 60 yrs, female (1934)].

Belarusians and Ukrainians also have a motif that songs sung by the people were made by the sea people” (Chubinsky 1995: 208) or by mermaids (BFELA, 83).

⁵ Not ancient sirens (on the ratio and Genesis of images of ancient sirens and East Slavic mermaids see (Molina-Moreno 2015: 197-220), and East Slavic sirens, similar mermaids and pharaohs. In general, the nomination of “siren” is not characteristic of the Eastern Slavs, Federowski introduces the microregional name of the image “from Rawhide and Svisloch”, on the Belarusian-Polish borderland.

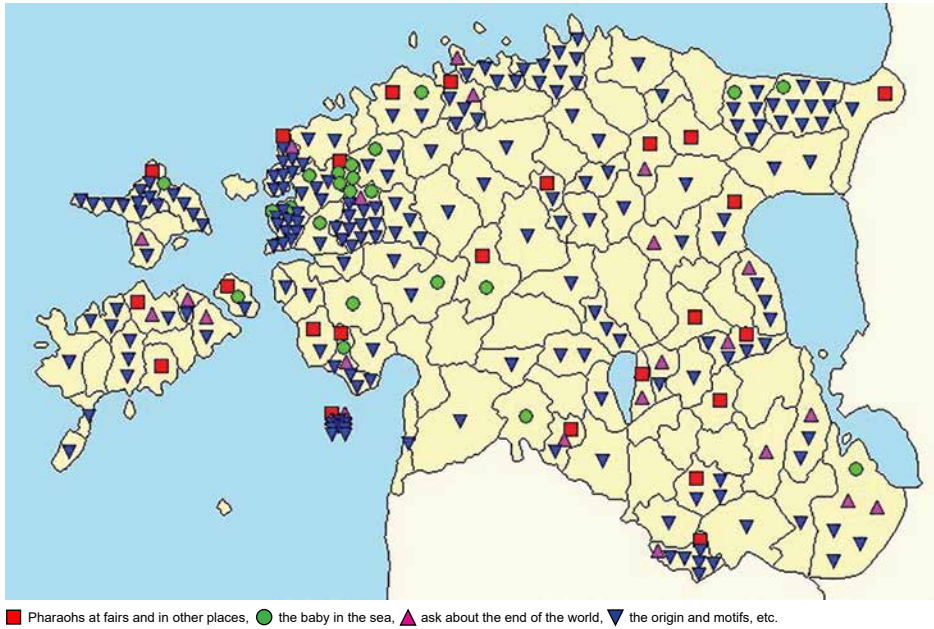


Fig 1. Narratives about the pharaohs in Estonian folklore

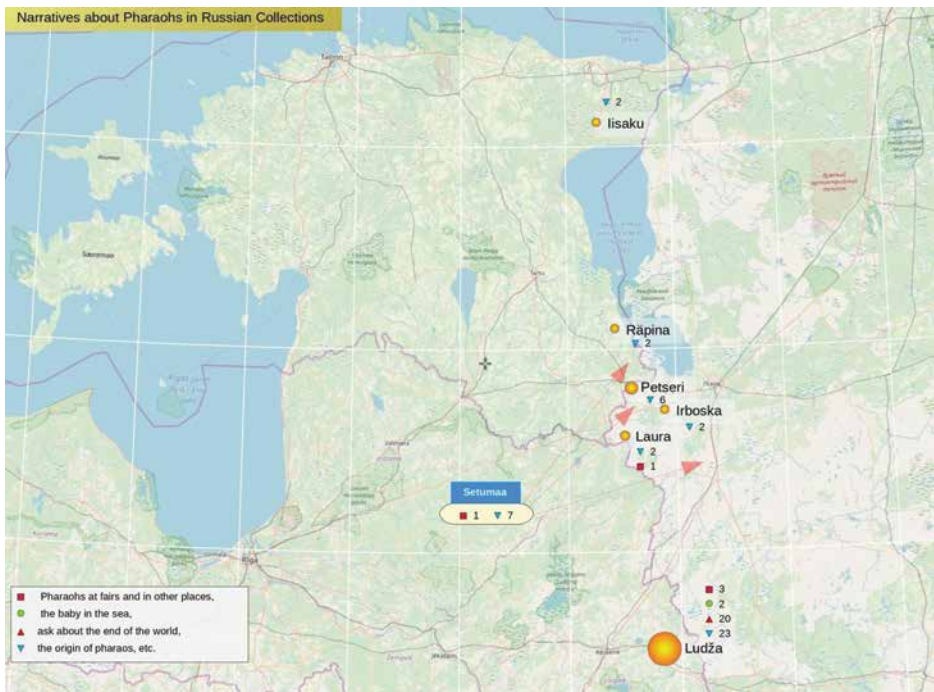


Fig. 2. Pharaohs in Russian Collection.

There is a text in the Estonian archive with the motif of how a woman from the sea asks the sailor to give her medicine to make her human again.

Ехали морем. Женищина из моря просила что-то, какое-то лекарство. Моряк исполнил просьбу женищины. У женищины исчез хвост рыбы. Она получила ноги, но потеряла речь. Ходила на балы, танцевала, но языка не было.

We were going by sea. The woman from the sea asked for something, some medicine. The sailor complied with the woman's plea. The woman's fishtail disappeared. She got her legs but lost her speech. Went to balls, danced but had no language. [ERA II 79, 637/8 < Lutsi, Zvirgzdeni village - Paulopriit Voolaine < Urtans, man, 30 years (1934)].

An ordinary seaman could get the necessary "medicine" the turned a half-fish-half-human into a woman. Further, the pharaoh lives as a secular woman, but a sign of other-worldness remains: she loses the ability to talk.

Among the acoustic characteristics of the pharaohs, it is also noted that in addition to singing songs, or crying, or laughing, they can talk in a secret language inaccessible to people (3 texts), produce "inhuman sounds" like squeaking (2 texts), and "pray beautifully to God" (1 text).

The most common among the motifs of human actions in relation to the pharaohs is the motif in which pharaohs are caught in the sea and shown at exhibitions, fairs, zoos (5 texts).

В Двинсае показывали живого фараона. Была женщина: груди, сиськи и все как у женщины была. Половина рыбина; от пояса как рыба. Сидела в бочке и спрашивала: "Когда будет кончина свету?"

A living Pharaoh was shown in Dvinsae. There was a woman: breasts, tits and everything like a woman was. Half a fish; from the belt like a fish. Sat in a barrel and asked:

"When will the end of the world be?" [ERA II 109, 135/6 (1) < Latvia, Lutsi area - Paulopriit Voolaine < Magdalena Tumashevich, 80 years, Gypsy (1935)].

With such texts, narrators assert the authenticity, "not-fairy-taleness" of their stories about the pharaohs, it is a unique attempt to adapt mythologic creatures to the modern reality. In addition, the Russian and their neighbours were undoubtedly influenced by the tradition of oral stories about the pharaohs in Estonia. The popularity of this tradition is evidenced by the following map.

HABITAT OF PHARAOHS

The Slavic texts describe the habitat of the pharaohs. The most common indication is that the pharaohs live in the sea (27 texts). At the same time, in the texts, there are often clarifications related to real seas where the pharaohs are found: in the Black Sea (6 texts), the Mediterranean Sea (1 text), of the Baltic Sea (1 text). Pharaohs can also be associated with rivers (1 text), lakes (1 text), undefined water space (1 text).

It is interesting that all Belarusian texts about pharaohs are connected exclusively with the seas (although Belarus does not open to any sea). Modern Belarusian storytellers, as a rule, refer to familiar sailors who told them about pharaohs, or to the Bible, or to anonymous "books" noting pharaohs.

The motifs of the Russian-language texts of the “pharaohs” in Estonia reveal parallels and correspondences both with the Slavic (Belarusian, Ukrainian, Polish) folk Bibles and with the Estonian, Finnish, and Scandinavian traditional notions about the sea spirits. In all these cases, the biblical narrative served as a template for building new etiological concepts.

CONCLUSIONS

The archive texts reflect the existence of mythological stories about the pharaohs and the perception of the events described by the narrators with a view of authenticity. Among our selection of pharaohs, there are texts of different genres (ethiologies, personal experience narratives, memorates, legends (equivalent to the East Slavic genre of “bylichka” describing contacts of people with supernatural characters),⁶ descriptions of beliefs (what pharaohs look like, where they live, how they interact with people, etc.). As a rule, one text may combine the appearance of the pharaohs in connection with the biblical events of the Exodus, a description of these creatures and evidence of meetings with them. Some texts show that the narrator himself saw the pharaohs; at the same time, some narrators say that the pharaohs were not seen by the narrators, but by some of his relatives or acquaintances. Five texts tell us about the appearance of the pharaohs in specific localities (Daugavpils, Riga, St. Petersburg, etc.) at exhibitions, fairs, zoos. Only in one text (ERA II 79, 633/4) does the narrator, after a detailed story about the origin of the pharaohs, refer to eyewitnesses of their display, descriptions of their actions and habits, and somewhat unexpectedly summarises: “That’s nonsense. They [old men] never were there! It’s all fairy-tales.” Whereas the collector of Paulopriit Voolaine mentions between the brackets: “It is strange, but Rublevski believes in many other tales!”

Thus, based on the analysed texts, we can conclude about the active living state of beliefs in the sea people from the 1920s-‘40s among the Slavs present in the alien ethnic environment. This fact was promoted by the following factors: 1) a close contact of the Slavs with the indigenous population of the countries of the Baltic region (in our case, first of all with Estonians) and the influence of their traditional beliefs in spirits of the sea, which, at the time, were relevant and widespread (see Map 1); 2) the state of the folk religiosity of the Slavs themselves, who predominantly practised the oral transmission of traditional knowledge, including on biblical topics⁷.

⁶ From the viewpoint of storytellers — these are texts about actual events.

⁷ The dominance of oral tradition among the Slavs in this period is evidenced, in particular, by the volumes of the Russian archive of the ELM (17 handwritten volumes). These volumes contain approximately 1000 mythological texts about the different characters of the lower mythology (nixies, boggards, forest spirits, water spirits, mermaids, bath-house spirits, etc.), evil spirits, people with supernatural powers, werewolves, revenant, sworn treasures.

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Skriptoorium – Digital Archives and tool, EKM, department of Folkloristics

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MOTIVIKA EKSODUSA V RUSKI FOLKLORI: MITSKA BITJA
»FARAONI« V GRADIVU ESTONSKEGA LITERARNEGA MUZEJA

ELENA BOGANEVA, MARE KÕIVA



V članku je raziskana ruska slovstvena folklor, ki se nanaša na biblijski Eksodus s posebnim poudarkom na mitskih bitjih, ki so v izročilu imenovna »faraoni«. Analiza je osnovana na ruskem gradivu, ki je ohranjeno v Estonskem literarnem muzeju (Estonian Literary Museum) v Tartuju in v njihovem digitalnem arhivu Skriptorium ter je bilo zbrano med letoma 1920 in 1940 na ozemlju Estonije, Rusije in Latvije v regiji Lutsi, kjer živi estonska manjšina. Izročilo je prilagojeno slovanskim verovanjskim predstavam in ohranja povedke o bajeslovnih bitjih, ki so jih povezovali z Eksodusom. V članku je podan pregled najbolj značilnih motivov, ki se pojavljajo v teh pripovedih; predstavljeni so tudi izvor, podoba in življenjski prostor – habitat teh bajeslovnih bitij, pri čemer je glavni poudarek na vlogi in pomenu mitskih bitij, poimenovanih »faraoni«.

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Božična jama pri Novi Štifi (Gornji Grad) – primer antičnega jamskega svetišča

===== Domen Češarek, Pavel Jamnik =====

This article presents the archaeological and ethnological research of the Božična jama Cave in Slovenia, Styria region, as a possible shrine of fertility. The archaeological finds from the cave indicate that the cave was used for cult purposes. The authors point out the artificially built circle in the middle of the cave and suggest that it was probably devoted to establishing a cosmic space suitable for ritual purposes. The archaeological finds indicate the symbolism of the Sun, phallus and solar deity which are usually connected with fertility. The Božična jama Cave is thus far the only archaeological site in Slovenia to be confirmed as a Late Antiquity archaeological cave site that can be assumed to be a ritual cave connected with fertility.

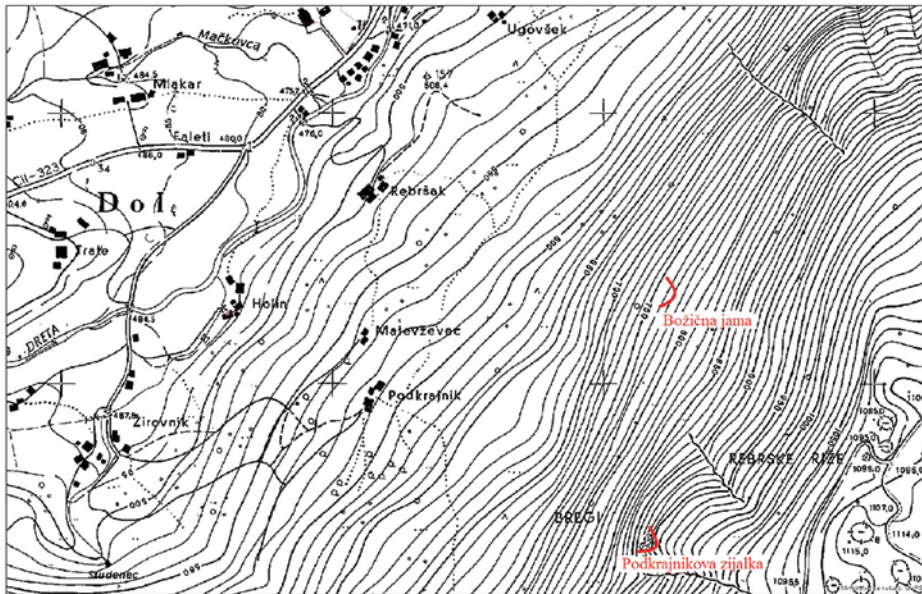
KEYWORDS: ritual cave, stone circle, phallic stalactite, classical mythology, Late Antiquity

UVOD

Člani gornjegrajskega jamarskega društva Tirski zmaj že nekaj let iščejo in raziskujejo jame na Menini planini. Najaktivnejši član društva Rafael Žerovnik je v letu 2016 svojo raziskovalno dejavnost usmeril v severovzhodno pobočje Menine planine nad vasjo Nova Štifa, v kateri živi. Strmino je nekajkrat prehodil in pregledoval vznožja skalnih sten, na božič leta 2016 pa sta skupaj z Ivom Sovinškom naletela na dolgo iskano manjšo jamo, za katero so domačini vedeli, da jo je na svojih lovskih pohodih pred desetletji odkril – a nikoli želel povedati mesta, kjer se nahaja – Janez Fale - Prholinski Anza (Sovinšek 2017: 81). (Slika 1) Le nekaj metrov prečno od vhoda v manjši spodmol, ki so ga poimenovali Anzatova jama, sta jamarja naletela še na ozko razpoko, zaprto s skalnim blokom, ki je vzbujala upanje, da se za njo odpira jama. Odstranila sta skalni blok, za katerega se je izkazalo, da je bil tja nameščen namenoma, saj za vhodom v jamo ni bilo podornih skal, ki bi kazale na star skalni podor. (Slika 2)

OPIS JAME IN ARHEOLOŠKIH OSTANKOV V NJEJ

Vhod v jamo je trikotne oblike dimenzij 1,5 x 0,5 metra, nadaljuje pa se v 30 metrov dolgo poševno se spuščajočo jamo, ki se na dnu izravna v manjšo dvoranico. Jama se le na dveh mestih razširi v dva krajša rova. (Slika 3) Novoodkrita jama sta jamarja po dnevu odkritja poimenovala Božična jama. Tla v končnem izravnem delu rova so prekrita

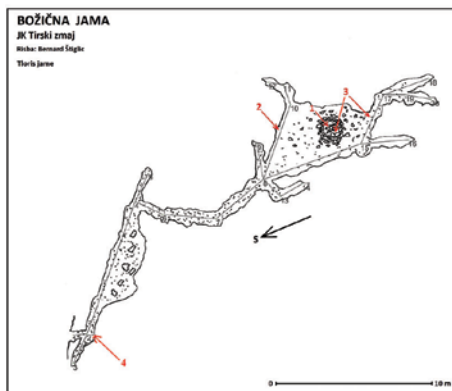


Slika 1: Izsek iz karte 1 : 4450 z označeno lokacijo Božične jame in Podkrajnikove zijalke (vir: GIS portal, Ministrstvo za kulturo).

z vlažno ilovico. Zaradi bližine površja v jamo skozi stropne razpoke ob večjih deževjih očitno zateka meteorna voda in se občasno nekaj časa zadržuje v končni jamski dvorani, zato je na skalah in grušču v njej ilovnat oprh. Kljub odloženi ilovici je jamarjema pozornost vzbudila zložba kamnov, ki spominjajo na krog pravilne oblike s premerom približno treh metrov. Krog je narejen iz podornih skal, ki so jih ljudje pobrali po jami, zato so kamni, ki ga oblikujejo, različne velikosti. Čeprav je po jamski dvorani razmetanih več podornih skal in manjšega kamenja, ki je odpadlo od jamskih sten, se umetno narejena zložba jasno prepozna. Nekateri od uporabljenih skalnih blokov po obodu kroga so nekoliko večji, drugi pa manjši, zato jih je bilo za oblikovanje kroga treba naložiti več skupaj. Jasno se vidi, da je bilo nekaj večjih kosov skal postavljenih v sredino kroga, tako da se zdi, kot da bi bil morda krog celo prepolovljen z zložbo kamenja, ki poteka po njegovi sredi. (Slika 4a in 4b)



Slika 2: Odkritelj Rafael Žirovnik tik pred vhodom v Božično jamo (foto: Pavel Jamnik).



Slika 3: Tloris Božične jame z označenimi mesti najdb: 1 – novce v kamnitom krogu, 2 – trinožnik, 3 – fragmenti lončenine, 4 – keramični lonček; kapnik v obliki moškega spolovila je na stropu jame nad kamnitim krogom (risba: Bernard Štiglic).



Slika 4a: Pogled na kamniti krog premera približno 180 cm iz jamske dvorane (foto: Pavel Jamnik).



Slika 4b: izpod stropa jamske dvorane (foto: Klemen Volovšek).

Ob enem od kasnejših obiskov jame je Žerovnik v ilovici v krogu opazil črn predmet, in ko ga je pobral in očistil, se je izkazalo, da gre za dobro ohranjen antični novce, in sicer sesterec Aleksandra Severa, 222–235 n. št.¹ (Slika 5a in 5b) Najdba je jamarje spodbudila k natančnemu pregledu jamskega rova in predvsem skalnih niš v neposredni okolici kamnitega kroga. Med kamni kroga in ob jamski steni ob njem so našli nekaj fragmentov lončenine (Slika 6b), fragmente živalskih kosti s sledmi vrezov, ki nastanejo kot poškodbe ob razkosanju živali, v skalni niši ob krogu pa celo posodo – trinožnik. (Slika 6a) Trinožnik je rjavo-sive barve s stenami debeline 6,8 do 7,5 mm, premerom oboda 13,5 cm in višino 8,6 cm. Tik pod zgornjim robom zunanjega roba je okrašen z vodoravnimi vrezi, po obodu posode pa potekajo plitvi navpični kratki vrezi, ki se nahajajo tudi na treh nogah. Na notranji strani je po celotnem obodu ohranjena črna žganina. Drobec žganine temno rjave do črne barve je bil analiziran z vrstičnim elektronskim mikroskopom znamke Tescan-Vega, opremljenim z energijskim analizatorjem rentgenske svetlobe Oxford Instruments, EDX-detektorjem (SEM-EDX). Z elektronskim mikroskopom in EDX-detektorjem (SEM-EDX) se ugotavlja elementna sestava površine preiskovanega vzorca. Z uporabo različnih detektorjev (sekundarni elektroni, odbiti elektroni) je mogoče spreminjati vrsto oziroma kakovost slike. Z energijskim analizatorjem rentgenske svetlobe analiziramo X-žarke, ki sevajo s površine vzorca, s čimer je možno ugotoviti njeno elementno sestavo. Z analizo vzorca iz

¹ Aleksander Sever – latinski polni naziv MARCVS AVRELIVS SEVERVS ALEXANDER AVGVSTVS, poslednji iz dinastije Severov. Rojen leta 208 n. št. v Siriji – Arca Caesarea, umrl leta 235 n. št. v kraju Moguntiacum, Gornja Germanija. Vladal je v letih 222–235 n. št. Leta 231, ko je desetič prejel tribunsko oblast, je bil tretji konzul. Ob tej priliki so bili skovani tudi novci z njegovo podobo in oznako 10 (Proleksis enciklopedija: spletni vir), kakršnega je v jami našel Rafael Žerovnik. Ta serija novcev je bila skovana v kovnici v Rimu.

posode je bilo v njem mogoče potrditi le prisotnost sledi magnezija in aluminija, večinska elementa v analiziranem vzorcu pa sta ogljik in kisik.²

Eden od najdenih koščkov posode je črno-rjave barve s plitvimi vodoravnimi okrasnimi črtami na vratu in neenakomernim, prekinjenim pasom valovnic na trebuhu posode. Leta 2018 je bil v ozki razpoki nekaj metrov pod vhodom v jamo najden še skoraj cel lonček, okrašen z metličanjem v obliki valovnic, visok 16 cm. (Slika 7) Posode in trinožnik spadajo med tako imenovano kuhinjsko posodje antike. Kot datacijski indikator jemljemo novce Aleksandra Severa (222–235 n. št.), zato trinožnik, lonček in fragmente posode okvirno časovno umeščamo v čas od 3. stoletja n. št. do pozne antike, kar je čas do 5. stoletja n. št. (Jamnik in Štiglic 2017a: 43; 2017b: 21).

Z najdbo novca in lončenine je postalo jasno, da je jama v času, ki ga nakazujejo najdbe, služila nekemu namenu in da je bil, glede na mesto najdbe novca in fragmentov posod, v istem času v njej oblikovan kamniti krog. Krog je torej očitno imel v jami simbolni pomen, saj tako postavljeni kamni ne morejo zgolj služiti za ograditev kurišča v jami, še posebej, ker ni nikakršne nevarnosti, da bi se ogenj kamorkoli razširil. Na to kaže tudi velikost kamnitega kroga, še posebej v razmerju do jamskega prostora, ki je relativno majhen.

Obisk jame ponuja še eno nenavadno obliko, ki jo, resno ali z nekaj hudomušnosti, zazna vsak obiskovalec jame. In prav to se nam zdi pomembno. Kajti če to opazijo vsi današnji obiskovalci, so to opazili tudi ljudje, ki so v jami oblikovali kamniti krog in ki so v njej nekaj počeli. Prav nad kamnitim krogom je namreč skupek kapnikov, od katerih eden izrazito, veliko bolj, kot je to mogoče z nekaj domišljije videti v drugih kapniških jamah, spominja na moško spolovilo. (Slika 8) Kapniki v jamah so velikokrat oblikovani zelo nenavadno in spominjajo na vsa mogoča bitja. Kapnik nad krogom, ki je nastal, še preden so ljudje naredili kamniti krog, pa preveč spominja na moško spolovilo, da bi obiskovalci v antiki to spregledali. Ob povezavi kamnitega kroga pod kapnikom, novca in lončenine v krogu ter trinožnika z ostankom žganine, ki bi lahko služil kot posoda za žganje nečesa, se kar sama po sebi ponuja misel, da bi jama lahko imela ritualni pomen, povezan s plodnostjo ali spolnostjo. Seveda pa se ta naša ugibanja, zaradi časovne oddaljenosti in le drobcev materialnih ostankov, ki so bili do sedaj najdeni v jami, zaenkrat lahko gibljejo le v polju možnosti, ki jih najdbe ponujajo. Trdnejše argumente za takšne domneve bi bilo mogoče dobiti z natančno arheološko obdelavo jame.

Po odkritju Božične jame so jamarji opravili še natančen pregled le nekaj sto metrov zračne razdalje oddaljene Podkrajnikove zijalke. Jama je bila že znana po arheoloških najdbah, in sicer sulični osti in železnem dletu, ki sta bila najdena leta 1989 pri testnem arheološkem sondiranju, vendar takrat niso odkrili ničesar drugega. Avtorji železna predmeta umeščajo v srednji vek in navajajo možnost, da bi bili najdbi lahko »osnova pripovedke o gozdnem možu, ki je živel v zijalki Menine planine«³ (Dirjec, Pavšič in Turk 1989: 253).

² Za analizo (opravljena je bila 27. 3. 2018) se avtorja zahvaljujeva Nacionalnemu forenzičnemu laboratoriju MNZ.

³ Povedka pripoveduje, da naj bi v jami nad Novo Štifto živel gozdni mož, ki je ljudem hodil nagajat. Ko so se ženske odločile, da ga ulovijo, jim je v zameno za svobodo izdal skrivnost, kje se najde premog. Spustile so ga, gozdni mož pa se jim je, ko je bil spet na varnem, posmehoval in se iz njih norčeval, da bi jim, če bi ga vprašale, kje je zlato, povedal zanj, tako pa so izvedele le za premog. Od tistih časov za gozdnim možem ni bilo več sledu (Dirjec, Pavšič in Turk 1989: 253).



Slika 5a in 5b: Novец – sesterec Aleksandra Severa, zadaj rimski sončni bog Sol Invictus, 222–235 n. št., teža novca 22,4 g (foto: Pavel Jamnik).



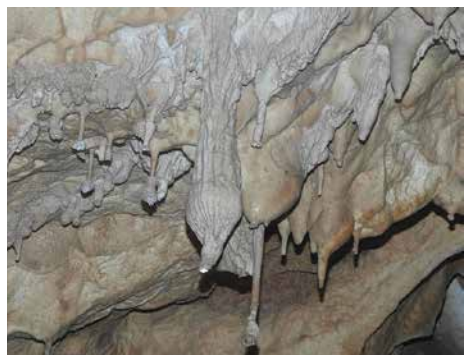
Slika 6a: V celoti ohranjen trinožnik (premer oboda 135,8 mm, višina 86 mm).



Slika 6b: Fragment lončenine, okrašene z metličanjem v obliki valovnic (foto: Pavel Jamnik).



Slika 7: Lonček, okrašen z metličanjem v obliki valovnic (višina 160 mm, premer oboda 100 mm), najden v skalni niši za vhodom v Božično jamo (foto: Klemen Volovšek).



Slika 8: Kapnik tik nad kamnitim krogom, ki spominja na moško spolovilo. Velikost kapnika cca 25 cm (foto: Pavel Jamnik).

Pri tokratnem pregledu jamskih tal v prostorni zijalki so jamarji med kamni našli več le nekaj centimetrov velikih fragmentov lončenine, na kateri pa je kljub majhnosti mogoče prepoznati nekaj elementov okrasitve, dva majhna fragmenta oljenke. (Slika 9) in dva poznoantična novca, od katerih bolj ohranjen, ki ga je mogoče določiti pripada Valensu 364-378. Po okrasju sodeč bi bila lončenina lahko časovno blizu tisti iz Božične jame. Oljenka je t. i. volutastega tipa s premazom, ki se pojavlja v arheoloških kontekstih že v 2. polovici 1. stoletja n. št. Podobna je bila najdena na primer tudi v jamskem svetišču Žičica v Mostah pri Žirovnici (Istenič et al. 2015: 117–120), zato ni izključeno, čeprav domneve ni mogoče podkrepiti z ničimer drugim, da bi bila tudi Podkrajnikova zijalka v funkciji antičnega ali poznoantičnega svetišča. Zaenkrat tudi ni mogoče reči, ali sta bili Podkrajnikova zijalka in Božična jama obiskovani sočasno, vsekakor pa so tudi Podkrajnikovo zijalko, glede na najdene arheološke ostanke, ljudje uporabljali v neki namen v času od 2. polovice 1. stoletja pa vse do nekako 5. stoletja n. št. ali morda še kasneje v srednjem veku, če železni predmeti, najdeni ob sondiranju, niso sočasni s tokrat najdenimi fragmenti lončenine in oljenke.

Prav tako zaradi skromnosti arheoloških podatkov o tem delu Slovenije še ni mogoče povezati obeh jam z mesti naselitve antičnih ali poznoantičnih prebivalcev na gornjegrajskem območju. Morda prihaja v poštev gradišče oziroma poznoantična utrdba nad Bočno (Ciglenečki 1987: 274–275), ki je od obeh jam oddaljena okoli 6 km zračne razdalje in je tudi edino znano arheološko najdišče iz tega obdobja na območju Gornjega Grada oziroma v neposredni bližini Božične jame.

MITOLOŠKO OZADJE KULTNE JAME

Na podlagi arheoloških ostankov, najdenih v Božični jami, sklepamo, da je imela funkcijo kulturnega prostora. Ob tej ugotovitvi se postavlja vprašanje, kako potrditi domnevo, da je jama služila obredom, povezanim z rodnostjo, plodnostjo ali spolnostjo. V svetu je več naravnih jam prepoznanih kot prostor, kjer so se izvajali obredi ali dejavnosti, povezane s plodnostjo (npr. Platon 2013: 155–161).

Taka dejavnost je v jamah evidentirana vse od prazgodovine do srednjega veka, v nekaterih t. i. prvobitnih skupnostih pa so taki rituali še vedno aktualni, ali pa so bili vsaj do pred kratkim. Ker pa je vzporednice med različnimi zgodovinsko oddaljenimi praksami in dejavnostmi mogoče iskati šele ob poznavanju posameznih obrednih praks vsakega od časovno oddaljenih obdobj, se tudi pri Božični jami znajdemo v zagati. Iskanje podobnih praks ali najdišč v geografskem prostoru, kjer se nahaja Božična jama, je zaenkrat nemogoče, saj jame s podobnimi najdbami ne poznamo niti na širšem območju. V zadnjem sistematičnem pregledu slovenskih jam, v katerih so bili odkriti arheološkimi ostanki, ki jih je mogoče datirati v obdobje od antike do srednjega veka, v čas med letoma 300 in 1200 n. št., je opisanih 37 naravnih jam (Prijatelj 2018). Kar nekaj od v članku opisanih jam je verjetno služilo tudi dejavnostim ljudi, ki bi jih lahko povezali z ritualnimi ali verskimi praksami. Zato za obdobje, kamor spada tudi Božična jama, zaenkrat velja le splošna ugotovitev, ki jo zapiše avtorica omenjenega pregleda,



Slika 9: Fragmenti oljenke iz Podkrajnikove zijalke (foto: Pavel Jamnik).

da so med 3. stoletjem n. št. in 1. polovico 5. stoletja n. št. številne jame in spodmoli v Sloveniji služili kot rimski kulturni prostori. Zdi se, da so bili podzemni kraji posebno privlačni za privrženca vzhodnih kultov, vključno s kultom Mitre (Prijatelj 2018: 284).

V našem primeru domnevnega obrednega prostora v Božični jami se nam, ob odsotnosti primerjave s podobno koncipiranimi jamskimi obrednimi prostori, zaenkrat v polju materialnih ostalin zdi zelo pomembna prisotnost kamnite strukture, ki spominja na krog z manjšim kupom kamenja v središču, ali morda v času postavitve celo s prepolovljenim krogom. Podobnega primera z oblikovanim kamnitim krogom med jamami z arheološkimi ostalinami v Sloveniji ne poznamo. Kot v svoji raziskavi ugotavlja Kim Williams (1999), so bili nekateri rimski sakralni objekti arhitekturno grajeni okroglo in pokriti s kupolo – sfero: tak primer je rimski tempelj Panteon v Rimu. Skupno mnenje avtorjev, ki jih navaja, je, da je v arhitekturi templja moč razbrati model neba – kozmosa, ki ga tvori kupola. Sredi kupole je okrogla odprtina, ki je simbolizirala sonce (Williams 1999: 173, 178–180). Na podlagi podanega primera lahko domnevamo, da so antični obiskovalci Božične jame z izgradnjo kroga želeli vzpostaviti kozmični prostor, namenjen za obrede. V indoevropskih verovanjih je skupnost sestavljala zaprt krog, v središču katerega je oltar od koder se širi božanska moč. Ograditev prostora s pomočjo kroga, imaginarnega ali resničnega, je bila torej obred, s katerim so označevali sveta območja. Kot kažejo ikonografski in literarni viri, sta kolo ali krog oz. krog s točko v sredini predstavljala sonce (Della Volpe 1992: 94–95; Hertz 1973 [1909]: 13; Mencej 2013: 132).

Nad kamnito krožno strukturo v Božični jami je moč opaziti niz stalaktitnih kapnikov, ki spominjajo na moška spolovila. Vidna simbolika falusa bi utegnila biti sredstvo za češčenje v jami. Nam najbližji znani primer antične jame, v kateri so častili falusoidno obliko kapnika, je jama Nakovana v južni Dalmaciji na Hrvaškem. V njej so leta 1999 med poskusnim sondiranjem arheologi naključno odkrili nedotaknjeno ilirsko železnodobno svetišče. Raziskovalci domnevajo, da so v jami najverjetneje častili moško božanstvo plodnosti (Forenbaier in Kaiser 2003).

Simbolika kroga in moških spolovil kaže na možnost, da so morda tudi v obravnavani jami častili neko moško božanstvo plodnosti. Ob tem ima morda vlogo, povezano s takim češčenjem, tudi najdeni antični novc – sesterec Aleksandra Severa, na katerem je upodobljen poznorimski sončni bog Sol Invictus, ki je bil sicer zavetnik vojakov in prisoten v mitraizmu. Je naslednik starorimskega sončnega božanstva Sola, zavetnika rodovitnosti, zdravja in poštenosti (Halsberghe 1972: 26). Če je bil kovanec v jami puščen z namenom, je bil morda priložen ob priprošnji, povezani s plodnostjo ali poljedelskimi šegami, namenjenimi temu božanstvu. Podobno simboliko, kot jo najdemo v Božični jami, je v Sloveniji obravnavala Katja Hrobat Virloget (2014). Po mnenju avtorice se tovrstna simbolika pojavlja v Japodski jami, ki se nahaja v bližini Trnovskega studenca nad Ilirsko Bistrico. V njej se nahaja več v kamen vrezanih petroglifov v obliki kroga s prekrizanim poljem, ki jih Hrobatova povezuje s simboliko sonca. Odlomljen stalaktitni kapnik s petroglifom, ki ga po obliki interpretira kot konjenika – Peruna, je podobno povezala z možno falusoidno obliko (Hrobat 2014: 159–162). Ta interpretacija je zaradi poškodbe kapnika sicer vprašljiva, vendar možna.

Naslednji indikator obrednega prostora je najdeni trinožnik, ki ima na notranji strani po celotnem obodu ohranjeno črno žganino. Žal z opravljeno kemično analizo nismo dobili podatka, kaj so v njem žgali. Lahko bi bil namenjen bodisi osvetljevanju obrednega prostora ali pa žganju kadil. Kadila se v kultne in religiozne namene uporabljajo domala po vsem svetu (Eggert in Hensen 2004: 11). Za vse starodavne civilizacije je bil vonj, ki se je sproščal s sežiganjem aromatičnih biomaterialov, ponujen božanstvom. Tako so se ljudje zblížali z njimi (Tatomir 2018). Zanimariti ne smemo niti simbolike ognja, ki ima pomembno vlogo v vseh verstvih sveta. Starogrški filozofi so ga povezovali z življenjskimi cikli in ga uvrstili med štiri osnovne elemente (Pyne 2016: 4). Obe interpretaciji uporabe trinožnika kažeta, da bi lahko služil kot predmet, s katerim so v prostoru jame vzpostavljali duhovni ambient, primeren za ritualne dejavnosti.

SKLEP

Kot je razvidno iz opisanega, arheološke najdbe iz Božične jame nakazujejo njeno kulturno namembnost. Meniva, da na to kaže umetno zgrajeni krog sredi jame, s katerim so najbrž želeli vzpostaviti kozmični prostor za ritualne namene. Krog bi lahko obenem predstavljal tudi simbol sonca. V jamskem prostoru in najdbah se kažeta še atributa falusa in sončnega božanstva kot simbola plodnosti. Karkoli že je spodbudilo antične oziroma poznoantične obiskovalce jame, ki jo danes imenujemo Božična jama, k obisku in aktivnosti v njej, dejstvo je, da je to za zdaj edino z arheološkimi najdbami potrjeno poznoantično arheološko jamsko najdišče v Sloveniji, za katero lahko domnevamo, da so se v njem izvajali obredi, povezani s plodnostjo. Tudi zato je občutek za obvarovanje preteklih sledi časa in materialne kulture, s katerim so se na najdbe odzvali odkritelji jamskega ritualnega prostora, toliko bolj hvalevreden.

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THE *BOŽIČNA JAMA* CAVE NEAR NOVA ŠTIFTA (GORNJI GRAD) – AN
EXAMPLE OF AN ANTIQUE OR LATE ANTIQUE CAVE FERTILITY
SHRINE

DOMEN ČEŠAREK AND PAVEL JAMNIK



This article presents the archaeological and ethnological research on the Božična jama Cave in Slovenia, Styria region, as a possible shrine of fertility. On Christmas Eve, 2016, the members of the “Tirski zmaj” Caving Club from Gornji Grad discovered a long lost cave in the Menina planina plateau, near Gornji Grad. The most active member of the caving team, Rafael Žerovnik, discovered a Roman coin of Severus Alexander dated to around 231 AD. The coin was found in a circular stone formation. Near the circle, he discovered some fragments of animal bones with cut marks, fragments of two ceramic pots and a completely preserved tripod pot. The newly discovered cave was named after the day of discovery – Božična jama (Christmas Cave).

The archaeological remains revealed common ideas that can be connected to the symbolism of fertility. Such activity has been recorded in caves from the prehistoric times to the Middle Ages, and on to the present times, or at least until recently. The circular stone formation in the cave is built of stones of different sizes. As Kim Williams stated, some Roman sacral structures were architecturally built circularly and covered with a dome – a sphere. An example is the Pantheon temple in Rome. The common opinion is that the architecture of the temple’s dome represents a model of the sky – the cosmos. The cave does not have a natural light source; however, in other Indo-European beliefs, the circle represents a community centred on an altar upon which the gods descend and from which divine power spreads. As the iconographic and literary sources indicate, the wheel or circle represented the sun. The authors indicated that the artificially built circle in the middle of the cave was probably meant to establish a cosmic space suitable for ritual purposes, and it could also symbolize the sun. Among the archaeological sites in Slovenia, no similar cave with a formed stone circle inside of it has been found.

Above the circular stone structure in the cave, a phallic-shaped stalactite grows. The authors assume that the symbolism of the circle and the phallus suggests that a male fertility deity may have been worshipped in the cave. A coin found in the cave depicts the late Roman solar god Sol Invictus, who was the patron of soldiers and present in Mithraism. He was probably the successor of the ancient Roman solar deity Sol, who was the patron of fertility, health and honesty. The authors discuss the symbolism (the circle, sun, and phallus), which can be linked to the fertility archetypes that are important in recognizing the ritual functions of the cave. In Slovenia, a similar case can be found in the Japodska jama Cave, in which a similar symbolism was recognized in circular petroglyphs and a phallic stalactite by Katja Hrobat Virloget.

The well-preserved tripod pottery with visible traces of burnings offers a possible explanation of its function. The authors interpret the pottery as a possible incense pot or object intended for lighting the ritual place. Both interpretations of the use of the tripod suggest that it served as an object for establishing a spiritual ambience in the cave space suitable for ritual activities.

The Božična jama Cave is, thus far, the only archaeological site in Slovenia to be confirmed as a Late Antiquity archaeological cave site that can be assumed to be a ritual cave connected to fertility.

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Ozelenela popotna palica svetega Krištofa

————— Jurij Dobravec —————

Christians have venerated St Christopher since the Middle Ages. His walking stick, used while crossing the river with the Christ Child on his shoulders, later sprouted and grew into a giant tree. Scholars prevalingly interpret the stick's greening as a religious symbol. In this paper, I suggest a biological explanation, underpinned by the abilities of revitalisation inherent to many lignin plants species. Additionally, I show that planting the seemingly dry branch on a riverbank might hold environmental instructions about how to mitigate human-caused erosion or similar changes in nature. Being a patron of travellers, the ecological Saint Christopher might serve as a model for the needed greening of the fast-growing tourism industry.

KEYWORDS: legend, story-telling, heritage, Saint Christopher, revitalisation, traditional knowledge, nature, preservation

UVOD

V zgodovinskem spominu človeštva je mogoče odkriti raznovrstne sledi povezanosti človeka in ostale narave. Vezi so lahko pasivne v smislu, da se vsaka družbena zgodba odvija v nekem naravnem prostoru in času, ali aktivne, pri katerih se človekova dejanja prepletajo z dejanji drugih bitij ali naravnimi pojavi. Poleg tega v pripovedni ali likovni dediščini obstajajo neredko spregledani motivi procesov, ki potekajo med drugimi bitji v naravi, za človeka pa vsaj neposredno nimajo opaznega vpliva ali pomena (Dobravec 2018: 140–141). Kažejo pa na človekovo zmožnost opažanja sveta zunaj sebe oziroma neinstrumentalen odnos do ostale narave.

V tradiciji krščanske Evrope je široko poznan lik sv. Krištofa, ki čez reko prenaša malega Kristusa. Znano je, da so avtorji v legendarne zgodbe o tem priprošnjiku prevzeli več ob- ali predkrščanskih prvin. Posebej izstopa pojav popotniške ali oporne palice, ki po tem, ko jo svetnik zasadi na breg reke, ozeleni. Splošen pregled svetniških atributov kaže, da gre za redek, če ne edini floristični atribut krščanske hagiografije, ki dejavno nastopa v skladu s svojimi naravnimi oziroma biološkimi značilnostmi. Ozelenitev palice se sicer zdi čudež in jo tako tudi razlagajo. Vendar bomo v razpravi videli, da se v zgodbi bržkone skriva odsev opažanja naravnih procesov ter povsem praktične stvarnosti odnosov med človekom in ostalo naravo.

Raziskovanje odseva stvarnosti zavzema v folkloristiki in sorodnih znanstvenih disciplinah pomembno mesto. André Jolles (1929) je na primer že sam nastanek ali *iz-um* pripovedke kot preproste literarne forme primerjal z realnostjo vzpostavitve in *umnega* vzdrževanja kmetije. Gre za relativno ozko in nekoliko individualistično primerjavo. Lutz Röhrich (2001) se je obrnil navzven in realnost človeka videl v povezanosti s širšo družbo, v kateri ustvarjalci živijo. Tako na eni strani opaža, da so prvobitna ljudstva tesneje vpeta v naravno okolje in je v njihovi ustvarjalnosti zaznati več odseva stvarnosti narave. Na drugi strani *Kulturmärchen* pripisuje bolj »kulturnim« ljudstvom, ki z naravo vzpostavljajo odnose na »naprednejši« način, odsev prvobitnosti pa se morda ohranja le kot mistična ali mitska usedlina (Röhrich 2001: 32–33). Monika Kropelj je idejo še razširila. Fizične in duhovne odnose človek – narava je postavila na isto raven, v (prostorsko in časovno) hkratnost, ki se razlikuje le v svojskosti izražanja: »Tako nas pravljice in povedke popeljejo v pestrost vsakdanjega življenja, hkrati pa nam na svojski način govorijo o človekovi povezavi z naravo, z vidnim in nevidnim svetom, s človeku nerazložljivimi silami ...« (Kropelj 1995: 20).

Pravljice so le ena od zvrsti folklore, v kateri odseva odnos neke civilizacije do okoliške narave. Na nekoliko drugačne načine je razpoznavna v ljudskih običajih, npr. tistih, s katerimi še danes označujemo letne cikle (božič, pust, kres), ali v mikrotoponimih, ki v ljudskem jeziku izražajo določene prostorske ali zgodovinske značilnosti kraja. Nekatere od takih prostorskih posebnosti potrjujejo topografija ali materialni dokazi arheoloških izkopavanj. Prisotnost likov ali procesov iz narave, ki jih srečujemo v junaških oziroma svetniških legendah, pa pogosto spregledamo. Vendar že pri obravnavi njihovih atributov ali sredstev za doseg ciljev ne moremo spregledati dejstva, da se krščanski motivi presenetljivo približujejo magičnim pravljicam, pri katerih naravo – predvsem npr. živalske pomočnike – folkloristika obravnava bolj poglobljeno. Mnogim svetnikom pri njihovem delovanju pomagajo naravne sile in z marsikaterim naravnim pojavom, npr. s svetim vodnjakom, stekleno goro ali magičnim ptičem, se junaki krščanskih legend soočajo na podoben način kot nekrščanski. Celo nekaj jedrnih prvin krščanstva vsebuje sledi starejše motivike: živo vodo smo preimenovali v blagoslovljeno vodo, Sveti duh je prevzel nekaj lastnosti čarobnih ptičev, drevo življenja pa se prenaša v simbolnost lesa Kristusovega križa.

ZGODOVINSKOST SV. KRIŠTOFA

Zlata legenda – *Legenda aurea* (Jakob de Voragine, 13. stoletje) je stoletja zakrivala mnoga zgodovinska dejstva o dejanskem Krištofu, ki je živel v 3. stoletju. Tudi upodabljanje z Jezuškom, ki je nastalo kasneje in danes prevladuje, se ravna po njegovi krščanski lastnosti in po besedah večine hagiografij izvira iz imena: Χριστόφορος, *Christophoros*, v pomenu nosilec Kristusa.

Po novejših zgodovinskih raziskavah je bil obravnavani svetnik pripadnik severnoafriškega ljudstva Marmaritov in je kot vojak služil v rimski vojski (Kost 2015; Divjak 2015). Po videzu je bil drugačen od soljudi, domnevno temnejše polti, z izrazito čeljustno

prognatijo in obrazno hipertrihozo. Zaradi teh lastnosti so ga imeli za pasjeglavca. Ponekod na vzhodu so ga upodabljali tudi z glavami drugih živali (Newall 1978: 193, 203). Izstopala je njegova velikost in moč. Takrat civiliziranim Grkom in Rimljanom je bila povsem tuja njegova govorica, kar je okrepilo mnenje, da ni povsem človek. Pred spreobrnitvijo so ga imenovali *Reprob*, kar pomeni brezbožnik, hudodelec ali zlobnež. Po nekdanjih domnevah je umrl mučeniške smrti leta 251, vendar je Woods (1994) dokazal, da je čas njegove smrti kasnejši, po letu 300.

Najstarejši zanesljivi podatek o Krištofu kot svetniku je sicer iz leta 452, ko mu je bila v Kalcedonu (danes Skutari blizu Istanbula) posvečena cerkev (Kost 2015: 8).

ČEŠČENJE SV. KRIŠTOFA

Krištof velja za najbolj češčenega nebiblijskega svetnika v vsej krščanski zgodovini. Na evropskem zahodu se je njegov kult uveljavil po 13. stoletju, ko je v Zlati legendi opisan kot velikan, ki čez reko prenaša Jezuščka. Vzhodno krščanstvo je njegov kult deloma črpalo iz še dvesto let starejše koptske Jernejeve legende (Kost 2015: 9). Upodobitve na Zahodu so nekaj starejše: v Rio Meão na Portugalskem iz 1151, na Južnem Tirolskem pa domnevno konec 12. stoletja. (Benker 1975).

V 14. stoletju je v srednje- in vzhodnoalpskem prostoru postal eden od štirinajstih priprošnjikov v sili. V zvezi z naravo in naravnimi pojavi so ga po vsej Evropi častili kot zavetnika pred potresom, požarom in slabo letino, pred slabim vremenom, pred epidemijami, zlasti kugo, ter pred poplavami (Mras 1995: 248, 256). Povezava z vodo in reševanjem iz nje je verjetno povezana z atributi njegovih mitskih predhodnikov oziroma s prevladujočo podobo prenašalca popotnikov čez vodo. Vprašljivost zgodb, ki so se napletle po krščanskem svetu, je sicer pripeljala do več sporov glede njegovega statusa in celo nekajletne izključitve iz rimskega seznama svetnikov (Scott 2010: 79). Vendar ljudsko češčenje ni nikoli usahnilo, kar dokazujejo mnoge cerkve po Evropi, kjer je praviloma naslikan na zunanji steni (Morer 1905; Kofler 1995; Hahn-Woernle 1972; Glasscoe 1999 idr.). V 20. stoletju so si ga za zavetnika izbrali piloti, vozniki in popotniki. To njegovemu kultu omogoča preživetje tudi v prihodnje.

Legende o velikanih, ki ljudi prenašajo čez vodo, so bile znane že pred nastopom krščanstva. Saintyves (1936) tako s Krištofom primerja junake starih sredozemskih civilizacij, med katerimi izstopajo Anubis (Anpu), Hermes in Heraklej. Za egiptovskega Anubisa je značilna šakalja ali volčja glava, ki tudi po mnenju drugih avtorjev pomeni zgolj drugačno fiziognomijo obraza, morebitno iznakaženost ali pretirano poraščenost. Vendar neposredna povezava med Anubisom in Krištofom ni dokazana, na kar opozarja Kretzenbacher (1963: 63), ko komentira Saintyvesa (1924: 376). Anubis npr. ne nosi otroka, je pa res, da s tem atributom ponekod vidimo upodobljena njegova grška naslednika, Hermesa in Herakleja. Možen prenos lastnosti s Herakleja na sv. Krištofa – s posredništvom rimskega Herkula – opisuje Schröder (2008/2009). Ti mitski liki, od katerih so pisci verjetno dobili navdih za Krištofove legendarne značilnosti, atribut palice neredko imajo, vendar ta praviloma ne ozeleni.

Rosenfeld (1937) že v uvodu v svojo razpravo o sv. Krištofu ugotavlja, da je kompleksnost njegovega češčenja mogoče raziskovati samo v povezavi s staro kulturno oziroma kulturno tradicijo. S tem dotedanje filološke in hagiografske razprave razširi na kulturno antropologijo in zgodovino. Na 200 straneh seznama pokaže geografsko razširjenost pojavljanja tega svetnika po Evropi; skupaj našteje okrog 3000 krajev (Stern 1996). Kot izvorno središče češčenja pokaže na alpski sever sedanje Italije, od Južne Tirolske do Koroške, kjer naj bi ga že od 8. stoletja dalje častili kot zavetnika popotnikov. Od tod naj bi se kult razširil na vzhod. Omenja še starejše, a naključne podatke o svetniku, in sicer iz Toleda v Španiji, s Sicilije in iz Francije že iz 6. in 7. stoletja. O osrednjem motivu, prenašanju Kristusa čez vodo, trdi, da ne izvira iz imena, ampak reflektivno iz upodobitev iz 12. stoletja, ki naj bi bile še ohranjene na Portugalskem in v Južnih Alpah. Rosenfeld celo izvor besedila Zlate legende uvršča na južno obrobje Alp. Kapfhammer (1974) pa se v podrobni razpravi o češčenju sv. Krištofa v alpskem prostoru s tem ne strinja. Vendar je že glede na naslov njegove teze kontradiktorno, da na zemljevidu ključnih lokacij po Evropi ravno območje Alp pusti povsem prazno. Kapfhammer, očitno v svojem prepričanju v »nemško resnico«, sicer izpostavi impresivno število zidnih podob v deželi Koroški, in sicer več kot 500, vendar s trditvijo, da gre »za najmočnejšo tradicijo v vsem *nemško govorečem* prostoru« (Kampfhammer 1974: 243). Tudi na severu srednje Evrope mejo pojavljanja podob sv. Krištofa določi po reki Saale, s čimer na enak način kot slovenske Korošce izloči Lužičane in Balte, z izjemo nekaj primerov iz Rige.

Kretzenbacher v predgovoru k svoji razpravi (1968: 1) Rosenfeldovo nacionalistično nagnjenost pomenljivo ošvrkne z besedami, da je za višjo raven folkloristike v Evropi treba enakovredno obravnavati vzhodno in zahodno tradicijo, kar se mu zdi posebej pomembno za obravnavo sv. Krištofa. Pri slovanskih narodih v južni Evropi tako najde dodatne povezave s pasjeglavci, vendar glede Krištofove hipertrioze ugotavlja, da se pri latinskih južnih Slovanih podoba s pasjo glavo ne pojavlja (Kretzenbacher 1968: 62) oziroma da je prinesena. To trditev lahko povežemo z razpravo Konrada Zwierzine (1909: 142–143), iz katere Kretzenbacher v nekaterih ugotovitvah izhaja. Zwierzina namreč na osnovi zapisov Pavla Diakona trdi, da so pasjeglavo podobo Krištofa poznali Berserki, ki so bili odcepljeni rod Langobardov. Kot vemo, so se Langobardi v južno Evropo in bližino slovenske poselitve priselili s severa. Kretzenbacher obravnava tudi atribut ozelenele palice in navaja, da so podobe palice, ki ozeleni v konkretno rastlino, palmo, omejene na tradicijo krščanskega vzhoda (Kretzenbacher 1968: 59).

Otto-Hubert Kost (2015) skuša najti za češčenje sv. Krištofa sveže utemeljitve, ki nas morda nekoliko presenečajo. Močno se naslanja na legendo o sv. Jerneju (Bartolomeju) in Andreju, ki jima je pasjeglavec pomagal v stiski. Pri tem tudi on delno uporabi ugotovitve Zwierzine (1909: 138), ki pasjeglavce oziroma ljudožerce s pasjimi obrazi povezuje z ajdi, omenja pa še druga htonska bitja in tudi živalske pomočnike, ki v pravljicah igrajo podobno vlogo kot Krištof v Jernejevi legendi. Kost izvor legend išče še v starosirskih kultih iz kroga boga Kumarbija, ki so jih v pisni obliki – prav tako kot kult sam – ohranili Hetiti v svojem glavnem mestu Hatuša (danes Boğazkale v osrednji Turčiji).

Upodabljanje sv. Krištofa na Slovenskem se kulturno in slogovno pokriva s širšim srednjeevropskim prostorom (Golob 1982: 20–21; Peskar 1996: 310). Srednjeveške slike,

ki so se zgoščeno ohranile na območju poselitve slovenskih prednikov, motivno večinoma zvesto sledijo legendarnemu opisu (Kempffhammer 1974; Divjak 2015). Najstarejše segajo do prehoda 13. v 14. stoletje, npr. ob rečnem prehodu na cerkvi sv. Janeza v Bohinju, od koder so znani srednjeveški sejmi (Rozman 1984: 6). V Sloveniji je Janez Höfler (1996–2004) svetnikove podobe odkril na vsaj 120 od okrog 400 še stoječih srednjeveških cerkva ali njihovih ostalin. V izčrpni predstavitvi fresk je na več mestih zapisal, da je bil svetnik naslikan praktično na vsaki takratni cerkvi, tudi na predhodnicah sedanjih baročnih ali novejših cerkva, na katerih so neredko spet upodobljeni orjaški Krištofi. Za razliko od slik se pripovedi, ki jih je relativno malo (Divjak 2015: 602), ne nanašajo toliko na svetnika samega kot na človekov odnos do njegove podobe oziroma na češčenje, po katerem naj bi pogled nanjo človeka varoval nagle smrti. Ob prevladi takšnega verovanja se zlahka izgubi ideja atributov, ki so povezani z naravnimi procesi rasti, v našem primeru zelenečega drevesa. Ideja se lahko celo obrne, na primer, v eni od pripovedi velikan ne zasadi drevesa, ampak jih ruva in uporabi za oporo (Gričnik 1995: 426–427).

Češčenje sv. Krištofa je na Slovenskem na več načinov povezano z naravo. Divjakova (2015) jih razkriva s primeri iz literature. Poleg vloge priprošnjika pred naravnimi nesrečami omenja, da ga Janez Svetokriški navaja kot zavetnika rodovitnosti zemlje. Motiv seveda zlahka povežemo z zelenečo palico. S poljedelstvom sicer svetnika povezujejo predvsem raziskovalci romarskih navad s Šentkrištofove gore na Koroškem. Tam velja za kruhodajalca (Kapffhammer 1974: 268; Divjak 2015: 521). Poleg tega svetišča na Koroškem stoji še ena podeželska srednjeveška Krištofova cerkev, in sicer na Humu pri Rožeku. Zanj so od papeža leta 1500 izposlovali stoletni odpustek, kar kaže na njen pomen za okoliško ljudstvo.

Kot varuh podzemnih ali podvodnih zakladov je Krištof znan v zgodbah s Kočevskega (Tschinkel 1931: št. 31) in iz Koroške (Graber 1927: 353), v povezavi s perkmandeljcem, torej rudarstvom, pa iz Bohinja (Cvetek 2005: 206). Kakšen pomen imajo na nekaterih slikah upodobitve različnih živali v vodi, čez katero Krištof nese Kristusa, ostaja odprto. Morda jih varuje. Iz gradiv je razvidno, da gre pri njegovi vlogi varuha zakladov bodisi za varstvo naravnih bogastev, rudnin ali drugih virov, bodisi za izgubljene dragocenosti oziroma zlatnike. Zanimivost v povezavi z nekoliko drugačno motiviko podzemlja, katere izvor še ni razjasnjen, je še ena od redkih slovenskih cerkva, posvečenih sv. Krištofu, in sicer nekdanja cerkev ob pokopališču Navje za Bežigradom v Ljubljani (Lavrič 2012). Če sledimo Scottovi razlagi povezave Krištofa s starogrškim mitom velikana Harona, ki čez reko prevaža duše na drugi breg življenja (Scott 2004: 81–83), gre morda za ostanek predkrščanskih tradicij verovanja v dogajanje tik po smrti.

Iz kratkega pregleda svetnikove legendarnosti, drobcev zgodovine in različnih pogledov raziskovalcev vidimo, da so na zahodu Krištofu pripisali vrline, ki niso izvorno njegove. Scott (2004: 74) upravičeno ugotavlja, da je zgodovinska podlaga legende o sv. Krištofu šibka in da gre za preplet različnih mitov in izročil. Kot domneva, bi lahko šlo za dve osebi, eno iz tretjega stoletja, drugo srednjeveško, vendar se že sam bolj nagiba k uveljavljenemu prepričanju, da so bile poznoantičnemu zgodovinskemu sv. Krištofu lastnosti dodane glede na vsakokratno modo in potrebe. Ker pripisovanje vrlin, kakršne si želijo častilci, v krščanskih spisih ni redko, praviloma pa temelji na atributih božanstev, ki so

jih ljudje poznali že prej, je očitno tudi pri Krištofu prišlo do kontaminacije z lastnostmi junakov nekdanjih verovanj. To je tudi metodološko izhodišče za še dodaten korak nazaj in iskanje izvora motivov v povsem primitivnih odnosih med človekom in ostalo naravo.

MOTIV OZELENELE PALICE

Rastlinski atributi v junaških legendah niso redki. V krščanstvu in tudi drugod poznamo npr. lilije, ki predstavljajo nedolžnost, palmove veje, ki simbolizirajo zmago oziroma mučeništvo, ali vrtnice, ki zaradi trnastih stebel kažejo na trpljenje oziroma njegovo osmišljanje. Vendar pri liliji ali palmovi veji neposredne lastnosti živosti ni, pri vrtnici pa je ta zgolj romantizirana oziroma simbolno pogojna v smislu, da iz trnja zraste cvet. Za razliko od drugih znanih legendarnih rastlin Krištofova palica odigra aktivno vlogo: prekine dormanco, oživi oziroma ozeleni, v nekaterih različicah pa še zacveti in rodi. Posebnost atributa je tudi ta, da svoje naravne značilnosti razvije šele takrat, ko ga svetnik odloži.

Motiva oživljene suhe palice, ki ozeleni in/ali zraste v drevo, sicer ne srečamo le pri sv. Krištofu. Saintyves (1922: 102) našteje več deset primerov tovrstnih krščanskih legend, ki jim doda še posamezne sledi iz drugih veroizpovedi in pripovedk. Poleg krščanskih svetnikov (od katerih mnogi niso kanonizirani v rimskih seznamih) navaja verstva na Japonskem, v Butanu in v arabskem svetu. Kult naj bi se s kolonizacijo prenesel tudi v Južno Ameriko, kjer sicer motiva v predkolumbovskih kulturah niso našli. Po njegovih ugotovitvah so drevesne vrste različne in praviloma kažejo na lokalno dendrofloro, kar je glede palme navedel tudi Kretzenbacher (1968: 58).

Oživljena palica ima v teh legendah različne vloge, češčenje pa različne razloge ali namene. Saintyves jih razvrsti v več skupin: kot simbol nedolžnosti, kot poklicanost k veri, kot prevzem dežele in kot potrditev vernosti. V nekaj primerih je simbolnost kompleksnejša, npr. izpod drevesa priteče še oživljajoča voda, svetnik palico posadi kot dokaz trditve ob krivični sodbi, grešnik suho palico posadi in jo zaliva s solzami, da bi se spokoril, ali pa gre za ritual, ki je povezan s simboliko plodovitosti. Simboliko dokaza spreobrnitve je na slovenskih primerih spokorjenega grešnika pokazal Milko Matičetov (1965). Plodovitost ali plodnost teologi radi prevzemajo ob razlagi razcveta religioznosti, »čudež« ozelenitve pa kot dogodek, zaradi katerega so mnogi začeli verovati (Harbermann 1913: 728). Ob teh motivih pravzaprav težko dvomimo, da ni bil prevladujoče verski že namen pisca Zlate legende, iz katere izhaja večina kasnejših priredb in tudi raziskav.

Sam proces (ponovne) oživitve palice večina hagiografov označuje kot čudež. Zwierzina (1909: 147–151) pa se izrazi še natančneje: takšno revitalizacijo motivno poveže s pravljicami in jo označi kot *Märchenmotiv*. Za izhodišče sicer vzame latinsko različico dela *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori* (prim. Vsener 1866), po kateri naj bi neka žena videla, kako je Krištofova palica čudežno pognala rožne cvetove. Zwierzina potem motiv poveže s svetopisemsko palico očaka Arona (4 Mz 17,16–28) in suho vejo sv. Jožefa, kakor jo opisuje apokrif Mateja iz Mirne, pri kateri je iz vrška čudežno nastal in odletel golob kot dokaz resničnosti Božje obljube (PsMt [P] 8.3, glej Ehrmann in Pleše

2001: 148). Kot motiv dokaza posebne učinkovitosti Krištofove palice ob spreobračanju poganov v krščanstvo Zwierzina pokaže še na zgodbe, v katerih je na zraslem orjaškem drevesu na vsaki veji pognalo drugačno sadje, iz katerega sta se cedila mleko in med. Te sadeže so ljudožerci (morda pasjeglavci) jedli in tako postali ljudje oziroma izgubili prvotni divji značaj.

FITOFIZIOLOŠKI VIDIK – ZASADITEV IN OZELENITEV POPOTNE PALICE

V primeru sv. Krištofa in njegovih predhodnikov se večina raziskovalcev posveča njegovi vlogi prenašalca čez reko oziroma nosilca Kristusa, pri čemer ozelenela palica predstavlja zgolj naknadno potrditev, da je junak ustrezno izpolnil voljo višjega bitja. Ta instrumentalni pogled na vlogo palice je verjetno botroval, da so raziskovalci spregledali njeno biološko stvarnost (prim. Dobravec 2017). Motiv je namreč blizu naravnim procesom, od katerih si bomo v nadaljevanju ogledali tri: sezonsko dormanco, vegetativno razmnoževanje in cepljenje pri lesnih rastlinah.

Sezonska dormanca, ki v zmernem podnebnem pasu nastopi večinoma pozimi, je splošna značilnost mnogih večletnih rastlin, tudi lesnih. V klimatsko neugodnem času se intenzivnost življenjskih procesov v celicah in tkivih zniža. Spomladanske spremembe v okolju pa predstavljajo signal za intenzivno regeneracijo, t. i. vernalizacijo, ob kateri se do določene mere tudi nadomestijo ali popravijo poškodbe, nastale v času mirovanja (Pallardi 2007: 42–54). Pojav je povsem običajen pri vsakoletnem ali sezonskem izraščanju brstov, kjer sprememba vlažnostnih razmer v okolju spodbudi hormonske spremembe pri listopadnih drevesih (Wisniewski in Arora 2000: 163; Chao 2015: 237–240) ter nekaterih iglavcih (McDonald 2000: 315–316). Večina teh raziskav je bila sicer izvedenih na sadnem drevju, gojenih gozdnih drevesih in kmetijskih rastlinah, vendar smemo sklepati, da podobno velja za vrste v divjini. Ekološko gledano je pojav zimske dormance vezan na določene vegetacijske pasove. Na primer, v stalno sušnih predelih je listopadnega drevja relativno malo. Posledično ljudje nimajo izkušnje neaktivnih dreves, kakršno imamo npr. pri nas v zimskem času. Človek iz sušnih območij bo zato pričakovano presenečen, če na videz mrtva drevesa spomladi ozelenijo. Zaradi dinamike reliefa so prehodi med ekosistemi listopadnih in zimzelenih dreves prav v Sredozemlju, kjer je sv. Krištof živel in so nastale z njim povezane legende, dokaj pogosti.

Rastline imajo za *vegetativno razmnoževanje* visoko potenco. Pri nekaterih vrstah – in zlasti ob določenih klimatskih pogojih – je to naravna prednost, visoka prioriteta ali celo edina izbira v primeru okoljskega stresa (prim. Gutterman 2001). Tovrstne zmožnosti je pri razvoju poljedelstva s pridom uporabil človek, in sicer pri pridelavi hrane in pri žlahtnjenju rastlin. Pridelava je pri mnogih prehrabnih rastlinah bolj zanesljiva kot pri (spolnem) razmnoževanju s semeni in lahko odločilno vpliva na ekonomijo ali preživetje. Spomnimo na primer (ponekod ukazane) uvedbe krompirja, ki je ob povečevanju števila prebivalcev po Evropi odločilno pripomogel v boju proti lakoti in k vzdržni ekonomiji (Komlos 1998). Krompir, ki so ga prinesli iz Amerike, za razliko od žit in ajde, ki so do tedaj prevladovali v prehrani, večinoma razmnožujemo z gomolji, torej vegetativno.

Poleg samega gojenja rastlin za potrebe prehrane je bilo vegetativno razmnoževanje nujno pri plemenitjenju rastlinskih vrst. Le na ta način so namreč lahko ohranjali trajnost lastnosti, dobljenih po križanju, predvsem koristnih recesivnih, ki bi se ob ponovnih spolnih razmnoževanjih lahko spet zakrile. Glede na starost tehnologije plemenitjenja poljščin, ki jo genetiki za Sredozemlje ocenjujejo na več kot 10.000 let (Heun s sod. 1997: 1312–1314), lahko sklepamo, da so morali predniki te naravne procese dovolj dobro poznati.

Sposobnost dormance pa ne velja le za zakoreninjene rastline ali razmnoževalne organe, ampak tudi za nekatere povsem vegetativne dele rastlin. Tu je podobnost s Krištofovo palico najbolj izrazita. Nekdanji človek je zmožnost dormance posameznih odrezanih vejic prenesel v razvojne procese v kmetijstvu, kar še danes poznamo kot *cepljenje sadnega drevja* in *razmnoževanje s potaknjenci*. V obeh primerih, pri potikanju in cepljenju, posamezne odrezane veje v ustrezni klimi počakajo oziroma preživijo nekaj tednov ali tudi mesecev. Tovrstno sadjarsko znanje sicer zgodovina pripisuje menihom. Vendar Saintyves (1922: 71) meni, da menihi niso prevzemali le značilnosti predkrščanskih božanstev, ampak tudi načine češčenja in posebnosti njihovih atributov. Dodaja še, da so t. i. mistična znanja šamanov prejšnjih religij, ki so se prenašala ustno in med katerimi je bilo nedvomno tudi poznavanje značilnosti rastlin, namerno zabrisali oziroma v svojih zapisih zamolčali. Sklepamo torej, da so bila tovrstna znanja starejša.

Ob treh opisanih primerih lahko ugotovimo, da je aktivna vloga ozelenega drevesa zelo verjetno osnovana na opažanju biološke zmožnosti rastnega tkiva, da po obdobju mirovanja pod določenimi pogoji ponovno vzpostavi fiziološke cikle (Denffer in Ziegler 1982: 221). S stališča življenjskih procesov v rastlinskem svetu torej Krištofova ozelenela palica ne predstavlja posebnosti. Ker jo je ves čas namakal v vodo, je možnost revitalizacije še toliko večja. Čarobnost torej ni potrebna, saj motiv lahko odseva stvarnost navedenih naravnih procesov, ustvarjalci legende ali njenih idejnih predhodnic pa so zglede iz narave lahko med seboj tudi kombinirali.

EKOLOŠKI VIDIK – UTRJEVANJE BREŽIN

Pred izumi trajnih mostov so prehodi čez reke povzročali težave pri trgovanju, selitvah zaradi povečanja populacije, sezonskem delu na različnih lokacijah, iskanju hrane ali zavetja in podobno. V primerih prenašanja ali splavarjenja sta bili potrebni spretnost in predvsem izjemna fizična moč. Če izhajamo iz Zlate legende, je sveti Krištof popotnike prenašal čez reko zato, ker je bil kot velikan tega sposoben. Reševanje problema se je kasneje razvilo v dober posel. Zgodovina in topografija kažeta, da so se prav ob ugodnih in zato pomembnih prehodih čez reke razvila srednjeveška ali še starejša sejmišča, iz njih pa urbana središča. Prehod čez reko ali večji potok je torej postal del ekonomije.

Naravna obrežna vegetacija hitreje tekočih vodotokov je pri rečnih prehodih lahko predstavljala oboje: oviro in pomoč. Če odmislimo povzročene motnje živalstvu na rečnem dnu (morda je v tej smeri treba iskati biološki pomen naslikanih bitij v vodi pod Krištofom), je v vsakem primeru prišlo do spreminjanja oziroma poškodb obalnega rastja.

Po eni strani zaradi trajnih objektov, ki so jih postavili organizatorji prevoza, po drugi zaradi neprestanega uničevanja rastja, ki so ga nezavedno povzročali popotniki. Posledica so bile erodirane brežine, ki jih je ob kakšnem rečnem okljuku občasna deroča voda še povečevala.

Še močnejša dinamika – v širšem smislu prav tako erozija – se pojavlja ob naplavinah večjih rek. Širina in mulj že v osnovi onemogočata stalno postavitev pristanišča, saj se drevje umika ali pa ga sploh ni. Nujna je torej utrditel brežin, pri čemer so večje in že močnejše sadike gotovo bolj učinkovito služile ter se lažje zoperstavljale sezonskim nihanjem vodotoka oziroma poplavam kot naravno zasejano drevje.

Spomin na ekološki pomen drevja za potrebe preprečevanja obalne erozije kaže zgodba iz Neocezारेje (Saintyves 1922: 64), ko je ravno v času sv. Krištofa tamkajšnji škofovski sedež zasedal Gregorij (Γρηγόριος Θαυματουργός, ~210–270). Zapis pravi, da so sadike dreves posadili ob tamkajšnji reki Lycus. Ko so pognale korenine in so se ob njih nabrale naplavine, so nastali umetni nasipi, ki so preprečevali poplave. V obrečnem kraju Niksar, zdaj v Turčiji, so Gregorjev model ponavljali še v 20. stoletje. Podoben primer Saintyves zapiše o jablani, zasajeni ob Seni pri Le Havru. Zraven dodaja, da zgodovinarji tudi mitski lik Anubisa povezujejo s plodnostjo, ki jo je reka Nil omogočala s sezonskim poplavljanjem. Ob praznovanju tega dogodka, v mesecu maju, so reki prvotno žrtvovali device, kasneje pa, pomenljivo, drevesne veje (Saintyves 1922: 65).

Sveti Krištof je palico zasadil na bregu reke. Poleg ekonomije ob tem dejanju slutimo novo večino odnosa do narave, utrjevanje brežin. To naj bi sicer glede na srednjeveške zapise gigant pridobil od neznanega meniha ali od malega Jezusa. Smemo pa domnevati, da je znanje prinesel iz svoje domače dežele, kjer so sonaravne prijeme in nauke že/še poznali: skrb za obrežno drevesno vegetacijo odločilno vpliva na trajnostno ekonomijo. Poleg posnemanja naravnega pojava vegetativnih načinov razmnoževanja in razširjanja je torej ob Krištofu in njegovi palici mogoče zaznati stvarnost človekovih dejavnosti, ki postajajo aktualne predvsem v zadnjem obdobju aktivnega naravovarstva in so danes znane kot ekoremediacije.

ČASOVNOST OZELENELE PALICE IN LJUDSKI OBIČAJI

Oba vidika, fiziološkega in ekološkega, je mogoče na več načinov povezati z družbenimi dogajanjem, predvsem takimi, pri katerih slutimo ozadje letnega naravnega cikla ali teka življenja. Večino poznamo tudi na Slovenskem in v konkretnem primeru jih lahko povezujemo z dejstvom, da so nekdanj Krištofov god povsod praznovali v začetku maja. Pravoslavni ga še danes obhajajo 9. maja. V nadaljevanju so nepovezano navedeni drobci tradicij, ki morda kažejo na časovno usklajenost češčenja sv. Krištofa z nekaterimi dejavnostmi ali posebnimi dogodki.

1. Prva polovica maja oziroma sredina pomladi je dendrobiološko pomembna zaradi ugodnega časa za cepljenje dreves, v praksi predvsem sadnega drevja. Na videz mrtev cepič po ustreznem postopku pripravimo do »oživitve« oziroma oplemenitenja drevesa. Postopki in rezultat, ki so ga razvili ljudje v davnini, v srednjeveških samostanih pa so

to znanje zapisali, kaže na impresivno poznavanje fiziologije drevja. Kot ugotavlja že Saintyves (1922: 70–73), bi relativno zahtevne procedure priprave in hrambe cepičev, priprave nosilnega drevesa ter sama vsaditev in vzdrževanje lahko predstavljali tudi osnovo za ritual.

2. Problem rečnih prehodov ni le prostorski, ampak tudi časovni, saj pretoki rek ne nihajo skladno s človekovimi ekonomskimi potrebami. Prav sredi pomladi, ko se v gorah topi sneg in visoke vode tudi poplavlajo, so zaradi trgovine in popolnjevanja zalog, ki so pošle čez zimo, zanesljivi prehodi čez vodotoke dobrodošli ali kar nujni. Usmeritev k vzdrževanju brežin, morda z zasaditvijo drevja, ima tako poseben pomen zlasti ob začetku sezone.

3. Hermes, kot morebitni predhodnik Krištofa, je bil sin Zevsa in Maie oziroma Maje, iz katere etimologiji izvajajo latinsko ime meseca. Maja je bila Atlasova hči in boginja zemlje. Grški izraz *μαῖα* pomeni strašljivo starejšo žensko, ki je pomensko morda blizu Pehti ali Babi Jagi. Čeprav jo na Slovenskem imenujejo sredozimko, njena mitološka podoba ni jasna niti enoumna (prim. Goljevšček 1988: 35; Kropelj 2008: 106–108; Kelemina 1930: 18), kar nekaj značilnosti pa jo povezuje z zemljo in značilnostmi rastlin.

4. Poznopomladna navada postavljanja mlajev (tudi mvajev ali majev) je znana po vsej južni Evropi. Orjaška smreka, v Benečiji tudi hrast (Kuret 1989 (I): 278), predstavlja ponos vasi. Postavljali so jo lahko le junaki. Zelena je na vrhu, kot Krištofova palica. Ritual, znan po mnogih naših krajih, je sicer nekoliko prilagojen: zeleno drevo posekajo in se potem posuši. Vseeno morda jedro sporočila posajanja mlajev v bližino naselij (poleg ostale simbolike) spominja tudi na idejo o utrditvi okolice oziroma zavzemanju posesti, kakor to kategorizira Saintyves. V primerih, ko je drevo stalo ob vstopu v vas in so ob njem postavili stražo, morda smemo sklepati, da navada simbolizira obrambo, ki se je pri mestnih naselbinah nadomestila s stražnimi stolpi, ob prodoru krščanstva pa morda prešla v obliko vaških kapelic. Najstarejše, verjetno gotske, imajo dejansko obliko zgoraj razširjenega stebra, kar spominja na obliko mlaja.

6. Doslej neopažena, a pogosta je navada smrečice, ki jo ob koncu tesarskih del tudi na Slovenskem namestijo na nepokrito leseno konstrukcijo ostrejša nove zgradbe. Predstavljal naj bi podoben motiv kot ozelenela palica: Saintyves (1922) primere v Burgundiji razlaga kot ritual zavzetja posesti.

7. Trajneje posaditve dreves lahko razložimo s potrebo po zaščiti naselja ali stavb pred naravnimi nesrečami. Tise, lipe, hrasti ali druge lokalno pomembne drevesne vrste imajo ob sakralnih objektih sicer lahko tudi simbolni pomen ali predstavljajo spomin na sveta drevesa verovanj nekdanjih ljudstev (za Slovenijo prim. Medvešček 2015). Vseeno ne moremo izključiti, da imajo drevesa tudi praktični namen: stavbo ali zaselek varujejo pred vetrom ali utrjujejo zemljino na nekoliko plazovitem terenu oziroma blizu vode. Ne nazadnje, če smo pozorni, Krištofu po besedilu Zlate legende ni bilo naročeno, naj palico vsadi neposredno ob vodo, ampak ob svojo hišo, za katero le sklepamo, da je stala nekje ob vodi. Ker takšnih dreves kasneje niso sekali za praktično uporabo oziroma so jih izključili iz miselnega polja instrumentalnega odnosa do narave (izrabe lesa), so dosegla visoko starost. Starost in obsežnost je že sama po sebi kazala na trdoživost lesnih rastlin,

ki je presegala dobo človeškega življenja. Temu so se ljudje vsekakor čudili in drevju posledično pripisovali mitske lastnosti.

Kot vidimo, so ozelenitvi palice na Slovenskem blizu mnoge šege, ki se dogajajo sredi pomladi ali ob dogodkih, ki označujejo nekaj novega, revitalizacijo, novo rast, pomembno spremembo in podobno. Zunanji rezultat je v vseh primerih isti: v vrhu ozelenelo ali plodeče drevo, ponekod tudi dodatno okrašeno.

SKLEPNE UGOTOVITVE

V uvodnem delu razprave smo kot okvir navedli ugotovitve raziskovalcev pripovedne dediščine, da zgodbe in njihovi motivi odsevajo stvarnost prostora in časa nastanka. Seveda se najprej pojavi vprašanje, o kakšni ali o kateri stvarnosti govorimo. Za tisto, ki ji danes skušamo nadeti ime objektivna in jo dokazujemo eksperimentalno, ali za stvarnost občutkov, ki jih je nekdanji ustvarjalec imel ob opazovanju sveta in bi ji rekli subjektivna? Morda celo za stvarnost t. i. informatorjev in zapisovalcev, ki so besedila po 19. stoletju romantizirano zapečatili v pisno obliko in jih tako »rešili« pred »zanesljivim« propadom, kot sta po navedbi Lutza Röhricha govorila brata Grimm (Röhrich 1975, Vorwort)? Gre za stvarnost raziskovalnega okvira ali morda stvarnost morebitnega današnjega namena, celo zlorabe?, Kdo danes, ko nas očara le tehnologija in napredek, pravzaprav še resno jemlje pravljično ali junaško legendo in odsev realnosti v njenih motivih?

Za objekt raziskave smo izbrali motiv palice sv. Krištofa. Posebnost tega na videz obrobnega atributa sicer priljubljenega svetniškega lika je v tem, da ni pasiven. Konkretno, in za razliko od večine drugih simboličnih dodatkov, palica ponovno oživi, ko jo junak da iz rok. Ta in podobni pojavi oziroma procesi so se zdeli ali se še zdijo čudežni, čemur je logično sledila prevlada antropocentrične mitološke obravnave.

Mitske stvarnosti iz motiva ozelenele popotne palice seveda ne moremo povsem izključiti. Nekdanji človek se je gotovo čudil naravnim pojavim in marsikdaj verjel, da so čudežni. Vseeno pa v tej razpravi opisani vidiki kažejo, da je iz opazovanj tudi uvidel – bržkone brez razsvetljensko analitske obravnave, kakršno kot relevantno zagovarjamo danes –, da lahko nekatere naravi imanentne procese uporabi v svojo korist.

Ko torej ugotovitve pretežno mitoloških in hagiografskih raziskav pogledamo v luči v naravi prisotnih procesov, postane jasno, da je lahko fiziološka stvarnost revitalizacije rastlinskega tkiva ali organa (palice oziroma veje) povsem naravno stvarna. Podobno je lahko stvaren tudi eden od možnih namenov uporabe teh rastlinskih lastnosti za preprečevanje obrežne erozije, konkretno s pomočjo prepleta drevesnih korenin. Oba procesa opažamo v naravi kot imanentna in obstajata brez prisotnosti človeka. Sklepamo torej, da ju je v obravnavanem primeru v njuni medsebojni povezavi človek posnemal v svojo korist. V splošnem družbenem smislu motiva Krištofove ozelenele popotne palice pa imamo pred seboj konkretna navodila za trajnostne odnose, v katerih obe strani – človek in ostala narava – uravnoteženo pridobita. To stvarnost bi lahko imenovali etično instruktivna.

JE IDEJA KRIŠTOFOVE PALICE DANES ŠE AKTUALNA?

V času, ko se predvsem zahodni svet spopada s t. i. ekološko krizo, se tudi tradicionalna znanja omenjajo kot zaželen pristop k reševanju. Nekatera od teh znanj, predvsem tehniška, so se ponekod na podeželju ohranila v praksi. Druga, morda bolj kompleksno tehniška in vezana na reševanje problemov, ki zadevajo obdobje več generacij, so se, podobno kot družbeni nauki, prenašala z ustnim izročilom. Če pomislimo na primer na stoletne vode, velike poplave ali obsežne podnebne spremembe ter trajnostne obrambe pred njimi, jih posamezniki morda v kratkem življenju niso neposredno izkusili. Ohranili pa so se kot bolj ali manj skrit pripovedni motiv, ki ga je takratni umetnik vpletel v zgodbo. S časom je spomin nanje bledeel in morda tudi izginil. K prekrivanju je v nekaterih primerih – tak se zdi prav Krištofova oživiljena palica – dodatno prispevala prevladujoča in družbeno vznemirljiva mitičnost ali krščanstvo. Opis povsem naravnega pojava in praktične rešitve je tako zaradi odsotnosti neposredne izkušnje prešel v mit. Poleg tega je bilo morda ob obujanju ali raziskavah tovrstne dediščine spregledano dejstvo, da so mnogi z naravo povezani motivi nastali v času pred antropocenom in pred razsvetljenstvom, torej pred obdobjem, ko je človek – kot smo v zahodni družbi do nedavna trdili – začel povsem obvladovati naravo okrog sebe.

Na videz primitivna instrukcija sv. Krištofa in njegove palice ima torej uporabno vrednost za današnji čas premagovanja krize odnosov med človeštvom in ostalo naravo. Za razliko od sedanjih trendov spopadanja s podnebnimi in drugimi spremembami, kjer izrazito prevladujejo tehnološke in politične rešitve (IPCC 2015), nam navodila, ki jih razberemo iz motivov naših prednikov, kažejo povsem sonaraven pristop. Očitno je bilo nekdanj pomembno naravne pojave najprej opazovati (v poetičnem jeziku povedano, naravi je treba najprej prisluhniti), potem pa uporabiti rešitve, ki so v naravi že prisotne in delujejo tudi brez človeške tehnologije in odločanja. Pravzaprav so to edine rešitve, ki naravnih pojavov ne gledajo izključujoče instrumentalno. Pri njih gre za dejansko sodelovanje človeka v naravnih procesih, ob katerem se odnos človek – narava uravnoteži. Pojav takih odnosov skušajo filozofi dandanes uvrstiti na področje t. i. okoljske ali naravovarstvene etike.

Poleg tega – in glede na to, da zahodna civilizacija časti sv. Krištofa kot zavetnika popotnikov – nam motivi njegove zgodovinske ali obzgodovinske pojavnosti ponujajo tudi druga instruktivna izhodišča, ki se naše biološke in naravovarstvene razprave dotikajo le obrobno, a kličejo k podrobnejši obravnavi v prihodnje. Poglejmo tri.

Prvič, prihajal je iz krajev, ki so bili zahodni civilizaciji neznani. Po obrazu in postavi se je znatno razlikoval, govoril je tuji jezik; označili so ga za pogana, za suroveža. Njegovo znanje o naravi se »civiliziranim«¹ ljudem ni zdelo verjetno in so ga pripisovali višjim silam. Podoben medcivilizacijski problem imamo danes: prevlada zahodnega načina mišljenja in analitske znanosti nam v odnosu do narave zakriva celovitejši pogled, kakršnega so v večji meri ohranile civilizacije globalnega Vzhoda.

Drugič, ob preseljevanju ljudstev, kakršnemu smo v zadnjem obdobju neposredno priča tudi v Sloveniji in ki naj bi imelo kompleksne ekonomsko-okoljske razloge, se moramo vprašati, ali »mit«² sv. Krištofa ne kaže tudi na podobno stvarnost v preteklosti. Takrat

so poleg karitativnega prevažanja popotnikov (morda pribežnikov čez Sredozemlje ali Karibsko morje) očitno zaznali tudi potencialni ekološki problem, hkrati pa – v simbolnem smislu celovite obravnave človeka v njegovem okolju – nakazali možno rešitev s skrbjo za utrditev obrežij s pomočjo naravnih agentov avtohtone vegetacije.

Tretjič, sporočilo Krištofovega motiva je morda namenjeno popotnikom, ki si tuje kraje ogledujemo za sprostitev in iz vedoželjnosti. Tja prihajamo z drugačnim obrazom in drugačnim obnašanjem kot ljudje, ki tam dnevno živijo. Morda se tudi vsiljujemo, kar povzroča težave. V času prevlade zahodnega razuma nam za reševanje seveda ne bo zadostovala preprosta antropocentrična (evrocentrična) vera, da bo pogled na sliko zavetnika popotnikov preprečil nesrečo. Nesreča namreč ni ali ne bi bila le naša osebna, tudi ne le družbena, ampak širša, ekološka. Za rešitev bo zato potreben vsevključujoč ekocentrični pogled na naše usmeritve, pri katerih bomo bolj (o)pazili, da ob naših poteh živijo svoje življenjske procese tudi druga bitja.

Končno, zapis Zlate legende, da je palica vzbrstela šele potem, ko jo je Krištof izpustil iz rok, morda namiguje, da je pri naravovarstvenih prizadevanjih kakšno od naših dejavnosti treba tudi opustiti in dopustiti ostali naravi njeno lastno pot.

ZAHVALA

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THE GREENING OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER'S WALKING-STICK

JURIJ DOBRAVEC



Saint Christopher, a giant who carried the Christ Child across the water, has been widely venerated in Eastern and Western Christian tradition since the Middle Ages. By the 13th century ‘Legenda Aurea’, his homeland was Canaan in the Middle East. Besides being nearly 2.5 m tall, his frightful appearance emphasised his facial hypertrichosis. Venerators ascribed him some of the characteristics and saintly attributes of other mythical giants of the Ancient world, such as Anubis (Anpu), Hermes or Herakles.

To aid in crossing the river, he was using a walking stick. However, this device possessed, according to the legend, some unique characteristics. Following Christ’s instruction, he inserted it into the soil at the riverbank. The stick sprouted and grew into a giant tree. The prevailing interpretation of the stick’s greening is now theological: it represents the flourishing of the Christian faith. Traditions across Europe know other explanations, both mythical and symbolical. One of the simplest is that of a greening tree showing the fertility of the land.

The motif is attractive because this floral element used to be one of the few – if not the only – in the Christian world, in which a divine attribute acts by itself. Its

action resembles growth not only as a biological reality but some trees' capacities, well-known today to plant physiology. I compare the motif with vegetative propagation, seasonal dormancy, and artificial inoculation, all the abilities that fruit-growers understood and employed for centuries. From a biology point of view, though, the motif of St Christopher's greening stick likely bears some remembrance to a real-life experience with the life of trees or even practical instructions.

Ecologically, the instruction to plant trees on a riverbank might suggest how to counter soil erosion in places of river crossings or boat dockings. As commonly known, a net of tree-roots of willow, mangroves, or similar vegetation significantly contributes to the stabilisation of the riverbank, with its dynamics and plasticity even better than the stones or rigid concrete technology commonly used today.

I moreover comment on many customs in European folklore and mythology close to the motif of the greening tree, for example, the heroes' attributes in Ancient Greek, planting trees at the Lycus and Nil Rivers, the raising of spring-trees, or the fixing of small spruce at the top of a just-finished roof. For many native beliefs, the tree represents a connection between Earth and Heaven. Furthermore, trees planted at the entrance of the village (later perhaps developed into watch-towers) or near the field of Christian crosses certainly bear some mythical concept, but it is difficult to isolate their practical purpose.

The present application of ancient motifs and ideas might be diverse. For example, they suggest to urbanists that not human settlements but shrubs and forests should primarily occupy riverbanks and ocean coasts. Natural features like trees can combat floods or increases of the sea level better than buildings can.

Finally, St Christopher, still an appealing figure, a migrant and a patron of travellers, stimulates the environmental needs for greening migratory paths and the fast-growing tourism industry.

Image, Function, Meaning, and Structure: The Role of Aphorisms in the Kazakh Epic Poem *Kyz Zhibek*

— Muhammadgali Abduov, Nazilya Abduova,
Nicolae Stanciu

In this article, the function of aphorisms in folk song, which also contains lyrical and dramatic elements, is analysed and defined through cultural (mostly folklore) literature, and linguistic methods. The main purpose of this paper is to show the role of the gnomic words generated by folk creators in an epic poem's plot, their main functions in the development of conflict and the aesthetic expression of the work. Therefore, the meaning of symbols has been interpreted in close connection with the actions, archetypes and metaphors inserted in the structure of the song. Using as an example the song "Kyz Zhybek", which is a prominent creation in Kazakh folklore, and reviewing research papers on the subject, the present article follows the contrastive analysis in researching the echoes of archetypal traditions in a Muslim cultural frame. Ethnos in culture remains in an attempt to recover the identity of a group using what seems specific in folklore, history, and linguistics and to track them in an original ideology articulated on national and universal bases.

This paper may help researchers when studying folklore heritage, with understanding the scope of using the aphorisms and the main function actualised by them in folk literature. In addition, the role of aphorisms in a folk song is systematised, and their historical and identity significance is underlined.

KEYWORDS: Aphorisms, Kazakh folk song, archetypes in folklore and localisation of the motifs, expressive means, romantic characteristics

INTRODUCTION: KAZAKH FOLKLORE BETWEEN UNIVERSAL AND NATIONAL

Resulting from the assimilation of archetypal motifs in national folk literature developed under the auspices of romanticism, the Kazakh songs called *zhyr* have acquired great importance in the attempt to define the specificities of and framing the ethnicity of modern Kazakhstanis. However, the academic approaches to the subject of Kazakh folklore and the attempt to interpret its creations in the wide frame of universal mythology and following their significance to identity have remained minimal. Except for some local or Russian researchers, there are only a few international scientists who have developed an

interest in the hermeneutical exercise of decoding symbols in the texts of Kazakh folk poems, and the number of publications in the English language remains quite limited (Aasland 2018, 1-14).

The main creations generated by ordinary people contain traditions imbued with folk spirit and, due to the general characteristics of the folklore (syncretic, traditional and oral), they have continuously changed their variants. They have sometimes passed into authors' literature as different layers of intertextuality (Bakhtin 1981, Plett 1991, Robbins 1996, Allen 2000) and a sublime expression of originality and wisdom. In addition, the texts in folklore are the "reflection of social construction and ideology" (Bourdieu 2002, 137) ensuing in creative activities performed by different folk artists who actualise the variants. The artists perform a discursive action in a group or in a specific situation in a syncretic context (dancing, fighting, singing, and uttering lyrics) while being watched by the members of the cultural community, which may be a group, a tribe or a nation. Some categories of texts, such as folk songs, imply an "active imagination" (Jung 1958, 48), visualisation and a guided fantasy involving a world in which heroes, marriage-eligible maids, parents, or relatives interrelate with their tools. They could also imply tutelary power words as guiding spirits for forecasting fates by seeking wisdom for the community through forms that provide access to other spaces.

Seen as spiritual manifestations, all folklore creativity in different national tradition is "a mirror of culture" (Dundes 2007, 55), specifically a modality to framing realities and expressing them in words. Some complementary and multilevel perspectives were considered in this hermeneutical exercise: from the linguistic point of view, the analysis should discover archetypal motifs, patterns and structures, performance styles, and compare narratives existing within and across cultures (Wierzbicka 1997, 36); for the psychological tradition, the text comprises cognitive schemas, content analysis, and semantic networks generated in a cognitive frame or "scene" (Crapanzano 1981, 126, 2006, 381); for an ethnic, linguistic and metaphorical tradition, it is important to discover links between "ethnos and language" (Tolstoi 1995, 33).

All folk creations belong to an archetypal stock of love stories common to different cultures as the myth of marriage as a foundation and revealing a "diffuse and multilingual mythology" (Bahtin 1975, 163) while being outlined not only by some simple concepts but also by using special eloquent samples of masterful and metaphoric language. It is the case of the content of deep thoughts framed by figures of speech that give a special flavour to Kazakh folk poems, which equally combine epic, dramatic, and lyric elements intertwined in archetypal stories with some specific nomadic, and pastoral touches merged in perfect harmony. More specifically, such a language has a definite impact within the entire plot, starting from the exposition to the rising conflict and its completion as a tragic love story. As an artefact of folklore, the text is "woven, thus it can stand as ready metaphor for any human construction and [...] as the final product of folk performance" (Toelken 1996, 12; 20) displaying a syncretism of gesture performance and verbal singing.

Focusing on the famous lyric-epic song, *Kyz Zhybek*, and aiming at identifying the parallels between the archetypal motifs in folklore this article points out the role of aphorisms as gnomic language by underlining the "theoretical significance of comparative

studies” (Anikeeva, 2010, 73, Khunagova 2007, 206). Therefore, the primary approach to the subject is, on the one hand, archetypal and cultural, mostly tracking sources of the motifs used in the folk song as belonging to universal mythology, and, on the other hand, comparative and national, while discovering and interpreting the reverberations of such motifs in Kazakh folklore as an original and perhaps involuntary attempt to define ethnic specificity. By adapting linguistic, literary, and mythological techniques to the folklore settings, the analysis and comparison contribute to the hermeneutical exercise of decoding and interpreting symbols.

BACKGROUND: FOLK EPIC – CONTENT, STRUCTURE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Kyz Zhibek is a masterpiece of Kazakh folklore, which adapted archetypal themes like love and marriage, heroism and the myth of foundation to a specific national and religious context, mainly based on nomadic traditions and containing broader Islamic culture motifs. The love story recreated the pattern of *Romeo and Juliet* by transposing a tale into an imaginative space quite similar to the Kazakh one and by embroidering images and words in a well-balanced dosage of traditional genres. This story is projected into mythical space and time resonating some pre-state nomadic organisation and tradition of tribes that have existed in pre-medieval times in Central Asia, as belonging to Turkic ethnicity¹. Developing at a slow pace and reflecting the main parts of a typical epic conflict, the song begins with recreating the atmosphere in the family at the time of falling in love. The initial sets of the story describe in detail the appearance and the character features of the prototypical couple, the lad Tolegen, the son of a tribe’s chieftain, whose family lives in a remote eastern land of what is now Kazakhstan and his female correspondent, Kyz Zhibek, a maid of similar social condition, owning large fields in the steppes of the central part of the country. As an irrational happening, love drives the partners to fight to surpass all traditional requirements of belonging to noble nomadic families: the couple has to pass all steps of pre-nuptial rituals, such as receiving parents’ blessing, buying the bride, performing dances with horses, fighting the evil embodied by other suitors and generally persuading the masters to unify their tribes in nomadic communities. The spiritual conflict settled among the main characters of the epos is mostly one between a query for unity embodied by the protagonist, the prince Tolegen, who wants to bring together the main tribes into a great nation after marrying beautiful Kyz Zhibek, and those individuals and warlike people, like his father and his opponent Bekezhan, who prefer keeping the ancient ways and divided tribal power. Kyz Zhibek attracted and enticed Tolegen not only by her beauty but also by her wealth visible in the richly adorned saddle of the camel, covered by furs and in the jewellery made of gold and pearl belt, beads, and earrings.

¹ For Turkish as different from Old Turkic as ethnicity including mainly history, nomadic cultures, tribal state organisation, and languages which have emerged and develop in confluent areas, in Central Asia, see Budagov 1997; Clauson 1962, 1972; Dybo 2007; Golden 1991, 1992, 2006, 2011, 2014; Klyashtornyi 2008, Johanson and Csató 1999; Menges 1994; Sevrotjan 1974 onward; Vásári 2004, Zuev 2002.

When a distinguished chieftainship family of a tribe decided to betroth their daughter to a man as a wife, they celebrated for some days, so the groom's horsemen were ready to follow all the procedures and waited to take the bride home as soon as the celebration was over and the newlyweds had received the blessing of both families.

Like other numerous local names, that of the debutant girl – Kyz Zhibek – expresses the soft, almost immaterial condition and at the same time conveying a brilliant, noble and mysterious situation and an unpredictable fate (literally, the name means “girl of silk”). In contrast, the name of the lad – Tolegen – suggests the masculine heroic potentialities of the protagonist. The eligible maiden has almost the same attributes common to other traditions: she is a nubile young girl, appealing and seducing the mortals with her beauty, ready for marriage and richly adorned for this purpose. As a matter of specificity, she is a Muslim maid willing to follow all the rules of traditional wooing and marriage and, besides the horse rides and sharing the gifts with her best friends, she practices Islamic and nomadic traditions like washing her hands and thanking Allah for a meal by moving the palms over the face or treating the young girls and fellows with fermented mare milk.

Tolegen mounted his horse and departed to his homeland to ask for his father's blessing to marry Kyz Zhibek, which at the social level equals accepting the unification of the tribes. While coming back to take her from her parents' house, after being blessed by his father, the protagonist is murdered by Bekezhan, the other contender to Kyz Zhibek's hand in the most unjust way: he seems to let him go to his beloved, but in fact, he sends an arrow to the hero, which put him down for death. This uncompleted pre-nuptial ritual, which resembles a myth of foundation through a possible marriage, ends, leaving the tribal social organisation at the previous stage. The heroine gives birth to a son and will be protected by Tolegen's brother, who married her.

Archaeology, history, and folk literature throw light on some aspects of the comparable life habits of ethnic communities found at the confluence of civilisations but, at the same time, leave numerous dark corners, which favoured the flourishing of mythology. Echoes of Indo-European and Turkic heroism, initiation rituals, kinship systems, nomadic and pastoral traditions and horse cult reverberate in this poem and prove the original aspects of the myth of love, foundation and pre-state formations as tribes (Kz. *zhusy*) ruled by chieftains who own vast herds, such as thousands of horses, master the groups of people and are proud of their specificity. As the Kazakh poet Abay Kunabayev pointed out in his *Book of Wisdom*, “the worst enemy of a Kazakh person is another Kazakh person” (Kunanbayev 2009, 303) and “the force of a nation consists of its unity” (id.:142).

The classical genres of literature are frequently found in the song: epic, lyric, and dramatic. What appertains to the epic can be identified in the conflict evolution, characters, space and time, actions, and sets. For setting the initial scene and providing background information about the space and the time, history recovers the classical pattern of tales and generate a “narrative with a multiplicity of representations of the past” (Bloch 1998, 101) via suggested ambiguity through indefinite dimensions of space and time while mentioning the main characters imagined as a couple involved in a pre-marital ritual. Developed through the actions of some main characters who are accompanied by tribes' members and representatives, the conflict evolves from a quiet atmosphere to tremendous events and a

tragic end. Although the title suggests a love story with a beautiful maid as a protagonist, it is quite difficult to dissociate and determine what the prevalent topic of the poem is: the cult of ancestors as preservers of traditions, the tragic story of an unaccomplished love, or the heroic background in which battles among the tribes (Kz. *zhuzy*) amplify the conflict.

Unlike the classical myth of tragic and possibly unaccomplished love in the poem, a significant difference can be noted: although they belong to opposite tribes, the characters have comparable social status: she is a princess of unique beauty, intelligence, and dedication; he is a knight and the son of a very rich noble (Kz. *bazarbay*) and a hero (Kz. *batyr* “hero”)². In some folk traditions, the hero’s virtues might be the synthesis of the great features of nomadic identity and become personages of old stories of battles coming down to this time and being preserved in collective memory in some main types: the founder, the ruler, and the eligible lad. They are paramount leaders and men of physical endurance and strength allied to moral qualities, such as boldness and propensity for plunging into dangerous adventures like archery, hunting, conquering new places, and settling down as well as demonstrations of wisdom.

As a marriageable lad, both a herder and a warrior, the hero demonstrates his powers in the functional context created by his future wife; among some pretenders, he is the chosen one sought by divinity as seeking to win his bride and unify the divided tribes made of people dominated by envy from different parts of the country. He leads armies and drives big groups of horses into ritualistic round dances, travels long distances between his home and tribe to the furthest lands where his future wife lives. Both families have their own rules of castes, their tribal organisation and the traditions of the marriage become an attempt of accommodating opposite ideas and establishing a bigger state organisation ruled by a wise chief.

The woman has a functional role in the hero’s life of providing the context for him to demonstrate his winning qualities of seeking to conquer his bride and form a family and a dynasty. The main female character, Kyz Zhibek, plays the most important role in choosing the hero of her story: in an archery ritual executed with covered eyes, she first moves in a circle with two arrows, selects one and sends it to a place meant to be the centre of her new world. Winning a bride displays a “heroic vision on marriage common to ancient Turkic traditions in all its forms such as wooing, capture, negotiation” (West 2007, 247). Kyz Zhibek is a nomadic princess riding horses across the endless steppe and generously sharing gifts with her female friends, who will become her bride maids in the marital rituals. Therefore, her future husband does not rescue her after passing some “spiritual quests” (Eliade 1984: 34) meant to accomplish perfection and to prove his heroism but followings more a traditional modality of asking for a blessing from both families and especially by the fathers. Although abduction is a motif found in ancient and medieval Armenian and Caucasian cultures (Colarusso 2002, 150) and still performed in present-day Kazakhstan, the pre-nuptial ritual follows the rules of asking for hand and soul, wooing the bride and receiving the permission from the parents of the maid.

² For the ranks among Kazakh nobles, their description and role in the tribal society, see Kunanbayev 2009: 298-299.

At the same time, the marriage becomes a myth of unifying some tribes into “nomadic confederations” (Cheng 2018, 124) and founding a new order of the world, first because some pretenders sought the hand of the beautiful maiden who defeats numerous suitors before finding her match and, second, because through marriage together with the new noble family, a dynasty of khans will be born. In summary, as in other traditions, the heroic, marital and foundation motifs are intertwined in a tapestry combining archetypal dimensions and specific ones like nomadic, pastoral, and Islamic. The suitors are numerous, and this makes the bride so desirable that the men of distinction fight for her hand.

The betrothal is simpler than in other traditions consisting of choosing the most beautiful girl from some groups who ride caravans of camels, giving/offering and taking, a visit of the bachelor’s friends to the maiden’s parents, who are endowed to permit the girl to marry the prince. Sharing the gifts imply in the poem a “contractual exchange” (Mauss 1966, 15) visible in some moments of the narrative: first, as a steppe duchess riding a horse as the female protagonist shares her jewellery with the other maidens in the tribe in a supreme gesture of generosity; second, accepting the gifts becomes the main step of accepting the proposal of a knight coming from remote areas and riding a white horse; third, the hospitality of nomadic people is revealed in sharing fermented mare’s milk with all female and male members of the community while presenting the future bride with furs, jewellery and colourful clothing. In the old Turkic ritual of “buying the bride” (Mustafina 2001, 30), among some significant presents offered to the damsel by her future sister-in-law are a richly adorned cape whose name implies the sun (Kz. *saukele* is a compounded word from *sau* “sunny”, “beautiful” and *kele* “head” is a part of Kazakh female celebration and wedding attire) and is worth one hundred horses, rich cattle or even a khan’s yurt. Alongside this decorative piece of female attire, some motifs belonging to agricultural and nomadic traditions bring specific aspects to the general ritual of gift exchange in the process of engagement: while entering the maid’s shelter, the future couple is blessed by the girl’s mother who throws over the newly formed couple seeds as a gesture supposed to induce fertility into the new pair. Meantime, outside of the nomadic shelter and pre-nuptial place, the best maids offer furs of different animals for inducing richness in cattle of the newly formed couple and showing their nomadic dowry. A piece of precious fur goes around the margins of the cape being the first circle of decorations and distinction on the bottom of this conic shape.

A widespread motif of Turkic traditions (Dzhumagulov 1960, 72) can be noticed in the pre-nuptial ceremony: the couple sleeps together for one or several nights with a chastity golden belt and a sword placed between partners. As female and male symbols put together on the bed, clothes, the magic objects, are purified after being passed over a fire function at the same time, as signs of separation and unification. The girl’s mother veils them with delicate silk clothes and formulates the interdiction of having sexual intercourse prior to the coronation marked by the wedding ceremony. However, even though they have not yet received the groom’s father’s acceptance for marrying Kyz Zhibek, the maid shares her pearls and undoes her tresses in a gesture of accepting the proposal and promising to be devoted to her future husband. Both gestures of spreading the pearls around and unbraiding the tresses mark the ritual of separation from her family

and to some extent the symbolical loss of virginity and the passage to the new condition of a married woman.

The universal motif of a horse together with chariot symbolism common to ancient traditions at birth, wedding and funeral “widely spread about 3600-3400 BC in today Kazakhstan” (Anthony 2007, 203, Walker 2015, 35), resonates in different facets in Kazakh folklore, either as a sign of distinction, delicacy or noblesse and richness appropriate to the high condition of the bride princess or groom knight. It also resonates in symbolic dances performed by horse riders during the pre-marital rituals and as a sacrifice. Recently, an embracing couple buried together with a horse, jewellery and items such as cauldrons belonging to the Bronze Age excavated in Karaganda region (Stewart 2018) prove the ancient practices of chariots, chivalry and horse riding in different parts of the country. Wild stallions are tamed by skilled lads and dance near the wall of the nomadic fortress, where the princess works and prepares clothes for the future husband. Mounting the horse of the future husband represents another significant moment in accepting the proposal and an act of spousal nature, a significant stage in the rite of separation and the last step of leaving their own space followed by the beginning of a new life under the husband’s roof.

Interestingly, as the real wedding has not yet happened, all these images are projected in the groom’s imagination and exposed in melodic words as reflections of thoughts while moving from his house to his wife’s shelter. Finally, the horse given as a gift to Tolegen as a messenger of fate goes to the hero’s father asking to be blessed. It has all the attributes of a mythological animal with white skin, was born in a witch’s hut, bred with embers and has waited for his master to tame him.

As for dramatisation in both discourse and actions, not only is the dialogue relevant but so too are the tragic situations of the protagonists: between the initial plans and reality, numerous changes occur in the structure of the plot generating a conflict between the forces of good and evil. Although the girl is prepared to marry the prince and has accepted his proposal, her actions while waiting for the chosen lover to come back from his parents’ house reflect other specific and nomadic motifs, such as guarding the cattle, raking hay for horses or even visiting the blue mosque in the middle of the steppe to ask for divine support.

Analysing individual works of living folk traditions, we often pay attention to the ideas and images, plot development, variety of genres, but also to various artistic means. Nevertheless, it would be appropriate to note that the poem specifically belongs to the universal heritage of folklore, and it is expressed by allegorical means, mainly aphorisms and proverbs. Just a few attempts have been made so far for integrating the Kazakh folklore into an extended frame of interpretation as universal myths and for following the role of proverbs in defining identity. However, whatever work of folklore is taken into consideration, the special function of this correlation of image/motifs to myth denotes a long process of assimilation and representation through which the life of people has been filtered through a sieve of national consciousness and tradition and finally established in the language.

In Kazakh folklore, one of the distinct species found at the genre interference is the category of lyric-epic and dramatic poems called “zhyr(s)”. Their common specific

feature is also manifested in thematic consonance; for example, it is not an exaggeration to say that all nations of the world have heroic and ethical poems built on love themes. “In general, the theme of love is archetypal and traditional for the folklore of all nations and all times. It is also widely and fruitfully developed in the pearls of the Kazakh lyric-eposes *Kozy-Korpesh - Bayan Sulu* and *Kyz-Zhibek*” (Azibayeva, 1998, 119). It can be said that among the Kazakh folk songs, these two works stand out for their wide distribution among the people, their constant use of performers, the significance of the plot and the imagery of the language. In the process of the vocal performance of these works, attention is drawn to their motifs that are disclosed separately from other poems. Since these ethical creations are performed orally, their rhythm and tune are different. This characteristic speaks of another specific feature of the lyric-epic poems.

The hero wins his fame in combat, and it is closely associated with deeds of battle, foundation, and love. As a fame seeker, he knowingly and willingly takes risks at the cost of his life: Tolegen is required to ask for permission to marry Kyz Zhibek and to ask his father to lay aside vanity and accept the unification of their tribes into a bigger state formation. After duelling with his competitors to recover his honour in the right battle, the protagonist should encounter his opponent’s father and die on the way back to his lover. Through his death, the hero transcends his mortality and is assimilated, together with fighting men to the category of founders and rulers, who are honoured by the community in their songs and recognised to be as wise as their ancestors, who have defended the same ideals of unity. Like in other traditions, the hero lays his high fame of glorious deeds and makes a name for himself, thus infusing the community being with the grandeur of sacred personages of a society of warriors.

Wherever the origin of aphorisms can be found, they were formed on a folk basis at a certain time as an expression of traditional wisdom. There are also certain reasons for this. “Actually, aphoristic genres in their diverse varieties - sentences, maxims, reflections or thoughts, paradoxes were formed in the era of classicism with its normative poetics with strictly genre regulation and close attention to the stylistic form” (Zhirmunski, 1987, 6).

In folk works of art, numerous images have been passed down from generation to generation through oral channels, and many artistic and moral values have been accumulated. In the process of using these values, various cultural traditions of neighbouring countries were assimilated and used at a certain level.

In starting the analysis of aphorisms used in folklore sources, it is impossible to circumvent the problem of the text, because the inseparable relationship between the words in folklore and the content of the text is obvious (Dianova 2010, 51). In science, in general, there are enough opinions about the historical, linguistic, meaningful and semantic features of aphorisms³.

³ Nalichnikova 2016, 122, Bagapov, Gasheva 2016, 60

DISCUSSION: IMAGE, FUNCTIONS AND MEANING CONVEYED BY APHORISMS

As simple time narratives of multiple representations denoting the past and the way an ethnic group thinks, the poems do not contain details on heroic deeds of courage and boldness, as in classical epos, but the essence of the work is devoted to the love of a great knight, Tolegen, for a beautiful girl, Kyz Zhibek, transformed by folk imagination into a prototypical mythical couple. Suitably so, the historicity of the characters “does not long resist the corrosive action of mythisation” (Eliade 1959, 42)

The beginning of the event is shaped in twists and turns with structures characteristic of folk traditions for legends and associated with the search for the groom (Kz. *jigit*) by the bride (Kz. *kalyndyk*). These “aphoristic words” (Korotkih 2016, 114) often used in folk poems are found in this work at the very beginning. For example, the first hero’s action draws the audience’s attention when Tolegen went to choose a bride without the permission of his parents. His mother hurries him, and she reaches her goals by an instructive combination of sounds and words. In these lines, the expression “to the righteous” means gifting the noble or the sinless with a horse, and the bad or the sinner with the ram, which are often found in our folklore traditions as symbols of a high condition or a poor one. Two main conflicts are suggested at the beginning of the poem: first, the protagonist does not obey parents’ advice and does not ask for permission to start his search for the bride; second, two opposite conditions are set at the beginning of the adventure: the rich and the poor. The main specificity of this combination lies in the fact that in antiquity, after the death of a person who was considered to be a righteous one during his life, he deserved the respect of all people. As a result, they sacrificed cattle with the wish that he would be their patron, supporting their wishes like a totem that protects the soul of the man during his afterlife.

It is no exaggeration to note that this tradition has retained its basic specificity to this day and continues like the testament of the fathers, the words left by ancestors to subsequent generations and it is mainly based on the knowledge and education of humanity. Seen as a knowledge transfer, the ancestors’ words give life-competence to the followers in the form of concepts or thoughts associated with words (Albekov, Alpysbayeva, Auyesbayeva 2017, 33). The presence of gnomic words in the texture of the song improves the expressiveness of a work of art, and it is believed that while they are being uttered, they have a magic impact on a person. They actualise a function similar to that performed by traditional artistic means in folklore (Yuldybaeva, Mingazova, Kayumova 2017, 667). As allegorical expressions, the aphorisms contain, together with comparisons, metaphors, and symbols, some rhythmical instruments meant to bring musicality to the poem. Used in a single consonance sound, repetitions improve the beauty and the attractiveness of words as in the wish expressed by Tolegen’s mother:

“Mother has come sobbing, /The father is sitting, suffering, /Many enemies that are jealous / Will be ready to come back.”

(Kz. *Anan keldi zarlanyp, / aken otyr sandalip, / kore almagan kop dushpan, / syrtynan keler qamdanyyp.*)

Contributing to the exposition of the poem, the space and indefinite time of the plot, together with the parents' subtle feeling of anticipation, forecast the initial and possible tragic dimensions of the conflict evolution: the quiet shivering atmosphere suggests a storm that is coming. The verbal epithets for father and mother contrasting the motion and sitting, related by the same mournful anticipation are correlated to the unknown and imprecise number of virtual enemies guilty of a sin: jealousy. The combination of "*Kore Almagan Kop Dushpannan*" (many enemies that are jealous) appear on the basis of deeply meaningful words in the proverb "*Dushpany kore almaidy, agaynyn bolip bere almaidy*" (The enemies are envious; the relatives cannot share his bitterness). The meaning of this expression may be that if one suddenly becomes the owner of some kind of good, then the enemies, of course, will look with envy, and if one's encounter any difficulties, then one's family will not be willing to help. As in other folk traditions, the verbalisation of concepts originates in the life experience.

The events of the epic are exposed in a strict form similar to one of the "beads in a thread". Even metaphorical expressions are arranged in a specific order and repeated as the events' representation in a logical succession of actions in the plot. As an expression of archaic society, the creation of a cosmologic model implies at least three elements: the emergence of a hero acting as a creator of a new world; the occurrence of the opposite forces that explain the conflict evolution and the act of foundation based on a spiritual search and sacrifice (Eliade 1959, viii). When some details of the mythical events (Osmushina, Ingle, 2016, 417) are introduced, they are also not included in the replay process. This feature of the epic works was underlined by a Russian scientist: "The laws of the epics do not allow two heroes to act simultaneously in different places" (Propp 1975, 93) and the use of repetitions of individual words occurs at the end of the verse lines. As a result of this, even the ancient patriarchal environment, people who have seen a lot in their day utter their words in a certain rhythm in the form of sayings, and this becomes a traditional phenomenon.

For example, Tolegen's mother, in a conversation with her son, points out the beauty of a prototypical hero whose features are very natural, suggesting the main dimensions of a nomadic leader, who must be beautiful, brave, and rich. In Kazakh traditions, these are pre-conditions of becoming a ruler, namely being a *bay* or a *batyr* "boyar, governor":

"The beauty of your land will be in a tale about willow, /The beauty of the river will be in the precipice, /The beauty of a horseman will be in cattle richness. /If you have rich cattle of deer/Then you will become a khan."

(*Olkenin korki tal bolar, / ozennin korki zhar bolar, / zhigittin korki mal bolar, / malyn bolsa, karagym, / karah basyn khan bolar.*)

The landscape is made of some significant motifs that reverberate with the universal symbolism of willow as a bridge between this world and the afterlife (Mencej 1996, 31-35, Colarruso and Sabiev 2016, 72-73) and suggest the highest rank of Kazakh nomadic knights. Retaining similar meanings in different traditional cultures, the willow symbolises "the power of life and rapid growth, vitality and regeneration" (Tolstoi 1995, 333). In the Kazakh epic, it occurs in a story about the beauty of a land destined to be conquered and mastered by the young knight. The hero meant to become a knight, and a khan should

pass all the quests of initiation. In this nomadic world of cattle breeders, the horseman's profile develops as a master of the field and a future leader of people.

The image is articulated by suggestive motifs of naturalness which denote the rich symbolism of primordial elements (air, earth, water) and project the shape of the knight into the cosmic landscape having the tree as a protective centre of his world. The folk collective imagination created in minimal details a cosmological model projected in the mirror of the water and, in an indirect story comprising the bank of the river, the richness of the hero and the shiver of the willow. At the discursive and lyrical levels, the word for the future implying a condition, *bolar*, is repeated at the end of the first three lines and at the end of the strophe itself, augmenting the idea of crucial events expected to happen and improving the suggestion of inner rhythmical movement. This phonetical, semantic, syntactic, and prosodic pattern of underlining the rhetoric of the poem was recovered in later individual poems denoting the "value of folklore for the classical literature of Kazakh authors" (Aktulum 2017, 34).

The method of plot development, namely the way of organising events, noted in the content of the epic works, in the traditions of the Kazakh folk poems is associated with the philosophy of Dzungars or Kalmyks tribes whose members wanted to convey through the history of love a myth of heroism and foundation (Artykbayev 1997, 87). The meaning of this method can be said to convey to the listeners, to their consciousness, the idea that the events described in the stories are taken from life as it seems obvious in the epic *Kyz Zhybek*. One of the matchmakers is Kalmyk khan Koren. At first glance, it may seem that this is a particularly worthy plot. However, we can note that the creator of this epic does not deviate from the main tradition. As a Russian scholar elegantly put it, "the emergence of the epos as in the form of public consciousness is associated with the specificity of the historical situation and the internal laws of the development of society" (Volkova, 1984: 8). The quests the hero should pass for obtaining the maid's hand are meant to prove his heroism and to reveal his intelligence, all features of a knight who is preparing to become a husband and a ruler. Therefore, the pretender at the princess' hand is more resourceful, attractive, and smarter than his opponent, Koren, although they are almost in the same position of chiefs of the tribes. The hero should fight the monster, in this case, the competitor in the bride search, and instruct the brother, who may become his successor at the throne and have to acquire the right skills of heroism and wisdom. The roles in the court hierarchy are metaphorically exposed by the khan's assistant, Karshyga, who is the elder friend and the best man of the main hero:

"You are my young bush on the river bank, /My winged horse, which has escaped forward. /The white horde of horses was where you went, /You have lived an interesting life so far. /Why are you sad?"

(Kolge bitken quragym, / suyrylyp ozan pyragym, / aq orda boldy kyrgyenin, / qyzyq dauren surgenin, / nege qapa bolasyn?)

Tolegen's portrait, as presented by his close friend, reveals the status of a chosen knight, who is appreciated by his fellows and deserves the love of the most wanted princess in the land. Built in a gradation, the image of the prince is attractive and natural:

the hero is compared with young shoots of reed thickets growing in beautiful places and a winged horse, which overtakes hundreds of other horses. These comparisons have been known since ancient times and are related to the type of acting image. At its core, a winged horse is a special type of steed often found in legends and myths that came to Kazakh folklore either from the east or the west. In the Islamic faith, the winged horse refers to the type of steeds living in paradise. Its peculiarity, unlike other horses, is that, compared with other horses, he is strong, slim, speaks like a man and has wings for flying. It is an individual in the form of a horse. At its core, this is understandable to an attentive person. The artistry of national epic works and the language features of their use were influenced by famous heroic epics.

The conflict is developed in simple lines with minimal actions and sets projected in imaginative possible stories and suggestive characters ready to experience a spiritual journey and to accomplish the triple condition of a founder, a husband, and a ruler. In Kazakh poetry, the eligible maidens have almost the same attributes as in Indo-European traditions expressed in the sun glow goddess features: they are nubile young women, who appeal and seduce mortals, are ready for marriage, and adorn themselves excessively. Strong maids live the indoor life dispensing wisdom and choosing their partners as a modality to build a family and a dynasty and to escape from the place they are secluded. The colours of their garments and hair are also significant as their attire is made of silk, their hair is golden, and their jewellery demonstrates their status: a necklace with diamonds and a silver crown. Mounting the horse of the future husband represents the acceptance of the proposal in the gradual process of leaving her place to follow the man with whom she will start a new life.

In the epic *Kyz Zhibek*, there are significant places where aphorisms are used regularly, often in a grouped form supporting images, giving the correct discursive expression and assuring the inner musicality of the poem. Such cases suggest the long-term use of these metaphors and symbols believed to be also associated with a person's mood. More specifically, they are used almost automatically when a person is very happy or, in contrast, very upset. For example, at the moment when Bekezhan comes to Kyz Zhebek and informs her about Tolegen's death, Kyz Zhebek's complex answer can be said to be completely built in the style of aphoristic words:

“Damned Bekezhan! /Don't show up to me /Finished your job. /How could you decide /To raise hand on /A such person? /May God give you back /What you did to me, /Damned rogue! /God damn you /Who spawned me. /Let your wife and children cry. /When will you feel bad /Let no one come to you.”

(Ata nalet, Bekezhan! /Korsetpe magan tusindi, /bitiripsin isindi, /qaytyp kozin qudi eken, /sol sekildi musindi, /aldyna kudai keltirsin, /magan an qylgan isindi. /Atana lagynet, qaraqshy! /Qudayim seni qargasyn, /toniri meni zharatsa, /qatyn, balan zarlasyn, /basyna qyin is tusse, /qasyna eshkim barmasyn.)

In the last six lines of this passage, built in the form of curses, the construction of the song performed in the second instance of a failed marriage is based on the model of aphorisms found in consonance with each other. It should also be noted that themes such as the problem of revenge are often found in epic works. More precisely, a blood feud

is more often used in the heroic epic, and it is found in other forms quite related to the symbolism of brothers and expressed by the fight for revenge among certain heroes. In the epic *Kyz Zhybek*, the heroine's six brothers take revenge for Tolegen's death. They will kill Bekezhan, restoring through blood and sword her favourite suitor's honour. The frequency of this motif widely used in the epics is stated in the works of researchers of Kazakh folklore (Dyadyun 2017, 59) where the wedding has become a tragic saga of courtesies and redemption, with the bride in the central role.

The aphorisms and metaphorical words occur not only in the plot but also in the imagination of heroes who conspicuously address their ideal bride in dreams or discourse. As a master of the house, the bride is imagined as stepping out into her courtyard to draw water from the lake, where she at once recognises her groom riding a horse and discovers the good features of people whom he will rule.

As a myth of foundation, the ideal marriage has become a good modality of acquiring wisdom for founding a kingdom. The wisdom of the future ruler is shown in his comprehensive vision of people and the world while returning from acquiring the bride. Significantly, in this discourse about the qualities of a land master, the protagonist indirectly prepares his brother as a successor while forecasting a tragic future and initiating him for the new condition of being a possible ruler. The hero's discourse projects the career of his brother and imaginatively transfers his responsibilities in the case of unexpected and unfortunate encounters and underlines the power of the words as representations of the thoughts. A coherent poetical expression of water symbolism reverberates in subtle echoes of mirroring, reflection and a spiritual journey of the protagonist meant to become a ruler of the land after surpassing all the obstacles and becoming the wisest in the realm:

“Getting close to the best, /You recognise the virtues of people. /Located in a beautiful land. /You will recognise the merits of the lake. /So, you will know the virtues of the word, /Deep in thought, /It affects the soul of man.”

(Zhaqsylarmen zhanasyp, / el qadirin bilgeysin, /suly zherdi qonys qyp, / kol qadirin bilgeysin, /terennen kesip tolgaytyn, /kønildin kozin qozgaytyn, / soz qadyryn bilgeisin.)

The main topic of the poem is love between two young people, but the story is projected in a wider field of heroism and traditions, which transform the aspiration to an ideal romance in a tragic story of death before achieving true the dream of love. A prototypical love story was adapted to a nomadic context, and an original expression of romance and heroism can be found not only in folk creation but also in other forms of art, such as the film version of the poem, also called *Kyz Zhibek*. A good sense of friendship and fairness is conveyed alongside Tolegen's wishes addressed to his brother and successor Sansyzbay. Amplifying the feeling of uncertainty, the second part of the elder brother's advice for his possible successor points out the importance of communication with the people in the realm and the amplitude of the self:

“Having put effort into any business, /You will be friends with your equal self. /Listen to these words of mine /My successor Sansyzbay, /Getting close to the best, /You will recognise the virtues of people.”

(Talap qylyp ar iske, teninmen oynap-kulgeysin, bul sozimdi tyndagyn, zhetkinshegim, Sansyzbay, zhaqsylarmen zhanasyp, zhurt qadirin bilgeysiñ.)

The aphoristic value of each line is obvious as expressed by the combination of advice settled in the present simple and imperative forms and the future tense as a way of marking the potentialities of a leader able to discover the virtues of his community. Having set off to his beloved, Tolegen could not reach his main goal of taking her to his parents' house because he died in the hands of Bekezhan, his opponent, for the hand of a beautiful girl. There is such an interesting detail in the epic: before closing his eyes forever, Tolegen saw six geese flying in the sky and talked to them to convey greetings to his native land and to his relatives. According to the idea adopted in the epic, the geese have a mandate to deliver Tolegen's word. It seems that this episode is used on the basis of the concept adopted by the people, who, connecting geese with swans, consider them sacred, holy. In contrast, this episode correlates with surprising phenomena, more precisely, with features of magical use. In epic works, the use of magical phenomena is a common circumstance (Dzhumaeva 2018, 194).

Another situation in which the aphoristic words are used is the image that combines the metaphors with exaggeration by referring to the comparative method as a persuasive tool of oratory. Nevertheless, this method has found application at a certain level and in the works of Kazakh national folk poets called *akyns* or *zhynrau* embodying two types of creators, namely keen on detail and nuanced respectively on the general description of the plot. Tolegen's mother reveals an entire scene of food symbolism in relation to her personality and the role of meat, bread, butter and honey in the Kazakh culinary folk tradition:

“I said rump, but she gave under-fat (tidbit), /I said sugar, she gave honey, /Gave bread, smearing it with butter. /Gave a variety of food. Raised, holding on the palms, /Forgive, if he was capricious.”

(Zhaya dese zhal bergen, /sheker dese bal bergen, /mayga salyp nan bergen, /ar aluan as bergen, /alaqandap osirgen, /yerkelik_kylsam keshirgen.)

These are Tolegen's thoughts about his mother. In the understanding of the Kazakhs, the opinion that under-fat is more expensive than the rump, honey is more expensive than sugar, butter is more expensive than bread turned into instructive words, and in a certain rhythm, excellent adhesion is transmitted in the form of an order to descendants. The cuisine of Kazakhs reflects a rich specificity and symbolism either by the presence of horse meat in their dietary or through comparative expressions on different sorts of meat and sweets.

Pre-state organisation and envy among the tribes reflect a stage of evolution in the life of Kazakh society, and it is expressed in the hierarchy of the groups. As in Turkish tradition, in which the sultan has some advisers and deputies who participate in the army and judgement, in Kazakh tradition the khan has some hierarchically organised nobles called *bi* “respected, wise person”. When one of the prominent three *bii*s of the Kazakhs, Kazybek *bii*, went with the ambassadors to the Dzungarian khan in his childhood, critical people praised Kazybek, saying that although he was a child, it was clear that he would become the leader. The spouse of the khan who considered Kazybek a child said to him: “The one whom you consider to be a hair cutter, as if turned out to be a fighting horse, the one whom you consider to be a crow, no matter how it turned out to be a falcon”. It directly corresponds to another popular expression: “There is no falcon with an intact

wing; there is no horse with a whole hoof". These aphorisms are used without change in the epic *Kyz Zhibek*, underlining the importance of hunting with falcons for the tradition of nobility and the specificity as a sign of identity still actualised in the identity of the nation.

"No falcon with intact wing, /No horse with a whole hoof. /An order came from Allah - /No reimbursement of a life lived."

(*Kanaty butin sunkar jok, / Tuagy butin tulpar jok. /Alladan ukim kelgen son, / Oteshek omir sury jok.*)

As birds of freedom flying through the air, eagles have been recovered as markers of Kazakh ethnicity in modern times, and they are represented on the nation's flag together with agricultural and mineral resources suggestions of wealth projected in a blue-sky background. Together with the horses as a symbol of ancestry and heroism, these birds make complete the image of aspirations and ethnic specificity called "Kazakhness as a civilisational endeavour" (Mkrtchyan 2014, 16).

This folk poem of Kazakh folklore preserves interwoven motifs and myths of neighbouring traditions like love and marriage, taming horses and making them dance, hunting with horses and eagles, taking the bride to the husband's house, the journey to an ideal love tragically ended by the protagonist's murder, water and willow as symbols of self-reflection and wisdom, all harmonised in an original story which has acquired some religious touches of Islamic traditions.

Almost all motifs encountered in the folk epic *Kyz Zhibek* belong to a "common inheritance" (Watkins 1995, 414) of interfering civilisations and displaying local details mostly generated by the assimilation of universal traditions into a nomadic and pastoral society – an ethnic group that adapted them to the religious standards of Islam. As mythological topics, they were analysed in this paper from a comparative point of view combining some main perspectives: folklore, linguistics, and overall ethnic dimensions for tracking the similarities of such legendary material which confirm a specific symbolism.

CONCLUSIONS

The folklore of Kazakhstan as members of Turkic ethnicity and Muslim religion has transformed artistic forms of elements of ancient mythological concepts and images. The folklore tradition organises the world with the help of original forms and situations, while the everyday social reality has become a source and an instrument for making sense of the life phenomena revealing their genesis and role in defining ethnicity and specificity.

Filtering archetypal traditions through the sieve of religion and assimilating myths in an original reverberation have been suggestive modalities of building up a national ideology of identity, in which the sacral geography, the ancient history, the folklore, the language and Islam represent the main axes.

In folk traditions, the maid's beauty and the hero's virtue and wisdom might be celebrated for generations or centuries as usually such characters have lost their identity and become legendary and prototypical personages. The folk imagination projected a historical couple and its extended family into an exemplary heroic and tragic love story

transforming a marital event into a new scene relevant for humanity and more specifically for Kazakh spirituality. Through bravery and love motifs united in an original myth of foundation, the lyric-epic poems offer models of heroism and morality considered to be definitory for Kazakh ethnicity. The beautiful maids and the horsemen attempt to surpass their condition and to climb to the heavens in an allegory of integration into the cosmos. Conquering a new land, winning a bride and attempting to settle a new order in a realm by unifying the tribes into a bigger pre-state formation equals an ascension into heaven and his image will be preserved in the collective memory.

The use of aphorisms in the epic *Kyz Zhibek* as well as in other folk songs in Kazakh folklore is quite common, and the function they perform is diverse, spanning from configuring realities to giving expressivity and musicality to this genre. The aphorisms have a special impact on enriching the artistic characteristics of folk songs, on helping with the quick perception in the national identity of the events described here. The metaphors contained in aphoristic expression bring a specific rhythm of utterance, contributing to the beauty of the singing and, thus, the positive impression of the listening audience. Overall, the aphorisms contribute to the understanding of traditional poetical methods of working with allegorical words.

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IMMAGINE, FUNZIONE, SIGNIFICATO E STRUTTURA
IL RUOLO DEGLI AFORISMI NELLA CANZONE POPOLARE KAZAKA
“KYZ ZHIBEK”

MUHAMMADGALI ABDUOV, NAZILYA ABDUOVA, NICOLAE STANCIU



In questo articolo, la funzione degli aforismi nella canzone popolare, che contiene anche elementi lirici e drammatici, viene analizzata e definita attraverso i metodi culturali, principalmente folcloristici, letterari e linguistici.

Lo scopo principale di questo articolo è evidenziare e mostrare il ruolo delle parole gnomiche generate dai creatori popolari nella trama immaginaria, le loro principali funzioni nello sviluppo del conflitto e l'espressione estetica dell'opera.

Pertanto, il significato dei simboli è stato interpretato in stretta connessione con le azioni, con gli archetipi e con le metafore inserite nella struttura della canzone. Usando come esempio, la canzone “Kyz Zhybek”, che è una creazione di spicco nel folclore kazako, e rivedendo gli articoli scientifici sull'argomento, l'articolo segue l'analisi contrastante nella ricerca delle tracce delle tradizioni archetipiche in una cornice culturale musulmana.

L'*ethnos* nella cultura rimane nel tentativo di recuperare l'identità di un gruppo usando ciò che sembra specifico nel folclore, nella storia e nella linguistica e seguendone un'ideologia originale articolata su basi nazionali ed universali.

Questo documento può aiutare i ricercatori, quando studiano l’eredità del folclore, a comprendere la portata dell’uso degli aforismi e della funzione principale da essi realizzata nella letteratura popolare. Inoltre, il ruolo degli aforismi in una canzone popolare è sistematizzato e il loro significato storico e d’identità viene rimarcato.

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О мифологических мотивах в былине “Добрыня и Настасья”

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This article deals with mythological motifs reflected in the bylina “Dobrynya and Nastas’ya” discussed in comparison with the Baltic, South Slavic, and Ossetic epic texts.

KEYWORDS: Slavic mythology, bylina, “Dobrynya and Nastasya”, principal myth, mythological images, parallels

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Факт отражения в былинах мифологических представлений восточных славян хорошо известен. При этом, как отмечает, например, Б. Н. Путилов (1999: 18), количество былин, сохранивших мифологические сюжеты в “чистом” виде, невелико (к ним он относит всего три: “Исцеление Ильи Муромца”, “Богатырь и чудесная сумочка”, “Илья Муромец и Святогор”). Чаше мифологические мотивы присутствуют в былинах в виде отдельных реминисценций; наиболее заметны они в таких произведениях, как “Михайло Потык”, “Дунай”, “Волх Всеславьевич” и др.

Былина “Добрыня и Настасья” (“Женитьба Добрыни”) (которая в некоторых записях контаминирована с другими былинами о Добрыне Никитиче – “Добрыня и змей”, “Добрыня и Алеша”; перечень опубликованных вариантов см. в Добрыня... 1974: 395) не входит ни в первый, ни во второй список. Между тем ее сюжет, на наш взгляд, восходит к последнему эпизоду основного индоевропейского мифа и обнаруживает параллели в балтских и южнославянских эпических текстах.

Фабула былины следующая. Добрыня (в контаминированных вариантах – возвращающийся после победы над змеем), повстречав в чистом поле богатыря в женской одежде, нападает на него, но тот не обращает на Добрыню никакого внимания. Озадаченный герой, засомневавшись в своей силе, испытывает ее, разбивая в щепки дуб толщиной в человеческий обхват. Воспрянув духом, Добрыня снова совершает нападение, и ситуация повторяется (только теперь расщепляется уже дуб в два обхвата). Лишь после третьего удара Добрыни богатырка оборачивается, берет нападавшего за кудри и кладет вместе с конем в мешок. Однако ее

конь отказывается везти одновременно двух могучих богатырей. Тогда Настасья Микулична достает Добрыню из мешка (в некоторых вариантах обращаясь к нему по имени, чем вызывает у него удивление). Она говорит, что если он человек зрелого возраста, то будет ей вместо отца, если молодой человек и полюбит ее, – станет ее любимым другом, а если придется ей не по нраву, – “на долонь кладу, другой прижму и в овсяный блин ёго да сделаю” (Гильфердинг 1873: 38). Вынужденный под угрозой смерти согласиться на брак с могучей девой, Добрыня привозит ее в Киев, представляет матери и князю Владимиру, после чего происходит их венчание. Различные записи не обнаруживают значительных сюжетных расхождений. В единичных вариантах силы богатырей оказываются равными и инициатива женитьбы исходит от Добрыни (Григорьев 1904: I 196–197; Былины Пудожского края 1941: 34); в одном случае победа остается за Добрыней (Крюкова 1939: 267–268).

СЮЖЕТ ОСНОВНОГО МИФА В БЫЛИНЕ “ДОБРЫНЯ И НАСТАСЬЯ” И ПАРАЛЛЕЛИ К НЕМУ

Как указывают Вяч. Вс. Иванов и В. Н. Топоров (1974: 96), “последний эпизод мифа делится на две основные части: 1) победа Бога Грома над противником, реализующаяся в расщеплении или сожжении дерева (дуба) или в расщеплении камня, под которыми скрывается его противник, 2) высвобождение вод (дождя) или скота, плодородия, богатства, которое скрывалось у противника бога”. Согласно Дж. Дж. Фрззеру (1986: 156), культ дуба (или бога дуба) существовал, по-видимому, у всех индоевропейских народов арийского происхождения. А. Н. Афанасьев ([1865–1869]: I [26 и др.]) с наивной прямолинейностью в духе мифологического метода интерпретировал дуб как метафору дождевой тучи. За пределами устного народного творчества отдельные реминисценции основного мифа на славянской почве обнаруживаются в основном также у южных славян: ср., например, обычай изгнания змея (гоненето на змий) в болгарских ритуалах вызывания дождя (Голстые 1978: 114). Ассоциация дуба и дождя известна и у финно-угров: эрзя при молитве о дожде обращалась к дубу и говорила: “бог дуба (Тумо-пас), дай дождь” (Holmberg 1927: 252).

Ключевой эпизод первой части – расщепление дерева (дуба) – дважды повторяется в былине (“А стоит же во чистом поли да сырой дуб Да в обнѣм же он стоит да человеческий. Наезжает же Добрынюшка на сырой дуб А попробывать да силы богатырскии. Как ударит тут Добрынюшка во сырой дуб, Он росшиб же дуб да весь по ластиням... Он стоит-то в два обнѣма человеческих...”) (Гильфердинг 1873: 37), что в сочетании с мотивом женитьбы/поединка героя с противницей женского пола (тождество этих двух его вариантов понятно с учетом распространенной фольклорной метафоры “женитьба – битва”) (о последней см. Новичкова 1987: 11) роднит ее с латышскими дайнами и болгарской песней “Крали Марко и Вида самовила”. Вот одна из дайн в русском переводе:

Месяц женился на Солнцевой дочери,
Перкуанс поехал в сваты.
Въезжая в ворота,
Он разбивает золотой дуб.
Обрызгивает мой коричневый кафтан
Кровью дуба.

Последняя подробность в сравнении с тождественным описанием в другой песне показывает изофункциональность дуба противнику бога (на основании метонимического переноса, так как согласно основному мифу, последний прячется в дупле дуба (см. Иванов, Топоров 1974: 6):

Я рассек голову беса
На девять частей.
У меня обрызгался коричневый кафтан
Кровью бесовской.

Иногда разбивание дуба происходит дважды, как и в рассматриваемой былине:

Месяц женился на Солнцевой дочери.
Перкуанс ехал в догонщиках.
На пути туда и обратно
Он разбивает золотой дуб
(Сборник... 1873: 25–27).

П. Шмидт по поводу этого сюжета обращает внимание на то, что “это может быть очень старый миф” (Šmits 1926: 24–25).

Ассоциацию между сюжетом былины и балто-славянскими представлениями о супружеских отношениях солнца и месяца (мотивы балтского мифа о небесной свадьбе также присутствуют в процитированных текстах) вызывает типичное для причитаний сравнение (в причитании матери Добрыни) Добрыни с солнцем, а Настасьи с месяцем: “Закатилось сугревное меженное теплое красное солнышко За лесушки да темные, за горушки да высокие, За мхи, за озера за широкие. Столько светит на меня теперичку светел месяц, – Осталася со мной невестушка молода Настасья дочь Микулична” (Гильфердинг 1873: 580–581).

Более развернутый, чем в дайнах, сюжет представлен в болгарской песне, в которой герою, как и былинному Добрыне, приходится иметь дело с противницей женского пола:

тук е фтесна Вида самовила;
заклучила дванайсе извори
сред гората в едно суво дърво,
по сфе суво, на въро зелено!..

го намери това суво дърво;
 по сфе суво, на въро зелено.
 Та го фати с тешка боздугана,
 го изтроши комат по комата;
 и му строши дванайсе ключови,
 та притекоа дванайсе извори
 (БНТ 1961: IV 158; русский перевод см. в Песни южных славян 1976: 45).

В отличие от былины, результат встречи южнославянского богатыря с могучей противницей является трагическим: Марко убивает самовилу, что отражает исконный вариант мифа: В. Н. Топоров (1986: 56–58) сравнивает песню о Марко и Виде-самовиле с мифами о Вритре и Вале, из чего вытекает понимание образа вилы как трансформации первоначального змея – противника бога грома (к этим выводам, однако, пришел еще М. Г. Халанский (1893: 337, 345). Мифологическая же основа образа королевича Марко связывается с культовым образом фракийского всадника и духом-защитником предков (Е. Тодоров) (см. Путилов 1999: 19–20).

В сербской песне мы встречаем другой вариант этого сюжета: Марко бьет палицей по ели, чтобы стряхнуть наземь сидящую на ней вилу, и хватает свою жертву за ее 12 кос (Халанский 1893: 312), явно идентичных 12 источникам болгарской баллады.

Помимо рассматриваемой былины, в русском фольклоре мы находим лишь слабые, отрывочные следы эпизода расщепления дуба, в которых первоначальный контекст полностью редуцирован: так, сказочный герой бьет по дубу, чтобы вызвать летучий корабль; в другой сказке это дерево расщепляет орел (Афанасьев [1865–1869]: I [158, 177]). В большей степени исконное мифологическое содержание этого эпизода сохранилось в сцене расстрела старого дуба, в котором прячется царь Змиулан (сказка “Козьма Скоробогатый”) (Сказки 1989: 2 136). Чаше же вместо дуба своеобразному расщеплению подвергается сам образ дерева, внутри которого заключены воды: герой добывает у девы-богатырки молодильные яблоки с чудесного дерева и живую и мертвую воду (Народные... 1984–1985: I 349–374; Великорусские... 1964: 53–59), однако непосредственная связь между деревом и водой здесь отсутствует. Следует упомянуть и уникальный, несомненно архаичный вариант, в котором присутствуют все три участника первоначального мифического действия (герой(-громовежец), змей и дуб): “...я иду по дороге, кричит мне дуб: “Скажи царю-та, долго ли мне еще стоять?”. – “Ему стоять до тех пор, – сказал царь, – как подойдет к нему кто да толкнет его ногою, тогда он выверотится с корнем и упадет, а под ним злата и серебра многое множество – столько нет у Марка Богатого!”... Сказал царь Змий и заснул крепким сном” (Народные... 1984–1985: II 349). Полнее заключительный эпизод мифа сохранился в белорусских сказках, где Перун (или царь Гром) разбивает дуб, часто в ходе поединка с чертом (Иванов, Топоров 1974: 97).

Мотив заключенных в дубе вод и их последующего высвобождения, в неприкосновенности сохраненный болгарским фольклором, подвергся метафорическому переосмыслению у балтов, в дайнах которых вода превратилась в кровь дуба. Отзвук

исконного образа ощущается, однако, в упоминании реки, из которой вытекают девять ручейков (или озера, из которого вытекают девять рек), где следует постирать испачканный кровью кафтан. В былине же этот мотив оказался полностью утраченным, вследствие чего акт расщепления дуба получил явно вторичную мотивацию испытания героем своей силы. Однако было бы неверно утверждать, что мотив сокрытых в дубе вод вообще не встречается на восточнославянской почве; в записанной на периферии старой русской территории (в бывшей Самарской губернии) сказке мы находим поистине драгоценное (по-видимому, единственное) свидетельство того, что не сохранила былина: “Во дворе же был царском превеличаший каракульский [т. е. суковатый, см. (СРНГ 1965–: 13 71)] дуб; в этом дубу сохранялася живая и мертвая вода. Она сохранялася, никому не открывалася” (Сказки 1988: 1 419). Далее супруга убитого царевича тщетно просит эту воду у дуба; лишь совместная мольба трех сестер приводит к успеху; таким образом, способ добычи воды здесь уже ритуализирован и в корне отличается от брутального насилия героя мифа. Эхо мотива открытия вод вопреки воле охраняющего их змея доносят гневные слова девы Синеглазки: “Мне не то жалко, что коня напоил, а то дорого, что колодчика не прикрыл!” (Сказки Белозерского края 1981: 270). Как видно из приведенных фактов, былина “Добрыня и Настасья” является наиболее полным, единственным связным (хотя и в значительной степени деградированным) изложением последнего эпизода основного мифа в русских источниках.

Во всех вариантах слово *дуб* сопровождается постоянным фольклорным эпитетом *сырой*. Т. В. Топорова (2011: 59–60) попыталась объяснить формулу *сырой дуб* как мужское соответствие другому традиционному выражению народной поэзии – *мать сыра земля*, причем это противопоставление, по мнению автора, манифестирует универсальную космогоническую оппозицию “небо – земля”. Однако сравнительный материал свидетельствует, что употребление этого эпитета по отношению к дубу и, следовательно, сближение дуба и земли в рамках устойчивых выражений с его использованием носит вторичный характер. Оно является результатом энантиосемии (вероятно, облегченной влиянием со стороны упомянутой формулы *мать сыра земля*): в соответствующих балтских и болгарских текстах дуб (дерево) называется сухим (“заключила дванайсе извори стред гората в едно суво дърво”; “Sper, Rērkoni, sausu koku, Ķīlē zaļu ozoliņu”, №33716-0 (Dainu skapis), что согласуется как с природными свойствами этого дерева, так и с его мифологической связью с понятием засухи (закрытых вод). Никакой корреляции дуба и земли в этих примерах также не наблюдается. Обращает на себя внимание и тождественность описания дуба в латышской и болгарской песнях (сухой, но зеленый (с зеленой вершиной), указывающая на его происхождение из более раннего общего архетипа, в отличие от совершенно иной характеристики дуба в былинах. Искусственность построения Т. В. Топоровой очевидна и с учетом глубинной семантики образа дуба: образ мирового древа (а с тем, что дерево (дуб) основного мифа является репрезентацией последнего, согласны все исследователи) воплощает трехчастную модель мира (см. Топоров 1994: 399 и сл.), а вовсе не соотносится с одним лишь верхним его ярусом.

ГЛАВНЫЕ ГЕРОИ БЫЛИНЫ И ИХ ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЕ

НАСТАСЬЯ МИКУЛИЧНА

Для понимания мифологической основы былины “Добрыня и Настасья” очень важны также образы двух главных героев, в которых, наряду с уже отмечавшимися в литературе, можно выделить ряд черт, до сих пор ускользавших от внимания исследователей. Остановимся на них подробно.

В. Вольнер первым обратил внимание на сходство описаний, касающихся Настасьи Микуличны и Святогора (Wollner 1879: 66); это наблюдение многократно повторяется в более поздних работах. Однако О. Ф. Миллер (1869: 438) еще раньше сопоставил Настасью с образом, который следует признать необходимым промежуточным звеном, связующим этих двух персонажей. Речь идет о былине “Илья Муромец и Святогор” (Марков 1901: 307–310; Коргуев 1939: 221–222; Былины Печоры 1961: 212), где важную роль в развитии фабулы играет не названная по имени жена Святогора, также наделенная богатырской силой, которую она получила с остатками питья своего мужа. Таким образом, метонимический перенос на этот образ богатырских свойств Святогора нашел отражение даже на сюжетном уровне. С этой фигурой действительно связан целый ряд мотивов, тождественных тем, которыми характеризуются отношения Настасьи и Добрыни. Помимо упомянутых О. Ф. Миллером (жена Святогора кладет Илью (так же, как и Настасья Добрыню) в мешок или прямо в карман к Святогору; конь отказывается везти одновременно двух богатырей), это и возникающие между ней и Добрыней любовные отношения (за что Святогор в некоторых вариантах позднее убивает жену), и пространственное расположение героев относительно друг друга (в печорском варианте жена Святогора видит сидящего на дубу Илью в зеркале, т. е. Илья находится позади нее, как и Добрыня по отношению к Настасье во время нападения на нее: “А назад тут поляница не оглянется” (Гильфердинг 1873: 37). Архаичность этого сюжета сомнений не вызывает: как указывалось выше, Б. Н. Путилов относит былину “Илья Муромец и Святогор” к числу всего трех, в которых мифологические сюжеты сохранились в “чистом” виде.

В беломорском варианте этой былины Святогор возит жену в хрустальном ящичке, который открывает золотым ключом (Марков 1901: 307–310). Едва ли можно сомневаться в близких генетических связях этого ящичка с известным из сказок прозрачным (стеклянным, иногда золотым или серебряным, в русских сказках обычно также хрустальным) гробом, в который кладут мертвую принцессу. В классификации Аарне-Томпсона этот сюжет учтен под №709; в западноевропейской традиции он известен под названием “Белоснежка”; у восточных славян – как “Волшебное зеркальце” или “Мертвая царевна” (Aarne 1910: 24; Андреев 1929: 50; Thompson 1961: 245; Сравнительный... 1979: 179). Следует также упомянуть хрустальную гору из одноименной русской сказки, из которой герой освобождает заключенную в нее царевну. Эта подробность указывает на связь образа жены Святогора с загробным миром.

В указанном тексте этот ящик именуется словом *раец*: “На плечах-то он ведь держит хрустальный-от раец-от” (Марков 1901: 307), известным только по этой записи; его значение считается неясным (см. СРНГ 1965–: 33 251). По нашему мнению, это слово является диахроническим словообразовательным дублетом (типа *городьць* : *городькъ*) слова *раёк* ‘ящик с передвижными картинами, на которые смотрят через толстое стекло (Даль 1994: III 1468); вид кукольного театра; галерка’, которое представляет собой деминутив от *рай* (см. Фасмер 1996: III 432). Правильность этого объяснения подтверждается вариантом, записанным на Печоре, в котором фигурирует слово *ящик* (Былины Печоры 1961: 212).

Образ Настасьи Микуличны (Микулишны) нельзя рассматривать изолированно от близких образов других дев-богатырок в русских сказках и былинах (Марья Моревна, Усоньша-богатырка, Синеглазка, (З)латыгорка, безымянная дочь Ильи Муромца, Белая Лебедь Захарьевна), в южнославянском эпосе о королевиче Марко (вилы, Арватка (или Джидовка) (о последней см. Путилов 1971: 88–90; более отдаленные связи, вроде часто упоминаемых в связи с этим амазонок, мы не рассматриваем). Некоторые из них позволяют проследить мотивы основного мифа, не сохранившиеся в дошедших до нас былинах о Настасье.

Так, о змеиных истоках образа Виды-самовилы напоминает использование ей змей в качестве узды и плетки для оленя (“Го зачула Вида самовила, та фатила един сури елен, ем фатила до три люти зми; двете, зми удзи му ги кладе, а едната камшик я направи” (БНТ 1961: IV 158). Вилы (самовилы, самодивы) в сербском фольклоре также возводятся к хтоническому образу змея (как его женское соответствие), ср. особенно следующие стихи из песни, записанной в восточной Сербии: “Самодиви, самовили, И ви ‘е лоши ‘уди, И ви ‘е бели русалин, Сиви шарени зме’ове!” (Петровић 1999: 71–72).

Имя Усоньши-богатырши соотносимо с именем сказочного богатыря Усыни (вероятно, здесь произошло сближение с *сон*, *уснуть* (ср. русск. диал. *сонша* (твер.), *соньша* (новг., пск.) ‘тот, кто много спит’ (Даль 1994: IV 387), поскольку по сюжету сказки герой застаёт Усоньшу спящей), в образе которого сохранились отчетливые змеиные черты: в одной сказке он выступает как птица Усыня – змей о 12 головах (Великорусские... 1964: 60), ср.: “Усыня сопоставим с образом дракона или змея, запруживающего воды своими плечами” (Иванов, Топоров 1990: 159). При этом в образе Усыни ощутим отзвук отождествления противника героя (громовержца) с дубом, аналогичное тому, которое мы видели выше в латышских дайнах: “Он [Усыня], как дуб, упал на землю, умер” (Великорусские... 1964: 60). Показательно, что обе эти сказки (об Усоньше-богатырше и об Усыне) записаны в одном населенном пункте – селе Мишино бывшей Рязанской губернии.

Вместе с тем в образе Усыни присутствуют и солярные мотивы, а именно близкая ассоциация с солнечным годом, на что указывают 365 птичьих гнезд, находящихся на усе сербского соответствия Усыне Брко (с.-хорв. *брк* ‘ус’) (наблюдение о тождестве этих образов см. в Афанасьев [1865–1869]: II 264): “човјек му рекне: “Море и Брко је неки: саде ћеш га виђети”. У том стане ука с једне стране, док се иза брда помоли један брк и у њему триста и шездесет и пет тичији гнијезда. Мало-помало

помоли се и други брк; ете и Брка” (Караџић 1870: 4; русский перевод см. в Сказки народов Югославии 1962: 151). В (Кулишић et al. 1970: 52) лишь излагается содержание этой сказки, какая-либо интерпретация образа Брка там отсутствует. На связь Усыни русской сказки с солнцем, возможно, намекает тот факт, что герой встречается с ним в золотом царстве.

Местонахождение змея в основном мифе – у корней мирового дерева (см. Топоров 1994: 400). В этом контексте чрезвычайно выразительна такая деталь, как деревья, растущие под мышками у Усоньши-богатырши: “В третью комнату входит, там спит сама Усоньша-богатырка. И у ней, когда она почивает, из косточки в косточку мозжечок переливается, под мышками дерева с яблоками цветут” (Великорусские... 1964: 56) (Усыня также связан с яблоней, к которой он прилетает и подрывает ее корни (там же: 59).

В этой связи следует упомянуть и связь девы Златыгорки (былина “Илья Муромец и Сокольник”) с камнем Алатырь (образ, изофункциональный мировому древу). В редком и при этом густо насыщенном архаическими мотивами варианте “Добрыни и Настасьи”, где вместо Добрыни Никитича выступает Дунай Иванович, Настасья также локализуется близ Алатыря (названного “кружалом богатырским”, т. е. местом встречи богатырей) и даже на нем самом: герой видит ее спускающейся с его южной стороны (Крюкова 1939: 443).

Образ не названной по имени дочери Ильи Муромца соотносится с образом мирового дерева даже более тесно, потому что эта связь выражается в ее внешнем облике. На правой руке у нее сидит соловей, а на левой – жаворонок (Илья Муромец 1958: 209), ср. связь в восточнославянской традиции птиц с вырием (обозначение рая и мирового дерева, на котором сидят птицы (см. Иванов, Топоров 1994 а: 254; Иванов, Топоров 1994 в: 348). Внешность этой героини имеет больше общего с деревом, покрытым листвой, чем с человеческим существом: “У ней шапочка надета на головушку А й пушистая сама завесиста, Спереду-то не видать личка румяного И сзаду не видеть шеи белой” (Илья Муромец 1958: 207–208).

Эта безличность – очевидный рудимент более ранней, доантропоморфической стадии развития образа. Мотив отсутствия лица (выступающий в варианте, соответствующем следующей стадии антропоморфизации) присутствует и в образе Настасьи (в упомянутом выше варианте с Дунаем): “Поляница-то ездит в маски, Надета на лицё, подведена, Будто старым-то она старая, Будто древняя она старуха-то” (Крюкова 1939: 445). В финале Илья Муромец разрубает тело дочери на куски; эта прямая аналогия с эпизодом расщепления дуба заставляет вспомнить изофункциональность противника громовержца и дуба, которую мы наблюдали выше. Эквивалентность символов мирового дерева и женщины (переодетой деревом) подтверждается различными индоевропейскими и другими традициями, особенно балканскими ритуалами (см. Иванов, Топоров 1974: 36).

На отношение образа девы-воительницы к нижнему миру, миру смерти (о чем уже упоминалось выше) указывает и имя *Марья Моревна* в русской сказке, которое, на наш взгляд, восходит к форме, близкой слвц. *Ma(r)muriena*, вариант имени

божества смерти и зимы, чаще выступающего под именами *Mara, Mora, Marena, Morena, Marzana* и др. (о последнем см. Иванов, Топоров 1994 б: 111).

В слове *поляница (поленица)*, которым постоянно именуется и Настасья, и другие богатыри мужского и женского пола (как по отдельности, так и собирательно) и которое, вероятно, заменило более архаичное образование *полянинь* (ср. *Белая Поляница* и *Белый Полянин* в сказках), можно предполагать отражение первоначальной оппозиции по географическому положению (а также по вертикали, как обитателей верхнего и нижнего миров) богатырей младшего поколения по отношению к Святогору. *Pol'e : gora* – одна из основных оппозиций, характеризующих русскую (славянскую) традиционную картину мира, ср.: “поле противоплагается селению, лесу, горам, болоту и пр.” (Даль 1994: 3 646). Эта гипотеза косвенно подтверждается тем обстоятельством, что Святогор – единственный богатырь, который не называется словом *поляница* (за исключением единственного случая (см. Гильфердинг 1873: 1210), который логично объяснить обобщением тождественных описаний в былинах о Святогоре и Настасье). Аналогичная оппозиция отчетливо выступает (и именно в былине о Святогоре) в следующих былинных строках: “Под Алешей стоял туто Полешанин, Полешанин да Долгополянин” (Гильфердинг 1873: 1199). С учетом хорошо известной в славянских языках соотнесенности значений ‘гора’ и ‘лес’ (см. Толстой 1969: 22 и сл.) ее, видимо, следует считать позднейшей трансформацией упомянутой. О наличии в семантической структуре этого слова мифологического компонента свидетельствует русск. диал. (нижегор.) *поляница* ‘по суеверному представлению – злой дух, живущий в полях, на земле’ (СРНГ 1965–: 29 57). Эта семантика противопоставлена положительным коннотациям, относящимся к горам, возвышенным местам (о последних см. Иванов, Топоров 1965: 98), ср. в связи с этим первую часть имени Святогор: **svęt-* ‘святой’.

Таким образом, близкие параллели к образу Настасьи Микуличны, которые являются репрезентациями того же образа (гигантской) девы-воительницы, несомненно подтверждают его связь с загробным миром и происхождение в конечном счете от образа змея у мирового древа – противника бога-громовержца; змея, который также может быть изофункционален самому этому древу.

Добрыня Никитич

Черты и атрибуты громовержца у эпических героев, выступающих в рассматриваемых текстах, проявляются достаточно ясно: болгарская песня “Марко бие първото си либе” рисует образ бури и землетрясения, где палица Марко ассоциируется с молнией или оплодотворяющим дождем (см. Мороз 1996: 79): “Нито гърми, ни се земя тресе, нито вода от високо пада, нито змия у грамада свири, нито камен под бел мрамор дума. Току Марко бие първото си либе” (БФМ 2009–2018); о приближении Добрыни возвещают туча, гром и дождь (“Я ведь видела да чудо чудное, Чудо чудное да диво дивное: Со восточну-ту сторонку как бы туча тучилась, Туча тучилась, как бы гром гремел, Частый мелкий дождик шел; Немного тому времени миновалось,

Наехал дородный добрый молодец” (Марков 1901: 371), едущий на коне Добрыня поднимает дым от земли до неба (“Подынул Добрынюшко курево, Ай курево Добрынюшко марево, От неба до земли, от земли до неба” (Гильфердинг 1873: 847).

Однако содержание образа Добрыни отнюдь не исчерпывается эпической трансформацией более раннего образа бога-громовержца (такое его понимание выражено, в частности, в Иванов, Топоров 1974: 170–172). Вс. Ф. Миллер собрал богатый сравнительный материал, доказывающий обширность связей между былинами и кавказским, прежде всего нартским эпосом (Миллер 1892), причем Добрыня, в отличие от Святогора и Ильи Муромца, представлен у него лишь двумя-тремя примерами. Между тем целый ряд выразительных (нередко эндемичных) параллелей связывают этого былинного героя с главной фигурой нартского эпоса Сосланом (Созырыко), который характеризуется как солнечный герой (см. Дюмезиль 1976: 69–71) (показательно, что такое же определение дает Добрыне и О. Ф. Миллер (1869: 437 (примечание).

1. Сослан рождается из лежащего в реке камня (Сос-камень) (Нарты 1989: 86). Очевидная реминисценция этого мотива звучит в следующих словах Добрыни: “хотел бы родиться катучим валучим камешком и лежать в синем мори/ Лучше родила б моя матушка Серым горячим камешком, Завертела в тонко полотенышко, Ставала на гору высокую, Розмахала Добрыню – в море бросила” (Гильфердинг 1873: 160, 966) (имеются и другие варианты).

2. Большое влияние на обоих героев имеют их матери, выступающие как могучие волшебницы. Сатана постоянно помогает Сослану советом и магией (Нарты 1989: 98, 99, 112 и др.). Магические способности матери Добрыни Амелфы Тимофеевны (иногда она выступает и под другими именами) в значительной степени редуцированы, но и она проявляет дар ясновидения (предостерегает своего сына (в былине “Добрыня и змей”) от грозящей ему опасности (поединка со змеем), предсказывает ход будущего боя (Марков 1901: 228), а одной ее угрозы применить магию по отношению к злой колдунье Маринке, чтобы избавить от ее чар Добрыню, оказывается достаточно для достижения желаемого результата (былина “Добрыня и Маринка”) (Гильфердинг 1973: 116–117). Эта важная роль, которую мать играет в его жизни, резко отличает Добрыню от всех других былинных богатырей.

3. Идущий на пир Оразмаг (отчим Сослана), как и Добрыня в аналогичной ситуации (былина “Добрыня и Алеша”), надевает шубу (Нарты 1989: 89), причем нартское сказание устами Сатаны подробно объясняет причину этого поступка (“Хотят тебя умертвить, и, когда поднесут тебе первую чашу, ты помолись и выпей ее. Вторую поднесут тебе как старшему среди нартов, в ней будет яд, и ты вылей ее в трубку. Надень свою большую шубу, сам садись на шерстяные тюфяки, и тогда вся жидкость будет стекать в них”), тогда как действие Добрыни является немотивированным и его шуба никакой роли в развитии действия не играет, что говорит о вторичном характере этого мотива в былине. Сходство ситуаций здесь не исчерпывается событием пира: Добрыня, отправляющийся на свадьбу собственной жены, имеет, подобно Оразмагу, все основания предполагать, что не будет на ней желанным гостем.

4. Как и Добрыня, Сослан встречает богатырку, которая кладет его вместе с конем за пазуху, а затем на ладонь (Нарты 1989: 94) (ср. угрозу Настасьи положить Добрыню на ладонь и расплющить как овсяный блин в случае, если он не полюбится ей или откажется взять ее замуж). Однако поведение Сослана в этой ситуации в корне отличается от поведения наследника воинственного громовержца Добрыни: нарт полностью подавлен физическим превосходством своей визави и не помышляет о единоборстве с ней. Это сравнение позволяет отчетливо провести границу между исконным и заимствованным слоями данного эпизода былины. Предположение о кавказских истоках этого эпизода и образа девы-великанши на основе сравнения с другим сказанием (об Алаугане и Эмегене) сделал М. Г. Халанский (1885: 31–33).

5. Сватаясь к Бедухе, Сослан по требованию невесты стреляет в ее воздушную башню (Нарты 1989: 97). Это позволяет интерпретировать нападение Добрыни на Настасью (обычно с помощью палицы или меча, но в одном случае так же, как и в нартском эпосе, стрелами (см. Марков 1901: 312–313) с точки зрения не только сюжета основного мифа, но и ритуала сватовства у предков осетин. В осетинских сказках мы находим неоднократные описания сватовства, в ходе которого жених должен был продемонстрировать свою силу и удаль, причем именно по отношению к невесте: “Я выдам свою дочь только за того, кто сможет разрушить ее башню”; “Елиа решил снова испытать свое счастье, еще раз посвататься. “– Пойду опять покажусь ей еще раз,— сказал он сам себе. – В другом облике она меня не узнает”. Он нагнал темную тучу, стал стрелять, греметь” (Осетинские... 1973: 103, 465). Еще более близкую параллель этому эпизоду нартского сказания, подтверждающую неслучайность связи данного мотива с образом Добрыни, мы находим в былине “Добрыня и Маринка”: стрела героя попадает в окно к опасной чародейке (убивая ее любовника Туга-змеевича), которая тут же просит Добрыню взять ее замуж (Гильфердинг 1873: 116 и др.).

6. Сослана и Добрыню сближает также мотив ложной гибели. Сослан неоднократно притворяется мертвым на поле боя, вследствие чего родным сообщают о его смерти (Нарты 1989: 117, 120); это напоминает ложное известие о гибели Добрыни, которое приносит его матери Алеша Попович (“Добрыня и Алеша”).

7. Оба богатыря не чужды веселью, забаве, что не совсем обычно для эпических героев этого типа: Добрыня на пиру своей игрой на гусях доставляет живую радость всем присутствующим; Сослан охарактеризован следующим образом: “Он был единственным славным мужем между нами, единственным весельчаком, приводившим нас в живость, заставлявшим забывать нас тяжелые часы жизни” (Нарты 1989: 138).

Таким образом, есть все основания говорить о сложности образа Добрыни, в котором исконные мифологические черты бога-громовержца соединены с заимствованиями из восточноиранского эпоса.

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Анализ сюжета и образной структуры былины “Добрыня и Настасья” в сравнении с данными славянского, балтийского и иранского фольклора позволил выявить и обосновать ее мифологическую основу. Характерно, что в каждой из рассмотренных версий основного мифа он предстает в неполном, деградированном виде; лишь их совокупность позволяет восстановить все его ключевые части и мотивы. Это обстоятельство лишний раз доказывает методологическую важность учета при анализе фольклорных текстов всех возможных вариантов, в т. ч. и в родственных языках.

Другой важный вывод заключается в том, что эпические сюжеты и образы часто формируются во взаимодействии разных культурных традиций. В силу этого они не могут быть возведены к одному источнику или прототипу, но содержат несколько генетических и/или хронологических слоев.

Перспективы дальнейшего исследования связаны с более широким и детальным сравнительным анализом былинных текстов (особенно в их редких, малоизвестных вариантах) и произведений устного народного творчества индоевропейских народов, среди которых южнославянский, балтийский и восточноиранский материал будет, как показывают результаты проведенного исследования, играть наиболее важную роль.

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ON THE MYTHOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE BYLINA “DOBRYNYA
AND NASTAS’YA”

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This article deals with mythological motifs reflected in the bylina “Dobrynya and Nastas’ya” discussed in comparison with the Baltic, South Slavic, and Ossetic epic texts. This work of Russian oral literature has not been mentioned thus far among the bylinas that have preserved traces of the East Slavic mythology. The close connection of the motifs of (oak-)tree splitting and of weddings (i.e., combat against a female rival if we take into consideration the folk metaphor “wedding – battle”), which we find in it, allows comparing this bylina with the Lettish and Bulgarian epic songs representing variants of the principal Indo-European myth. The author analyses the genetic relations of many details of these texts in order to explain their origin, mutual connections, and transformations.

Considerable attention is also given to the images of the main personages. The image of the warrior maiden Nastas’ya Mikulichna is included in the range of associations leading to the figure of a creature who belongs to the infernal world, and, finally, to the image of a snake near the world tree – a rival of the thunderstorm god. Numerous parallels connecting the image of Dobrynya with the main figure of the Ossetic Nart epic Soslan/Sozryko (some of which are secondary in the bylinas) indicate its compound character, which combines the original features of the thunderstorm god with borrowings from the East Iranian epic.

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Čarovništvo – diskurz ali praksa?

— Mirjam Mencej —

This paper challenges a generally accepted view that witchcraft is always a matter of discourse, and the witch a fictitious person who is ascribed bewitchment but, in fact, performed none. It discusses the hints that point to bewitchments being, at least occasionally, a matter of practice and reality, and a “witch” indeed a practitioner of acts, perceived as harmful. It also challenges the etic difference between the “natural” and “supernatural” acts in the context of witchcraft accusations and argues that there is no clear difference between the former and the latter for people thinking within a witchcraft discourse.

KEYWORDS: witchcraft, magic, discourse, witches, Slovenia

Raziskave čarovništva, ki ga lahko razumemo kot socialno institucijo, ideologijo oziroma kulturni repertoar, s pomočjo katerega lahko ljudje razlagajo nesrečo, so v zadnjih desetletjih v zgodovino in antropologiji doživele pravi razcvet ter sestavljajo skorajda samostojno disciplino. Večina sodobnih raziskovalcev čarovništva to razume kot posebno obliko *diskurza* (prim. Mencej 2016; 2017).¹ Ti raziskovalci poudarjajo pomen jezika v obtožbah čarovništva in menijo, da so primeri škodovanja s pomočjo čarovništva, o katerih pripovedujejo ljudje, ne le izraženi skozi pripovedi, ampak dejansko samo v njih sploh obstajajo. Francoska etnologinja Jeanne Favret-Saada, ki je npr. najprej nameravala raziskovati čarovniške *prakse* na francoskem podeželju, je kmalu ugotovila, da so bile edino empirično dejstvo, na katero je naletela med svojo raziskavo, *besede*. V čarovniškem napadu gre za »niz besed, ki jih v krizni situaciji izreče nekdo, ki bo kasneje označen za čarovnika, in ki so kasneje interpretirane, kot da so imele učinek na telo in lastnino osebe, s katero je ta govoril in ki bo na podlagi tega trdila, da je začarana,« piše Favret-Saada (1980: 9). Zato se je v svoji raziskavi kmalu preusmerila s praks na pripovedi – saj so, kot piše, dejstva čarovništva govorni proces in čarovnik oseba, ki ga kot takega prepoznavajo

¹ »Diskurz« tu razumem v najširšem, antropološkem smislu, kot »socialno umeščeno rabo jezika« (»socially situated language-use«) (Cameron 2001: 7), kot »govor v običajnih situacijah socialnih izmenjav« (»speech in habitual situations of social exchange«), kar implicira tesno povezavo med jezikom in vedenjem ter vstavljenost govora v rutinske socialne odnose in vedenja (glej Rapport in Overing 2007: 134). Glej tudi definicijo diskurza Henryja in Tatorja: »Diskurz je način, na katerega je jezik socialno rabljen za to, da prenaša širše zgodovinske pomene. Gre za jezik, ki je identificiran z vidika socialnih razmer svoje rabe in z vidika tega, kdo ga uporablja in v kakšnih razmerah.« (Henry in Tator 2002: 25)

ljudje, ki govorijo v čarovniškem diskurzu, in ki ima v njem samo vlogo subjekta take izjave (Favret-Saada 1980: 24–25). Podobno tudi angleški zgodovinar Stuart Clark poudarja pomen jezika za razumevanje čarovništva – jezik v čarovništvu po njegovem mnenju ne izraža neposredne objektivne resničnosti zunaj sebe, ampak jo šele konstruira. Šele jezik omogoča, da izražanje in dejanja, povezana s čarovniškimi verovanji, prenašajo pomene, zato bi morali prav ta postati predmet raziskovalčeve pozornosti, ne pa njegov odnos z zunajjezikovnim svetom, se pravi vprašanje, ali ustreza objektivni resničnosti ali ne, trdi Clark (1997: 6, glej tudi 3–10; 2001: 1–9). Podobno nizozemski zgodovinski antropolog Willem de Blécourt meni, da ima oznaka »čarovnica« pomen samo v določenem sistemu, »ne toliko 'verovanjškem sistemu', kot v nečem, kar bi najlažje imenovali diskurz, saj ga lahko dosežemo predvsem skozi jezik« – de Blécourt diskurz definira kot »koherenten sistem konceptov, zgodb in dejanj«² (2013: 363, 369).

Če čarovništvo torej razumemo kot diskurz, kot objektivna resničnost, kot praksa torej ne obstaja, ampak gre zgolj za dejanja, ki jih tožniki *pripisujejo* ljudem, ki jih imajo za čaravnice,³ ne pa za dejanja, ki bi jih kdo tudi zares izvedel. Jeanne Favret-Saada tako na primer meni, da pozicija čaravnice ne obstaja in da osebe, ki so prepoznane kot take, nikoli niso tudi zares izvajale čarovniških praks – »čarovnik je oseba, o kateri govorijo tisti, ki govorijo v diskurzu čarovništva (začarani in nasprotniki čarovnic), in ki obstaja le v njem, kot subjekt trditve« (Favret-Saada 1980: 24, 135, 161). Tak pogled na čarovništvo torej čarovnico razume zgolj kot fiktivno osebo, osebo, ki ji je bilo čarovniško dejanje⁴ zgolj pripisano, ki pa ga v resnici ni izvedla. Tak pogled je tako preusmeril fokus raziskav čarovništva z domnevne čaravnice in njenih dejanj na »žrtev« čarovništva ter k vprašanju, zakaj nekdo verjame, da je postal žrtev čarovniškega dejanja, kateri so razlogi, ki so pripeljali do obtožb, zakaj so bile kot čaravnice označene prav določene osebe itd. Ker po tem pogledu na čarovništvo čaravnice ne obstajajo in jih lahko dosežemo samo skozi diskurz, so se torej raziskave osredotočile na pričevanja domnevnih žrtev oziroma pripovedi, ki pripovedujejo o čarovništvu z vidika žrtev (glej Briggs 2002: 7; Pócs 2004: 176; de Blécourt 2013: 262).

Nedvomno so navadno edini vir informacij o čarovništvu, ki je dostopen raziskovalcu na terenu, pripovedi, ki določena dejanja razumejo kot čarovniška. Pripovedi so za ljudi gotovo tudi bistvenega pomena za strukturiranje, interpretiranje in podelitev izkušenj z domnevnim čarovništvom z drugimi. Celó če bi bil posameznik priča čarovniškim dejanjem ali jih celo sam izvajal, bi bile pripovedi še vedno pogoj za njihovo pravilno razumevanje v kontekstu čarovniškega diskurza, za vzdrževanje čarovništva kot socialne institucije ter kot sredstvo prenašanja znanja o strategijah, kako odgovoriti na morebitni čarovniški

² Toda če koncepti sicer so element diskurza, sodijo na nivo kognitivne realnosti, medtem ko zgodbe in dejanja *artikulirajo, izražajo* te koncepte.

³ Ker ženske obtoženke v čarovništvu prevladujejo (čeprav so lahko obtoženi tudi moški), bom v nadaljevanju uporabljala žensko osebo, razen kadar gre za konkretno osebo, ki je moškega spola, ali kadar avtor, na katerega se sklicujem, uporablja moški spol.

⁴ Za angleški izraz »bewitchment« bom v tem tekstu uporabljala izraz »čarovniško dejanje«. Ta v slovenščini sicer ne implicira nujno, da je njegova posledica škoda ali nesreča, kot je jasno iz angleške besede (prim. de Blécourt 1999: 151–152).

napad (glej Stark 2004: 86; Eilola 2006: 33). Skozi pripovedi so ljudje socializirani v specifično diskurzivno konstrukcijo sveta, ki vpliva na njihove izkušnje in jim jih pomaga razumeti (glej Rapport in Overing 2007: 137–138, 142). A čeprav so jezikovne okoliščine, ki omogočajo prenašanje pomenov s čarovništvom povezanim pripovedim in dejanjem, ključne, lahko vsaj poskušamo razmišljati tudi o njihovem odnosu do zunajjezikovnega sveta (prim. Clark zgoraj). V nadaljevanju bom torej razmišljala o vprašanju, ali gre pri čarovništvu vedno res samo za »pripisana« dejanja ali pa gre morda, vsaj občasno, tudi za dejanja, ki so bila zares prakticirana. Ali je torej čarovništvo res v celoti stvar diskurza ali pa lahko morda, vsaj občasno, prepoznamo v njem tudi elemente objektivne resničnosti? Gre torej zgolj za zgodbe ali vsaj občasno tudi za prakse? Ali če vprašanje zastavim drugače: ali torej obstaja »practicirano čarovništvo« in osebe, ki čarovništvo res prakticirajo, ali pa so bila nekatera dejanja vedno zgolj (napačno) interpretirana kot čarovniška in čarovniške obtožbe zgolj stvar domišljije?

V nasprotju s (trenutno) prevladujočim mnenjem raziskovalcev, ki čarovništvo razumejo zgolj kot diskurz, so nekateri raziskovalci verjeli, da so vsaj občasno nekateri ljudje tudi v resnici izvajali čarovniške prakse. Ameriški zgodovinar Edward Bever (2008: 28) tako piše, da so v zgodnjenovoveških württemberških sojenjih čarovnicam nekateri ljudje priznali izvajanje magijskih praks,⁵ v nekaterih primerih pa so bili najdeni tudi predmeti, ki so to potrevali. Podobno je tudi Sørensen (2010: 112) mnenja, da so nekateri v zgodnjem novem veku v Evropi magijske prakse občasno tudi zares izvajali. Laura Stark (2004: 69) prav tako meni, da so to počeli tudi prebivalci finskega podeželja v 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja. Po pisanju Jenkinsa (1991: 307, 323; 2010: 91) obstajajo celo dokazi, da je bilo na Irskem čarovništvo tudi zares prakticirano, ne le predmet »verjetja«. Podobno je madžarska etnologinja Tekla Dömötör prepričana, da so na Madžarskem skrivaj izvajali čarovniške prakse, in portugalski etnolog Lisón Tolosana ne dvomi o resničnem obstoju čarovniških praks, namenjenih škodovanju, v portugalski Galiciji (Dömötör 1982: 161; Lisón Tolosana 1994: 276, po de Blécourt 1999: 188). Portugalski antropolog de Pina-Cabral, ki je v letih 1978–1980 raziskoval na območju Alto Minho v severni Portugalski, prav tako opozarja, da kljub nasprotnim trditvam prebivalcev sledovi pričajo o tem, da so ljudje magijske prakse občasno tudi zares izvajali (de Pina-Cabral 1986: 178). Éva Pócs in Ágnes Hesz sta med katoliškimi Madžari v Transilvaniji posneli pripovedi, ki potrjujejo realnost čarovniških praks – te so ljudje izvajali sami (Hesz je takemu dejanju celo osebno prisostvovala – ustna informacija) ali pa so jih dali izvesti romunskim pravoslavnim duhovnikom (oziroma so verjeli, da jih bodo ti izvedli za plačilo) (Pócs 2004: 174–176; Hesz 2007: 21–22). V teku svoje raziskave v Bosni in Hercegovini v letih 2016–2019 sem tudi sama posnela vsaj dve prvoosebni pričevanji ljudi, ki so sami izvajali čarovniška dejanja z namenom škodovanja drugim, čeprav interpretirana kot maščevanje drugi osebi zaradi čarovniškega dejanja, ki ga je ta izvedla prva, ali pa kot izničenje učinkov čarovniškega dejanja, ki ga je najprej izvedla druga oseba (Mencej 2018). Vse to kaže, da so verjetno vsaj nekateri ljudje vsaj občasno dejansko izvajali prakse, ki so bile razumljene kot čarovniške in so bile namenjene škodovanju, ter so to

⁵ Protiargument je seveda ta, da so obtoženke ta dejanja priznavale pod prisilo, med mučenjem.

včasih tudi odkrito priznavali, kljub temu da so svoja dejanja praviloma upravičevali kot odgovor na predhodno čarovniško dejanje, usmerjeno proti njim samim.

Tudi nekatere pripovedi, ki smo jih s študenti in študentkami Oddelka za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo posneli na podeželju v vzhodni Sloveniji⁶ v letih 2000 in 2001, v letih od 2013 do 2015 pa sem raziskavo nadaljevala še sama, potrjujejo, da čarovniška dejanja niso bila vedno samo »pripisana«, ampak tudi, vsaj občasno, izvajana. Večina naših sogovornikov je recimo trdila, da so na območju svoje domačije našli zakopana jajca, kosti ali druge predmete, ki so jih razumeli kot čarovniške predmete, zakopane tja zato, da bi povzročili škodo, običajno gospodarsko. »Zavistni sosedi«, ki so bili praviloma osumljeni tega čarovniškega dejanja, zagotovo niso zakopali vseh predmetov, za katere so ljudje domnevali, da so bili zakopani z namenom škodovanja – njihova najdba namreč samo kaže na možno čarovniško dejanje in kot predmeti, ki naj bi povzročili škodo, so prepoznani samo s strani domnevnih žrtev (prim. de Blécourt 1999: 189). Določeno število kosti je gotovo lahko obležalo po tleh in v zemlji po koncu letnih zakolov živine zaradi psov, ki so jih raznašali naokrog, in določeno število jajc, ki so jih ljudje našli na poljih in drugod po domačiji, je lahko posledica tega, da so kokoši občasno znesle jajca tudi zunaj kokošnjakov. Nihče od naših sogovornikov ni nikoli nikogar zalotil med zakopavanjem predmetov, *in flagrante*, kar bi nedvoumno potrdilo »čarovniško« razlago. V najboljšem primeru so včasih ljudje pripovedovali, da so opazili sumljive osebe smukati se okrog njihovih polj, preverili in tam našli sveže zakopana jajca:

I: Ja [...] enkrat je eden mi povedaval, de je videl, de je ena tam pri vrtu se ustavila, ko je bila osumljena, da je coprnica, in da je nekaj zakopala in da je šel čez en cajt gledat, pa da je bilo notri jajce zakopano. Ja! [smeh]

F: Kakšno jajce?

I: Jajce, kokošje.

F: In kaj je pomenilo to jajce?

I: Nekaj, da jim je škodovalo, najbrž, najbrž, kaj pri živadi, ne. Pri perutnini, ali kje.

F: Pa ga je potem uničil, ali ga je kar tam pustil, ali kaj je naredil?

I: Tisto pa ni povedal [smeh]. (47)

⁶ V terenski raziskavi so sodelovali: Alenka Bartulović, Tanja Bizjan, Tina Volarič, Lidija Sova, Marija Jemec, Urša Koprivec, Petra Misja, Ksenija Batič, Jana Drašler, Nuša Berce, Ana Frlič, Anja Kušar, Matena Bassin, Benjamin Bezek, Iza Verdel, Živa Bobek, Tjaša Pavšič, Urška Bajec, Jasmina Papič, Tanja Verboten, Nina Rolc, Marija Jemec, Ksenija Batič, Petra Misja, Kristina Stibilj, Maja Globočnik, Katarina Župevc, Sara Pistotnik, Neža Mrevlje, Urša Umek, Matic Bukovac, Vera Jačimović, Laura Bianca Kramer, Tina Rehar, Adela Ramovš, Ana Novak, Jasna Pečelin, Petra Zgaga, Špela Naglič, Miha Mulh, Luna Jurančič Šribar, Katja Vidovič, Tanja Skale, Miha Šinkovec, Lidija Sova, Tanja Stanič, Saša Zupanc, Helena Dembsky, Anuša Pisanec, Michela Gregoretti in David Pfeifer. Transkripcije so v celoti delo študentov.

⁷ Črka I v transkripcijah pogovorov je oznaka za našega sogovornika, F pa za spraševalca, folklorista. Številka v oklepaju za pogovorom je oznaka sogovornika v dokumentaciji Oddelka. Zaradi velikega števila študentov, ki so besedila transkribirali, pri čemer se niso vsi v enaki meri držali pravil transkripcije, za katera smo se dogovorili (zapisovanje vsega, kar odstopa od zborne izreke: diftongi, spremembe v izglasju, neobičajen naglas na besedi, polglasniki ipd.), sem zapis jezika glasoslovno poenostavila, medtem ko na ravni skladnje in besedišča pripovedi praviloma nismo spreminjali. Posneti material (kasete in fotografije) ter podatke o naših sogovornikih, času, kraju posnetka itd. hrani dokumentacija Oddelka za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani.

Toda takšne trditve so bile seveda izrečene s strani ljudi, ki so zakopane predmete interpretirali znotraj čarovniškega diskurza, v okviru katerega je bil na raziskovanem območju pač vsak zakopani predmet, ki je predstavljal tujek na posestvu, razumljen kot čarovniški predmet, ki je tja zakopan namerno, da bi povzročil škodo. Dokaz, da je človek izvajal čarovniško dejanje – ne pa da je bil tega osumljen oziroma mu je bilo to dejanje zgolj pripisano –, je torej v najboljšem primeru stvar interpretacije (glej Jenkins 2010: 92). Ker so takšne pripovedi pripovedovale domnevne »žrtve«, jih je mogoče razumeti tudi kot narativno strategijo za podkrepitev lastnega argumenta, sporočila, ki so ga želeli prenesti raziskovalcu.

A poleg pripovedi, ki so jih pripovedovale domnevne žrtve, smo posneli tudi nekaj pripovedi, v katerih so ljudje sami priznali, da so zakopali čarovniški predmet na posestvo druge osebe oziroma vsaj sodelovali pri takšnem dejanju. Pripovedi o namernem škodovanju s pomočjo čarovniške prakse, povedane s pozicije »čarovnice«, so seveda redke. Takšna priznanja so redka tako iz strahu pred socialnimi posledicami (ostracizem, obsojanje, slab sloves ...) kot tudi zaradi krščanske morale (prim. Hesz 2007: 21–22) – večina naših sogovornikov je bilo namreč katolikov. Če so ljudje torej že priznali, da so izvedli čarovniško dejanje, to seveda nikoli ni moglo biti predstavljeno kot dejanje začaranja kot tako, ampak brez izjeme zgolj kot upravičen odgovor na prvotno namerno čarovniško dejanje, ki ga je izvedla druga oseba. Takšno »protidejanje« je bilo izvedeno v skladu s navodili, kako se ubraniti čarovniškega čara, ki so bila del kolektivnega znanja. »Vrniti« čarovniški predmet osebi, za katero so domnevali, da ga je prva zakopala, je namreč eden od ukrepov, ki jih tradicijski repertoar ukrepov proti čarovništvu ponuja ljudem v primeru, ko domnevajo, da jim je čarovnica poskušala škodovati. Druga možnost je bila, da čarovniški predmet uničijo ali ga odstranijo. Katoliška vera in vrednote so morda res vplivale na odločitve mnogih, da čarovniškega predmeta niso vrnili osumljencu, a pogostost najdevanja zakopanih predmetov bi morda lahko kazala tudi na to, da se je čarovniški predmet odločilo vrniti domnevni čarovnici, če že ne prvotno zakopati ga z namenom škodovanja, več ljudi, kot jih je bilo to pripravljeno priznati. V naslednjih pripovedih lahko vidimo nekaj priznanj ljudi, da so predmet zakopali oziroma položili ali vrgli na posestvo soseda:

I: Je rekel tale oče: »Jaz vem, da ni bilo jajca, če sem jaz zvečer kidal in vem, da ni bilo nič, ne. Pridem pa zjutraj, pa sem našel tri žlopotke.«⁸ To so gnila jajca, ne. In to je menda ena soseda, ki ji ni ratalo ... ji niso ratali piščanci ali kokoši, ne, in je to pač verjela: zdaj bom jaz onemu nastavila in potem, ker jaz onemu slabo želim, bo tisti, bo pač on imel nesrečo, ne.

F: Če ona nastavi, kaj bi bila potem posledica za to hišo?

I: Slábo.

F: Kakšno?

I: Pri tej hiši naj ne bi imeli sreče s kokošmi, na primer, če je to.

⁸ Čeprav je to eden redkih primerov, ki omenja, da je bilo treba zakopati gnila jajca, se zdi, da je verjetno prvotni smisel teh dejanj prav v zakopavanju *gnilih* jajc – po analogiji naj bi bil tudi pridelek gnil, slab oz. naj bi se sosedom ne izlegli piščanci itd.

F: Samo s kokošmi?

I: Ja. Ker je ona to z jajci hotela. In to je ta človek rekel: »Ja, to točno vem, katera ženska je, in jaz sem potem to njej tudi vrnil.«

F: Kako je pa vrnil?

I: Tako, da je on potem po drugi strani ..., da ona ni vedela.

F: Ji je tudi jajca nastavil?

I: Ja. (91)

I: In jaz sem šla potem drugi dan gor na breg, kjer smo krompir ogrevali. Frišno smo ogrevali in na friško je bilo skopano in je bilo jajce notri.

F: Pa se je kaj zgodilo potem?

I: Ja, pri živadi se začne nesreča, ne ...

F: Je potem kmalu umrla?

I: Ja, tisto jajce sem jaz ... pa sem ga v tisto smer zapodila. [smeh]

F: Pa se je njim kaj zgodilo?

I: Ja, potem se je glih tako, ne.

F: Jim je crknilo takrat kaj?

I: Seveda pogine ali kaj je, nekaj je, ne. (9)

Čeprav so bili ti pripovedovalci s svoje perspektive »žrtve« začaranja, pa so bili z vidika perspektive soseda, na čigar posestvo so zakopali oziroma vrnil predmet, »čarovnice«. Z vidika zunanjega opazovalca, na drugi strani, so v nizu dogodkov zavzemali izmenično eno ali drugo vlogo, tj. vlogo čarovnice ali žrtve:

Oseba A najde čarovniški predmet (A = žrtev čarovnice) →

Oseba A vrne čarovniški predmet osebi B, tj. domnevni čarovnici (A = čarovnica)

Če, hipotetično gledano, oseba B najde predmet, zakopan na svojem posestvu, se lahko odloči za enak postopek, namreč da bo ga bo zakopala oziroma vrnila sosedu. Če so v njegovem odnosu z A že pred tem obstajale napetosti (prim. Mencej 2015), bo B verjetno osumil za čarovnico osebo A. Veriga dogodkov se torej lahko v teoriji odvija *ad infinitum* in poziciji obeh oseb se lahko v nedogled izmenjujeta od čarovnice do njene žrtve. A medtem ko so ljudje, ki vračajo čarovniški predmet, v svojih očeh vedno žrtve, ki se zgolj ravna po tradicijskih navodilih, kako preprečiti nesrečo, ki bi jo ta predmet sicer povzročil, so v očeh svojih sosedov vedno čarovnice, ki so na posestvo soseda zakopale predmet z namenom, da bi mu škodovale:

Oseba A najde čarovniški predmet (A = žrtev čarovnice) → Oseba A vrne čarovniški predmet osebi B, tj. domnevni čarovnici (A = čarovnica)

Oseba B najde čarovniški predmet (B = žrtev čarovnice) → Oseba B vrne čarovniški predmet osebi A, tj. domnevni čarovnici (B = čarovnica)

Oseba A najde čarovniški predmet (A = žrtev čarovnice) → Oseba A vrne čarovniški predmet osebi B, tj. domnevni čarovnici (A = čarovnica)

Če pa pred tem med osebo A in drugimi sosedi ni bilo napetosti, bo domnevna žrtev najverjetneje najprej preverila vse indice, ki bi lahko razkrili identiteto čarovnice. Tako bi lahko za čarovnico osumila katerokoli osebo, ne nujno tiste, ki je morda v resnici zakopala čarovniški predmet, in ji »vrnila« predmet. V tem primeru predmet, tehnično gledano, torej ne bi bil »vrnjen« – kljub temu da bi domnevna žrtev svoje dejanje razumela tako. Veriga dogodkov bi bila torej v tem primeru videti takole:

Oseba A najde čarovniški predmet (A = žrtev čarovnice) → Oseba A vrne čarovniški predmet osebi B, tj. domnevni čarovnici (A = čarovnica)
Oseba B najde čarovniški predmet (B = žrtev čarovnice) → Oseba B vrne čarovniški predmet osebi C, tj. domnevni čarovnici (B = čarovnica)
Oseba C najde čarovniški predmet (C = žrtev čarovnice) → Oseba C vrne čarovniški predmet osebi D, tj. domnevni čarovnici (C = čarovnica) ...

Celo če zakopanega predmeta, ki bi bil v diskurzu čarovništva razumljen kot čarovniški predmet, ne bi bilo, bi bila interpretacija zakopanja predmeta na sosedovo posestvo kot »vračila« in torej nujnega protiukrepa lahko tudi primerna strategija, namenjena upravičenju izvedbe dejanja, katerega posledica naj bi bila nesreča soseda. Če je oseba dodala ta manjkajoči člen v verigi, tj. prvotno najdeni predmet na svojem posestvu, je bilo »čarovniško« dejanje v njihovih očeh, pa tudi v očeh drugih, upravičeno. V nasprotju s situacijo v Franciji, kjer je morala oseba, ki je bila obtožena čarovništva, svojo zgodbo spremeniti v zgodbo »žrtve« (Favret-Saada 1980: 192), so na našem območju lahko svojo zgodbo torej spremenili v zgodbo »žrtve« ljudje, ki so želeli škodovati drugim, torej delovati kot »čarovnice«.

Še več, ker ljudje včasih pripovedi odigrajo, jih torej spremenijo v dejanje *ostenzije*⁹ (cf. Dégh in Vázsonyi 1983; Dégh 2001: 422–424), so ljudje svoja dejanja lahko izvedli tudi kot odigranje zgodbe. Medtem ko je bil koncept ostenzije v folkloristiki pogosto apliciran zlasti na kriminalna dejanja ali pa obravnavan v kontekstu »potovanj po povedkah« (t. i. *legend trip*) (prim. Ellis 2003: 165–185; Lindahl 2005: 165ff.), je Stephen Mitchell s pomočjo koncepta ostenzije poskušal pojasniti tudi kolektivno vedenje vaščanov v napadu na domnevno čarovnico v Angliji v 19. stoletju (2004: 21–22). Pravzaprav je že Linda Dégh, ki je z Andrewom Vázsonyijem koncept ostenzije prva vpeljala v folkloristiko, tega povezala tudi s čarovništvom, ko je pisala, da večina tradicijskih povedk o čarovništvu meša naracijo in ostenzijo (Dégh 2001: 424–425). A če se zdi ostenzija kot koncept sprejemljiva, kadar dejanje sledi zaporedju elementov v pripovedi, je po mojem mnenju manj smiselna v raziskavah čarovništva kot socialne institucije, ki vsebuje cel niz različnih zgodb, dejanj, vzorcev vedenja, socialnih odnosov ... Če ista kognitivna predstava prežema in vpliva na nastanek in širjenje tako povedk kot tudi praks, ni potrebe po tem, da bi te prakse razumeli kot aktualizacijo (ostenzijo) povedk, saj obe verbalizirata

⁹ Ostenzijo lahko definiramo kot »proces, v katerem ljudje odigrajuje teme ali dogodke znotraj ljudskih pripovedi« (»the process by which people act out themes or events found within folk narratives«) (Fine 1992: 205), torej so to njihovi »dramatični podaljški v resnično življenje« (»dramatic extension into real life«) (Ellis 2003: 41).

isto kognitivno predstavo oziroma verovanje, le da je to v enem primeru artikulirano verbalno in v drugem izvedeno kot dejanje. Razumevanje praks in vednja v kontekstu čarovništva kot ostenzije se zdi tako odveč. De Blécourt in Davies opozarjata tudi na previdnost v razumevanju zgodb o čarovništvu kot navodil za vedenje, saj po njenem mnenju takšna perspektiva prispeva k »zanikanju predhodnih procesov, v katerih so bile narejene izbire, in implicira, da je to, kar je pripovedovano, tudi uresničljivo« (Blécourt in Davies 2004a: 12).

»NARAVNO« ALI »NADNARAVNO«

Poleg razumljive nepripravljenosti ljudi, da bi v primeru, če bi izvedli čarovniško prakso, to tudi zares priznali, lahko zamegli diskusijo o tem, ali je čarovništvo vsaj občasno del praks ali zgolj nekaj, kar ljudje pripišejo drugim, še en dejavnik – vprašanje, kako čarovništvo sploh razumeti. Jenkins je čarovništvo definiral kot »zlonamerno *nadnaravno* agresijo, pri čemer se lahko uporablja uroke ali ritual ali notranje osebne moči, zunaj okvirov legitimne religije in rituala«¹⁰ (Jenkins 2007: 203; moj poudarek). Omembo »nadnaravnega« najdemo tudi v Huttonovi definiciji čarovnice kot osebe, »ki uporablja domnevno *nadnaravna* sredstva za povzročanje nesreč ali poškodb drugih«¹¹ (Hutton 2006: 211–212; moj poudarek). Toda kako pravzaprav razumeti koncept »nadnaravnega« v teh definicijah? Ali ta koncept odseva emsko perspektivo – se pravi, so ljudje, ki so razmišljali v okviru čarovniškega diskurza, verjeli, da gre pri čarovniških dejanjih (izključno) za nadnaravna dejanja? So torej razlikovali med dejanji, ki jih v okviru znanstvene paradigme ni mogoče razložiti kot naravna in bi jih torej lahko razumeli le kot nadnaravna, in povsem naravnimi dejanji, ki bi lahko povzročila nesrečo – da so torej prva razumeli kot čarovništvo, druga pa ne? Ali če postavimo vprašanje malce drugače: so ljudje naravne razloge, ki so povzročili nesrečo, izločili iz obtožb čarovništva ali ne?

Edward Bever (2008: 6–11) v svoji knjigi, v kateri razmišlja o možnih realnih podlagah čarovniških obtožb, trdi, da so obtožbe čarovništva v zgodnjenovoveških sojenjih čarovnicam pogosto zadevale fizične delikte, kot so kraja, požig, zastрупitev, fizični napad, kraja mleka in fizične poškodbe domačih živali. Tudi Owen Davies (1999a: 176–177) je na podlagi svoje raziskave angleškega čarovništva od srede 18. do srede 20. stoletja mnenja, da vsaj določen odstotek nenadnih in nenavadnih poškodb živali, ki so jih ljudje pripisali čarovništvu, kaže na to, da je šlo v resnici za zastрупitve,¹² medtem ko je bilo pokvarjeno pinjenje mleka lahko posledica vanj namerno odvrženega koščka mila ali sladkorja. Tako Bever kot Davies sta torej podala nekaj možnih razlag za nesreče, ki so jih ljudje interpretirali kot posledice čarovniških dejanj, kot posledice namerno, »naravno«,

¹⁰ »Malicious *supernatural* aggression, whether employing spells and rituals or innate individual powers, outside the framework of legitimate religion and ritual«.

¹¹ »Who uses apparently *supernatural* means to cause misfortune or injury to others«.

¹² Josip Pajek (1884: 18) je npr. že konec 19. stoletja trdil, da čarovnice ne morejo čarati, ampak gre za hudobne ženske, ki zastрупljajo ljudi in požigajo njihove hiše.

fizično povzročenih dejanj¹³. Povzročanje škode, (fizični) napadi in druga zlonamerna dejanja, usmerjena proti sosedom, so bili, kot se zdi, pogosta izkušnja prebivalcev vaških skupnosti, zlasti v preteklosti, ko je bila institucionalna zaščita ljudi zaradi njihove odrezanosti od središč skorajda nemogoča, za mnoge pa nedosegljiva tudi zaradi visokih stroškov eventualne tožbe, ki si je zaradi prevladujoče revščine na našem območju večina ljudi ne bi mogla privoščiti. Moji sogovorniki, s katerimi sem na terenu govorila v letih 2013–2015, so pogosto poudarjali problematične medsosedske odnose na vasi in govorili o vedno prisotni nevarnosti fizičnih napadov kot vsakdanji izkušnji vaškega življenja: »Če si nisi dober s sosedi, ti lahko naredijo škodo, kaj zažgejo in podobno,« so se pritoževali. »Misliš, da je nekdo tvoj najboljši prijatelj, pa se izkaže za najhujšega sovražnika.« »Ves čas moraš gledati za hrbet.« To je le nekaj izjav, ki jasno kažejo strah pred škodljivimi dejanji sosedov.

Če natančno prisluhnemo pripovedim o čarovniških napadih, bi vsaj nekatere lahko kazale na storjena kriminalna dejanja, ne pa samo na zamišljene, »nadnaravne« čarovniške napade. V naslednjem intervjuju se tako zdi, da sogovornik sumi, da je bila živina, ki je bila namenjena prodaji, v resnici zastrupljena. Čarovništvo sicer ni neposredno omenjeno, sogovornik je tudi izrecno zanikal, da bi »vedel za čarovnice«, a diskusija se je razvila kot odgovor na naše vprašanje o čarovništvu:

II: Te so pa ... moru čakati, de so zastruplali žvino pa ...ne? To jih je pa blo.

F: Kdo je zastrupljal živino ?

II: Če si ... jah kaj, ponoč je prišu.

II: To je blo, če si hotu prodat, pa so bli tisti deci pa tist, in zvečer je jedla, zjutri nič več.

F: Pa kdo je to naredil?

II: Ja, če ni nobeden vedel! Če ni bla, štala ni bla zaprta ... pa je notr šou.

Rekli so, da je [nerazločno], pol pa da ni jedla več.

F: Živina ni več jedla? Kaj pa je bilo potem z živino?

II: Ja, pol so jo mogli dat.

I: Nč. Za stran.

II: Pol je bla pa, to so bli pa tist prekupčevalci, ko so vedl, pol je pa on pršu pa jo je vzel. Pol je pa crknla. To je blo ... (69)

Pripoved naslednje sogovornice verjetno še bolj neposredno kaže na delikt, saj v njej izrecno omenja strup. A čeprav dejanje očitno pripisuje sosedi, ki ji je zavidala moža – zavistni sosedi pa so znotraj čarovniškega diskurza tipično prepoznani kot čarovnice (glej Mencej 2017a) –, pripovedovalka zastupitve vendarle ni neposredno povezala s čarovništvom:

¹³ Sally Hickey (1990) smrti in boleznim živine v Angliji 16. in 17. stoletja povezuje z zaužitjem strupenih rastlin ali lakoto živine. Podobno je Josip Pajek (1884: 27) trdil, da je krvavo mleko krav posledica njihovega zaužitja določene rastline. Veterinar na območju, kjer smo raziskovali, je prav tako potrdil, da se je živina z bolezenskimi težavami lahko zastrupila z zaužitjem preslice ali jesenskega podleska; zdravniki so menda svarili proti paši na takšnih območjih.

Mi smo ob kravo bli. Tuki je bla na paši, vete. In on [nerazumljivo], krava je šla na pašo vredi, ko vsak dan. Tist dan se je pa przibala, przibala se je domov. Leti sin po živinozdravnika. Pride gor [nerazumljivo]. Pa pride sem, prav: »Kaj je?« »Ja,« sem rekla, »sedem inekcij ji je notr dal.« Sedemsto tisoč, sedemdeset tisoč sem tjedi plačala živinozdravnika. Tiste inekcije so tolk koštale. Ko je on odšel, krava pa poginla. Pa svaki dan je bla zdrava, nikdar ji ni blo nč. To sm poklej rekla, da so ji mogoče kakšn strup nastavl, ne, da je krava to dobila. To dobr vem. Zmerm sm rekla, da to ni blo naravno, ne. Poklej živinozdravnika je reku: »Dol jo zapelte, pa jo bom odpelu jaz sam.« Da bo pršu gor, da ni nam treba nč, sam v grabn jo zapelat. Mi v grabn zapelamo, poklej pa kr nč. Nč črno na belem on ni dal, pokojni. Samo reku je sini: »Krava je mela polno mehurcev notr,« k jo je dal pregledat. Nč pa ni blo nobenga listka, pa nč, ja. Kako je blo s tisti kravi, ne vem. Mogl smo vse požret. Ob kravo smo bli, druga pa nč. Pa če je šla korajžna na pašo, pol je pa pršla omotična. (66)

V naslednjih treh pripovedih pa naši sogovorniki za zastupitev izrecno krivijo čarovnice. V prvem primeru naj bi krave prenehale dajati mleko po tem, ko so sosedo – čarovnico opazili, da je v hlev vstopila z majhno posodo, v kateri je bilo »nekaj«. To očitno kaže na prepričanje sogovornice, da je substanca, ki jo je domnevna čarovnica prinesla s seboj v posodi in jo predvidoma dala kravam ali pa jih z njo namazala, kriva, da se je njihovo mleko posušilo. Druga pripoved še bolj natančno kaže na izveden delikt: sosedo so opazili, medtem ko je »nekaj vrgla« svinjam v svinjak, čemur je sledila njihova smrt. V tretji pripovedi se naratorica sklicuje celo na rezultate veterinarske preiskave mrtve svinje, ki je pokazala, da je bila ta zastrupljena. Navkljub uradni potrditvi, da gre za zastupitev, je naša sogovornica za nesrečo okrivila sosedo, »ki zna« – kar je izraz, ki v čarovniškem diskurzu na našem območju tipično označuje »čarovnico« (cf. Mencej 2016, 2017). Podobno je tudi svojo sosedo, za katero je trdila, da ji je zastupila krave in kokoši ter celo nastavila strup v jajca, imela za čarovnico.

Ooo, to je naša stara mama pripovedovala: Ta je coparnca, ta nekej meša doma. Neki gre v hlev pa neki seboj nese v nekašni sklečki, prav. Po pa krave, gre k sosedi pa tam krave ne dojijo, ne. (152)

Prej so znale, prej so znale, kako so to znale! Naša je bila ena ženska, nedaleč od nas, v vasi je bila doma. Pa je prišla k nam, mi smo imeli mlin, ona je v mlin prinesla zmleti, ne, koruzo ali pa ječmen, kar je že imela. Ko je tista prišla k hiši ... je neki zacoprana, da je bilo vse narobe. Ali so mama kokoš nasadili, ali je krota med jajci crknila, ali so vsi piščeti in [nerazumljivo], ali je pri hiši naredila kaj. Da res je zapodila, to so pa videli, ko smo še bili mali otroci, da ko je šla mimo štale [nerazumljivo], je nekaj zapodila v ograjo, ko smo imeli ograjo. Ko mi smo prašiče k ograji spuščali, ne, poleti, in pol so nam tri prašiči crknili, in to je, nekaj, nekaj je bilo narobe. Pol so šli pa mama, so šli pa mama k šlogarci. (73)

F: Kaj se je zgodilo s prašiči?

I: Niso teli jesti.

F: Kdaj pa se je to zgodilo?

I: To je že, že to težko ... To je tud ena znala taku.

F: Kaj je bila pri vas takrat na obisku, da veste, da je prav ona?

I: Ne, ne, ne.

F: Kako je to naredila?

I: Je hčera.

F: Od te, ki pravite, da je tudi znala?

I: Ja, soseda je napravla.

F: Soseda tudi?

I: Pri moji sestri se je to zgodilo.

F: Aha. Kako pa je soseda njena naredila?

I: Ja. Bog ve, ne, ja, to pa ne vemo.

F: Kako je pa vedela, da je ravno soseda naredila?

I: Ja, tisto [je morala] znat. Sej je nagovarjala ... Ja, pa je, se je čez zimo so ji vrgli nutre strupa, ka je prešič čez nuč pogino. Ne, te ke so šli na v Novo mesto, na pregled, pa so rekli tudi lovski strup je pojedu ... Ka so ga, uno je blo zdravo, to je pa poginlo. Ja, ta soseda. Krave mi je zastрупila.

F: A ta tukaj, ta prva?

I: Ja ... štiri kokoši mi je zastрупila. Poglejte. Tam je sjala ječmen, za našo je njena njiva. Jes sem pa šla u jutro dojit, sm rekla, zdaj so tu, ječmen je zastruplen ... Ne, da ne bi kokoši pozobale. Ja, pa sm na začetki nism spustila kokoši, ampak sm na začetki stila pa laufala pa sm bla na taki, na ... od vrta do štale je blo ograja, plut, ne. Pa je bla pred, sti pred plut pa kokoš jajce čufala. Ne, ko pa se je, ko se je pa, to znesla. Drugo jutro sm pa našla crkjeno tisto kokoš. Tako pa sm bla radovedna, jajc mela narobe, sm pa tisto prerezala pa je blo jajce lišnije, ja ma tistikrat pa malo se je pa tekočini poznalo ... Je pa čez luknco naredla, da je napipala strup notr u jajca ... To je taku žleht! (29)¹⁴

Če bi torej te pripovedi razumeli dobesedno, bi izza obtožb čarovništva lahko predvidevali dejanska, fizično izvedena kriminalna dejanja oziroma vsaj prestopke. Seveda pa ne smemo pozabiti, da so bila »dejstva«, ki so prikazana kot dokaz za kriminalna dejanja sosedov, razumljena kot čarovniški napad v kontekstu čarovniškega diskurza. Naši sogovorniki bi jih prav lahko sami dodali tudi z namenom, da bi utrdili svojo pozicijo žrtve in potrdili obtožbo sosed kot čarovnic. Prav tako je te »dokaze« mogoče razumeti samo kot napačno interpretacijo teh dejanj kot (poskusov) zastрупitve. Elementi pripovedi, ki bi

¹⁴ Čeprav iz tega odlomka ni povsem jasno razvidno, da je zadnje dejanje, o katerem sogovornica razpravlja, pripisano sosedi, ki jo je imela za čarovnico, je ta sogovornica v celotnem poteku intervjuja govorila izključno znotraj čarovniškega diskurza in tudi vse, kar se ji je dogajalo, interpretirala znotraj tega diskurza. Zastrupljena jajca, ki jih omenja, so bila morda zares napolnjena s fosforjem (glej spodaj).

kazali na dejansko fizično izvedeno kriminalno dejanje, torej niso nujno obenem dokaz za to, da je bilo to dejanje tudi v resnici izvedeno.

Ne glede na to pa bi si ljudje, ki bi želeli zastrepiti sosedovo živino, strup dejansko brez težav preskrbeli. Kot je potrdil lokalni veterinar, s katerim sem se pogovarjala leta 2016, so dejansko bili primeri, ko je bila smrt živine posledica zastrepitve s cianidom. Tega se lahko na primer najde v kremah proti podganam – če so jo ljudje namazali na kos kruha, in bi tega živina pojedla, bi utrpela takojšnjo smrt, je pojasnil. Potrdil je tudi, da so ljudje jajca, napolnjena s fosforjem, ki so jih lovci nastavljali na travnike ob gozdovih in na robove gozdov proti lisicam in drugim divjim živalim, dejansko občasno nastavljali na posestvo sosedu, čigar živini so hoteli škodovati. Poleg tega so bile nekatere vrste strupenih rastlin, ki ji navaja Bever (2008: 8–11) kot tiste, ki so jih ljudje uporabljali za zastrepitev živine in ki bi lahko povzročale paralizo in nevrološke motnje, kot so dezorientacija in blodnje, dostopne tudi na našem območju, čeprav v pogovorih niso bile nikoli omenjene. Še en možni vir strupa so lahko toksini v koži močeradov in krastač, ki sicer nastopajo v pripovedih na našem območju kot neke vrste čarovničini pomočniki, ki ji pomagajo krasti mleko ali stepati smetano, a nikoli niso bili omenjeni v zvezi s škodovanjem. Toksini krastače, ki se jo položi v posodo z vodo, na primer, zadoščajo za zastrepitev živali, ki pije to vodo; posledice za človeka so lahko tudi paraliza in krči, kar spada med tipične posledice čarovniških dejanj tudi na našem območju (prim. Spoerke 1986; Harper 1977: 106; Bever 2008: 132). Podobno so posledice strupa močerada oslabelost, bruhanje, diareja, izguba občutka za koordinacijo in paraliza.¹⁵

Tudi tehnika zakopavanja ali polaganja »čarovniških« predmetov na sosedovo ozemlje, ki se je redno pojavljala v obtožbah čarovništva na našem območju, bi lahko morda občasno kazala na izvedeno dejanje, ki povzroči škodo sosedu. Kot je omenil eden od naših sogovornikov, je bilo puščanje kosov trupla živali, ki je umrla zaradi nalezljive bolezni, na sosedovem posestvu način, kako okužiti njegovo živino, ki se je tam pasla:

II: Ja za kosti so pa govorili, ja, da če je sosed sosedu grozno sovražil, ne. Da mu je ... No, to, to bi pa rekla, da bi bilo zelo res, to je pa hudobija. Da če je nekje, nekje zbolelo živinče, ne, ali pa sploh prašiči, da so zboleli nekje včasih, da so potem ga pokopali, pa del od tega drugim nastavili, ne, in tako se pa prenaša boleznj potem, ne. To je pa, tu je bila prav direktna hudobija ...

F: A naj ne bi bilo nič coprnije zraven?

II: Ne, mislim, da ne, mislim, da ne. (81)

Še več, čeprav strogo rečeno ne gre nujno za kriminalna dejanja ali prestopke, imajo nekatere prakse vendarle povsem »naravne« škodljive posledice. Vleka rjuh po sosedovem polju pšenice, še eno dejanje, ki je veljalo za čarovniško, ima na primer neposredne »fizične« posledice: dotikanje pšenice, ki je vlažna od rose, povzroči snet, katere posledica je slabši pridelek. Medtem ko so to prakso nekateri ljudje torej morda izvajali v prepričanju,

¹⁵ <http://www.infovets.com/healthycatsinfo/E835.htm#Salamander>; zadnji dostop 26. marec 2020

da bo škodovala »nadnaravno«, ali pa morda kot obliko ostenzije, so jo lahko tisti, ki so se zavedali njenih povsem »naravnih« škodljivih posledic, izvajali tudi povsem namer- no, da bi škodovali pridelku sosedov – ne da bi ob tem menili, da ima njihovo dejanje v sebi karkoli »nadnaravnega«. A tudi če so prakso razumeli kot »nadnaravno«, je ta iz »naravnih« razlogov povzročila enake rezultate, kot so anticipirani znotraj čarovniškega diskurza: neuspeh pridelek sosedu in posledično torej uspeh izvajalca prakse – vsaj v primerjavi s pridelkom sosedu, kar je, v vsakem primeru, v majhnih, tesno povezanih skupnostih glavno merilo uspeha (cf. Honko 1962: 119–120).

Tu smo meli pol enga mlinarja, ki se ga jaz slabo spominjam, prišo je kot mlad fant in je tu pri nas tak dolgo bil, da je tudi umrl. Je šov k maši, pa pride nazaj, je reko: »Jebal te vrag, ka san jes vido.« »Ja pa kaj si vido?« »Ja, ta stara Pepca je plahto vlekla po naši pšenici.« Po je pa, takrat je bla pa že moja babica, ne, prababica je že umrla, babica bla gospodinja, pa je rekla: »Ja pa ka pa je delala?« Men se zdi, da je blo to na telovo. »Plen je pobirala.« »Ja kak?« Je reko: »Ona je vlekla belo hodnično plahto po naši pšenici in je roso stresala na svojo pšenično njivo.« Ja, pa je rekla babica: »Ja pa kak, ka pa si, ka pa je s tem naredla?« »No,« je reko, »bote vidli, ka bo ob žetvi.« No, in res, ona je mela čudovito lepo pšenico, ta naša je bla pa zanič. Blo je pa verjetno, tak so pozneje ljudje pravli, de je bla to verjetno kriva res tista njena plahta, ne čarovnija, pač pa zato, ker je ona to v rosi delala. V roso ni dobro po pšenico iti. Ker postane rjasta. Tak pa je blo. Mogoče. (53)

Škoda je bila včasih lahko tudi namerno predstavljena tako, da je dobila »nadnaravno« konotacijo in je bila torej razumljena kot posledica čarovniškega dejanja. To možnost so včasih izkoriščali zlasti berači, ki so tako izsilili hrano ali kak drug dar. V primeru, da daru niso dobili, so lahko zagrozili s čarovniškim dejanjem, katerega posledica bo škoda oziroma nesreča, in to po potrebi zatem tudi res povzročili, čeprav s kriminalnim dejanjem. To je dokazalo njihove čarovniške sposobnosti in jim dar zagotovilo vsaj naslednjič, ko so prišli mimo, ali pa pri drugih vaščanih, kamor se je hitro zanesla vest o njihovih sposobnostih.

Kot piše Davies, so v Angliji »berači-čarovniki«, ki so izkoriščali svoj sloves, vzdrževali svoj položaj tako, da so ustvarjali vtis, da izvajajo čarovniška dejanja. Če bi bili na svojih obhodih zavrnjeni, pa v odgovor ne bi storili ničesar, ljudje ne bi več imeli motivacije, da bi jim podarili karkoli. Malo ljudi je res *hotelo* dati miloščino beračem in edini način, kako so jih lahko prepričali, da so to vendarle storili, je bila grožnja z maščevanjem s čarovništvom (Davies 1999a: 176–177). Berači-čarovniki, ki so pripovedovali zastrašujoče zgodbe o svojih čarovniških sposobnostih in grozili s svojim magijskim škodovanjem, da bi dobili hrano in drugo miloščino, so bili poznani tudi drugje po Evropi. Njihovo obdarovanje pogosto ni bilo motivirano z altruizmom, ampak predvsem s tesnobo in strahom pred čarovniškim napadom v primeru zavrnitve (Briggs 2002: 53, 131–133; Stark 2004: 76; 2007: 20–21; Eilola 2006: 38). Tudi angleški berači 19. stoletja, ki so prosili miloščine svoje sosedu, so se včasih namerno trudili ustrezati stereotipnim predstavam

o čarovnicah, da bi jim to pomagalo zagotoviti uspeh pri beračenju (prim. Davies 1999a: 175). Kadar sloves sam ni zadoščal, so še dodatno poudarjali svoje nadnaravne moči in skrivno znanje, na primer s poudarjenim dolgotrajnim strmenjem v oči, nenavadnimi obraznimi grimasami, skrivnostnim mošnjičkom, ki so ga nosili s seboj, pripovedmi o svojih čarovniških »zmagah« ipd. – z vsem tem so si na primer v poznem 19. stoletju finski reveži pomagali pridobiti miloščino od bogatejših kmetov (Stark 2004: 75). Tekla Dömötör (1973: 179) je podobno ugotavljala, da so babice v okrožju Sárretudvari na Madžarskem izkoriščale svoj sloves čarovnic, da so si pridobile materialno korist. Strah pred čarovniškim znanjem in močmi je torej dal ljudem, za katere se je verjelo, da jih imajo, v roke močno orožje, s katerim so lahko manipulirali druge in tako zase pridobili materialno ali kakšno drugo korist. Nekatere pripovedi, ki smo jih zapisali na terenu, bi lahko kazale na to, da so bile nesreče, ki so sledile grožnji, povzročene »fizično«, da bi potrdile »nadaravne« grožnje in čarovniške moči beračev:

Potem pa tud vem, eden tam, Martin so mu rekl, na, tisti je bil tud reven so bli, sam je bil tud vseh muk; star možiček, pa taku, pa še čvrst, pa še vse tko. Tist je šel h hiši, tam na [nerazumljiv posnetek] h ženskam je rekl: »Ve mate jejce pa to, ne, jaz sem bolj, dajte mi jajce, pa dajte mi kej pšeničke, da bom mal,« kokr češ, da bo za domov mel, ne. Da doma je mel ženo, pa to, tako staro. In tistem mu niso hotle dat, poznale so ga, iz istiga kraja. So rekl, pač ma sam majhen vinograd, kaj pa revščina tam gor v tistem Studence, se reče. In potem niso hotle, so ga kr odpravle in je zažugu, pa je šel. Potlej se je šel mal čez, je začelo v štali pr tistih ženskah, so rekl: »O, zdej more it pa vpit koza.« Koze je mela več, sej ne vem. Kure so se skup držale za klune, vse skupi, pa kr po tleh, kot češ, da bo vse pocrkal. Tako pa ne, je tak direndaj nastal tam, pol so ga pa začele nazaj klicat: »Prid nazaj, vse ti bomo dale, sam da rešiš.« Je pa koza, ki je mela ruge, sem noter zapičila noter nekam v drske, pa je čist na rogah visela, kot da bi crknla, ne. Da je tist na rogah visla, kure pa tud, so tiste po tleh ležale, pa so se taki zdel, da so vse za pocrkat. Tko so pripodval, ne. Sam jaz sem rekla; kure, lahka, da je bil pa fakin, pa da je mel koruze dvej napikene na cvern, al pa tri. Zdej pa, če je ena požrla, ni šlo ke dol. Pa je druga kura požrla drugo koruzo, pol so se pa vlekla za cvern, ne, pa ni šlo ven, ne. To se potlej ... Sej jaz ne vem, tuk vem, ne. Sam jaz sem tko sama seb tolmačla, ne. Ko zdej vidim včasih tud golobe, ne, ko ne morjo rešit, da so vsi jezen. Pa zvežejo koruzo dvej skupi, ne. Pol pa dva goloba, pol se morta tok cajt, pa trga pa crkne. Taki stvari so tako ... (107)

Berači in drugi potujoči delavci, ki so hodili po deželi, so se na svojih poteh tudi v resnici imeli možnost naučiti raznih »magijskih« znanj, na primer zdravlilstva, vedeževanja, raznih magijskih praks ... V Franciji so bili takšni potepuhi pogosto prenašalci znanja o magijskih obredih in obrazcih in so veljali za nekakšna kvazi mitična bitja (Favret-Saada 1980: 45). Laura Stark (2004: 73) meni, da so na Finskem v 19. stoletju

reveži brez zemlje tudi zagotavljali kmetijam informacije o magiji in čarovništvu, ki so jih lahko potem uporabljali drug proti drugemu. Tudi na Norveškem so bili v 19. stoletju kot čarovniki najpogosteje prepoznani prav berači, potepuhi in izobčenci (Alver in Selberg 1987: 25). Potujoči reveži so bili pogosto obtoženci tudi na sojenjih čarovnicam v nekaterih habsburških deželah (Levack 2006: 157). Berači in drugi sezonski delavci, ki so hodili naokrog in iskali priložnostnega dela na kmetijah, so bili na območju naše raziskave vsekakor pogosti in nekatere pripovedi kažejo, da so vsaj nekateri izmed njih zares imeli znanje zdravilstva in magije:

I: So pršli pa taki berači, pek... veste, kaj so peklarji, ne, reveži. [...] Ja, pa so rekli tu, dejte mi jesti pa piti. Pa je rekla teta: »Ka bom dala, sem tak boga, mam otroke bolene.« »Ja, ka pa jim je.« Dvojčka sta bla, Anika pa Francek, pa sta leže tak skor vmirala. Je reko: »Vi mi dejte jeste pa piti, otroki bodo pa ozdravli.« Ja kak. Pol pa seveda oni so jeli, »vi pa dejte kar hitro vodo na šporet pa pelina noter in samo v tisti vodi jih koplite«. In sta se ozdravla. (95)

No, to sem pa pol tud mela, pol še eno izkušnjo. Je pa bil pr nas en moški s Hrvaške, tist moški je pa znal gledat na karte, pol pa je tule pr nas, smo mu dal jesti, pa tak, pa je tuki živo, gor v stari hiši je pa spal v enem štiblcu. Štiblc smo mi po domače rekli taki majhni sobici, ne. Pol je pa, sem pa jaz svinje krmila, ne, in niso hotle čist nč svinje jest, nč jest. Pol sem pa jamrala, dedc je vedo pa tolk na svetu, bil je pa star tudi okol osemdeset let takrat, pa mu je, eno roko so mu odrezali, tak da je samo z eno bil. Nam je to sadje pobiral, pa vse je delal s tisto roko. Pol sem pa mu enkrat pravla, sem rekla poslušte, sem rekla, kak bi jaz, da bi svinje jedle. Je pa reko nč ni hudga, je reku, jaz ti bom nekaj povedu pa tist zvečer naredi, ne. Pol pa res, pa nesem jaz pa tota sestra, ko je bla zraven mene v gozdu, nesema svinjam jest. Smo pa meli takle, da smo jim od zunaj noter sipaval v tista stara lesena korita, pa to ne bi vedla povedat, koga je reku, da naj izgovorim. Ni blo velik, en stavek je blo treba povedat, je reku: »Ta stavek, ko boš vrgla svinjam noter jest, zgovori, pa pojdi kr stran, ne,« je reko in te de drug dan bojo pa mogoče rajš jedle. No, saj tud blo res, da so, samo vete, kok je blo pa straha. Pol pa jaz zasiplem svinjam tist v korito, pa izgovorim tist, koga mi je povedal. Tedi pa prleti, od tegale hrama, še zdaj tule gor stoji, je prletel dva para črnih konjev, sem vidla, kr vidla sem, pa galopiral je, naravnost tja proti štali, vete. Jaz pa pograbim tisti ejmar pa sestra, pa sma bežale tak, da bog nas var, pa letim gor v sobo, ko je on že ležal, je bla menda ura tak okrog osme, sam je že bil pa mrak, tema že. Sem pa rekla, »Jezus,« sem rekla, »zdaj pa ne vem,« sem rekla, »tole pa tole se je zgodil, nekaj je prletelo,« sem rekla, »to je tak ko, to se je slišal galop konjev.« No jaz vidla sem samo eno tako črnino, tak vlk je blo ko konji, pol sma pa letele s sestro okrog štale pa ta gor, ne. To, on se je pa sam obrno v zid, pa se je nasmejaj, pa nič reko, ja. (96)

Predpostavka o možnih naravnih, fizičnih, kriminalnih dejanjih, ki bi bila resnični vir nekaterih nesreč, a bi lahko bila v kontekstu čarovniškega diskurza razumljena kot čarovniška, pa še vedno ne odgovori na začetno vprašanje, ali so ljudje, ki so razmišljali, govorili in delovali v kontekstu čarovniškega diskurza, verjeli, da so čarovniška dejanja samo nadnaravna dejanja – in torej izločili iz čarovništva vsa dejanja, ki bi nesrečo povzročila naravno – ali ne. Ne vemo torej, ali so ljudje, ki so razmišljali v kontekstu čarovniškega diskurza, dejanja, za katera so bili povsem prepričani, da so bila povzročena fizično, tj. »naravna« kriminalna dejanja, vseeno uvrščali v kategorijo čarovništva ali pa so jih v takem primeru izločili iz interpretacije znotraj čarovniškega diskurza. Bi torej, če bi imeli nedvomen dokaz, da je soseda njihovo kravo zastrepila ali jo na skrivaj pomolzla ali da je krava, ki je umrla, umrla zaradi poškodbe, ki ji jo je zadala soseda, ta kriminalna dejanja še vedno razumeli kot čarovniška in imeli takšne sosede za čarovnice ali pa bi jih imeli v takšnem primeru za to, kar v resnici so – torej zastrepiljevalke, tatice, nasilnice ...?

Zgoraj smo videli, da je kar nekaj naših sogovornikov domnevalo, da je bil glavni razlog za nesrečo pri živalih njihova zastrepitev (29, 152, 73), a so sosede, ki naj bi živali zastrepile, kljub temu bolj ali manj eksplicitno imeli za čarovnice. Toda delovanje strupov ni bilo vedno razumljeno v kemijskem smislu, ampak je bilo dolgo dojemano samo kot čarovništvo (Bever 2006), zato zastrepitev morda ni najboljši primer. Poleg tega nihče od sosedov ni bil nikoli zares ujet med samim dejanjem zastrepitve. V drugih primerih (69, 66) bi bilo lahko zavedanje, da so sosedi povzročili fizično škodo, ne pa nadnaravne, in da torej niso imeli nadnaravne moči, razlog, da jih niso želeli imenovati čarovnice, kljub temu da je bila pripoved o njih vstavljena v širšo diskusijo o čarovništvu.¹⁶ Kaj pa sogovorniki, ki so evidentno govorili znotraj diskurza čarovništva in so svoje sosede eksplicitno imenovali čarovnice? So ti razlikovali med »naravnimi«, fizično povzročenimi kriminalnimi dejanji, vsaj kadar so bila ta nedvomno dokazana kot takšna, in nadnaravnimi načini začaranja ter zadnje izločili iz konteksta čarovniškega diskurza? Naslednji dve pripovedi o kraji mleka nas bosta morda pripeljali bližje odgovoru:

I: Tule, glih, ko sem vam povedala za to žensko, za to M. so rekli, M. Ja, pa taka reva tu ... tudi tako sirota bolna in šantava, to so zmeraj rekli moji bratje, ki jaz sem ... pri mojih starših so imeli nas deset. Jaz sam deseta ... Pa je povedaval tu zmeram glih tale brat, ki je zdaj še gor v V. Pa so to pobje rekli, to dva sta pol dva brata, da sta spala pa sta notri bila v štali, ne. Jaz ne vem, kako so to, jaz tega ne bi mogla prenašat. Je pa povedaval, pol je rekel, da je tale ženska prišla ponoči, ne, ona pa tako v eni revščini, to ni imela krave, ni imela, prej ni bilo trgovine ... mleka kot danes, ne, to, če si imel doma, si doma lahko pomolzel, podojil, pa si imel. Ja, no, in so rekli, da je prišla tu ponoči, ponoči, pol pa začela tisto dojeti, dojeti in krava je

¹⁶ To bi morda lahko razumeli kot znak zamiranja verovanja v čarovništvo na našem območju, a označevanje sosedov, o katerih dejanjih so ljudje sicer razpravljali v kontekstu čarovništva, kot »zavistnih«, »zlih« sosedov ipd. raje kot »čarovnic« je znano tudi drugod, na primer v Nemčiji in Franciji (cf. Favret-Saada 1980: 166; Paul 1993: 111).

bila tako mirna. Krave niso bile mirne vsakemu človeku, ne.¹⁷ To je rekel moj brat. Jaz sam pa rekla ... jaz sam se se tako smejala, sem rekla: »To ni res, pa to ni res!« Pa je rekel: »Ne mi tega povedavat,« je rekel, »da ne bi unega rekel, ko je res. Ker da jaz sem to sam doživel!« je rekel. Pa je prišla pa začela dojit in nadojila je, je rekel, menda v eno posodo ene tri litra mleka. Je rekel potlej pa moj brat, je rekel, on pa to gleda, poslušaj, poslušamo. Ta babnica pa ni jih videla, da tu te pubje so notri, ne ... je rekel: »Pol pa smo pa šli, pa smo se notri,« no, čisto bom povedala po domače, pobje so se nascali v tisto mleko. »Pol sem pa šel,« je rekel, »pa sem jo tako namazal z nekaj...« Veste, kaj je to, mi smo rekli gažlja ali pa bič za kravo? – je rekel, »po tistih tacah sem jo tako namazal,« je rekel, potlej je pa ni nikdar več bilo. Je rekel, da večkat so pa to ponoči prometle. To sam jaz njemu verovala ...

F: Vi mislite, da je ona prišla krast?

I: Da si je podojila pa si je mleka odnesla.

F: Zakaj pa je bila coprница? Saj ona je v bistvu kradla.

I: Saj so rekli tako, da, ja, ona tudi na vse načine se je vedla, če si je res tako pomagala, kaj pa jaz vem. (15)

I: Ja. To so so tako praujo, da da nima krava mleka, da hodjo coprnce dojit pa tak. Ta, n, jas v take reči ne verjamem neč.

F: A je to pravil kdo, ki je prav sam videl?

I: Ja ... pravli so, da ... da da da so vidli ... pr nas je biu en hlapec mutast ... ni slišo pa ni govoro ... pa je v štali spal ... pa pol enkrat se enkrat se nekaj z ... jaz nč vem, kaj je blo, je reku, te bo tako, po po svojih figurah, ko je pač se pogovarjo z rokami, pokazo, de je, da je ena ženska molzla krave, ko je paršu zvečer spat ... pa de je blo malo ... pa tem, njega je blo strah, de tistga ... ne, ni potem več spal tam v štali ...

F: Pa so mislili, da je bila to coprница ali je bila morda kakšna soseda samo?

I: Ja, pa tud de je blo mejčkeno, je pokazau ... pa de je ženska bla, pa pa pokazo, dej prsi mela pa ... ah, ne vem, če je blo res al ne, jaz nisem nikdar neč vido ...

F: Se pravi, kravam naj bi škodile coprnice, mleko jemljejo?

I: Ja, da so mleko jemale, ja. Pa, če, jes ne vem. (3)

Owen Davies (1999: 136) je krajo mleka omenjal kot možno racionalno razlago za nemlečnost krav, v angleški folklori običajno povezano s predstavo o čarovnicah, ki v podobi živali kravam sesajo mleko. Na podlagi arhivskih podatkov o zgodnjenovoveških sojenjih čarovnicam v Württembergu v Nemčiji je tudi Edward Bever (2008: 6–7) domneval, da je šlo v vsaj nekaterih primerih, povezanih z obtožbo o kraji mleka s pomočjo

¹⁷ Ta detalj bi lahko namigoval na njene čarovniške sposobnosti ali pa na to, da je že prej hodila krast mleko v hlev.

čarovništva, v resnici za navadno krajo. Oba zgornja intervjuja takšno razlago podpirata. Če morda druga pripoved ni tako zelo eksplisitna, pa je iz prve nedvoumno razvidno, da govori o ženski, ki je mleko kradla: bila je ujeta *in flagrante*, med dejanjem kraje oz. molže mleka sosedovih krav – in vendar je bila, čeprav v njenem dejanju ni bilo nič nadnaravnega, imenovana za čarovnico. To bi dalo sklepati, da je dejanje kraje mleka, kljub temu da gre za povsem naravno dejanje (v nasprotju z nadnaravnim) ter je bilo kot takšno nedvomno tudi prepoznano in dokazano, prav tako razumljeno kot čarovniško in oseba, ki ga je izvajala, prav tako prepoznana za čarovnico. Kljub vsemu velja previdnost: ni namreč mogoče z gotovostjo izločiti možnosti, da oseba, ki je kradla mleko, ni imela slovesa čarovnice že pred tem (in stavek »ona tudi na vse načine se je vedla« bi morda lahko kazal na to) – v takem primeru konkretni incident ne bi bil nujno ključen za oznako osebe za čarovnico, ampak bi to le dodatno potrdil. Zelo mogoče je, da vsaka kraja ali drugo škodljivo fizično dejanje ni bilo nujno vedno razumljeno kot čarovniško in prestopnik ne vedno kot čarovnik. Zelo verjetno so morale biti prisotne tudi druge okoliščine, da je bila oseba, ki je v resnici kradla ali izvedla kake druge vrste kriminalnih prestopkov, lahko identificirana kot čarovnica in njeno dejanje razumljeno kot čarovniško. Široko razširjena predstava o nadnaravni molži mleka kot eni od tipičnih oblik škodljivih dejanj čarovnic je gotovo faktor, ki lahko zagotovi povezavo kraje s čarovništvom. Kot že omenjeno, je tudi predhodni sloves osebe lahko tista okoliščina, ki dodatno pripomore k povezavi med osebo, ki v resnici izvaja prestopke, s čarovništvom. A kljub temu se zdi, da sam izvor nesreče, torej vprašanje, ali je bila ta sprožena na naraven ali nadnaraven način, v kontekstu čarovniškega diskurza nima posebnega vpliva na interpretacijo dejanja kot čarovniškega, vsaj dokler so okoliščine takšne, da takšno interpretacijo podpirajo. Ali so enake čarovniške interpretacije deležna tudi dejanja, ko je druge okoliščine ne podpirajo, je vprašanje, na katero na podlagi intervjujev, ki smo jih opravili, ni mogoče podati povsem nedvoumnega odgovora. Dejstvo, da so ljudje, ki so razmišljali v okviru čarovniškega diskurza, svoje »čarovnice« pogosto raje imenovali »zavistne, hudobne sosede«, še dodatno prispeva k nejasnosti meja med tistimi, ki so izvedli zgolj prestopke, in »čarovnicami«, saj se isti izraz nanaša tako na coprnice kot na sosede, ki so dejansko izvedli krajo, poškodbo, zastrupitev ipd. Fluidnost meja med kategorijama »naravnega« in »nadaravnega« je zelo očitna v naslednjem intervjuju:

I: So pa recimo starejši ljudje, to pa je zanimivo, recimo starejši ljudje niso pustili, da bi šel v njegov hlev pogledat, kako živino ima.

F: Drugemu človeku?

I: Ja, drugemu, ker se je bal, da bi mu jo zacopral, to pa je bilo prisotno.

F: Kako bi pa lahk zacopral to?

I: Da bi ji strup dal, da bi zbolele ali da ...

F: Ampak na kakšen način bi to naredil?

I: Ja, bi rekel, moderen izraz, s psiho.

S2: A kaj pa da bi bile kje kake kosti zakopane ali kaj takega?

I: Ne, to niso, to ni, to ni.

F: Ampak ste rekli s psiho. Kaj to pomeni, da bi recimo pogledal ali da bi imel kako moč?

I: Ja, nekje to ja, s hudobijo ali z nevoščljivostjo nekje, ne. To je tako recimo, kot da bi človeka hipnotiziral, to pa žival.

F: In kaj bi se potem živini zgodilo?

I: Lahko bi zbolele, lahko krava mleka ne bi dala. Lahko krava, če je recimo breja, ne, če bi, mislim, noseča bla, bi lahko prej povrgla, ne, pa take stvari.

F: Pa vi poznate koga, ki bi imel tako izkušnjo, da bi se mu to zgodilo?

I: Ja, to je bilo samo verovanje ljudi. Verovanje ljudi je blo tako. (38)

Čarovništvo na območju naše raziskave torej verjetno ni bilo vedno zgolj pripisano, kot to menijo nekateri antropologi – vsaj nekatere oblike čarovniških dejanj so bile vsaj občasno tudi prakticirane. Poleg tega so bile nekatere oblike nesreč povzročene s povsem »naravnimi«, fizičnimi kriminalnimi dejanji, pa to ni preprečilo, da jih ljudje, ki so razmišljali v okviru čarovniškega diskurza, vendarle ne bi razumeli kot čarovniška. Za ljudi, ki so razmišljali in govorili v okviru čarovniškega diskurza, očitno med dejanji, ki jih je mogoče izvesti, in med dejanji, ki so lahko samo zamišljena, ter med »naravnimi« in »nadnaravnimi« dejanji ni bilo jasne meje – oboja so bila lahko razumljena kot čarovniška. To, kar je pomagalo oblikovati percepcijo dejanja kot čarovniškega, so psihološki mehanizmi (glej Mencej 2017a: 197–203) – ti pa so bili, vsaj občasno, lahko tudi zavestno izrabljeni.

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WITCHCRAFT – A DISCOURSE OR A PRACTICE?

MIRJAM MENCEJ



This paper considers the question of how to understand people's narration of bewitchment. Are the bewitchments, or at least some of them, at least occasionally, a matter of practice, or are they always just a matter of discourse and thus conceived? Scholars of witchcraft usually assume that witchcraft is a matter of discourse, and the witch a fictitious person, one who was ascribed bewitchment that supposedly resulted in the misfortune of another person but, in fact, performed none. Such a perspective redirected the focus of the research from witches and their deeds to that of the victims, that is, to the questions about why people believed they became victims of bewitchment, what the reasons underlying the accusations are, what makes certain people a particularly suitable choice to be identified as a witch, and so on. If there is no such person as a witch, then we can only access them through the discourse, and the understanding of European witchcraft must necessarily focus on the alleged victims' testimonies and narratives that relate events from the perspective of the victims.

However, was witchcraft only about ascription, and did nobody ever perform a ritual or any other deed by which they attempted to bewitch others, that is, perform "active bewitchment"? While linguistic circumstances enabling the utterances and actions associated with witchcraft to convey meanings may be of crucial importance in witchcraft research, in this paper, I will discuss their possible relationship to the extra-linguistic world. Based on the field research, conducted in rural eastern Slovenia, I will discuss cases that might indicate possible objective realities underlying at least some of the accusations of bewitchment. It turned out that some people indeed placed eggs to their neighbour's land – which was an act that was typically considered a bewitching act in the area – although they claimed that they only "returned" them to the neighbour who had placed them to their land first. In addition, some acts understood as bewitchments had purely "natural" harmful consequences, and sometimes malicious acts were committed and their consequences manipulated to seem a result of bewitchment, especially by beggars. Malicious acts like surreptitious milking and poisoning also seemed to have played their part in witchcraft accusations. Finally, I argue that for people thinking, talking, and acting within witchcraft discourses, there is no clear distinction between the acts that are conceived as "supernatural" and those that are purely "natural".

The Role of Fire in the Posthumous Customs of Podlachia on the Border of Poland and Belarus

Joanna Wawrzeniuk

In this article, I would like to describe the role of fire in the customs of All Souls' Day in the Easter period called *przewody* or *radunica*. The burning of the fires most commonly took place overnight at home and in cemeteries to illuminate the way for the transmigration of souls so they would not harm the living. The reflection of special respect for fire is known from the funeral rites from the area of Podlachia in the Middle Ages. It also served as a basic element of the ritual related to cyclical visits to the dead, as evidenced by the remains of charcoals or ash. Different kind of sources from the Middle Ages and modern times, from the region of eastern Poland (Podlachia and Belarus, in particular) shall be used to confirm that the rite lasted for many years.

KEYWORDS: fire, Slavs, All Souls' Day, Przewody, Radunica, Eastern Poland, cemeteries, from Middle Ages to Present Times

Fire served men from birth to death. It was used in annual customs, in everyday life, as well as in festivities. Fire, as the main element of the hearth, made the community of family or kin. It was also a symbol of life and existence, and an altar – an intermediary between the group of fire-users and the spirits of their ancestors, and the entire superficial world in general (Ciszewski 1903: 177 ff.). In Christian tradition, it appears as a symbol of Christ, a symbol of his power and justice. Fire is viewed by Christians, the Chinese, and the Hebrews as being a symbol of divinity. In Christianity, fire can also be symbolic of religious zeal and martyrdom (Forstner 1990: 74; Lurker 1994: 127).

Fire in its different meanings was used in a special moment in the life of a community, namely in the All Souls' Day customs. It was a family 'holiday' associated with the cult of long-gone ancestors or simply with dead relatives. In Christian tradition, special devotions called 'parents' Saturdays' were also held on days dedicated to remembering the dead to observe the same goal. All these rituals served the fulfilment of duties towards the dead. The essence of All Souls' Day rites was the 'exchange of gifts' between the living and the dead, the mutual provision of certain services. The dead received what

they lacked in ‘that world’, while the living received a guarantee of further prosperity for their homes and farms (Grochowski 2009: 26).

The area that interests me most is primarily Podlachia and the Polish-Belarusian borderland. In these considerations, the starting point will be a presentation of written sources from the Middle Ages and modern times, followed by archaeological sources from this region, as well as the available written sources regarding the periods in question. I will attempt to prove the validity of these beliefs by presenting ethnographic materials.

The attestation of this type of behaviour includes texts from the 11th century (*Tale of Bygone Years*), in which there is a passage about *rusalia* and a *trizna* – feast on the grave of the deceased (*The Russian Primary Chronicle* 1953: 80, 86, 147; *Powieść* 1999: 45, 54, 133; Labudda 1983: 37-38). In *The Chronicle of the Czechs* by Cosmas of Prague from the 12th century, the author discusses games that took place on crossroads and the putting on of masks during those games (*The Chronicle of Czechs* 2009: 182; Kosmasa 1968: 92; Fischer 1921: 386-387. Finally, in the document of Henry the Bearded, from 1229, there is a festival called *radunica* in Silesia).

In the days of All Souls’, lights were also lit, all night long, at home and in the cemetery (Zawistowicz 1925: 856-858). The souls needed them to warm up; the lights showed them the way to come and return to the afterlife and helped the living prepare the dishes for the dead (Renik 1986: 31). There was also a belief that souls who came from a muddy road first had to wash and clean themselves, which is why people prepared for them a bath in the bathhouse. From the compilation known as *The Divine Liturgy of Our Holy Father John Chrysostom* from the 14th century, we learn about the construction of bridges for the dead, which may reflect the custom of building special wooden footbridges through rivers and streams. A human footprint was carved on the footbridges; afterwards, it was believed to be an ‘All Souls’ footbridge’, which reminded the living about the obligation to sigh for the souls of the deceased every time they crossed it. After the end of the rite, it was necessary to destroy such a footbridge (Mansikka 1922: 174ff; Łowmiański 1986: 134ff; Bylina 1999: 18). From south Ukraine, there is information about a small board placed on the vessel, as it was believed, for the child Jesus to rest on after he had emerged from water (Moszyński 1967: 358). As reported in the Trzemeszno Sermons (written by Michał of Janów in the 15th century,) people burned so-called ‘*gromadki*’ [clusters/bunches] on Holy Thursday on graves, believing that the souls of the dead will come to warm themselves (Moszyński 1967: 598).

In pre-Christian times the role of fire in funeral rituals was primarily related to cremation and certainly in Podlachia, in the light of archaeological materials, this custom prevailed from the 8th century (most fully in the 11th century) and survived at least until the 14th century. This type of burial is mainly related to barrows from forest areas (Białowieża Forest, Knyszyn Forest), from the archaeologically best-examined area of the Drohiczyn Upland, and the Southern Podlachia region (between the Bug and Krzna Rivers) (Kalaga 2006; Dzik 2012: 610ff).

Single graves of such kind are known from Zawyki, Doktorce, and Średzińskie from Suraż municipality, a part of the Bielsk Plain. The dead were usually cremated outside



Fig. 1. Map of Poland with Podlachia region (elaborated by J. Wawrzeniuk)

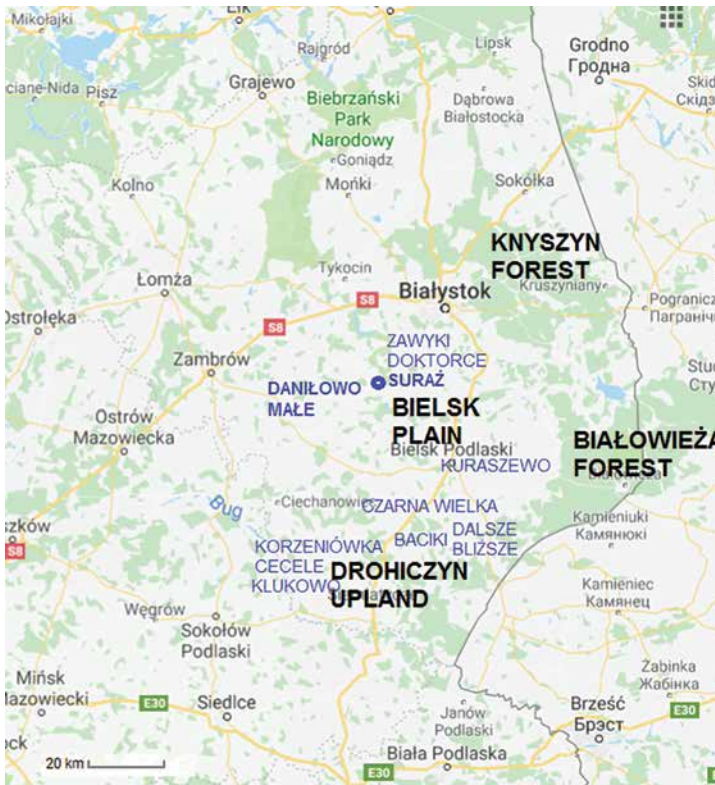


Fig. 2. Map of Podlachia with archaeological sites mentions in the article (elaborated by J. Wawrzeniuk)

their place of burial, which was primarily discovered in the areas between the central part of the Bug River and the upper Narew River.

Burnt bones were found in various places on the earthworks of barrow: on the floor, on the ceiling, on its various levels, or in the pit under the earthwork. A characteristic feature of most objects is the presence of strongly burnt bones, recorded in a very small number, up to several dozen pieces. This is probably to some extent the result of some not quite known funeral practices, which allowed only a part of the bones left after burning the deceased to be deposited in the grave. Strong fragmentation and burning of the bones are undoubtedly a result of cremating the bodies at high temperature.

In the cremation rite, fire was used as early as during the burial site's preparation. For this purpose, preparing a place for an earthwork included cleaning it, burning the vegetation, or possibly scattering the burnt remains and ash from the furnace, which were purposely brought to the place of the future grave. These could be ordinary preparatory works or ritualistic activities (Sikora 2002: 342).

Burnt remains and ashes could be brought to the place of the future grave burnt bones or vessel fragments were sometimes also present in this layer. They could be the remnants of a hearth fire or symbolically burnt belongings of the deceased. Traces of other fire-related treatments such as fireplaces ringed by stone (containing, among other things, burned animal bones) were discovered in barrow 10 from Baciki Dalsze and barrow 6 from site 2 in Klukowo. (Dzik 2015: 128).

Sometimes individual pieces of charcoal or small clusters of them were discovered in higher parts of earthworks or in the so-called barrow's ditches. Remains of this type could come from some rituals directly related to All Souls' Day. It is also possible to find traces of old burial rituals (like fireplace remains, animal bones, or fragments of vessels) in flat graves with cremated human remains, although they are, as researchers say, much harder to grasp. Crematory graves rarely contained burial gifts, which were usually of poor quality, burned, or deliberately destroyed.

The introduction of inhumation, a new habit of burying the dead, was visible in burial mounds, in flat graves, often marked on the surface by layers of stones, which were called 'graves in stone enclosures' in the archaeological literature. The common feature of the skeletal rite in Podlachia's necropolises was placing the dead inside graves in an upright position, on their backs, and with their heads facing west. In many cemeteries from the 11th and 12th centuries, there is a visible relationship between the burial's geographical orientation and the sex of a deceased person: men were frequently placed with heads facing east, while women faced west (Januszewski 1967: 307–314; Zoll-Adamikowa 1971: 46–47). In the interpretations of placing the dead towards the west, attention is paid to the Sun's location and the relation with the cult of the Sun (Łęga 1930: 375; Rajewski 1937-1939: 55).

Considering written sources, the most frequently recorded orientation is associated with the location of the Slavic world of the dead in the West. In this view, it would be a pre-Christian custom. In contrast, a relationship between westward orientation and the Christian funeral rite, according to which the dead should be buried facing east, is indicated (Gaśowski 1950: 157-158; Nadolski et al. 1959: 18).

The dead were certainly buried in clothing along with their decorations. The most common decorations in women's graves were necklaces made from glass beads, bronze or rarely silver pendants, silver beads of various shapes, and crosses and very often temple rings or earrings. Knives and spindle whorls were sometimes put into women's graves. Men's graves were mostly equipped with everyday objects: knives, whetstones, flints. Only in the cemetery in Daniłowo Małe some weapons (a spearhead, iron axes, iron arrowheads, and wooden buckets in which food could originally be stored) were found in several men's tombs (Krasnodębski 1999). The grave equipment proves connections between the inhabitants of the Narew region and the neighbouring Masovians, Eastern Slavs, and Balts.

It is possible to find traces of hearths and clumps of charcoals in the shape of a more or less regular oval within Early Medieval skeleton cemeteries. Burning fires within flat graves or near them is a practice confirmed for both unchambered and shallow tombs, with both cremation and inhumation burials. In Podlachia, for example, on Drohiczyn Upland, it was rather a rare custom that probably disappeared in the 12th century. Exceptionally, on two cemeteries in Kuraszewo (Bielsk Plain), the fireplaces were discovered in the vast majority of objects, including those from the 12th and the first half of the 13th century (Dzik 2015: 128).

The collected archaeological material allows the assumption that fires in cemeteries were burnt both during the placing of the body in the grave and, in later periods, on the days of rite-observance (Wrzesiński 1999: 265; Wrzesińska, Wrzesiński 2002). This is confirmed by the presence, next to objects directly related to the deceased, of charcoal, stones, and animal bones inside the burial pit. Sometimes they could not have a relationship to the grave. Remains of this type were found near the skull or chest, less frequently near the legs. These remains were associated with fires burnt directly on the graves of the dead, as well as inside the pit, where, as it is supposed, they were lit when the body was already lying in the grave. In the Drohiczyn Upland, the remains of charcoal and ash were even recognised as a reminiscence of the cremation funeral rites (Gozdowo, site B, a cemetery from the 13th century, Mazovia) (Musianowicz, 1950/51, Wrzesiński 1999: 157). Sometimes, the fired could be burned near the corps in the case of strong winds or to repel predatory animals (Miśkiewicz 1969: 256).

In turn, in the Orthodox Christian tradition in Eastern Poland, fire was used as one of the elements of rituals related to the dead during the so-called *dziady* - feasts celebrated several times a year (Tokarev 1957: 37-38). In ethnographic records, the spring and autumn seasons were of particular importance. Other days of remembrance and prayer for the dead are the third, ninth, and fortieth day after death, as well as the first and subsequent anniversaries. In literature, the autumn holidays were called *dziady* and the spring holidays associated with the cycle of Easter were known in the basic form as *Radunica* or *Prowody*. The etymology of *Radunica* is associated with the Lithuanian *raudati* (to cry, sob), *rauda* (crying for the dead), and *Prowody* (from *provoditi*) to lead, carry; it was probably related to carrying the souls of the dead from the world of the living to the dead world, which is the final stage of the 'All Souls' Day rite.' Nowadays, the frequently used term is *pominanje* (Androsiuk 1994: 9).

The main ceremonies took place at the cemetery, on a Thursday after Easter. Visits to the cemetery did not happen everywhere at the same time. In Podlachia, as well as in the Polish and Belarus Polesia, All Souls' Day rites could be held from Easter Sunday to Thursday. The main day of the first spring All Souls' celebrations in Podlachia, among Eastern Slavs in Belarus and Ukraine, as well as in Russia, was the first Tuesday after the Divine Mercy Sunday, or the ninth day after Easter (Androsiuk 1994: 9).

The most comprehensive information about the elements of this holiday can be found in the descriptions of *radunica* from the beginning of the 20th century. They consisted of:

- prayers for the dead,
- bringing food to the graves of the dead,
- singing songs,
- crying and despairing for the dead,
- games
- rolling eggs, playing *bitki* (which involved hitting the other player's Easter Egg with one's own),
- eating a meal on the graves together with the invited ancestors,
- gifting beggars with bread, cake, sausage, lard, eggs, money (*Zmitrovsky Dziady* in Belarus - a few customs related to feasting) (Klinger 1926: 72; Pigoń 1966: 68-69; Kotovič, Kruk 2008: 352-353). Numerous games and jostles in a cheerful atmosphere were an important element of such holidays (Pietkiewicz 1931: 30; Renik 1986: 32).

Nowadays, a still important part of *przewody* is decorating the graves with flowers and ribbons, bringing eggs and bread, on Belarus also sweets on the plates, forks, and glasses with vodka, eating a ritual meal with family members after prayers for the dead and mass in the church. Numerous ethnographic messages describing rites during the so-called *pominki* from the late 19th and early 20th centuries prompted field research. Four rural cemeteries located in the Białowieża Forest region, both sides of the Polish-Belarusian border, were selected for the research experiment carried out in spring 2016. The aims were also checking the vitality of the festivity, determining the activities associated with it and learning how the holiday is perceived by the rural Orthodox population. As a result, these customs continue to be practised very solemnly at some cemeteries in Poland. In contrast, in Belarus, celebrating Radunica is becoming less and less popular because the Church banned the practice. In some places, visiting graves and praying for the dead take place on Pentecost (a feast blessing herbs, which is celebrated in the Orthodox Church on the fiftieth day after Easter).

The ceremony associated with the dead was usually related to the two principles described by Claude Lévi-Strauss, namely the 'kind dead' and 'angry dead. Sacrificial feasts probably took place by these fires both during the burial and later, and the explored artefacts should be treated as ritual offerings (Lévi-Strauss 1992: 229; Szyjewski 2003: 210). Researchers think that burning fires next to and inside the burial pits was tolerated during the formation of the organised church. 'Perhaps in this way tradition - ritualistic purification of the pit, driving away all evil, and finally *trizna* - was reconciled with a new



Fig. 3. Candles and eggs on the grave. Łosinka, Podlachia, Białowieża Forest Region, Poland (photo J. Wawrzeniuk)



Fig. 5. Candles, sweets and the glass on the plate, on the grave. Vojskaā, Białowieża Forest Region, West Belarus (photo E. Zajkovski)



Fig. 4. Candles, sweets, forks, glasses and the plates on the grave. Zarečany, Białowieża Forest Region, West Belarus (photo E. Zajkovski)



Fig. 6. Memorial meal by the graves - 2011, Czyże, Podlachia, Białowieża Forest Region, Poland (photo A. Gawęł)



Fig. 7. Memorial meal by the graves - 2016, Łosinka, Podlachia, Białowieża Forest Region, Poland (photo J. Wawrzeniuk)

religion, which tolerated (for some time) the presence of fire in cemeteries (Wrzesińska, Wrzesiński 2002: 158).

Throwing coals and ash from bonfires and fireplaces into burial pits served as a protection against diseases and what was considered impure and also against evil spirits. Mostly charcoal and ash were discovered at the burial level or directly below it (Ciszewski 1903: 56-74). They could be the remnants of the deceased. From Kamionka (Ropczyce region, Carpathians Foothills) recorded in the second half of the 19th century: 'if a deceased loved any thing in the life, then it was burned and ash brought to his grave' (Charchut 1964: 20).

According to many researchers, burning fires near graves has survived to date, albeit in a different form. We can find analogies in lighting candles during All Souls' Day or in ordinary visits at cemeteries. A candle – an offering – is lit during every visit and before the church service. Such a fire symbolises remembering the deceased. The flame-induced light has a purifying sense; it is a symbol of the essence, the durability of Christian faith; lit on the grave, it is a symbol of eternity and resurrection. Contacting the souls returning for All Soul's Day was necessary, and it could support the living in further terrestrial existence (Renik 1986: 32).

Finally, a story in which a dying old man asks for some fire from his 'holy' flint (from Polesier) may be a reminiscence of old beliefs. This symbolic spark would illuminate for him the way to the afterlife (Moszyński 1967: 493).

The valorisation of the fire in Podlachia and the Polish-Belarusian borderline survived despite the religion changing. It should be noted that fire is an important element of faith in the purifying power of ash, which is a material trace of purification through fire. The Bible verse is well known: "For you are dust and to dust you shall return" (Genesis 3:19). Prayers related to the sacrifice of ash date to the 10th century.

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ROLA OGNIĄ W ZWYCZAJACH ZADUSZKOWYCH NA PODLASIU I POGRANICZU POLSKO-BIAŁORUSKIM

JOANNA WAWRZENIUK



W artykule opisuję rolę i funkcję ognia w zwyczajach zaduszkowych związanych z powinnościami wobec zmarłego na obszarze wschodniej Polski i pograniczu polsko-białoruskim. W niniejszych rozważaniach zostaną wykorzystane źródła archeologiczne z okresu średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych, dostępne źródła pisane, dotyczące omawianych okresów oraz analogie etnograficzne. Będzie to więc próba analizy tradycyjnego zwyczaju poprzez wskazanie jego żywotności, mimo niewątpliwie zaistniałej już transformacji obrzędu. W tekstach źródłowych takich jak na przykład: *Powieść minionych lat*, dokumencie Henryka Brodatego z 1299 roku, *Kronice Czechów* Kosmasa, kompilacji znanej jako *Słowo Świętego Ojca Jana Złotoustego* czy Kazaniach Trzemeszneńskich z XV wieku Michała z Janowa znajdujemy również opisy podobnych przedchrześcijańskich zwyczajów.

W źródłach archeologicznych odbicie szczególnego poszanowania ognia ma związek przede wszystkim z kremacją, ale znajduje swoje odbicie również w paleniu ogni przy grobach szkieletowych, a także w obrzędzie birytualnym na cmentarzyskach z terenu Podlasia. Ogień wykorzystywano do przygotowania miejsca pochówku czy oczyszczania samego grobu lub jamy grobowej. Służył on również jako podstawowy element obrzędu cyklicznego odwiedzania zmarłych, o czym świadczą takie pozostałości, jak węgle drzewne czy popiół.

Wspominanie zmarłych to rodzaj rodzinnych „święt” związanych z kultem dawnych przodków lub po prostu z nieżyjącymi już krewnymi. W tym celu zamawiano także specjalne nabożeństwa w dni poświęcone pamięci zmarłych nazywane „*roditelskije soboty*”. Wszystkie te obrzędy służyły spełnianiu obowiązków wobec zmarłych i były pewnego rodzaju „wymianą darów” pomiędzy żywymi a zmarłymi. Na terenie wschodniej Polski, według danych etnograficznych, oprócz wspomniania i modlitwy za zmarłych w 4, 9, 40 dniu, 1 roku po śmierci, zachowały się zwyczaje związane z obrzędami zadusznymi w okresie Wielkanocnym - „dziady” wiosenne i listopadowym - „dziady” jesienne. Najbardziej rozbudowane były obrzędy wiosenne zwane na terenie Podlasia najczęściej terminem *przewody-prowody* a na terenie Białorusi *Radunica*. Na Podlasiu, a także na Polesiu obchody zaduszne mogły się odbywać od niedzieli Wielkanocnej do czwartku. Głównym dniem pierwszych wiosennych zaduszek na Podlasiu, u Słowian Wschodnich na Białorusi, na Ukrainie, jak również w Rosji uważano wtorek po Niedzieli Przewodniej, czyli dziewiąty dzień po święcie Wielkiej Nocy. Przynoszono wtedy na groby pokarmy, śpiewano pieśni, płakano i lamentowano za zmarłymi, grano w różne zabawy oraz palono ogień. Palenie ogni najczęściej odbywało się przez całą noc, w domu i na cmentarzach. Miały one oświetlać drogę wędrowki dusz, ogrzewać i wskazywać miejsce przygotowanych dla nich pokarmów. Liczne przekazy

etnograficzne opisujące zachowania podczas tzw. pominek z końca XIX wieku i początku XX wieku sprowokowały do przeprowadzenia badań terenowych. Do eksperymentu badawczego, przeprowadzonego wiosną 2016 roku, wybrano cztery cmentarze wiejskie w regionie Puszczy Białowieskiej zlokalizowanych po obu stronach granicy polsko-białoruskiej. Celem badań było także sprawdzenie żywotności święta, określenie czynności z nim związanych oraz sprawdzenie w jaki sposób święto jest postrzegane przez współczesną prawosławną ludność wiejską. W rezultacie stwierdzono, że zwyczaj *przewodów-prowodów* kultywowany jest jeszcze na niektórych cmentarzach w Polsce bardzo uroczysto. Natomiast na Białorusi przez zakazy Cerkwi staje się coraz mniej popularne celebrowanie święta *Radunicy*. W niektórych miejscowościach odwiedzanie grobów i modlenie się za zmarłych odbywał się w święto Zesłania Ducha Świętego -potocznie znane jako Zielone Świątki (święto poświęcenia ziół, które jest obchodzone w kościele prawosławnym w pięćdziesiąty dzień po Wielkanocy).

Palenie ogni przy grobach to zwyczaj ciągle obecny, chociaż oczywiście zmodyfikowany. Analogie znajdujemy w zapalaniu zniczy w czasie świąt zadusznych lub w zwyczajnym przychodzeniu na cmentarze. Świeczkę - ofiarę zapala się przy każdej wizycie i przed nabożeństwem w cerkwi. Taki ogień to pamięć o zmarłym. Światło wywołane płomieniem ma znaczenie oczyszczające, oznacza istotę, trwałość wiary chrześcijańskiej, zapalone na grobie jest symbolem wieczności i zmartwychwstania.

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Archaeological Sites as a Component of the Modern Religious Worldview of the Southern Ural Population (Based on the Example of the Akhunovo Megalithic Complex)*

— Ainur I. Tuzbekov, Albert T. Akhatov —

The present research examines the problem of the formation of new sacred sites around one of the most well-known archaeological complexes of the Bronze Age in the Southern Urals. To do so, the author applied the results of field research done of his own at the Akhunovo cromlech and analysed scientific literature and internet resources. Proceeding from the received data, the author traced the process of formation of sacred insight of the monument, determined the main reasons and participants of the sacralisation process and established probable negative outcomes of this phenomenon.

KEYWORDS: archaeological site, sacralisation, holy place, Akhunovo megalithic complex

INTRODUCTION

At present, within the territory of the Southern Urals, citizens are showing a growing interest in different beliefs – both conventional and unconventional. As an integral part of the religious practices of almost any religious doctrine, special sacred sites and objects are visited by pilgrims aimed at spiritual search, the performance of religious rites, appeal to ‘the Higher Forces’ asking to solve problems of life, and so on. Such places are considered having special, even mystical characteristics, which is why most active pilgrims and “higher knowledge” holders arrange numerous tourist trips and excursions to these places.

In connection to this, the study of existing and forming sacred objects is becoming one of the most cutting-edge directions in the humanities and social sciences, which provides an opportunity to analyse the process of their formation and function from the perspective of scientific knowledge, to research the activities of different religious unions, frequently using sacred objects for their own profit, to study the ritual-cultic practice and worldview of the modern population, and similar.

The research conducted by archaeologists of the Institute of Ethnological Research named after Kuzeev R. G. of the Ufa Federal Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (hereinafter: IER) in recent years has resulted in findings that the archaeological monuments of the Southern Urals are one of the main elements that form sacred sites (Akhatov, Bakhshiev, Tuzbekov 2016: 33–42).

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The main part of them is generally known within some areas and districts, and only a few are known not only in the whole republic of Bashkortostan but beyond it as well. One of the most well-known objects of archaeological heritage, treated as a sacred site, is a megalithic complex called Akhunovo, which is located within the territory of the Uchalinsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan. According to the information on the website “Association of Travel Agents” it is included in the “top 10 places in Russia, where wishes come true” taking the fourth place after the menhirs of Khakassia, Lake Baykal, and the natural reserve Arkaim (Sorokin 2011).

Despite its widely-spread popularity as one of the most important sacred centres of Russia, Akhunovo cromlech has scarcely been researched. In terms of cultural anthropology, there is some fragmentary information in the article by Serikov (2018: 88–89). Preliminary notes about the sacralisation of the menhirs of Akhunovo were given in the work by Akhatov, Bakhshiev, and Tuzbekov (2016: 38).

The goal of the present work is to analyse the sacralisation process of the menhirs of Akhunovo and determine their similar and distinctive features with comparable objects known in the Southern Urals.

In order to study the formation of sacred sites within the territory of the abovementioned object of archaeological heritage, we used the developments laid in a relatively new direction of anthropological and culturological studies – hierotopy. The term is based on the principle of combination of Greek works: *ιερός* meaning sacred and *τόπος* meaning place, space, idea. Hierotopy is a creation of sacred sites, seen as a special kind of spiritual and fictional art, as well as a special area of historical and cultural research that determines and analyses certain examples of this art (Lidov 2009: 11–37).

The study is based on the materials received through expeditions, organised in 2013 and 2019; the participants talked to local citizens, investigated the monument and took into consideration data summarised from mass media, internet resources published from 2003 to 2019, as well as information received from people who before/after attending the natural reserve of menhirs at Akhunovo came for an excursion to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of IER to see the exhibition of the excavated materials.

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE OBJECT

The Akhunovo megalithic complex is located on the outskirts of the village of Akhunovo of the Uchalinsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan. The monument is 1.1 km to the south-west of a residential settlement on the right bank of the Kidish River; 70 metres to the west is a settlement (the late Bronze Age) called Akhunovo (Fig.1).

The object under research came to notice of the scientific community in 1996, when a local citizen named Aitov showed it to a group of anthropologists from Chelyabinsk University headed by Rybalko. In 2003, a complete study of the monument was conducted by an archaeological expedition led by Petrov, in which 860 m² of its area was excavated (Petrov, Kirillov 2007: 19). In 2010, the object was researched by workers of the Scientific Production Center of the State Budgetary Institution of Culture, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Bashkortostan (Bakhshiev, Rafikova 2010).

When menhirs of Akhunovo became known to the general public and started to attract many visitors, the central site and separate menhirs were fenced out. Nearby the place was equipped with facilities such as a car park, two garden pavilions, toilets, and several fire pits.

The megalithic complex itself consists of 13 granite menhirs of almost a regular quadrangular shape. Two of them – №1 and № 2 (the numeration was given by the archaeologist Petrov) – are located in the central part of the complex at the distance of 15 metres from each other towards the magnetic azimuth of north-south.

Eight menhirs (№ 3-10) are spread along the line of a circle with the centre in 5 metres to the west towards a magnetic declination from the central point of the line, which connects menhirs №1 and № 2. The circle is of almost a regular shape with diameter spreading from 23 to 26 metres depending on the direction of measurements (Fig. 1, 2).

Menhirs №11 and № 12 are located northwest-southeast 0.6 m from each other and in 80 m to the south-west from menhir № 10 of the central complex (Fig. 1, 3); menhir № 13 is 186 m northwest of menhir №10 (Fig. 1, 4). The height of menhir №1 is 1–1.65 m from the surface of the ground, while the general height is 2.05 m. Menhir №2 is 1.4 m from the surface of the ground, and the general height is 1.6 m. On average other menhirs are of 0.5 m from the surface of the ground with the general height of 0.75–0.8m (Petrov, Kirillov 2007: 20).

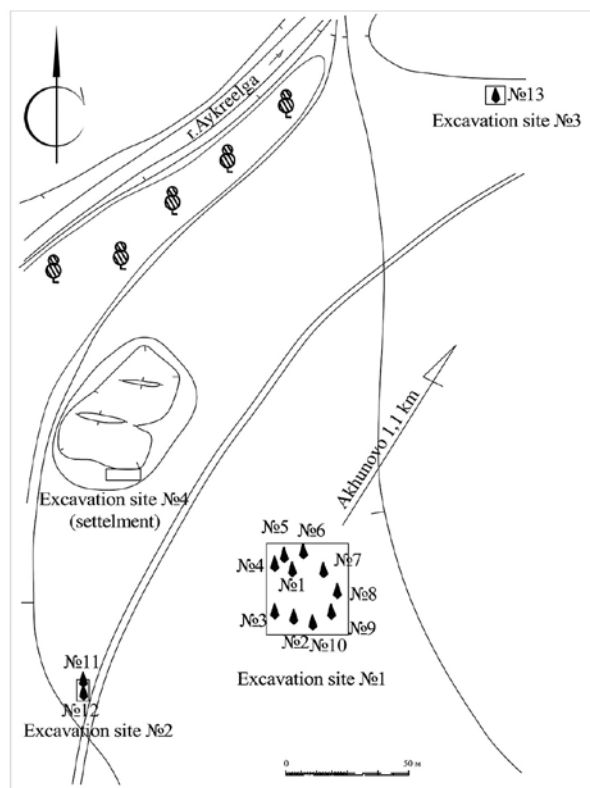


Fig. 1. Akhunovo megalithic complex. Plan. (Petrov, Kirillov 2007: 20, corrected Tuzbekov 2019).



Fig. 2. Akhunovo megalithic complex. Excavation site №1 (photo by A. Tuzbekov, May 2019).



Fig. 3. Akhunovo megalithic complex. Excavation site №2 (photo by A. Tuzbekov, May 2019).



Fig. 4. Akhunovo megalithic complex. Excavation site №3 (photo by A. Tuzbekov, May 2019).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEO-ASTRONOMICAL ASPECTS

In 2003, excavations around menhir № 1 revealed eight pillar holes of 0.2–0.25 in diameter and depth that constituted a circle of 3.5 m in diameter. The location of the holes resembled the circle structure of eight menhirs № 3 to 10, each corresponding to a menhir in the great circle in its location.

According to Petrov, in ancient times the smaller circle was used to keep the calendar by tracing the shadow falling from menhir № 1 to the foot of the pillars towards menhirs № 3-10. Also, it could be used as a sun-dial (gnomon) (Fig. 5).

There were numerous fragments of ceramics found in the process of the excavations; the main part of them dated back to the Cherkaskulskaya and Mezhovskaya archaeological cultures of the Late Bronze Age in the 15th to 12th century BC. Furthermore, a few artefacts were found in the site which could date back from the Late Paleolithic Stone Age to the Bronze Age in a wide chronological range; also, there were bones of horses, cattle and small ruminants.

Another excavation site of 18m² was on a settlement where ceramic materials from Cherkaskulskaya and Mezhovskaya archaeological cultures, fractions of macrotools and two disks with holes in the centre made from soapstone and ceramics (Petrov, Kirillov 2007: 20–21) were found. All findings (221 items) are presently kept by IER.

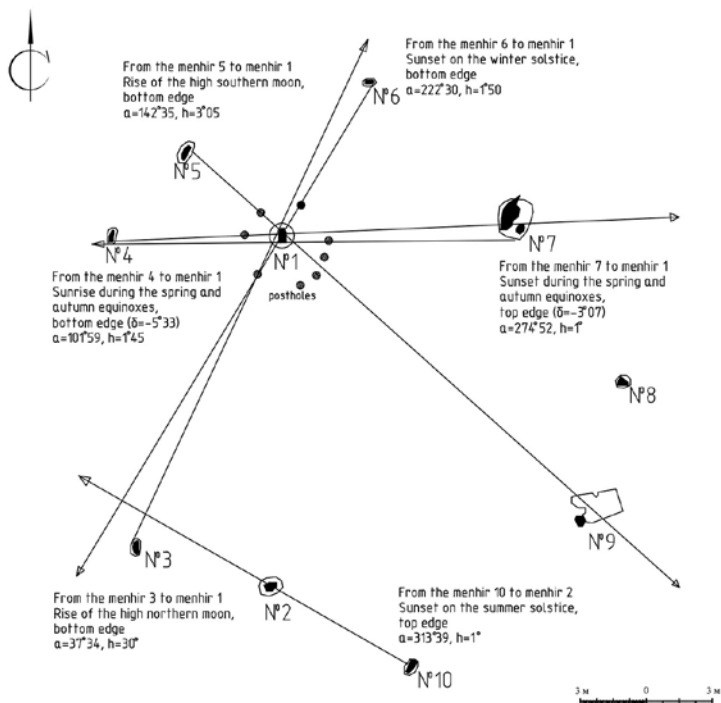


Fig. 5. Location of the central menhir № 1 tracing the shadow falling to the foot of other pillars.

At that time, the researchers Kirillov and Nikitona conducted archaeo-astronomical studies, the results of which enabled them to conclude that the megalithic complex is an ancient astronomical in-horizon observatory. The results of measurements and calculations determined the period in which the complex was constructed and used: from 1750 to 2000 BC. The most probable time is 1860 BC. Also, the calculations revealed that the key subject of the complex was menhir № 1. Separate menhirs of the circle system correspond to ‘lunar’ azimuths, denoting the point of moonrises in full distance position, closest to the point of the North and South (Petrov, Kirillov 2007: 21–22).

Other experiences of archaeo-astronomical research of cromlech enabled obtaining additional evidence about its layout, the sequence of construction, features of functioning, as well as the level of the astronomical knowledge of the ancient population of the Upper Ural Region (Potemkina 2011: 25–28).

In general, the received information allowed the researchers to view the Akhunovo megalithic complex not only as an ancient cult complex but as one of the biggest ancient observatories of Eurasia dedicated to observing astronomical events. In their opinion, the monument was used by the population of the Cherkaskulskaya and Mezhovskaya cultures in the Bronze Age in the latter half of 2000 BC. Based on the archaeological and archaeo-astronomical data, they suggested (which should be additionally verified) that it had been built earlier, in 3000 BC in the Aeneolithic Period (Petrov, Kirillov 2007: 22–23).

THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL ASPECT

Local citizens from the village of Akhunovo with predominantly Tatar and Bashkir populations call the complex of Akhunovo “Alpamysh kabere” (the grave of Alpamysh). A giant named Alpamysh is a hero of a so-named folk heroic epic literature, found with some variations in the cultures of the Uzbeks, Kara-Kalpaks, Kazakhs, Bashkirs, Tatars, people of Gorno-Altaysk, and others. Despite its fictional and national distinctness, the Bashkir folk epic work “Alpamysh” (“Alpamysh and Barsynkhyly”) has the same storyline with similar works by other peoples (Yagafarov 2007: 11).

The story tells about a miraculous birth of Alpamysh and Barsinkhilyu, the children of two neighbours Aylyar-khan and Akkubyak-khan, who were gifted with radiant beauty and heroic might. During premarital combat between the main characters, Alpamysh wins the fight and marries Barsynkhyly. Having lived for some time in a happy marriage, Alpamysh goes alone to fight enemies with the numerous army of Budyar-Khan and defeats him. The tired hero falls asleep in a heroic dream, during which the enemies bind him with steel chains and throw him into a pit, but he manages to get out of it with the help of the daughter of Budyar-Khan and his horse. Having returned home, he meets his son, who tells him about the competitions of the suitors, who claim Barsynkhyly’s hand in marriage. Participating in the archery competition, Alpamysh defeats the opponents and restores peace and justice in the country (Zaripov 1987: 227–239).

According to local beliefs and legends, Alpamysh is the hero who had been buried under the menhir of Akhunovo. The local citizens say that in the past it was a forbidden

place to visit as those who went there for nothing could bring misfortune upon themselves. Apart from that, the elderly used to come there to say their prayers. They called it “aulia kabere” (“the grave of the saint”). Some claimed menhirs to have healing properties that attracted ill people from the neighbourhood seeking the cure.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MODERN MYTH

After the menhirs of Akhunovo became known to the general public in 1996, new myths and beliefs started to emerge, replacing the old legends. Their appearance was conditioned by an upsurge of esotericism and mysticism. Numerous healers, leaders of new religious movements declared the cromlech “a place of power”. Travel agents began to organise various tours and trips to the complex of Akhunovo. Residents themselves made their contribution to it, talking about “wandering lights” on menhirs, “UFOs”, and similar.

Later, the object received an additional impetus for sacralisation, after it was investigated by archaeologists in 2003. A special role to the sacralisation of cromlech was given by the fact that scientists put forward the opinion that “in terms of the structure and volume of reconstructed ancient astronomical observations” the menhirs of Akhunovo “are almost a direct analogue of the famous English megalithic structure of Stonehenge” (Petrov, Kirillov 2007: 19–23). This information was widely spread by the media, which caused a new wave of mystification. A large number of people started coming to the “Bashkir (Uchalinsky) Stonehenge”.

Nowadays, one can distinguish several basic, closely interconnected ways people perceive the megalithic complex of Akhunovo, each of them having its followers and supporters.

The most popular and widespread is the esoteric view, according to which the megalithic complex of Akhunovo is a special sacred zone – a “place of power” that has the energy to help fulfil all wishes, cure diseases, including infertility.

The sacred meaning is attached to both the complex as a whole and individual stones. It is believed that the cromlech of Akhunovo has been a sanctuary or temple where ancient oracles and magicians performed their rituals. Also, there is a belief that a Lemurian crystal is hidden under it. Menhir №1 is seen as a symbol of the masculine principle, and menhir №2 is the centre of female nature, both of which are endowed with special properties that together symbolise the duality of the world.

Closely related to the first is the opinion that links the menhirs of Akhunovo with aliens from outer space or parallel worlds interpreting the complex as a landing pad for flying saucers, an ancient alien observatory, a portal to other dimensions, and similar.

The third point of view perceives the cromlech of Akhunovo as a tourist attraction, that is often included in various tourist routes and as a part of weekend tours. In the early 2010s, the megalithic complex was included into an ecological and ethnographic tourist complex called “Europe-Asia”, that embraced natural, historical and ethnographic sites (Municipalnye obrazovaniya 2012).

The following point of view is a scientific one that is based on the archaeological research conducted at the monument. As already noted, during the excavation of the menhirs, archaeologists concluded that it was an ancient observatory for observing stars.

Jumbling together and spreading among people, all the scientific data, old and new myths, legends, and beliefs draw people's attention to the megalithic complex. On the internet, one can find information about tourist, sightseeing, exoteric tours organised in different years to visit the menhirs of Akhunovo lasting from one to several days: an on-site workshop "Menhirs of Akhunovo" (the Esoteric Center "Wisdom of the Urals") (Markina, 2017), an ecotour "Akhunovo-Iremel 2016" ("Center for Energy and Psychocorrection Matrix") (Po volnam pamyati ... 2016), a school tour "To the Menhirs of Akhunovo" (Tour operator Rinai) (Uchalinskiy Stonehenge), etc.

At the time of the examination in 2019, the megalithic complex of Akhunovo was on some decline, as evidenced by the fallen fences and decaying garden pavilions that had been built in previous years. However, even though the flow of visitors has decreased compared to previous years, local citizens say that a large number of people still come there.

It should be noted that some people of the population of Akhunovo have a negative attitude to the menhirs. So, for example, on the night of October 23-24, 2010, unknown people destroyed five out of ten menhirs and laid out an inverted cross from the remains with the intersection where menhir № 1 was located. To the east, in the conditional centre of the monument's platform, a pentagram was drawn at the ends of its five rays where circles were located. Traces of blood were recorded on some fragments of the destroyed menhirs, that is probably the evidence of sacrificial offerings (Bakhshiev, Rafikova 2010).

Obviously, this action was aimed primarily at the so-called desacralisation of the object. Subsequently, the remains of the menhirs were transferred to the museum of local history and residents installed stones similar in appearance at the place where the menhirs had stood.

Citizens from the Akhunovo village say that, as in previous years, on Muslim holidays people say collective prayers at the menhirs.

During the examination of the menhirs in 2019, at the top and at the foot of almost every one of them there were wheat grains, pieces of bread and coins of various denominations from 10 kopecks to 10 rubles. On the highest menhir № 1 in addition to grains and Russian coins, there were also hazelnut seeds and 20 euro cents (Fig. 6).

The fence that encloses menhirs № 11 and № 12 is tied with numerous multicolour strings of cloth; a few are also fixed on the fence of menhir № 13. It is believed that wishes will surely come true if you tie a ribbon to the fence (Fig. 3, 4).

Altogether, collective Muslim prayers, coins, grains, pieces of fabric brought as offerings are characteristic of almost all archaeological sites examined earlier that were sacralised in the Southern Urals (Akhatov, Bakhshiev, Tuzbekov 2016: 34).

At the same time, the available data suggest that the megalithic complex used to be a regional sacred centre; however, due to an increase in the flow of tourists, the archaeological site has become a "place of power" for representatives of various ethnic and religious groups and religious movements.



Fig. 6. Top of the Menhir № 1 (photo by A. Tuzbekov, May 2019).



Fig. 7. Notes at the foot of the Menhir № 13 (photo by A. Tuzbekov, May 2019).

Currently, various sacred practices are held there. On June 21, 2019, during the summer solstice, a group of people (both local citizens and visitors) gathered at the monument to perform rituals and rites.

In the course of the research, new elements of sacralisation of archaeological objects that had not been seen in Bashkortostan before were found; they were notes with wishes, left by pilgrims and tourists (Fig. 7). This tradition has been borrowed from the Arkaim natural reserve, located in Chelyabinskaya Oblast, which has long been well-known in Russia and abroad (Belolipetskaya 2007: 20–23; Shnirelman 2011: 133–167; Silina 2014: 211–223), which is where such tradition of leaving notes was first recorded (Silina 2014: 222).

In total, 11 notes of such type were discovered. They enable us to supplement our knowledge not only in the sphere of formation of hiertopies but in terms of understanding of the modern worldview of people and problems about which they are concerned.

The notes were left by the visitors in the cracks of menhirs №1 (one), №12 (two), №13 (eight). Almost all of them are written in Russian, and only one is in the Bashkir language. They do not have any addressee expect for two addressing to God and Khozay (“God” in the Bashkir language).

The general content shows that the visitors are worried about both material and spiritual issues. However, despite all financial hardships among the majority of the Russian population, it is remarkable that wishes to have money, cars, and redecorate their home were mentioned only in three notes, whereas in six notes there are wishes to be healthy for addressors and their close ones; four notes mention a happy life with a husband: one note wishes for a clear sky and beautiful nature. Judging by the content of the notes, people visiting such objects are mostly concerned about the problems of health and family wellness, most notes were written by women, which corresponds to the results of the previously conducted research (Tuzbekov 2018: 44).

CONCLUSIONS

1. The research of the menhirs of Akhunovo exemplifies one of the models of sacralisation of an archaeological monument within the territory of the Southern Urals.
2. The absence of objective scientific findings on the archaeological monument published in media (mass media, internet resources) results in misleading information that circulates and is used to spread non-traditional religious doctrines and cults.
3. The majority of visitors of the sacred objects are middle-aged women who are concerned about their health and family wellness.
4. Uncontrolled and unregulated attendance of the archaeological monument, its involvement into the activities of representatives of new religious movements and further popularisation lead to additional anthropogenic pressure on the monuments, which is often seen as a significant transformation of both the monument itself and its surroundings and, in an extreme case, it might result in its destruction.

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АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ПАМЯТНИК КАК КОМПОНЕНТ
СОВРЕМЕННОГО РЕЛИГИОЗНОГО МИРОВОЗЗРЕНИЯ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ
ЮЖНОГО УРАЛА
(НА ПРИМЕРЕ МЕГАЛИТИЧЕСКОГО КОМПЛЕКСА АХУНОВО)

Айнур И. Тузбеков, Альберт Т. Ахатов



В работе рассмотрена проблема сакрализации археологических памятников на Южном Урале. На примере одного из наиболее известных в регионе археологических комплексов бронзового века, комплекса Ахуновских менгиров, авторы изучили модель формирования сакрального пространства. Для достижения этой цели учеными были использованы собственные результаты полевых исследований, проведенные на кромлехе Ахуново, результаты раскопок археологов, исследований проведенных фольклористами и этнографами, данные по памятнике содержащиеся в научной литературе, интернет-ресурсы. Используя полученные данные, исследователи смогли: 1) проследить процесс формирования сакральных представлений о памятнике, 2) установить основные причины и участников процесса сакрализации, 3) выявить, что отсутствие объективных научных данных о памятнике археологии в широком информационном пространстве приводит к появлению ложной информации о нем которая тиражируется и используется для распространения нетрадиционных религиозных учений и культов, 4) выяснить что бесконтрольное и не регламентированное посещение археологического памятника включение его в сферу интересов представителей новых религиозных движений и последующая их популяризация ведет к дополнительным антропогенным нагрузкам на памятники, что зачастую выражается в значительном преобразовании как самого памятника, так и его окружения, а в крайних случаях может привести к его полному разрушению.

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The Supernatural Beings of Belief Legends – Old Fears in a New Context*

— Luka Šešo —

This paper examines the use of belief legends about witches, werewolves, and fairies at open-air festivals in Croatia today. At such events, traditions based on belief legends are invented with the idea of enriching local tourism not only as a source of income but also as a medium through which they portray their local identity. Additionally, the author argues that the concept of fear plays a significant role in the entire process. Visitors face the fear invoked by supernatural concepts, but within the monitored and controlled festival environment, which this helps them overcome their fears and learn how to control them. Furthermore, the author argues that people are increasingly turning toward learning and knowing about supernatural beings of belief legends because they offer an attractive explanation for the functioning of the current world and afterlife.

KEYWORDS: legends, witches, fairies, festivals, invention of tradition, identity

INTRODUCTION

In the mid-19th century, towards the end of his shorter study devoted to fairies, Croatian historian, writer, and politician Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski stated that such beings had become less common in the stories of the Croatian rural population (Kukuljević 1851: 100). Over a century later, Croatian folklorist Maja Bošković-Stulli focused her research on belief legends about different supernatural beings, and, echoing Kukuljević, noted that such stories (i.e., belief legends) had become less frequent and, though recently they could have been found in the field, they now belonged to the past (Bošković-Stulli 1991: 125).

My field research, conducted over the last 15 years in rural areas around Croatia, allowed me to attest that there was a smaller number of groups and individuals who knew or wanted to talk about fairies, witches, werewolves,¹ and other such beings. During the field research that I conducted together with my students in 2014 at Žumberak, a mountainous area of Croatia distant from major thoroughfares, our interlocutors often remarked that today, at the beginning of the 21st century, “primitive” stories no longer exist and that people have

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¹ In Croatian belief legends, the term werewolf is used for an undead person who, after their death, returns among the living to seek redemption for their sins. Most eastern Slavs term such a creature vampire. For more on the werewolf and the vampire, cf. Lecouteux 2013, Šešo 2016: 41–58; 41–58.

ceased to believe in supernatural beings because their villages are now equipped with schools, churches, asphalt roads, telephone connections, and electricity, which is why the “superstitions” that we were researching in their villages had disappeared (cf. Fijala 2017, Žagi 2017). Similarly, during the research of traditional beliefs and belief legends about supernatural beings, which I conducted on several occasions in the period between 2003 and 2008 in the Dalmatian Hinterland and Istria,² I recorded many instances of witches, *mòra*,³ i.e., nightmare witches, fairies, and werewolves (Šešo 2016). However, in conversation with my interlocutors, I noticed that in their testimonies they often felt the need to clarify that nowadays there were fewer or almost no such beliefs and belief legends because they now had explanations for the phenomena that used to be explained by the existence of supernatural beings in the past. Thus, some of the interlocutors attributed the current lack of belief legends about the *vrimeňjak*, an individual with the supernatural ability to predict the weather, to the existence of educated meteorologists who nowadays perform this task. Beliefs in characters such as *krsniks*,⁴ who, according to belief legends, could heal people, have been substituted by going to the doctor, while belief legends about the *macić*,⁵ a dwarf with a red cap who brings wealth to the one who manages to take the cap away from it, have been supplanted by playing games of chance. According to some interlocutors, belief legends about the undead, such as werewolves, disappeared with the arrival of electricity and artificial illumination to the village, an occurrence that led to the dissipation of the fear of these dark beings (Šešo 2016: 265–266).

According to Lauri Honko, the main characteristic of supernatural beings is inspiring fear, causing fright, and presenting a threat (1962: 118). Some folklorists believe that the fear inspired by belief legends about supernatural beings plays a vital role in shaping and maintaining social norms (cf. Mencej 2017: 390–394, Röhrich 2018: 353, Šešo 2016: 173–188). Numerous belief legends indicate that men used to be afraid of unknown psychic forces that made them do bad and violent things because they believed that such acts might make them turn into werewolves after their death (Šešo 2016: 180). People strived to perform the holy sacrament of baptism on newborn children immediately after birth because they were afraid that the soul of a child who passed before being baptised could turn into storm demons (cf. O’Connor 1991, Polonijo and Šešo 2002). During evening get-togethers, people would tell stories based on belief legends about supernatural beings in order to make the children afraid of wandering outside the village on their own or leaving their houses at night (Šešo 2016: 186–188). Fairy-like beings were said to reward well-behaved and virtuous girls and boys, yet were believed to cause psychological

² Dalmatia is a region in the south of Croatia located between the Adriatic Sea to the west and Bosnia and Herzegovina to the east. Istria is a peninsula located in western Croatia.

³ According to Croatian, as well as many belief legends around Europe, *mòra* is a demonic being who attacks a human being at night and drains their life’s essence. For more on *mòra*, consult: Marjanić 1999, Šešo 2016: 58–72, Rudan 2016: 241–262.

⁴ In Croatian belief legends, *krsnik* is an individual/being with supernatural powers who helps their community in the fight against evil forces and the hardships of life. For more on *krsnik*, consult: Šešo 2002/2003, Bošković-Stulli 2005, Rudan 2016: 166–212.

⁵ In Croatian belief legends, *macić* are dwarflike demonic beings who use their supernatural powers to either helps humans or cause them harm. For more on *macić*, consult: Lozica 2002.

ailments of sinful ones (Šešo 2016: 36). In other words, belief legends about supernatural beings were used to establish rules of good and desirable behaviour, as well as to make potential transgressors of commandments and norms afraid, that is, the main purpose of such belief legends was to keep the sinners in fear (Röhrich 2018: 355).

However, since the 19th century, when Kukuljević alluded to the decline of stories about supernatural beings, several other circumstances that had previously made it possible for supernatural beings to “have an effect,” subsequently changed throughout rural Croatia. Evening get-togethers, corn shucking, and other occasions at which folk tales about supernatural beings would be told have almost completely disappeared. Many villages around Croatia have been deserted, while in the majority of the ones that remain, the number of children who would listen to stories about supernatural beings and later maintain and construct a belief system continues to decline. In addition, certain social norms, which the supernatural beings had “helped” to shape, have also changed. Nowadays, it is no longer socially unacceptable to have a child outside of marriage or a romantic relationship without being married; furthermore, Croatian and foreign TV series and films present such situations as a completely normal part of everyday life. Therefore, the liberalisation of socially-acceptable behaviour has contributed to the change of old (and the creation of new) social norms. People are no longer afraid of encountering a supernatural being who will punish them, for example, for having a relationship without being married. Therefore, although supernatural beings of belief legends fulfil multiple social functions and evoke a wide range of emotions (cf. Mencej 2017: 111–120, Šešo 2016: 165–247), we might conclude that without having the ability to incite fear, the supernatural beings disappear.

Nonetheless, though it is possible to observe a trend of decline and disappearance of belief legends about supernatural beings since Kukuljević’s time; in reality, they are not the ones that disappear, but rather, their original habitus, i.e., the rural communities, on the one hand, undergoing population decline, and on the other, increasing technological and infrastructural development, hence, changing the *chronotope* in which we traditionally searched for and observed legends and beliefs. Belief legends and folk beliefs in supernatural beings, therefore, are not disappearing but are rather changing, undergoing transformation and being supplanted by new forms. Thus, for example, the weather forecaster or meteorologist has substituted the *vrimenjak*, while the lottery girl has taken the place of the *macić*. Additionally, this transformation consequently implies the displacement of folk beliefs and legends from their original environments into a new context. Here, I am referring primarily to the modes of expression of elite and popular culture, such as films, theatre, literature, documentaries, and art exhibitions thematising belief legends and traditional lore about supernatural beings. Belief legends about witches, fairies, werewolves, and other supernatural beings that were present among inhabitants of rural, “traditional” areas, have been “transplanted” to films and serials such as *Harry Potter*, *Dracula*, *The Twilight Saga*, *Pan’s Labyrinth*, and many others. This process of the “transplantation” of belief legends from their “original” environment to that of popular culture also includes the phenomenon, observable in Croatia in the previous decade, of organising festivals dedicated to belief legends, folk tales and beliefs in supernatural

beings belonging to traditional cultures. This paper aims to explore such festivals in Croatia and to examine the role of belief legends about supernatural beings in this process. In so doing, the paper will focus primarily on the fear-inducing role and characteristics of supernatural beings, since fear is a significant aspect of belief legends (Honko 1962: 118, Röhrich 2018: 355).

CROATIAN FESTIVALS FOCUSING ON SUPERNATURAL BEINGS FROM BELIEF LEGENDS

In their cultural-anthropological study of festivals in Croatia, Petra Kelemen and Nevena Škrbić Alempijević state that the process of the development of festivals, present in Europe from the 18th century onwards, has occurred in seven waves (Kelemen, Škrbić Alempijević 2012: 56). They assert that, in Europe, the 1970s saw a considerable increase in the number of festivals focusing on elements of tradition, owing to the development of tourism, support to minority cultures, promotion of contemporary artistic creation and openness to different music genres and styles. In Eastern Europe, this trend only began to emerge after 1990, when the processes of democratisation of society, which helped strengthen the diverse cultural identities of different social groups, also lead to the increase in the number of smaller, local festivals. During the socialist era, festivals had a pronouncedly ideological function, and they were directed at creating uniform identities, though, even then, traditional culture festivals and events catered to a plurality of needs and identities (Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević 2012: 62, cf. Ceribašić 2003). The process, which the authors call *festivalization*, is characterised by a *growing number* of festivals and *the process of creation* of festivals as cultural practices. The main goal of organising these festivals is the affirmation of the identity of a particular community, while simultaneously enriching the tourist attraction and attracting more tourists (Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević 2012: 51, 54).

Observing the dynamics of the festival held since the early 19th century in the Swiss village of Interlaken, which focuses on traditional customs, dances and attire, Regina Bendix offers a similar conclusion, emphasising that traditions are always formed in the present and that the ones who define them at festivals do not concern themselves with whether scholars would define these traditions as original, but rather whether the event will achieve its intended goal (Bendix 1989: 132). The anachronistic and selective conception of tradition, which Bendix detects in relation to the creation of the festival in Interlaken, should be viewed through the “invention of tradition” process. According to Eric Hobsbawm, this phenomenon reached its peak towards the end of the 19th century, coinciding with the creation of national states, when, in a quest to form an identity, activities of ritualistic and symbolical nature were used to establish certain values and norms of behaviour. Since rituals are repetitive and performative practices, it was easy to create the impression of continuity with the past, that is to say, with carefully selected segments of the past. Furthermore, where possible, these activities often sought to establish a link with the appropriate segment of the historical past. “Invented” traditions are, therefore,

a response to new situations, referencing the old in order to construct and establish one's own past (Hobsbawm 2011: 6–7).

From this perspective, Bendix examines festivals focusing on traditional cultures as places where tourists come to observe the intact, “authentic” village culture, which is, in reality, an imaginary construct of what they perceive to be the archetypal manifestation of their own culture (Bendix 1989: 133). Here, Bendix emphasises that some folklorists regard this process only as the commodification of folklore, the exploitation of the local population, and the imitation of rituals performed for profit, leading to the loss of the original meaning of traditional culture (Bendix 1989: 142). Bendix does not deny the economic dimension often present in organising such festivals, but emphasises the importance of understanding the mechanism of tourism in the contemporary world, which is no longer simply an economic phenomenon, but rather, owing to its far-reaching social and cultural influence, a civilisational phenomenon (Bendix 1989: 143). Thus, the local population starts to use tourism not only as a source of income but also as a medium through which they will portray their birthplace as a regional centre, a place imbued with tradition and a haven of patriotic values, which assists them in constructing and improving their image (Bendix 1989: 143). Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević come to a similar conclusion, pointing out that the main reasons for the popularity of festivals are that they add to the local pride, develop or maintain a local or regional identity, manipulate the image of the community to attract tourists, but also provide recreational and leisure opportunities for the local population. Here, the authors believe that “though they are clearly interconnected with the tourist industry, the festivals are simultaneously much more than mere marketing tools. Their multiple roles surpass the role of merely making profit off culture – they are places where culture is created” (Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević: 2012: 49–50, 63).

In a broader process of folklorization and retraditionalization, festivals focusing on supernatural beings from belief legends have been on the rise, which this paper examines in the context of Croatia. One of the preconditions for organising such a festival is that a certain location is somehow linked to belief legends or real historical events that have been interwoven with beliefs in supernatural/demonic beings. Thus, for instance, the *Ogulin Fairy Tale Festival*, held in Ogulin since 2006, partly owes its popularity to the notion that witches gather at the top of the nearby Klek Mountain (Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević 2012: 185–270).⁶ Zagreb's Upper Town and Tuškanac,⁷ the locations of the burning of those accused of practising witchcraft in the 18th century (Bayer 1969: 524), became the venues of the music festival, *Gričevanje*, held between 2012 and 2015, while the logo of the festival included a stylised witch's hat. The festival program included music and theatre performances, and in its first year, a symbolic burning of the “witches.”⁸ Since 2006, the Trsat Castle overlooking the city of Rijeka has been the *location of Malik Fest – the Festival of Istrian and Kvarner Myths and Legends offering games, workshops*

⁶ See: Vile, vještice, divovi i patuljci u režiji Marija Kovača. 2009. <https://www.tportal.hr/kultura/clanak/vile-vjestice-divovi-i-patuljci-u-reziji-maria-kovaca-20090605> (accessed on Jan 16, 2019)

⁷ Old quarter outside the medieval city walls.

⁸ See: Gricevanje. 2015. <https://twitter.com/Gricevanje> (accessed on Jan 16, 2019)

and performances that introduce the visitors to the traditional culture of the region, more specifically, to belief legends about supernatural beings. According to the organisers, the impulse to start the festival stems from the numerous Istrian and Kvarner⁹ belief legends about supernatural beings, such as the *malik*,¹⁰ witches and *mòra*. The visitors are thus invited to learn about the characters from “the most ancient stories ranging from the ones who created the world to the ones that will pester you all night long.”¹¹ The northern part of Croatia has also joined this new trend of creating festivals about similar topics. *LegenDra – Festival mitova i legendi dravskoga kraja* (Festival of Myths and Legends of the Drava Region) has been held in the town of Prelog in Međimurje¹² since 2017, while its Facebook page includes the following description inviting the visitors to attend:

The festival celebrates the mythical art and the magic of life itself. It is a playground for the imagination – for children and adults alike – offering an escape from daily life and worries. [...] This time, the residents will be the wizards and musicians, artists and storytellers, the wretched *coprnice*,¹³ lovely fairies and fairy-tale-like beings.¹⁴

The newest festival inspired by belief legends about supernatural beings – fairies in this case – was held at the beginning of June 2019 in the town of Imotski in the south of Croatia under the title *Vilinska Imota Festival*. The festival is organised by the local library and the Municipality of Imotski and, in an interview,¹⁵ the members of the festival team said that it was their wish for the festival to promote the traditions and belief legends of Imotska Krajina¹⁶ inspired by fairies. They believe the region is known for these traditions, but, previously they were unable to use these unique characteristics for the promotion and strengthening of tourism, which, of course, they hope to rectify by organising this festival. Therefore, they have initiated a two-day festival featuring professional storytellers telling stories about fairies and supernatural beings, an exhibition of photographs about the natural beauty of the region, performances by local *klape* singers and the performance of the local school children dancing an “invented kolo”, danced by the fairies, according to belief legends.¹⁷

⁹ Kvarner is a coastal region in Croatia located between the peninsula of Istria to the northwest and Dalmatia to the south.

¹⁰ In Croatian belief legends, *malik* (in addition to *macić*) is one of the terms for a dwarf that possesses supernatural powers, often wearing a red cap.

¹¹ See: Malik fest. Festival mitova i legendi Istre i Kvarnera. 2019. <http://www.malikfest.com/festival-mitova-i-legendi-istre-i-kvarnera/> (accessed on Jan 16, 2019)

¹² Međimurje is a smaller region in the north of Croatia bordering Slovenia and Hungary and located between the rivers Mura and Drava.

¹³ A term for witches employed mainly in northwestern Croatia.

¹⁴ LegenDra - Festival mitova i legendi dravskoga kraja. 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/events/legendra/359964267773368/> (accessed on Jan 16, 2019)

¹⁵ An interview conducted during my visit to this festival in 2019.

¹⁶ Imotska Krajina is a smaller region in Dalmatian hinterland.

¹⁷ See: Započinje festival priče i pripovijedanja “Vilinska Imota”. 2019. <https://radioimotski.hr/2019/05/31/vilinska-imota-festival-price-i-pripovijedanja/> (accessed on Dec 19, 2019)

The precursor of all of the abovementioned festivals is *LegendFest*, the oldest festival in Croatia focusing on supernatural beings. *LegendFest* or *the Festival of Legends, Myths and Stories* has been held in the Istrian town of Pićan since 2005. The organisers¹⁸ emphasise that they want to introduce the visitors to the mystical and enigmatic world of traditional Croatian culture and offer fun contents inspired by the mythical and supernatural past of Istria County.¹⁹ For that purpose, each year the music, dance and theatre performances, exhibitions and lectures by experts and connoisseurs of local history and tradition revolve around a central topic chosen by the organisers. Throughout 14 editions, the central themes of the festivals have mostly focused on legends about supernatural beings. For their first edition, they chose the theme of belief legends about *štriga*,²⁰ while in the following years the topics were related to beliefs about *krsnik*, vampires, werewolves, giants, dwarfs, dragons, *mòra*, *orko*²¹ as well as supernatural beings that can transform themselves into animals. The great turnout for the festival has encouraged the organisers to create sister events in other Croatian counties, that is, in places linked to the “existence” of supernatural beings or in places where belief legends are an integral part of the local traditional culture. Therefore, since 2014, *LegendFest* has also been held at Lukavec Castle in Turopolje,²² where the beliefs about *mogut*²³ and *coprnica* were chosen as the central topic of the festival. The main topic of *LegendFest* held since 2016 at Roški Slap in the Krka National Park²⁴ is fairy-like beings, while the main topic of the festival held at the Veliki Tabor Castle²⁵ since 2018 is once again *coprnica*²⁶ (i.e., witches). *LegendFest* is the oldest open-air festival with the most branches around Croatia at which the performers and lecturers draw their inspiration from belief legends about supernatural beings. According to the organisers, the visitor turnout at *LegendFest* increases year after year; in the last two years, the festival has recorded approximately 15,000 visitors.²⁷

From this brief overview of festivals, it is possible to conclude that certain historical events, and, more importantly, the belief legends of the local community about supernatural beings provided the initial impetus for the creation of the festivals. Characters

¹⁸ The festival is organized by the association *Val kulture*, whose president Igor Zidarić hails from Pićan.

¹⁹ For more on *LegendFest*, its programs and content in more detail, visit: LegendFest. 2019. <http://legendfest.hr/legendfest/> (accessed on Jan 8, 2019).

²⁰ *Štriga*, Ital. name for a witch, used most commonly in the Croatian coastal area.

²¹ According to Croatian traditional beliefs, *orko* is a demonic supernatural being in the form of a donkey, or less commonly a horse, that appears to a tired traveler at night and carries them off in the direction they do not wish to go. For more on the *orko*, consult: Lozica 2002, Rudan 2016: 262–273.

²² Turopolje is a low, flat microregion in the vicinity of Zagreb located next to the river Sava.

²³ According to a traditional belief from the Turopolje region, a *mogut* is a person/being with supernatural powers that can transform into a pig or a giant to help pig farmers from their village find acorns. In order to ensure the wellbeing of their own community, they confront the *mogut* of another community/village, which then suffers hardship if its *mogut* is defeated (Chloupek 1953).

²⁴ Krka National Park comprises the waterfalls and lakes on the river Krka in the vicinity of the Dalmatian town of Šibenik.

²⁵ The Veliki Tabor Castle is an early medieval castle located in the hilly landscape in northwestern Croatia.

²⁶ This paper does not cover the *LegendFest* held in 2018 at the Veliki Tabor Castle since the paper is based on the research conducted in 2017 comprising the festivals in Lukavec, Roški Slap and Pićan.

²⁷ LegendFest. 2019. <http://legendfest.hr/legendfest/> (accessed on Jan 8, 2019).

such as witches, vampires, giants and dwarfs influence the choice of festival topics, which then inspire numerous entertainment and cultural-educational events that the visitors attend both for fun and to learn about local traditions and folklore peculiarities, which are the foundation of cultural identity. Furthermore, the festival side programs regularly include offerings of the local gastronomy, a chance to purchase handcraft products, participate in local traditional games, and demonstrations of local trades. In such an ambience, supernatural beings are one of the themes presented as well. Along with other festival programs, they serve as bait for the visitors who want to learn about the history, tradition, and local identity to which the organisers refer when promoting the events and which are referenced in the very names of these festivals. In this context, the belief legends about supernatural beings play their part in enriching local tourism and profiting from it, but they also contribute to establishing and defining one's identity. However, it is important to note that commodifying belief legends about supernatural beings at festivals creates a new tradition and a new past, that is, "[...] the local events and personages, myths and narratives are ritualised and reconfigured by festivals; the celebrations prompt us to remember the past – namely, the selected past retold via the festival" (Kelemen, Škrbić Alempijević 2012: 191). In other words, belief legends about supernatural beings that are encountered in the stories of professional storytellers, in music and theatre performances, lectures, costumed actors and reenactors, photographs and other festival contents, are in reality interpretations, additions, and creations of belief legends, that is, "invented" traditions. These are not the traditions, history or belief legends as defined by scholars and experts, but rather the traditions, history and legends subjectively perceived by members of society – the ones organising the festivals and the ones visiting them. In the process, as the supernatural beings from belief legends are placed within the festival space where they are moulded according to the needs of the organisers and the visitors, this paper wishes to examine what happens to their element of fright and their fear-inducing features.

THE FRIGHTFUL (AND FEAR) AT *LEGENDFEST*

In order to provide answers to these questions, I conducted initial field research during *LegendFest* held in late May 2017 at Lukavec Castle and the surrounding area in Turopolje.

²⁸ During the festival, the visitors had the opportunity to encounter actors costumed as witches, devils, vampires, and other demonic beings whose appearance, the sounds they produced, and the noise they made scared both adults and children. Inside the castle itself, the visitors, or rather their children, entered a low, cramped room with the sign on the door that said *coprnički rešt* (prison for witches) [Fig. 1]. Inside the room, the visitors could spend several moments among artificial human skulls and animal bones aglow

²⁸ In 2017, *LegendFest* in Lukavec in Turopolje changed organizers and was renamed to *Perunfest. The Festival of Forgotten Stories and Folk Tales*. Based on the evaluation of the author of this paper, who visited the festival in Lukavec both before and after the change, the content and the appearance of the festivals has not changed considerably compared to the period when it used to be called *LegendFest*.

with red light, which was a recreation of the atmosphere of the space where women accused of witchcraft had been confined. On the first floor of the castle, inside a dark room with low green lights, the organisers placed a coffin with a person wearing a witch's costume. When any of the visitors approached the coffin, the dead witch would suddenly "come to life" scaring everyone in the room, especially the children. After this, she would invite whoever was interested to take her place and lie in the coffin and during my observation of this "performance," I noticed that very often the parents would try to persuade their children to do so [Fig. 2]. At one moment, one of the fathers closed his daughter inside the coffin while the costumed witch sat on the lid so the child could not get out. After the child started hitting the lid from inside and yelping, the father freed his daughter, who was visibly shaken and on the verge of tears. A macabre atmosphere dominated in other rooms in the castle as well, produced by lighting, renditions of demons, skulls, bones, a cradle with a doll inside, old furniture and the recording of muffled screams that could be heard around the castle [Fig. 3]. The area around the castle was also decorated to incite a sense of fear or dread in the visitors, or at the very least to not leave them indifferent. In the nearby woodland area, there were mannequins of demonic beings hanging from the branches, the employees of the festivals walked around dressed in black with blood-stained make-up on their faces, while behind a wooden door set up for the occasion in the woods, costumed devils were scaring the children by loudly tugging their chains. In such an atmosphere, the visitors consumed food and beverages, listened to stories about supernatural beings and were entertained by different dance and drama acts. As the day progressed, the darkness intensified the dramatic effect of the staged scenes. The climax of the festival was the burning of a large dragon made out of hay dominating the front entrance to the festival area.



Fig. 1. *Prison for witches*. LegendFest, Lukavec, Croatia, 2017. Photo by Luka Šešo.

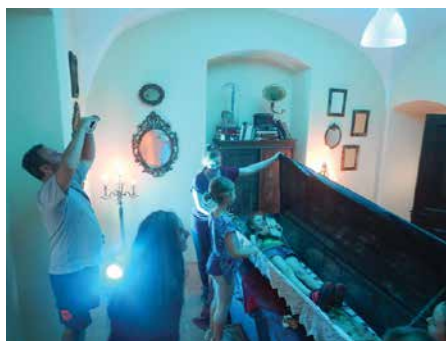


Fig. 2. *Children laying in the coffin*. LegendFest, Lukavec, Croatia, 2017. Photo by Luka Šešo.



Fig. 3. *A macabre atmosphere*. LegendFest, Lukavec, Croatia, 2017. Photo by Luka Šešo.

This concise description of the festival in Lukavec leads us to wonder why visitors are attracted to such a fear-inducing atmosphere and imagery. Following an observation of some of the contents of the festival, it may be concluded that, in terms of its visual appearance and content, the festival emphasises the elements that induce dread. The visitors, especially children, were noticeably afraid, while the (costumed) supernatural beings and the staged scenes in certain instances made them tense and anxious. According to Lars Svendsen, human beings need to experience a full range of emotions, and fear allows us to break free from the routine and monotony of our daily lives. Most people interrupt and assuage the tedium of daily routine by watching horror films or by visiting the abovementioned festivals. It is not uncommon for boredom to make us move towards the transgression of boundaries, while fear and the frightful represent the counterbalance to the tedium of daily life (Svendsen 2010: 98). However, it needs to be pointed out that horror films or horror games, as well as the festivals that I have cited, also represent something we can simply walk away from. These are spaces and environments in which, to a large extent, it is possible to supervise fear. We encounter fear in its tamed form; therefore, it does not wound us (Svendsen 2010: 98). We experience what we might term a “fear substitute” – we experience real fear, but we are not in any real danger. The violent and frightful fictions provide an appropriate medium for the articulation and processing of our emotions. Children can also benefit from this by learning to overcome their fear (Svendsen 2010: 98). According to Sara Ahmed, turning away from the object of fear means turning towards the objects of love, which, in an ideal situation, become a defense mechanism against death with which fear supposedly threatens us. In other words, the crucial element of contemporary, deliberate encounters with fear is not the fear itself, but rather the realisation that we can step away from it into a safe environment (Ahmed 2014: 67). As psychologist Dolf Zillmann explains when analysing the effects of suspense in dramatic works (1996), the satisfaction of the audience lies in the controlled stepping away from fear, in successfully escaping the frightful and violent. This is confirmed by the research conducted by Cynthia Hoffner and Kenneth Levine that examines the relationship between horror films and pleasure of the viewer (2005: 227). In this mechanism of staging controlled horror, the supernatural beings from belief legends play an important role, and they have become the central point of festivals such as *LegendFest*. Lutz Röhrich also affirms that most belief legends are imbued with a fear of demonic beings, of death, of the dead, while the supernatural world is perceived as a threat (Röhrich 2018: 352–365).

From that point of view, belief legends are an important source of information when examining the changes of consciousness that have occurred over the past 150 years. Since then, human beings have increasingly placed the world under their control; however, they have done so at the expense of the supernatural world, which in belief legends stands up to us as something highly strange and as something of which we should be afraid. Therefore, human fear has moved on to other areas nowadays. Fears become disintegrated, yet other fears take their place, or rather, old fears appear in new guises (Röhrich 2018: 365).

The “new guise” Röhrich is referring to can also be recognised at festivals in Croatia that include the presence of fear of supernatural beings from belief legends. That is, if we focus on some of the scenes from the brief description of *LegendFest* at Lukavec, it

is clear that it foregrounds precisely the beings and situations to which Röhrich is referring. By interacting with actresses dressed as witches and visiting the prison in which the supposed witches used to be incarcerated, the visitors encounter a representation of a female character that is the embodiment of numerous fears. They are also faced with an attempt to find the “culprit” for the culturally mediated fear, since, in Croatian belief legends, witches are linked to the causes of inexplicable accidents, afflictions, and illnesses. They are the victims of neighbourhood quarrels, jealousy, envy, and dislike (cf. Mencej 2017: 111–211, Šešo 2012). “Believing in witches reveals the fear of women who know more, the women who have greater power, and of female sexuality” (Röhrich 2018: 356).

The actors who jump out of coffins make the visitors feel afraid of the restless dead, which is another central construct of belief legends. Such beliefs reveal less about the dead and more about ourselves, that is, about our attitude towards death and the restless dead, who return to this world because of their sinful and in many ways problematic earthly life. The characters of the devil who frighten the children around the festival area, also incite the fear of the being that appears to the transgressors of commandments and norms. Finally, the symbolic burning of the straw dragon that takes place at the end of the festival is a symbol of victory and of overcoming a powerful opponent that induces fear and is the embodiment of chaos that threatens both the divine and human kind (see. Röhrich 2018: 355–357). The supernatural beings from belief legends that we encounter at festivals such as *LegendFest* still preserve their role of inciting fear: “Among stories there are those that wish to produce fear, as well as those whose primary function is to overcome fear. The two tendencies are interconnected because fear causes counter-reactions” (Röhrich 2018: 364). Deliberately producing fear to control and overcome it represents one of the key functions of belief legends about supernatural beings. In order to confront our fears and overcome them more easily, belief legends serve to articulate our instances of fear and find explanations for them, thus removing their ability to produce dread: “By featuring embodied supernatural beings, belief legends have the potential, to a certain degree, to dispel irrational, objectless fears” (Röhrich 2018: 354). A similar mechanism occurs at festivals, except, in addition to listening to stories about supernatural beings, the visitors also encounter their embodiments in the form of masked actors. The visitors are confronted with the fear of death by being enclosed in a coffin, the encounter with the demonic and the supernatural is simulated by the prison for witches and the devil’s door in the woods. These instances offer the visitors a chance for an encounter with the frightful, while providing the possibility of relieving and assuaging their fear by reserving the option of instantly leaving such frightening and intense places and situations.

However, let us examine the other role of fear caused by supernatural beings from belief legends, according to Röhrich, and that is to deliberately incite fear in transgressors of social norms and customary law. Specifically, deliberately provoking the fear of supernatural beings contributes to the compliance with set social norms and, consequently, to the conservation of the hierarchy of power. Fear instills a sense of guilt and the need for redemption, thus safeguarding an individual from the punishment of the supernatural world (Röhrich 2018: 353). Within this mechanism of inducing fear, it is vital to examine the notion of belief “[...] the presence of which is felt in any form of legend. [...] Directly or

indirectly, a belief legend almost without exception implies that *at some point, someone, somewhere*: ‘a neighbor’, ‘an old lady’, ‘grandpa’, ‘someone’, ‘some other people’, ‘a long time ago’ believe or believed in its message” (Dégh and Vázsonyi 2018: 347). In other words, fear caused by supernatural beings from belief legends can affect a society or an individual only if it is believed that these beings could, at some point and in some way, cause actual harm to someone.

FROM AGENTS OF FEAR TO OBJECTS OF AWE

In order to research the presence of belief legends and beliefs in supernatural beings at festivals and to observe the concept of fear within them, I conducted short surveys during two other editions of *LegendFest* held in 2017. One edition, held in early July at Roški Slap in the Krka National Park, focused on belief legends about fairies. The other *LegendFest*, held in late July in the Istrian town of Pićan, was dedicated to belief legends about the *mòra*.²⁹

Further prompted by the reasoning of the organiser whose website stated that they wished to acquaint the visitors with traditional beliefs of our ancestors at the time when the supernatural beings “were creating the world” and when there was “mythical art and magic of life itself,” I included the question: “What do you think is the reason that older generations believed in fairies/*mòra*?” The answer to this question was left blank by 10% of respondents, while the rest of the answers can be grouped into two categories. In the first, smaller group, 36% of respondents agreed that the reason was superstition, a “primitive” way of thinking or a lower degree of education of older generations. However, more than half of the respondents (53%) offered other explanations that can further be divided into two subcategories. The first subcategory comprises short answers in which the respondents attribute the existence of traditional beliefs of older generations to two concepts that we have analysed earlier in the paper – to cause fear and derive enjoyment from something scary and unfamiliar, as well as to work through intense emotions:

“For creating fear and entertainment.” AV12³⁰

“Because they wanted to create entertainment and cause fear.” AV11

“It was their way to scare and intimidate people. That’s how their elders taught them.” AM22

“They believed in what frightened them.” AV27

²⁹ The survey included a total of 80 visitors to the festival who participated in the research voluntarily. During the edition of *LegendFest* at Roški Slap, 40 visitors completed the survey and the same number completed the survey at the festival in Pićan. For the purposes of this paper, only the answers to two survey questions are analyzed here, while the survey contained ten questions and included topics not discussed in this paper. The completed questionnaires are kept in the author’s private archive.

³⁰ The letters AV refer to the survey on fairies (Roški Slap), while the letters AM refer to the survey on *mòra* (Pićan). The number next to the letters stands for the ordinal number on the questionnaire.



Fig. 4. *Visitors dressed as witches.* LegendFest, Pićan, Croatia, 2017. Photo by Luka Šešo.

In other words, a portion of the respondents identifies the mechanism of inducing fear as a vital characteristic of the supernatural beings of belief legends. However, frightening someone or inciting fear is not the purpose itself, but rather it is connected to fun, or alternatively, to belief. So what sort of belief is this? Here, it is important to extend the interpretation of fear caused by tales about supernatural beings. Even though fairies, witches, *mòra*, vampires, werewolves and other demonic/supernatural beings are frightful and cause people to be afraid, when belief legends about them are being taught in a fun way, as older generations used to do at evening get-togethers or as it is today done at festivals, they also inspire a sense of awe. Therefore, it is not (only) a question of being afraid *of* them, but (also) of feeling awe *towards* supernatural beings, in other words,

this is a mechanism that contributes to shaping a culturally more demanding system of concepts and beliefs such as myths, cults and religious systems. In controlled environments, the supernatural beings are transformed from agents of fear into objects of awe, while fear is a mechanism that inspires a sense of respect towards them. Why members of a community should create (or renew) their sense of awe towards supernatural beings is best expressed by examples in the second subcategory of answers:

“Out of a need to explain the world around them.” AV13

“They were in touch with nature; they were farmers so they sought solace and faith in these beings.” AV3

“Because they needed to believe in the existence of something larger than themselves.” AV14

“In order to explain certain natural occurrences, but also to enrich their life with stories.” AV15

“Perhaps because they believed in something larger and more powerful than themselves.” AV16

“Because they do exist and they were more connected to nature so they could see them.” AM11

“Because they wanted to explain reality.” AM13

“Because they are all around us.” AM15

“They were in tune with the spiritual state of the world.” AM12

“Because they tried to explain the world around them somehow and the different phenomena that exist in it.” AM10

It is evident from these examples that some of the respondents/festival visitors concluded that our ancestors needed the belief in supernatural beings in order to explain the world around them. The belief in supernatural beings, however fear-inspiring they may seem, aids in grasping our cosmic system, the phenomena and events one cannot influence, as well as the social hierarchies and injustices of the material world. Such beings and their powers inspire human beings with a sense of awe, which is based on cosmic fear that needs to be differentiated from “regular” fear, as Noel Carroll asserts. In attempting to understand why literature, film, and other forms of popular culture are drawn to demonic and supernatural beings, Carroll, who takes his inspiration from writer Howard Phillips Lovecraft and philosopher Rudolf Otto, concludes:

Humans, it appears, are born with a kind of fear of the unknown which verges on awe. Thus, the attraction of supernatural horror is that it provokes a sense of awe which confirms a deep-seated human conviction about the world [...] it contains vast unknown forces. [...] Fear itself is distasteful and would naturally be avoided; but cosmic fear is not simply fear, but awe, fear compounded with some sort of visionary dimension which is said to be keenly felt and vital (Carroll 1990: 163).

Another way of explaining the attraction of horror – one that may be connected with elements of the religious account – is to say that horrific beings – like deities and demons – attract us because of their power. They induce awe. In one mode of speaking, it may be said that we identify with monsters because of the power they possess – perhaps monsters are wish-fulfillment figures (Carroll 1990: 167–168).

May we, therefore, conclude that some visitors attend festivals like *LegendFest* because of supernatural beings that have the power to explain the world in its entirety and to explicate the interconnections between natural and supernatural forces and occurrences? Do some visitors, at a time of social and moral crises, believe in the need to reintroduce certain hierarchies and norms whose authority derives from the supernatural, and to feel a sense of awe towards the inexplicable and other-sided just as, according to their opinion, older generations used to? The answer to these questions could be provided by the answers to the second survey question, which asked the respondents whether they believed that fairies and fairy-like beings (Roški Slap) and *mòra* and witches (Pićan) still existed, and if they thought they did to explain briefly why they thought so. The results indicate that 40% of respondents expressed a belief in the existence of *mòra* and witches, and as many as 51% of respondents expressed belief in the existence of fairies and fairy-like beings. Explaining their answers to the question whether they believed in the existence of supernatural beings, it was evident that they too perceive the supernatural beings in connection to the limitations of their daily life, or rather, that they find the current explanations about nature inadequate:

“I do not think they exist in the form of beings, but rather as occurrences that happen to us and have an effect on us.” AV27

“I think that fairies are representatives of nature and what we can expect from it. It is magnificent, but sometimes also horrific and cruel. I believe in fairies as energy and the soul of every forest being.” AV15

“It is nice to believe.” AV3

“Because everyone needs a glimmer of magic.” AV1

“Because nature is magical so magical beings probably reside in it.” AV28

“They exist, only in human form.” AV17

“Because I believe in the inexplicable, that there is an invisible force, a parallel world... it is impossible for us to be alone.” AV9

“They used to exist, so they must still exist today.” AV7

“They exist, I think there are both negative and positive ones, whether it is a woman visiting the Shrine in Međugorje or observing the Sabbath!” AM13

“Perhaps they do not exist in the form in which they are represented in legends, but I have had an encounter with them!” AM11

“I believe they exist, but people are simply too preoccupied with other things, so they no longer think about *mòra* and witches.” AM24

The answers to the last question are simply too diverse to allow a straightforward explanation of the respondents’ reasons for believing in supernatural beings such as fairies and *mòra*. For some, they are invisible forces of nature, parallel worlds, or supernatural occurrences affecting us. For others, they are certain individuals (most often women) from the respondents’ surroundings whose actions they cannot understand or of which they do not approve. In contrast, some believe that they do not exist in the same form as they used to, but have, paradoxically, experienced an encounter with them, while others find the belief as such to be beautiful or magical and hence necessary. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the respondents adjust their explanations of the existence of supernatural beings to the contemporary world in which they live. Fairies and *mòra* are no longer (just) demonic beings living in the woods or the neighborhood, but they are also forces of nature, embodiments of invisible energy, parallel worlds, that is, as respondent AV9 notes, they are something “inexplicable,” with approximately half of all respondents believing in this “inexplicable” phenomenon.

CLOSING CONSIDERATIONS

Since the middle of the 19th century, when Kukuljević remarked on it, the supernatural beings from belief legends have become less common in their “original” environment, which is understood to be the rural communities that nurture a “traditional” way of life. Nevertheless, this does not imply that the belief legends about supernatural beings have disappeared and are being lost, but rather that they are being transplanted to different forms, such as the recent festivals that this paper has examined in the context of Croatia. At the festivals, as forms of “invented tradition,” the beliefs and the supernatural beings from Croatian belief legends are commodified and presented alongside other tourist and consumerist products and, as such, are drafted to participate in the process of boosting the tourist offer. At the same time, the supernatural beings from belief legends, together with the rest of the festival “offer” based on traditional culture, acquire an identity-forging

role within the process that wishes to create affective “bonds” between the visitors and the idealised, mythical world of the selective past. In contemporary society, doubts about the benefits of economic development and the appearance of “quality of life” indices have led to the rediscovery and the idealisation of the “traditional” way of life in a community based on solidarity. Within both rural and urban communities, celebrations are organised in order to make individuals feel less alienated from society (see Kelemen and Škrbić Alempijević 2012: 56). On such occasions, the visitors encounter supernatural beings from belief legends that make it possible to express one’s own anxieties and insecurities caused by new changes in society, articulate one’s own fears of the unknown and convey one’s hopes for economic stability (see Valk 2008: 236). In this context, supernatural beings today still preserve their role as fear-enticing and frightening beings, by means of which individuals learn to face their own limitations, life’s threats and unpredictable scenarios. The frightening scenes and the elements of horror that are often a feature of festival programs additionally attract visitors, especially younger generations, because these allow them to face the frightening (and their fear) in a controlled environment, in which they are able to distance themselves from it and thus learn to overcome it. However, in the context of supernatural beings, in addition to the notion of fear, it is important to consider the concept of awe. That is to say, I believe that festival programs in which the visitors come in contact with frightening supernatural beings contribute to the creation or renewal of a sense of awe towards such beings and their powers. Creating a sense of awe strengthens the belief that they used to be able to and can still use their powers to influence the world we live in, hence inspiring the quest for answers to numerous questions about the origin of the universe and about ourselves.

Moreover, the conducted research indicates that a great number of visitors to the festivals in Croatia described in this paper identifies precisely the role of providing explanations as the reason for believing in supernatural beings. They express that our ancestors employed supernatural beings to explicate the world and provide answers to existential questions, but they also state that they themselves believe in their existence and their place within the universal order. The desire to come to know the supernatural, the mythical and the fantastic, as well as the popular and scientific works that stem from this desire, “become increasingly pronounced in times of crises and in pivotal moments for the community” (Lozica 2007: 141). Over the last several decades, we have been faced with what might be termed the retraditionalization of society and the remythologization of contemporary culture and science (Lozica 2007: 149). Hence, within contemporary Croatian society, people continue to draw inspiration from supernatural beings from belief legends in order to configure anew the moral norms and rules of behaviour and to organise the world around them. The interest in supernatural beings from belief legends is, in fact, a reflection of the aspirations to seize control over the problems in the society and to bring structure to everyday life.

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NADNARAVNA BIĆA PREDAJA. STARI STRAHOVI U NOVOM KONTEKSTU

LUKA ŠEŠO



Još od sredine 19. stoljeća, kako na to tada upućuje hrvatski povjesničar, književnik i političar Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, nadnaravna bića predaja sve su manje prisutna u svojem “izvornom” habitusu pod kojim podrazumijevamo ruralne sredine sa “tradicionalnim” načinom života. Međutim, to ne znači da predaje o nadnaravnim bićima nestaju, da se gube, već se izmiještaju u druge oblike popularne kulture poput suvremenih festivala na kojima se tematiziraju predaje i tradicijska kultura, a koji se u ovom radu motre u hrvatskom kontekstu. Na takvim festivalima, kao svojevrsnim oblicima “izmišljene tradicije”, nadnaravna bića hrvatskih predaja i vjerovanja komodificiraju se i pojavljuju uz druge turistički i konzumeristički oblikovane produkte te tako sudjeluju u procesu razvoja turističke ponude. Ujedno, nadnaravna bića predaja zajedno s drugim festivalskim “ponudama” utemeljenima na tradicijskoj kulturi poprimaju identitarnu ulogu unutar procesa u kojem se posjetitelje želi afektivno “povezati” s idealiziranim, mitskim svijetom selektivne prošlosti. Naime, u suvremenom društvu zbog sumnje u dobrobit ekonomskog razvoja te pojave mjerenja “kvalitete života” ponovno se otkriva i idealizira “tradicijski”, prema solidarnoj zajednici okrenut način života. Organiziraju se proslave unutar ruralnih i urbanih zajednica koje su pojedincima potrebne da bi se smanjila otuđenost u društvu (v. Kelemen; Škrbić Alempijević 2012: 56). U tom procesu značaju ulogu igraju plašiteljski i strahovni momenti nadnaravnih bića koji pospješuju oblikovanje i održavanje društvenih normi te stoga u predajama zauzimaju istaknuto mjesto (v. Honko 1962: 118, Mencej 2017: 390-394, Röhrich 2018: 353, Šešo 2016: 173-188).

Kako bi se pojasnila uloga straha i strašnog vezanog uz nadnaravna bića predaja koja se tematiziraju na festivalima, u radu se analizira najstariji hrvatski festival s temom predaja - *Legendfest: festival legendi mitova i priča*. Za potrebe analize provedena su 2017. terenska istraživanja na tri lokaliteta u Hrvatskoj (Lukavec, Pićan i Roški Slap) gdje se te godine festival organizirao. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da na takvim festivalima posjetitelji uz pomoć nadnaravnih bića predaja mogu lakše izraziti vlastite tjeskobe i nesigurnosti izazvane novim promjenama u društvu, iskazati vlastite strahove od nepoznatog te naznačiti aspiracije prema ekonomskoj stabilnosti. U tok kontekstu plašiteljska i strahotna uloga nadnaravnih bića predaja kroz koju se pojedinci uče suočiti sa svojim ograničenjima, životnim prijetnjama i nepredvidivim scenarijima i dalje je prisutna. Strašne scene i strašno koje je nerijetko prisutno u festivalskim programima dodatno privlače posjetitelje, a posebice mlađe generacije, jer se u kontroliranim okruženjima mogu suočiti sa strašnim (i strahom), od kojeg se mogu odmaknuti i na taj ga način naučiti nadvladati. Međutim, kada je riječ o nadnaravnim bićima predaja uz pojam strah

treba vezati i pojam strahopoštovanje. U radu se ističe kako festivalski programi u kojima se posjetitelji susreću sa strašnim nadnaravnim bićima, pridonose stvaranju ili obnavljanju strahopoštovanja prema nadnaravnim bićima i njihovim moćima. Stvaranjem strahopoštovanja snaži i vjerovanje da su svojim moćima mogli, ali i da mogu, djelovati na svijet koji nas okružuje te se na taj način pospješuju traženje odgovora na brojna pitanja o kozmogoniji, ali i nama samima. Štoviše, provedeno istraživanje pokazuje da velik broj posjetitelja opisanih hrvatskih festivala prepoznaje upravo navedenu ulogu vjerovanja u nadnaravna bića. Posjetitelji kako su kod starijih naraštaja nadnaravna bića služila za tumačenje svijeta i životnih pitanja, ali ujedno ističu da i sami vjeruju u njihovo postojanje i poziciju unutar prirodnog poretka. Naime, želja za poznavanjem nadnaravnog, mitskog, fantastičnog, kao i popularni i znanstveni radovi koji izrastaju iz te želje “posebno bujaju u za zajednicu kriznim, prijelomnim vremenima” (Lozica 2007: 141). Proteklih smo desetljeća suočeni s onim što se može nazvati retradicionalizacijom društva i remitologizacijom suvremene kulture i znanosti (Lozica 2007: 149). U suvremenom hrvatskom društvu čovjek se stoga nastavlja nadahnjivati nadnaravnim bićima predaja kako bi opet formirao moralne norme i pravila ponašanja te uredio svijet u kojem živi. Interes za nadnaravnim bićima predaja zapravo je odraz težnji da se društvene probleme staviti pod kontrolu i da se oblikuje uređena svakodnevnica.

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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

“Zoopoetic Dwelling”: The Ecology of the Connectedness of Animal and Human Homes and Dwelling Through Folklore and Literary Representations*

Marjetka Golež Kaučič

The act of dwelling and physical dwellings is not an exclusively human domain: all spaces, environments and homes of various animals are included. The question of whether an animal merely exists or also lives and dwells forms the basis of the article. We examine the types of environment in which nonhuman animals live either together with people or independently and those where they build their dwellings. We look at the difference between dwelling and building. We will present three viewpoint models that consider animals, their dwelling and physical dwellings on the basis of folkloristic, anthropological, philosophical, eco-critical, and critical-animalistic findings. They are the anthropocentric, anthropomorphic, and zoo-centric models as they appear in the works of Fran Erjavec (*Domače in tuje živali v podobah*, 1868-1873), Richard Adams (*Watership Down*, 1972) and Iztok Geister (*Narava, kot jo vidi narava*, 2010). The way these works present animals and their dwellings, more or less closely reflecting reality, will aid in determining whether these dwellings are part of nature or culture. We will be asking, for example, whether the beaver's dwelling is an architectural masterpiece or merely a result of instinctive behaviour. Our starting point is based on the understanding that animals are persons and, as such, are capable of dwelling and intentionally producing their physical dwellings.

KEYWORDS: zoopoetic dwelling, animals, animal culture, anthropocentrism, anthropomorphism, zoo-ecocentrism, zoopoetics, Fran Erjavec, Richard Adams, Iztok Geister

INTRODUCTION

We aim to critically present three models of human viewpoints on animals from the perspective of dwelling, animal dwellings, and their production by critically analysing three zoo-eco literary and folklore works: *Domače in tuje živali v podobah* (*Domestic and Foreign Animals in Pictures*), 1868-1873, by Fran Erjavec, *Watership Down*, 1972, by Richard Adams and *Narava kot jo vidi narava* (*Nature as Seen by Nature*), 2010, by Iztok Geister. Based on zoofolkloristic, eco-critical, and critical-animalistic

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concepts, the analyses of these literary works should allow us to establish, also through literature and folklore, understanding and knowledge of animal individuals and their intrinsic values.

This article aims to answer the following questions:

1. Is there awareness to animal dwelling, are their dwellings only part of nature or also culture and are their dwellings a result of an instinctive skill or there is even an element of art?
2. Are animal dwellings a result of intentional, cognitive action, or are they created purely instinctively?
3. What kind of human and nonhuman encounters can we detect when observing different animal dwellings (created by animals and humans) and what are these encounters like when animal dwelling meets human interests?

ONTOLOGICAL EQUIVALENCE OR ONTOLOGICAL DIFFERENTIATION OF ANIMALS AND PEOPLE (DWELLING/EXISTING)

The following concepts form the basis of our thought: Jakob von Uexküll acknowledges the *living and active nature of animal beings*; Lorenz and Tinbergen find that animals *communicate* with each other; Adolphe Portmann acknowledges the *existential value of animal manifestation* (Merleau Pointy, 1995: 244-247). In addition, there is Tim Ingold's early anthropological viewpoint on the *ontological equivalence of humans and animals*, which he later substituted with ontological differentiation, which we aim to assess critically:

Now the ontological equivalence of humans and animals, as organism-persons and as fellow participants in a life process, carries a corollary of capital importance. It is that both can have points of view. In other words, for both the world exists as a meaningful place, constituted in relation to the purposes and capabilities of action of the being in question. (Ingold 2000: 51)

These findings take us to the world of animal and human dwelling. Both are equal in all aspects of life. Ingold also emphasises that all living creatures have agency:

The world is not “there” for us or anyone else to represent or to fail to represent; the world is come into being through our activities [...] we cannot exclusively privilege us human beings with this world-producing effort – for the world is coming into being through the activities of all living agencies. (Ingold 1996: 115)

However, he contradicts himself, as on the one hand, he allows for the similarities between people and animals in the way they transfer knowledge to their offspring, while, on the other hand, he attributes cognizant, deliberate production of dwellings only to people:

I felt sure that the models developed by ecologists and evolutionary biologists to account for the relations between organisms and their environment must apply as well to the human as to any other species, yet it was also clear to me that these models left no space for what seemed to be most outstanding characteristic of human activity – that it is intentionally motivated. (Ingold 1995: 57)

In his book, *The Perception of the Environment, Essays of Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (2000), Ingold, who worked intensively on animal dwelling and animal home production, sought to move closer to the new ecology. He based his thought on Neo-Darwinism, ecological psychology and philosophy, and the works of Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. He agreed with Heidegger’s viewpoint that animals do not shape the world, they merely are, but without their objective reality, “we can build only if we dwell” (Heidegger 1971: 160), which also represented Ingold’s point of view: it was the ‘founding statement of the dwelling perspective’ (Ingold 2000). He supported the static model of animal dwelling that derives from the actions of animals’ predecessors:

For any animal, the environmental conditions of development are liable to be shaped by the activities of predecessors. The beaver, for example, inhabits an environment that has been decisively modified by the labours of its forbearers, in building dams and lodges, and will in turn contribute to the fashioning of an environment for its progeny. It is in such a modified environment that the beaver’s own bodily orientations and patterns of activity undergo development. The same goes for human beings. (Ingold 2000: 186)

Ingold answers the question of whether the beaver’s physical dwelling is any different from that of the human positively; unlike the human, by stating that the beaver does not construct creatively: “Wherever they are, beavers construct the same kinds of lodges and, so far as we know, have always done so” (Ingold 2000: 175). He believes that the difference between the animal and the human house is in the construction process, which is purposeful in humans. We can agree to a certain extent with Ingold if we understand human actions, which can be verbalised, in any case. However, defining the beaver’s creation of its home as the result of an instinctive process is anthropocentric thinking that predetermines the beaver as being cognitively and creatively inferior to the human. Therefore we need to refute any thought of the instinctive determination of animals, or, in the words of Ramirez Baretto:

An illusion considering the animal as determined, mechanical, instinctive and limited to mere corporeality (ontogenetic constitution); or as an evolutionary past that has been left behind with the acquisition of tools and language (phylogenetic condition), looking upon humanity as purifying and distancing its own human spaces, without animals (social, cultural and historical constitution). (Ramirez Baretto 2009: 84)

Ingold also looked at the works of semiologist and ethologist Jakob von Uexküll, who in his book *A Stroll Through the World of Animals and Men* wrote: “As the spider spins its threads, every subject spins his relations to certain characters of the things around him, and weaves them into a firm web which carries his existence” (1957:14). Uexküll believes that both animals and humans are subjects. The animal inhabits its own world, which he calls *Umwelt*. The world, as seen by the animal, when it decides to create a home or to find an existing home in nature is, of course, different than that of the human. This, however, emphasises the differentiation only in the way a home is created, but not the distinction in the hierarchy and superiority of human production. Uexküll invites people to imagine the inhabitants (a fox, an owl, a squirrel) of an oak tree; they use the tree as their physical dwelling, a home. Humans, however, generally see such a tree only as a simple tree or a source of wood. These animals occupy the oak according to their needs (the owl is in the trunk, the fox burrows between the roots and the squirrel uses it as a ladder to climb from one branch to another). Uexküll does not contemplate what kind of cognitive production animals apply to these actions; he concludes that human understanding of animals’ physical dwellings is completely different from that of animals (1957). The question is whether an individual animal’s occupation of the physical space, for example, a tree, a trunk, a burrow or a beaver’s dam, is intentional, cognizant or the animal only adapts it according to its instinctive behaviour. Moreover, does every animal build its own dwelling space, although it may seem to be one or the same space at first glance? Uexküll believes that “The same tree, thus, figures quite differently within the respective *Umwelten* of its diverse inhabitants” (taken from Ingold 2000: 177; Uexküll 1957: 76-9). He understands *Umwelt* as: “Perceptual and effector worlds together form a closed unit.” (Uexküll, 1957: 6). However, whether this is an intentional, cognizant choice or merely adaptation is the question that cognitive ethology aims to answer. Cognitive ethology sees the animal as a largely cognizant being, a subject whose key activeness consists of “perceiving and acting”. Uexküll believes that cognitive activity is not characteristic of animals, which is still a very much anthropocentric point of view. Although Lotman and Uexküll are both representatives of semiotics or zoo-semiotics, they strived to understand animals’ activeness. Lotman nevertheless thought that the behaviour of some animals was programmed while others might have developed behaviours that could resemble the language of folklore.

I see the principal and for me still inexplicable difference between the living being for which the important moments of life are preprogrammed, and humans whose behaviour may include unexpected actions, and for whom those inherently non-preprogrammed types of behaviour cover an ever larger part of life and gradually become the man. This is quite amazing, come to think of it. (Lotman 1990: 15-16)

His most surprising conclusion, however, is that “evidently, man, when he appeared, resembled a mad animal, and I suppose that was the reason why this relatively weak creature could survive and kill much bigger animals. They did not predict his behaviour.”

(Lotman 1990: 15-16, 19). This may be true, if we base our assumptions on human dominance over other living creatures. Lotman moves entirely within speech and cognition, believing that zoo-semiotics is a part of linguistics only, which takes us again into the area of binary division. Animals, be they mammals or other, will never be able to develop speech in the sense human beings have done. And why should they? They have their own ways of communicating and their own ways of understanding and forming the world. Animals do not care about humans as long as we let them live and develop according to their own laws of nature, do not disrupt their lives and do not push them out of the world we aggressively want to enter. The structures of the animal world are highly complicated, and we cannot claim to understand them, but we can acknowledge them. (cf. Lotman 1995). Lotman also enters the so-called “fallacy of dualism”.

Does the animal possess abilities of crafts, creativity, and skill? If so, are these abilities within the domain of culture or nature? Like others, Ingold speaks of skills typical for people and for animals, for example, a person’s skill to create a wicker basket and the skill a bird uses to make a nest. However, again, he believes that the bird already possesses this skill while the person has had to learn it (Ingold 2000)¹ Is the nest-making skill innate or does the bird learn it from its parents and later develops its own innovative building techniques? It does not seem right to accept inertia as the only drive to build a nest. The bird needs to find material, appropriate space, and then create a sturdy nest. Building a nest requires cognitive processes. Unfortunately, Ingold emphasises human creativity that is cognitively driven. He is ambivalent and uncertain about animal creativity. However, it seems that animal constructions may be seen as a type of architecture, birds’ nests, for example, which reflect inventiveness and design functionality. Therefore, it is safe to say that we can consider the construction of animal dwellings created by animals themselves as the start of cognitive process and aesthetics (e.g., fish mandalas, birds’ nests) and not only as functionality. Ingold is not entirely consistent; even though he talks about an ontological equivalence of people and animals, he believes only humans have the unique tool in the form of language, something he calls “skills of skills” (1998/2000: 361), which allows us to apply our reason innovatively and to plan production and work processes. This belief, however, puts the human being above the animal once again, and Ingold’s viewpoint turns back towards anthropocentrism. He reflects on some types of animal architecture,² on the fact that animals have certain skills, maybe even artistic ability, when building their dwellings. He believes that every animal can have the skill to build its dwelling. His examples include the shell, the beaver’s dwelling and a human house. He sees them on a scale: the shell ranks the lowest, the beaver is a bit higher, while the human house is at the top:

¹ Montaigne believed that animals are better at certain things than humans are: when in danger, oxen, pigs and other creatures form groups. Schools of tuna have been known to form perfect squares, so they understand geometry and arithmetic. A kingfisher can build a structure out of bones that serves both as its nest and as a boat, so the bird can test it on the shore before setting off to sea (Montaigne 1580, taken from Bakewell 2014: 118-123).

² This expression was first used by ethologist Karl von Frisch (1974).

The shell, it is said, ‘just grows’ – there is nothing the mollusc can or need do about it. The beaver, by contrast, works hard to put its lodge together: the lodge is a product of the beaver’s ‘beavering’, of its activity. Likewise, the house is a product of the activities of its human builders. In their respective forms, and levels of complexity, they need not be that different. Should we, then, conclude that the lodge is beaver-made just as much as the house is man-made? (Ingold 2000: 174-175)

Cognitive ethologist Donald Griffin proved that the beaver can be very innovative when building its home:

Captive beavers have modified their customary patterns of lodges – and dam-building behaviour by piling material around a vertical pole at the top of which was located food that they could not otherwise reach. They are also very ingenious at plunging water leaks, sometimes cutting pieces of wood to fit a particular hole through which water is escaping. (Griffin 2001: 1)

Griffin further observed that animals are aware of themselves and the surrounding world, “the animal’s own body and its own actions must fall within the scope of its perceptual consciousness,” (Griffin 2001: 274). Ingold wrote that the genetic determinism of animal organisms, which may be innate to animals and consequently animals should always react and build their homes in the same manner, is “the great delusions of modern biology” and the beaver can only enter the “development process” (Ingold 2000: 186). Still, he was not entirely certain of human and animal equality when discussing the process of human and animal architecture. In his opinion, there is ontological equivalence, but not in the thought process, planning and innovativeness of the building activity. He believes that the latter is only characteristic of the human as the animal is not capable of being innovative predominantly due to being non-verbal and incapable of cognitive planning. From the perspective of critical animalism, Ingold stops halfway. Ontological equality does not suffice – there should be true equality in every way. Difference is possible only because of the difference of species, but there is none on the cognitive level. Ramirez Baretto does not stop at ontological equality; she believes that:

[...] for ontology to be viable it must be in composition with ecological anthrozoology and with the “poetic of dwelling” we hear from different agents (some of them are human), in different contexts. Ontology as a revelation of existence from an isolated subjectivity elevated to a pure and universal form is, in my view, a dull metaphysical delusion. (Ramirez Baretto 2009: 103)

Steven Best, representative of critical animal studies, also points out:

Complex form of intelligence run broad and deep throughout the world of animals. Birds, for instance, have complex memories and abilities to map vast spaces (the speciesist slander ‘bird brain? Could not be more spurious) and some bird species use tools and exhibit problem-solving skills as well... some of the whales, dolphins and gorillas, chimpanzees have significant rational and linguistic abilities. (Best 2009: 17)

Animals are also capable of self-awareness and self-identity. Furthermore, he believes that animals can develop culture:

Their world [i.e., great apes] is governed not only by instincts and chemicals, but also through rules and norms. Like us, they live in a culture of shared communication and learning that is passed down from generation to generation. The intelligence of primates is not innate and fixed, but rather, like ours, an important part is socially constructed in the context of culture and technological innovation. (Best 2009: 18)

Steven Best quite rightly goes against a binary and hierarchical structure of the world that puts the human at the first place:

But humans are not unique in their possession of a neocortex; of complex emotions like love, loneliness, empathy, and shame; of sophisticated languages, behaviors, and communities; and even of aesthetic and moral sensibilities. Human beings stand out in the degree to which they have developed capacities and potential for reason, language, consciousness, aesthetic, ethics, culture, and technology far beyond chimpanzees and other animals. (Best 2009: 22)

Given these words, denying the animals’ ability to plan and to apply cognitive processes when building their homes is a distinct fallacy. Both people and animals are builders and dwellers. Therefore, if we create the world, we build it, and so we both make part of not only nature but also of culture. However, how can we understand the inner world of animals? Does the animal inhabit the world only without changing it? This outlook is highly anthropocentric: the animal does not just appear in the world and then disappears when it dies.

On the contrary, it changes its own world and that of the people within it – it creates its own reality. Just looking at a dog that is shown its bed, we can see that the dog will change it, if only just a little. So, the animal is not only “here”; it fills up “the here” with its attitude. Consequently, it is not only part of nature, it can also have its own culture and forms its own world in its own way, differently from the way a human would. Therefore the poetics of the world is not only the poetics of the human world but also that of nature, animals and plants.

MODELS OF VIEWPOINTS ON ANIMALS AND THEIR DWELLING FROM LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

1. Anthropocentric model: human superiority + religion + speciesism + empathy = ethical anthropocentrism. The human being in this model is aware of himself and is cognitive (i.e., has agency), while the animal lacks awareness and is cognitively inferior to the human (i.e., lacks agency). Fran Erjavec belongs to this group.
2. Anthropomorphic model: negative or positive/critical anthropomorphism of animals, which either transfers human characteristics into the animal world or presents itself as the ability to empathise with animals and acknowledge their value and characteristics, or as the inability to recognise the true essence of the animal. A representative of this model is Richard Adams, who establishes critical anthropomorphism and partial eco-criticism.
3. Eco-zoocentric model: self-aware and cognitive humans (human agency) and animals as persons, they are self-aware, cognitively different from humans but, nevertheless, their equals. Iztok Geister partly belongs to this group, while Jure Detela is fully representative of this model.

We will present three different literary thematisations of animal dwelling and physical dwellings from the anthropocentric, anthropomorphic, and zoocentric points of view. These three examples will be treated as cases that show the change in the human attitude to animal dwelling and will present the production of animal dwellings as dealt with in the zoo-literature of the 19th century, in fiction novel as the fantasy of anthropomorphic animals and in the so-called eco-literature. We aim to utilise the new readings of these works to present the realities of animal dwelling in the modern world in a zoopoetic way. All three outlooks point to different possibilities of either co-existence or the impossibility of co-existence of animals and humans. They may even reflect the domination of one species over the other in the framework of animal dwellings, their production and then in the way animal dwellings are deserted, lost, gained and inhabited again.

THE ANTHROPOCENTRIC MODEL AND SPECIESISM

What is anthropocentrism? “Anthropocentrism refers to a form of human centredness that places humans not only at the centre of everything but makes ‘us’ the most important measure of all things” (Fiona Probyn-Rapsey 2018: 47). “Anthropocentrism is a model, a concept, a view that places the human being in the decision-making position, at the top of the pyramid where the most important parts of nature are gathered, while the value of those below diminishes gradually on the way to the bottom. The area of morality is limited to the human community, only human interests and needs are of any importance, and on the surface anything is acceptable” (Sruk 1999: 35). Other beings do not possess

inherent value. Anthropocentrism is a model that puts the human in the centre of its viewpoint, concept and discourse and cares only about human interests. Animals are mere objects or a commodity (Grušovnik 2016: 62-64). Animal studies differ between inevitable and arrogant anthropocentrism.

Inevitable anthropocentrism is related to the fact that one is human, with human perspectives that do not negate the possibility that we can also learn to appreciate and understand the perspectives of others. Our “locatedness”, as she calls it, should not preclude an openness to others. If it does, then we have settled into a form of arrogant anthropocentrism that allows us to resign from the problem or claim some superhuman detachment from it. (Gruen 2015: 24).

Anthropocentrism is also called anthroparchy, and human domination (Cudworth 2008: 34). These definitions derive from animal studies and not from critical animal studies. The latter rejects anthropocentrism entirely. Belcourt argues that anthropocentrism is connected to other axes of oppression and that it functions as the “anchor of speciesism, capitalism and settler colonialism” offering “a decolonial ethic that accounts for animal bodies as resurgent bodies” (2015: 3-4). Gary Steiner, who has authored works of critical animal studies, says:

The key to overcoming anthropocentric prejudice towards animals (and perhaps other beings) is to cultivate a sense of kinship with them as fellow members of the Earth’s community of life, a community in which each animal, like each human being, is the teleological centre of life striving to realise its own good in its unique way. (Steiner 2008: 141)

He continues: “Once we recognise that animals are in all essential respect identical with us and that the difference lies merely in the degree of intelligence, we will acknowledge that we owe to the animal not mercy but justice.” (Steiner 2008: 142). Speciesism is similarly discriminatory; it discriminates based on species (Ryder 2011, Dunayer 2009). This discrimination is determined by hierarchy; the human is at the top, and all other species are subordinate. Therefore, we could say that anthropocentrism and speciesism are closely related. Consequently, Bekoff, for example, believes that today the use of the word “species” is problematic. Instead, individuals within a species should be referred to as we cannot define the behaviour of one individual as a model for its entire species (Bekoff 2008: 151).

From this, we can conclude that the anthropocentric model puts the human being at the top of the pyramid, which can be applied to animal dwelling and production of homes throughout the literary discourse.

One noted anthropocentric writer was Fran Erjavec. In addition to placing the human being in the central position, he leaned into Christian theology, which considers the human being the ruler of the world, the only being to possess a soul and verbal abilities. Erjavec was a writer and a zoologist. He worked in the period from the mid-1800s to the end of the 19th century. In a way, he created a two-way connection between zoology and literature, so we could say that his work combines science and literature. His best-known work is *Domače in tuje živali v podabah* (*Domestic and Foreign Animals in Pictures*,

1868-1873). The book describes in detail various animals that are defined based on their species. Erjavec connected literature and environmental writing and presented many different animals and their homes. His view of animals was anthropocentric; for him, the human is the master of the universe. However, he includes the empathic principle by which man is not allowed to torture animals. He used two concepts: the synanthropic view, which treats animals as harmful, and the anthropophilic view, which regards animals as useful (e.g., Visković 1996). The book includes quotations of folk songs, proverbs and peoples' beliefs about individual animals. His way of telling stories about animals and their homes resembles fables. He still distinguishes between nature and culture, and he sees animal buildings and skills only as instinctive acts. In the introduction, he talks about human superiority, the soul, which places the human above animals, and about his verbal and cognitive abilities (Erjavec 1995:10). Nevertheless, he emphasises empathy that derives from marked anthropocentrism:

The human is master on earth. God Himself gave him the ownership of animals to preside over them. But the human should be a merciful and righteous master if he wants to please the Lord, who is love and goodness personified. The man must not force the animal to do the work he is able to do; he should not overburden the animal and should not beat it mercilessly. God allows the man to kill or slaughter livestock needed for food, clothing and other things. He is allowed to kill and hunt animals that present danger to him and his domestic animals or cause damage in general. He can kill all such animals – but torture he must not. (Erjavec 1995: 11)

In addition to his zoological observations of animals, Erjavec quotes Slovenian folk songs that describe individual animal species. He uses them to support his arguments and make them less scientific and readily understood. By applying fable and narrative literary styles, he combines allegoric anthropomorphism with anthropocentric viewpoints on animals (e.g., when he describes a cat fighting other cats, he adds to the description of a night-time fight a quote from a folk song that humanises the cat: “*Prišel je domu ves zaspan / ko mežnar odzvonil je dan*” (He came home half asleep/when the sexton rang the start of the day, Erjavec 1995: 41).

His description of birds is also anthropocentric and anthropomorphic:

The Slovenian man liked to concern himself with birds, and so his songs are as picturesque as a green meadow. The birds share his joy and sorrow. It seems to him that the bird can understand him and he, in turn, seeks to understand its singing. He believes that the bird comforts him in his grief, at other times, it encourages him to work, and then again it mocks his effort. He transfers much of the bird's singing into his own speech. When in spring, for example, he hears a nightingale sing high above him, it appears to him as if the bird is calling him to work saying: ‘work, work, work, plough, plough, plough, sow, sow, throw, throw!’ (Erjavec 1995: 283)

Birds are, according to Erjavec, man’s friends, and he uses anthropomorphism in describing their dwelling. He states that freedom is the most important for every bird, and if you cage her/him you take her/him half of hers/his life away. To support that he quotes a stanza of a folk song:

Ptica se brani službe [The bird does not want to work]

*Nečem, nečem, mlada gospa, k tebi,
ti bi mene v beli grad zaprla.
Raj odletim si jaz v log zeleni,
se nazobljem lepe frišne vode,
no zapojem z moje drage volje.*

No, no I will not go to you, young lady,
You will shut me inside a white castle.
I prefer to fly away to green meadows
To drink beautiful freshwater
And sing to my heart’s delight.

(Erjavec 1995: 286; Štrekelj 1989, 951 Cerovec, redaction II, p. 789)

When he describes nesting, Erjavec the zoologist does not acknowledge the bird’s nest-building skill; he believes this skill does not derive from a cultural heritage: it is merely instinctive.

Every bird makes its nest in its own way, some more and some less artfully. Nesting is innate to the bird. Instinct, which we cannot explain, drives it to make a nest just like its mother did and all the predecessors of its species. We must not assume that it is taught the skill by the old generation. As the young birds start nesting, the old ones have long stopped caring for them. Those birds that nest only once a year would never see their parents make the nest for when they were little in the nest; all they cared for was food and not the nest. (Erjavec 1995: 286)

However, in the 19th century, scientific findings were based on the viewpoint of human superiority. Erjavec does not acknowledge any cognitive activity; he thought that it was impossible for the birds’ parents to teach their young. Today, we understand that these activities are connected to thought patterns and do not reflect genetic heritage only. For example, Yi-Fu Tuan wrote: “Weaverbirds are capable of having experience, which means that not all the details of their performance are controlled by heredity” (1977: 77).

Erjavec presents his view on birds while at the same time he is instructive:

Having heard of the benefits of birds so far, a wise person does not need our recommendation, nor endorsement of birds. So, let me just briefly

explain here how best to attract these little workers into your gardens and woods. Your land should be a welcoming shelter where birds must not be disturbed and chased away. Children, especially shepherds, are to be strictly forbidden to search for nests, to destroy them or take eggs or fledgelings from them. In autumn as well, young birds must not be hunted and owls and buzzards must not be shot. If your neighbours will do the same, you will soon see the benefits of such husbandry. (Erjavec 1995: 294)

In addition to being well aware of the benefits, Erjavec advocates good care of birds:

There are other ways you can attract birds into your garden. Make sure they have suitable places to nest, use hollow branches or wood pieces to make bird houses and nail or hang them into the bushy treetops. You will see how happy the birds will be and how quickly they will settle in them. Little birds, like the tit for example, really like the houses some 7 inches long and 3 inches wide; a round hole that the bird uses to go in and out should be an inch wide, and a stick should be placed in front of it so the birds can sit on it. It is good to cover the little house in moss. Starlings like bigger houses, up to two feet high and the hole must be two inches wide. In Germany, you will find several bigger and several smaller bird houses in every garden and that is why the trees there are clean and healthy and the garden is very profitable for the owner. (Erjavec 1995: 294)

He writes that he chooses holes inside trees or in walls and in church towers for starlings. The bird is very grateful for a box nailed up to a tree or under a roof. In the selected hole it accumulates dry grass, feathers, hairs or anything warm and soft for its nest. Each bird can build its nest in its special way. From the perspective of zoology, he describes in detail the homes of individual animal species, sometimes he objectivises an animal completely or tries to endear it to the reader by using the so-called negative anthropomorphism, which presents the animal as the human's shadow; he also uses the same expressions as for the human dwellings, e.g., the rabbit's (1995: 116) or the badger's dwelling:

Its abode is truly something. A rather spacious bedroom is a fathom, sometimes even two fathoms deep underground with several 5-6 fathoms long, well-made tunnels leading to it from different directions [...] As the home is completed, it gathers leaves, moss and grass for a soft bed. (Erjavec 1995: 198)

He states that animal behaviour and building homes derive from instincts and not awareness. He also emphasises the art of nest-building. In short, he acknowledges that some birds apply skill and artfulness when building their nests. When he depicts animal homes and their dwellings, he represents their homes and animal architecture, creativity and skills very clearly.

Erjavec is a representative of anthropocentrism. His descriptions of animals and observations of animal dwellings and homes express a viewpoint that draws a sharp distinction between the animal and the human being and also between nature and culture. For him, the animals' building skills are nothing more than instinct, which he determines from the viewpoint of speciesism.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM AND ATTEMPT OF LITERARY THEMATISATION OF ANIMAL COMMUNITY

Anthropomorphism is a model or a point of view that ascribes human characteristics to animals, often unwarrantedly. In contrast, a complete rejection of anthropomorphism can be, according to some researchers, an exaggeration as they do not acknowledge any human traits in animals, which leads to the non-personification of animals, denying that animals have any cognitive abilities or other characteristics. This view seems to refuse any understanding of animal behaviour, as it is impossible to comprehend the animal other than from our human perspective (Grušovnik 2016: 69-82). Leesa Fawcett believes that: “Anthropomorphism is a necessary means we employ to make sense of and relate to other species' experience because we still have no real knowledge of animal cognition. We must rely on our imaginations to make this link” (1989: 14). Her anthropomorphism is rather a kind of personalism. She says that “Humans are continuous with nature and not [its] most important member[s]” (Fawcett 1989: 15). Juliet Clutton-Brock also does not object to anthropomorphism, which has become a comprehensive area of ethologic research. “Anthropomorphism does not necessarily disrupt scientific observation but can support the continuity between humans and animals” (2005: 958). She also says, “Treating [animals] as individuals can have a dramatic effect on attitudes to animal conservation, and one can only gain understanding of the animal as an individual through anthropomorphism” (Clutton-Brock 2005: 958). However, many researchers disagree with the anthropomorphic viewpoint, believing it neglects true characteristics and needs of animals and that it merely applies human traits to animals, which fails to acknowledge animals' subjectivity. Mitchell, for example, believes that anthropomorphisation is a mistake or even a scientific error and considers it as dangerous to animals as violence against animals. “But we have a practical problem in regards to the opposite movement (the anthropomorphisation of non-anthropomorphically designed animals), which is equally seen as an epistemological error and an ethical and political danger (Mitchell et al.: 1997). Ramirez Baretto agrees with him:

[the] error of anthropomorphism is the presumption inherent in attributing human attributes to animals. In so doing, we deprive animals of their own subjectivity and impose what Rosi Bradiotti describes as ‘an asymmetric relation to animals’ that is framed by power relations biased in favour of human access to the bodies of animal others. (Ramirez Baretto 2009: 526-32)

Steven Best is open to anthropomorphism. In 2009, he talked about cognitive ethology and acknowledged its value mostly on the basis of research into animals' complexities (Best 2009: 15). He admits that anthropomorphism has value only when it comes to "critical anthropomorphism" as defined by Griffin in his two books *Animal Thinking* and *Animal Minds*. Best says,

But anthropomorphism need not be a scientific sin. Clearly, we don't want to project onto animals characteristics they don't have. But there are core commonalities between nonhuman and human animals, what Griffin calls 'critical anthropomorphism', is our best access to understanding animals, and 'objective detachment' will block insight every time. (Best 2009: 17)

However, in 2014, Best changed his view completely. He sharply criticises anthropomorphism and equates it to speciesism (Best 2014: 97, 99, 154). Rosi Bradiotti, in contrast, criticises both anthropomorphism and the metaphorisation of animals in literature, saying:

The old metaphoric dimension has been overridden by a new mode of relation. Animals are no longer the signifying system that props up human's self-projections and moral aspirations. Nor are they keepers of the gates between species. They have rather, started to be approached literally, as entities framed by codes systems of their own [...] The metaphoric dimension of the human interaction with others is replaced by a literal approach based on the biovitalist immanence of life. The animal can no longer be metaphorised as other but needs to be taken on its own terms. (Bradiotti 2009: 528)

Monica Libell is concerned with the question of anthropomorphism, which she aims to rehabilitate. She looks at the positive side of the anthropomorphic view of animals. "We anthropomorphise in order to predict, understand, and control our environment (Libell 2014: 149; cf. Lorraine Daston 2005; Clinton Sanders 2008).

Lockwood mostly concentrated on anthropomorphism found in the literature. He defined five types of anthropomorphism, which can be used in animal perception in literature, predominantly in fables. The first type is allegoric anthropomorphism, in which the story or the message is either more or less hidden or likeable. Lockwood, for example, mentions two modern fables, *Watership Down* (1972) by Richard Adams and *Animal Farm* (1945) by George Orwell. The fifth type is applied anthropomorphism, where we can apply our own experience in order to understand the other, understand what it means to be a member of another species (Lockwood 1989: 41-56).

Anthropomorphism should be of service to animals, and if so, it should be accepted. However, it should be looking at an animal as an individuum with interests and not applying human interests on them or putting human interests before theirs. We should open another question about animal communication, to describe and understand animal sounds and postures; if we could decode that, it would be a break-through in our understanding of animals as persons and a step towards embracing them in the social community.

I think anthropomorphism can be used in literature, especially in those stories in which animals are depicted as living creatures with their social and cultural system, but are very realistic and not allegoric. Thus, we can either negate anthropomorphism or apply it by “becoming the animal” or by an understanding of what it means to be a bat, for example, even if only to a small extent. Therefore, it is all the same whether anthropomorphism is an error or an aide in the understanding of our animal brothers and sisters.

Richard Adams’s *Watership Down* (1972) includes both types of anthropomorphism, as suggested by Lockwood. We could also read this work as an attempt to understand animal individuals within a fictional story, the same way Namma Harel suggests we should look at fables. She believes fables do not marginalise nonhuman animals; some describe authentic animal behaviour and provide a critical look at human conduct and relationship to other animals. Consequently, she suggests a non-allegoric, literary reading of fables (Harel 2009: 9-21).

In *Watership Down*, Adams writes about a group of rabbits who have to leave their home, which is about to be destroyed. Unsurprisingly, the destruction of their home comes at the hands of humans. The rabbits set off to find a new home in their native Hampshire (England), which they do at Watership Down – a real place, where the author spent his childhood. Here we have so-called speaking animals; we can observe animals’ social and political structure and culture that is expressed in anthropomorphic or personified manner. Anthropomorphisation can be quite damaging when it thematises a false reality or injects human traits into the animal world.

Nevertheless, anthropomorphisation can be positive. Leesa Fawcett believes, “Anthropomorphism is a way for life (humans) to know life (nonhumans)” (Fawcett 1989: 19). However, is this not still domination? Can we not see animals as animals but only as a reflection of humans? It is true, though, that we cannot entirely grasp the cognitive dimensions of an individual animal, so the anthropomorphism and personalisation of animals help us understand their lives and dwelling, which this book proves. It borrows from the existing scientific research to show the organisation of a group of rabbits and adds anthropomorphisation, which allows the reader to understand the rabbits’ world from the human perspective as it is impossible for us to comprehend it in any other manner.

Furthermore, it describes the rabbits’ homes, the making of homes and the organisation of their dwelling that is intentional and produces innovations that do not have merely instinctive patterns. It enables us to understand that animals do have their own culture. At this point, it should be said that not every case of anthropomorphisation is negative, especially when it presents animals as realistic creatures whose homes are endangered by people and their interests. Adams certainly uses critical anthropomorphism; his animals are aware that only the human being can be a threat, ruin their homes or even kill them. However, how does Adams make his story so believable, even though it is fiction? His description of the rabbits and their homes follows existing scientific observations.³

³ Erjavec also wrote about rabbits’ dwellings. “Wild rabbits prefer to live on sandy hills, craggy rocks overgrown with bushes and other herbs. Every burrow is inhabited by a pair that does not tolerate any other animal. During the day they sit in their holes and at night they graze outside, but they never stray too far from their burrow.” (Erjavec 1995: 116).

He draws from the research of Ronald Lockley, a biologist and ornithologist, who created an artificial rabbit burrow covered with a glass roof and observed the lives of rabbits for four years. Lockley described his findings in his book *The Private Life of the Rabbit*, 1964, which Adams read and later included its findings in his work.

I think we can understand *Watership Down* and rabbits in the environment hidden to us if we use a system of “putting somebody in their place” –, and with this, we could achieve an ecocentric attitude with a consideration that all life is equal and connected. So, animals in such stories will not be considered as only imagined personalities but real animals with needs and interests, without a hegemonic attitude of humans regarding the destruction of their homes. *Watership Down* could be an allegory, but it can also be a book about rabbit homes, how they built their homes, and I think rabbits are more personified than anthropomorphised.

In a book, wild rabbits can have their social structure, folklore, and culture, and the production of their homes shows intention and innovativeness. Looking at the story from the positive point of view, it strives to present the life and dwelling of the rabbit society so that we can have a so-called vision and knowledge of animals that originally feels alien, unknown. Therefore, we could say that in addition to applied and allegorical anthropomorphism, Adams also draws on the so-called constructive anthropomorphism (Bruni, 2018), or, according to Bekoff, “biocentric anthropomorphism” (2000), which means that a fictional story could even become possible.

Adams’s descriptions of rabbit dwelling and the rabbits’ homes, as we can see below, might be called realistic anthropomorphism:

The holes certainly were rough – ‘Just right for a lot of vagabonds like us,’ said bigwig – but the exhausted and those who wander in the strange country are not particular about quarters. At least there was a room for twelve rabbits and the burrows were dry. Two of the runs – the ones among the thorn trees – led straight down to burrows scooped out of the top of the chalk subsoil. Rabbits do not line their sleeping-places and a hard, almost rocky floor is uncomfortable for those not accustomed to it. The holes in the bank, however, had runs of the usual bow-shape, leading down to the chalk and then curving up again to burrows with floors of trampled earth. There were no connecting passages, but the rabbits were too weary to care. They slept four to a burrow, snug and secure [...]. (Adams 1972: 137)

The rabbits have names and a hierarchical social structure in which female rabbits are subordinate. The rabbits also have their own folklore. Adams also includes folklore quotes from English folk ballads. For example, he takes the motto of Chapter 9 The Crow and The Beanfield from the ballad The Two Crows: “You will sit on his white neck-bone, And I’ll peck out his pretty blue eyes.” (Adams 1972: 50).

The value of Adams’s novel is in having the possibility to identify with animals and to understand them better. Adams also criticises anthropocentrism by condemning the destruction of rabbit homes; the human being destroys everything he encounters without

concern for animals and their homes. Adams quite explicitly presents rabbits' behaviour and places the human as the rabbits' main adversary. He expresses his ecocentric position through the words of Holly, a female rabbit:

There's terrible evil in the world. It comes from men" said Holly [...] "All others ellil do what they have to do and Firth moves them as he moves us. They live on earth and they need food. Men will never rest till they've spoiled the earth and destroyed the animals [...]. (Adams 1972: 159)

A description of people in chapter 27 is not very pretty either:

Animals don't behave like men," he said [Strawberry]. "If they have to fight, they fight; and if they have to kill they kill. But they don't sit down and set their wits to work to devise ways of spoiling other creatures' lives and hurting them. They have dignity and animality. (Adams 1972: 245)

Eco-critic Lawrence Buell believes that rabbits that speak, rabbit sociology, culture, tradition, mythology and folklore included in Adams's book constitute eco-criticism (Buell 2014). Adams does not place rabbits below human beings, so his work can be eco-critical. Rabbits are not metaphors for or symbols of humanity, although some believe they are an allegory. Adams's writing may be fiction, but it is based on reality. Anthropomorphisation, in its true sense, is not an appropriate model for this book. It seems that the rabbits are autonomous in their actions, have agency, and they experience the world in their own way and not in the way people do. Perhaps this book is about personification; the author attempts to de-objectivise the rabbits and portray them as individuals, animal persons instead. Rabbits' emotions, experiences of the world, descriptions of their imagination and cognitive abilities and planning skills all reflect the ecocentric viewpoint of the animal world. Adams acknowledges all these abilities, although it sometimes seems that he still draws from his own human experience. Therefore, we could call this viewpoint fiction cognitive ethology combined with the criticism of human attitude to one of the animal species. The act of dwelling and the physical dwellings of rabbits in Adams's work are the result of intentional activities; the rabbits not only dwell in this world but also change their world, living their lives according to their own rules. Their dwellings are not merely rabbit warren burrows: they are their homes, where they live their rabbit lives.

ZOOCENTRISM, ZOOPOETICS, AND ECO/POETICS OR RESPECT OF OTHERS AND KNOWLEDGE OF ITS INHERENT VALUE

Eco-bio-zoocentrism focuses on the animal (and all living beings, including plants, i.e., nature in general). Animals within zoocentrism have intrinsic value, are appreciated for themselves as living beings and not for being seen as an object of human interest

(Grušovnik 2016: 63). Zoocentrism could be extended to include the question of animal dwelling and physical dwellings, where their cognitive abilities and intentional production of homes is not negated. In contrast, human superiority and dominance are removed, and animals are not marginalised as inferior beings.

Nevertheless, the question of the hegemony of human interests over those of the animal continues to arise when discussing animal production of homes and their cultural patterns, which leads to the destruction of their homes:

Human interests, even those considered most trivial or superfluous, go before the interests of other animals in keeping their lives and environment; this, of course, depending on the legal, social and economic taxonomies established by humans who act with or against those animals. (Kim 2007; Ramirez Barreto 2002)

Human interests destroy animal dwellings, are aggressive towards the animal and are based on the so-called “natural differentiation” between animals and people. They legitimise violence and animal abuse. (Wolh and Emel 1998; Johnston 2008; Ramirez Barreto 2009: 86)

Consequently, it is literature that enables us to understand animal cultural patterns and their so-called poetic dwelling. We might learn about animal productivity, for instance, the birds’ singing that a poet can reproduce or at least place it in the context of poetry. We may discover the poetry of dwelling when we observe a fish that is creating mandalas in the ocean, not because of instinct or to breed or similar instinctive act but merely as a tool of expression. The understanding we thus gain allows us to become aware not only of the ontological status of the animal but also of the truly creative cognitive process of animal dwelling culture.

Zoopoetics was developed by Aaron Moe, who based it in the concepts of ecopoetics of Johnathan Bate. Although Moe originally belonged to eco-criticism, he moved on from it, as he says, “zoopoetics provides a theoretical focus to explore what poem does – as a verb – to our understanding of and relationship with nonhuman animals” (Moe 2012: 28). Moe developed zoopoetics by observing how individual poets use poetry to form zoopoesis, such as animal sounds in poetry or the presence of animals as persons in poetry. In the work *Poetry, Thought, Language* (1971), Heidegger develops a hypothesis on “interdependency between poetry and dwelling: ‘poetry and dwelling belong to one another ... for poetry, as the authentic gauging of the dimension of dwelling, is the primal form of building.’” (as cited in Moe 2012: 29). However, Heidegger believes that poetic dwelling or dwelling through poetry is only a human capacity, which is a purely anthropocentric view that Moe disagrees with. When looking at animals, both in life and in literature, we cannot overlook the fact that animals have agency, which in itself is not merely instinctive but means activity that includes complete engagement, different from that of the human but still complex. Therefore, we agree with Moe that “nonhuman animals also dwell on the earth, engaging imaginatively with their own kind, with other species, with the environment, and with the human other.” (Moe 2012: 29). According to Moe,

looking at the bat as an animal that merely flies through space merely sensing it, without changing it, is characteristic of speciesism. Consequently, eco- or zoopoetics may show that that animals also develop a sense of space they populate and “nonhuman animals dwell imaginatively, rhetorically, and culturally on earth.” (Moe 2012: 30). Poetry and literature developed by the human can also reveal how animals understand and cultivate their living space, home production and dwelling.

Ramirez Barreto believes that the existing binary understanding of nature and culture, which sees the latter as a human characteristic only, should be refuted entirely:

I would like to reject an illusion considering the animal as determined, mechanical, instinctive and limited to mere corporeality (ontogenetic constitution), or as an evolutionary past that has been left behind with the acquisition of tools and language (phylogenetic condition), looking upon humanity as purifying and distancing its own human spaces, without animals (social, cultural and historical constitution). (Ramirez Barreto 2009: 84)

How can human literature allow us to perceive animal subjects and their physical dwellings? How can we even see and recognise them, comprehend their value regardless of our interests? Perhaps we can find the answers to all these questions in the poetry of several poets, for example, Jure Detela, and also in the zoopoetics of Iztok Geister’s work *Narava kot jo vidi narava* [Nature as Seen by Nature, 2010], which we have chosen for its zoopoetic descriptions of animal dwellings. The descriptions of animal habitats Geister speaks about in his ecological-poetic essay can be determined as zoopoetics as its thematisation of animals in literature and not for the “animal poesis” as defined by Aaron Moe when he researched the poetry of Cummings (cf. Moe 2013) and others. The contents of the essays speak about the way humans affect their dominance over animals and nature. This also refers to ecopoesis, which allows us to see nature, plants and animals as individual subjects with their habitat, the place where they dwell, build their own cultural and social systems and cry their silent screams when they lose their homes as their world collides with human dominance.

Geister speaks about different types of dwellings:

1. those made and inhabited by animals only,
2. those set up by people – cohabitation or destruction: positive and negative anthropocentrism.

Geister, the ecologist, defines the anthropocentric and economic propensities of people in the 19th century and the fact that the ethics of ecology is only slightly over a hundred years old. The Austro-Hungarian legislation, which was also in force in the Slovenian territory, protected nature purely for economic reasons. Christian ethics was the one to advocate mercy. However, in 1877 a song *Siničja tožba* [A Tit’s Lament] was first written by Andrej Praprotnik in 1844 and later adapted by Fran Levstik. The poem entered the realm of folk and became an educational song for children (in school only a poem), warning them about the unacceptable destruction of bird nests presented as birds’ dwellings (Geister 2010: 14, cf. Golež Kaučič 2003: 262).

*Stoji učilna zidana,
pred njo je stara jablana.*

*Ta jablana je votel panj,
sinica znosi gnezdo vanj.*

*Sinica zjutraj prileti,
na šolskem oknu obsedi.*

*Na oknu kljunček svoj odpre,
tako prepevati začne:*

*»Poslušaj me, učitelj ti!
Kako se pod teboj godi.*

*Vsi dečki tvoji me črte,
povsod love, povsod pode.*

*Zalezli moj so ptičji rod,
iz gnezda vrgli ga za plot.*

*Mladički tam pomrli so,
oči svetle zaprli so.«*

*»Grdobe grde paglave,
masti ste vredni leskove.*

*Kdor v gnezdu ptičice lovi,
ta v srcu svojem prida ni.«*

There's a school built up of brick,
An old apple tree in front of it.

The tree's a hollow stump,
A little tit makes a nest inside.

The tit comes in the morning,
On a windowsill it sits,

And opens now its little beak
It starts to sing its song:

'Oh, listen, teacher to me!
Look what happens here.

All your boys hate me,
They hunt me. They chase me.

They searched out my young ones,
And threw them over the fence,

Where all my little babies died,
There they shut their eyes so bright.'

'You wretched rascals, you,
Worthy of the hazel cane.

Those who hunt for little birds,
Their cold hearts are their bane.'

Geister presents two parallel habitats, one where animals build their homes and the other where people create their cultural environment where animals can find their dwellings or people destroy the animals' original dwellings. He calls these parallel habitats wilderness and culture, for example, a rain forest and a commercially exploited forest where the "ethics of cultural strategy in the forest lags behind the natural ethics" (Geister 2010: 19). Thus, he again allows for the binary nature of the natural and the cultural and does not acknowledge animal culture. William Hoppitt and Kevin Laland believe that:

While the capacity for niche construction is universal to living creatures, human niche construction is extraordinarily powerful, in part as a consequence of our culture. Perhaps what is unique about human culture is that, through niche construction, cultural transmission has become self-reinforcing, with transgenerational culture modifying the environment in a manner than favors ever more culture. (Hoppitt and Laland 2013: 158)

Are ecological niches, natural dwellings that animals occupy, really less true dwellings than cultural niches produced by people? Geister remains within this binary viewpoint. However, his poetics allows us to understand animals and their homes, which they either occupy or build. Still, in his descriptions, we can observe positive anthropomorphisation, which enables us to understand better animal spaces as true homes. He only makes an exception in his description of reed beds, on the one hand, and the site of fire, on the other, where he presents the reeds as natural dwellings inhabited by various animals:

We can imagine a singular reed stalk as a skyscraper with various business or residential niches. Different lower animals live either on the façade or inside, where they feed, mate, lay eggs, spend their early lives, learn for life and lose it as well [...] Birds that live in reeds make their nests among young reed stalks or on the broken wooden stalks. Warblers, birds that have completely adapted to the life in the reed metropolis, have allotted themselves different environmental niches; the Great reed warbler feeds predominantly in the reed flowers, the Eurasian reed warbler among the stalks and Moustached warbler can be found right above the water. (Geister 2010: 69)

In addition to this description, he talks about the human destruction of animal homes and criticises anthropocentric activities that do not consider other – animal – interests but their own:

In winter the countryside marshes that are overgrown with reed beds are traditionally cleared with fire. After the first spring rain, lush green grass will grow on the site of fire. Of course, no one spares even a thought for animals that have lost their lives in the different stages of the fire and for the animals that have become homeless in the middle of winter. (Geister 2010: 70)

In his descriptions, which are rather essay-like, Geister's writing is rather zoopoetic, not from the perspective of animal communication but, in his zooethical attitude to animals, it is reflected in his poetic descriptions of animal dwelling and way of life. This is the poetics of animal and nature combined with ecological findings and distinct anthropocentric attitude to animals and nature. The co-existence of all living beings in an environment is the so-called poetics of space, habitats, and animal homes where animals are visible or invisible, where the human helps to build the homes or destroy them. Geister is aware of nonhuman beings; he does not perceive them as something else or the other. His position is almost critically animalistic as he criticises the dominant human attitude towards creatures that people share their space with but often prevent animals from dwelling and developing their individual existence in that space. Geister sees birds just as birds and not individual specimens of birds, which makes him more of an ecologist than critical animalist, even though he warns about the human appropriation of nature. He believes that nature, animals and plants should find a mutual agreement without human intervention.

Geister compares natural dwellings with “artificial” ones and discusses the so-called space inhabited by different animals, each one with its view of its dwelling, and individual usage that suits its needs and although the dwellings look the same, and they just may be given their names. This is how he describes a creek or a gully:

In the creek: the skunk and the otter find their hiding places among the intertwined bare roots of the riverside trees, in the clay walls of the crumbled gully, there is the kingfisher, a seemingly virtual being created from an apparition and reality. (Geister 2010: 106)

According to Geister, a manmade gravel pond, *mrtvica*, is a “cultural runt” (2010: 124). He compares spontaneously growing vegetation with a park. City parks host numerous animals precisely because they can find dwellings there:

Not only the hundred-year-old trees, the pruned tree shoots and bushes too attract many animal cultural trackers. In addition to bugs and birds, hollow tree trunks host rodents and bats and there are quite a few kinds of finches nesting in the forked boughs. Many different birds nest in city parks, as in a kind of a spontaneous forest, which can be ascribed to the combination of various dwelling types; especially in winter the numbers of members of individual species increase, the result of milder urban micro-climate. (Geister 2010: 159)

Animals, therefore, create their own space and occupy pre-existing dwellings. Sometimes it is their artistic creativity that allows them to produce unique and innovative homes, but they are also happy to accept and settle in dwellings already prepared for them by the people such as the white stork:

There are not many places left where storks will nest on trees or rocks. The majority of them settle on houses, electric or telephone utility poles and in nesting places prepared specifically for them due to the stork’s deep symbolic meaning and value for people. (Geister 2010: 229)

This human charity stems only from specific symbolism traditionally ascribed to the stork. The stork’s interests that are merely for its benefit are not relevant: human interest is.

Although Geister’s understanding of animal dwelling is decidedly ecocentric and ecoethical, it still lacks personalisation; he does not acknowledge individuals within a species nor ascribe any intrinsic value to an individual living being. For Geister, nature is a homogenous entity in which individual species dwell and share space, sometimes more and sometimes less in harmony. Geister does not allow the animal to be in an equal position with the human; his thoughts are devoted to ecocentrism: letting the animals and nature manage their own status and dwelling. Nature becomes an omnipotent person and the human being merely intervenes, destroys dwellings, but with his interventions also, rather absurdly, provides them as well.

CONCLUSION

As long as the animal is considered to be a possession and human interests prevail over animal interests, their ontological equivalence will be no more than empty philosophical and anthropological babble. When humans understand that their actions do not benefit animals, when humans give animals space for their dwellings so that they do not have to keep retreating⁴ or even dying due to human interventions into “nature” and “animal culture and architecture”, then we will be able to talk about the equality of animal and human dwelling. Even more, humans will help build dwellings for those animals that have lost their own.

Can literature and how we read and interpret it aid in achieving this? Can it change our viewpoint and allow us to see the animal as our relative and its dwelling and physical dwelling as untouchable? Yes, literature can enable us to see reality from zoopoetic perspective. According to Lawrence Buell, ecoliterature shows empathy to animals and so human interest in such literature is not the only legitimate one (Buell 1995, from Starre 2010: 23). Ortiz-Robles writes: “Literature helps us imagine alternatives way we live with animals, and help us imagine a new role for literature in a world where animal future is uncertain” (Ortiz-Robles 2016: 5). He aims to focus his critical viewpoint on the damaging social and cultural practices, especially speciesism and any discrimination and demonisation of *the other* and to allow the creative energy of literature to enter the formation processes. Kari Weil thinks that literature could be the voice of *the other* and understands the “animal question” as the “broader question of language, epistemology and ethics women and post-colonial societies already addressed” (Weil 2010: 4, 2012: 7). Literature makes it possible for us to see how animals accept and change the environment in which they live; authors can usurp the generally accepted viewpoint on animal dwelling as something static and naturally determined. Literature that introduces eco-critical, zoopoetic, and critical animalistic points of view in its narrative and refutes the belief that only the human being can possess imagination, rhetoric abilities and the culture of life and dwelling can, based on observation and research, determine how many of these qualities can be attributed to animals as well.

However, do we truly believe that people are so original? Where is the proof based on observation that does not include the same communication as that of animals? Is it true that only scientific observation and experiments enable us to understand animals in their complex lives, creation and dwelling? We are still at the beginning of a different kind of thinking, and we still overestimate ourselves and underestimate the animals. Only when absolute communication with all living beings is possible, beings that will not live in fear of the “mad animal – the human” will the world of the animal other be revealed to us.

So, the answers to all three questions are:

1. Animals’ dwellings and their home production are an element of culture, involving crafts or even arts that are different from human craft or art and would not be considered biological predestination but creativity. Animals have their own cultural patterns and develop special skills.

⁴ The SARS virus in 2002 developed on Chinese markets with wild exotic animals; and most probably the Covid 19 virus also developed on such “wet markets” in Wuhan, China.

2. Animal home production might be an intentional act, but we cannot enter the minds of animals to determine that.
3. Through literature, we can see that negative and positive human and nonhuman encounters can be established, but negative ones still prevail.

Jure Detela, a Slovenian poet, was the only one able to understand that animal geography and animal dwelling and production of homes are the same as those of the human, as he reveals in his poetic description of animal dwelling and dwellings of animals that live underground – either moles or rabbits. His visual horizon encompasses the understanding that everything is straight and plain, equality of all living beings, including those that are completely alien to us.

*Rovi pod zemljo, množica
toplih rjavih teles,
siva megla nad ravnino,
jagode med zelenjem.*

Burrows underground, a multitude
of warm brown bodies,
grey fog above the plane,
strawberries in the green.

*Vse sem že prvič videl
v enem horizontu
krog ene same ravnine,
v celoti popolnoma sam*

I saw it all the first time
in one horizon
across a single plane,
entirely and completely alone.

(Jure Detela, *Zbrane pesmi*, Vol. II, 2018, p. 1140).

This viewpoint can be called pure zoo-ecopoetics and eco/zoocentric worldview. It is this kind of literature that reveals anthropocentrism, speciesism and non-critical anthropomorphism as anarchism and distinct errors of our world.

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»ZOOPOETIČNO BIVANJE«: EKOLOGIJA POVEZANOSTI ŽIVALSKIH
IN ČLOVEŠKIH BIVALIŠČ IN BIVANJ SKOZI FOLKLORNE IN
LITERARNE REPREZENTACIJE

MARJETKA GOLEŽ KAUČIČ



Bivanje in bivališča niso samo človekova domena, pač pa tudi vsi prostori, okolja in domovi različnih živali. Na podlagi vprašanja, ali žival samo živi ali tudi biva, v članku razmišljamo o okoljih, kjer skupaj z ljudmi ali neodvisno bivajo in si gradijo svoja bivališča tudi nečloveške živali. V uvodu smo si postavili tri vprašanja: Ali živali zavestno bivajo in ali so njihova bivališča del narave ali tudi kulture oziroma ali so njihovi domovi zgolj del neke instinktivne obrti ali celo umetnosti? Ali živali gradijo svoja bivališča zavestno ali zgolj instinktivno? Kakšne vrste živalsko-človeških srečanj lahko vidimo ob opazovanju različnih živalskih bivališč, ko so ta oblikovana s strani živali ali ljudi, in kakšna so ta srečanja, ko živalsko bivališče trči ob interes ljudi? V poglavju Ontološka ekvivalenca ali ontološka diferenca živali in ljudi (bivanje/eksistiranje) se ukvarjamo z naslednjimi koncepti: *živost in aktivnost bivanja*, da živali *komunicirajo* med seboj, *eksistenčna vrednost živalskih manifestacij*. Dodajamo pa še antropološko izhodišče Tima Ingolda o *ontološki ekvivalentnosti človeka in živali*. Ugotavljamo, da je izrazita zmeta, da živalim odrekamo sposobnost načrtovanja in miselnih procesov pri oblikovanju lastnih bivališč. Tako ljudje kot živali so graditelji in bivajoči. Torej, če oblikujemo svet, ga gradimo, takrat smo oboji tudi del kulture in ne samo narave. Toda kako bi lahko vedeli za ves notranji svet živali ali trdili, da se žival samo znajde na svetu, ga nič ne spreminja? To je izrazita antropocentrična zazrtost v svet; žival ne skoči v svet in nato iz sveta odskoči v smrt, ne, spreminja svoj svet, svet živali in tudi ljudi okoli sebe, in si gradi svojo lastno stvarnost. Skratka, žival ni samo *tu*, ampak ta *tu* tudi napolni s svojim lastnim odnosom do *tu*. Zato ni samo del narave, temveč ima svojo kulturo, oblikuje svoj svet, drugače kot človek, na svoj način. Zato poetika sveta ni samo poetika človeškega sveta, pač pa tudi narave, živali, rastlin. Na podlagi folklorističnih, antropoloških, filozofskih, ekokritičnih in kritično animalističnih spoznanj predstavljamo tri modele gledanja na živali ter njihovo bivanje in bivališča. To so antropocentrični, antropomorfični in zoocentrični model, ki se kažejo v delih avtorjev Frana Erjavca (*Domače in tuje živali v podobah*, 1868–1873), Richarda Adamsa (*Watership Down*, 1972) in Iztoka Geistra (*Narava, kot jo vidi narava*, 2010). Skozi predstavitev živali in njihovih bivališč v teh delih, ki so večinoma verodostojna slika resničnosti, ugotavljamo, ali lahko ta bivališča klasificiramo kot del narave ali kulture, z vprašanjem, ali je npr. bobrovo bivališče arhitekturna mojstrovina ali le dejanje, ki izhaja iz instinkta. Izhajamo iz temeljnega izhodišča, da so živali osebe in kot osebe zmožne bivati in intencionalno producirati svoja bivališča.

Ti trije primeri so obravnavani kot zgledi, ki pokažejo spremembo človekovega odnosa do bivanja živali in produkcije njihovih bivališč, kot jo tematizirajo zooliteratura 19. stoletja, fiktivni roman kot fantazijski način antropomorfnih živali in t. i. ekoliteratura. S pomočjo novega branja teh del želimo na zoopoetični način predstaviti resničnost bivanja živali v sodobnem svetu. Vsi trije primeri pa kažejo tudi na različne možnosti ali nezmožnosti sobivanja živali in ljudi ali celo na dominacijo ene vrste nad drugo tudi – ali celo najbolj – pri živalskih bivališčih in njihovi izdelavi ter nato zapuščanju, izgubljanju in ponovnem pridobivanju ali naselitvi. Erjavec je predstavnik antropocentrizma, ki s svojimi opisi živali in lastnimi observacijami njihovega bivanja in bivališč izraža stališče, da je ločnica med živaljo in človekom ter med naravo in kulturo ostra. V graditvenih spretnostih živalskih bivališč ne vidi ničesar drugega kot le del nagonskega ravnanja, ki pa ga speciesistično determinira. Adams poskuša na neki način približati bivanje in življenje divjih kuncev, ki jih ne poznamo, ki so nam pravzaprav zelo tuji in njihovo življenje zelo oddaljeno od naše percepcije le-tega. Njegovo stališče je, da imajo lahko divji kunci tudi svojo socialno ureditev, svojo folkloro in svojo kulturo ter da produkcija njihovih domov kaže na intencijo in inovativnost. Če pogledamo na to zgodbo s pozitivne strani, predstaviti življenje in bivanje kunčje družbe, da bi dosegli t. i. videnje in vedenje o živalih, ki so nam tuje in ki jih ne poznamo, lahko rečemo, da je morda Adams poleg aplikativnega in alegoričnega antropomorfizma uporabil še t. i. konstruktivni ali biocentrični antropomorfizem, kar pa pomeni, da je fiktivna zgodba lahko celo verjetna. Geister pa govori o različnih vrstah bivališč: bivališča, ki jih naredijo živali ali se vanje samo naselijo, in bivališča, ki jih omogočijo ljudje – kohabitacija ali razdiranje: pozitivni in negativni antropocen. Geister prikazuje dvoje vzporednih življenjskih okolij, v katerih si živali gradijo svoje domove in v katerih ljudje gradijo kulturna okolja, nato pa v njih živali lahko najdejo svoja bivališča ali pa jim ljudje njihova prvotna bivališča v njih razdirajo. Bivanje živali pri Geistru, četudi je izrazito ekocentrično in ekoetično, pa je še vedno brez personalizacije ali upoštevanja posameznikov znotraj vrste in brez priznanja intrinzične vrednosti posameznemu živemu bitju. Narava je Geistru enovita entiteta, znotraj nje pa bivajo posamezne vrste, ki med seboj harmonično ali neharmonično delijo svoj prostor. Geister še ne omogoča, da bi žival kot posameznik zavzela človeku enakovredno pozicijo, je pripadnik ekocentrizma, ki zahteva, da pustimo živalim in naravi, da same urejajo svoj status, svoje bivanje; narava postaja onipotentna oseba, človek pa po njegovem vanjo le posega, razdira bivališča, a jih hkrati s svojimi posegi tudi – kako absurdno – omogoča.

V sklepu ponujamo odgovore na uvodna vprašanja. Živalsko bivanje in oblikovanje bivališč sodi v kulturo, njihova bivališča so ne samo obrtniško inovativna, so celo artistična, a drugačna od človeških. Niso produkt instinkta, temveč miselnih in ustvarjalnih procesov gradnje bivališč. Živali imajo svoje kulturne vzorce in razvijajo lastne spretnosti v graditvi bivališč. Prek folklorne in literature lahko

odkrivamo negativna in pozitivna srečanja med ljudmi in živalmi, med katerimi žal negativna prevladujejo. Na koncu članka je navedena pesem Jureta Detele, s katero želimo prikazati, da le tovrstna literatura omogoča, da antropocentrizem, speciesizem in nekritični antropomorfizem postanejo arhaizmi in izrazite zmote tega sveta.

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“Petishism”, or Animals in the City and on the Islands: Case Study of the Island of Silba

==== Suzana Marjanić, Rosana Ratkovčić ====

The first part of this paper (by Suzana Marjanić) documents the fact that city authorities throughout Croatia do not encourage needed care for stray dogs and cats, specifically the construction of state and private shelters for abandoned and lost animals, as well as feeding stations. Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, does not have a shelter for cats. Also documented are exhibitions of animal studies in Croatia, two of which were organised in Zagreb in the same year: an artistic one *All Our Animals – Animals as Subjects in Croatian Modern Fine Arts* (Modern Gallery, Zagreb, 2017), and another from the aspect of ethnozoology and anthropology of animals – *Of Animals and Humans* (Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb, 2017), both of which also featured cats.

The second part of the article (by Rosana Ratkovčić) notes the fact that the number of stray cats on Croatian islands increases each year, as pets brought by tourists are frequently left behind at the end of summer vacation. On the example of the island of Silba and its only (eponymous) town, how the local population has self-organised the protection of the island’s stray cats is presented.

KEYWORDS: petishism, animal studies, stray cats, island of Silba

THE URBAN JUNGLE: ANIMALS FOR SLAUGHTERING, ANIMALS FOR PETTING

The beginning of the third millennium is marked by two extremes: we are witnessing revolutionary changes in the understanding of animal rights while horrendous massacres of animals occur (as was also evident at the session organised by Marjetka Golež Kaučič).¹ In his book *Animal and Man: A Contribution to Cultural Zoology* (1996), Croatia’s first zoo-ethicist Nikola Visković noted the emergence of a disturbing socio-biological process: the global number of species and individuals of so-called wild animals has been

¹ This article has been presented in 2017 at SIEF (International Society for Ethnology and Folklore) in Göttingen, within the panel discussion “Dwelling of Others: Non-Human Homes from a Puddle to an Animal Reserve” organised by Marjetka Golež Kaučič. The first part of the article has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project *Cultural Animal Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Traditional Practices* (IP-2019-04-5621).

reduced² at the same rate as the number of domestic animals, particularly of pet animals (“petishism” or the cult of pets, or *nonhuman companions and nonhuman friends* as termed by the theoreticians who negate linguistic speciesism)³ has increased. Today, when an animal is reduced to a mere object of exploitation, in the process called “a latter-day holocaust” by animal rights activists, it is astonishing that its symbolic value has not disappeared as well.⁴ Alongside Lévi-Strauss’ studies of animals as flexible symbols, one should note the work of anthropologists Evans-Pritchard, Edmund Leach, and Mary Douglas.⁵ Of course, when speaking of the beginning of animal studies in anthropology, one needs to note the American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan and his book *The American Beaver and His Works* (1868), wherein he compares the beavers’ building of habitats, dams and canals with methods used by human engineers, and along the same line (as noted by S. Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich) opens up the question of animal rights, pointing out that we treat such animals with *unmerciful cruelty*.⁶ Studies in anthrozoology should certainly include the work of Gregory Bateson, who discussed communication between humans and dolphins; his theory of play, fantasy and mental processes annulled the essentialist differences between human and nonhuman mentality.

Contemporary animal studies have examined numerous aspects of the correlation between animals and humans in urban surroundings. Anthropologist Annabelle Sabloff (2001) wrote that of all human-animal relations, the keeping of animals as companions or pets is one of the most intriguing. In her book *Reordering the Natural World*, Sabloff argues that contemporary capitalist society augments the conviction that we (urban citizens) are alienated from the rest of nature. At the same time, urban citizens (the research was conducted on a sample of Canadian citizens) relate to the natural world.

I also use this opportunity to note the exceptional book *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (2007) written by Clay McShane, Joel Tarr, and Harriet Ritvo. The book identifies the 19th century as the golden age of the horse. In urban America, the horse, as the most important urban animal, provided the power for not only vehicles that moved freight, transported passengers, and fought fires, but also for equipment in breweries, mills, foundries, and machine shops. In relation to this, I would like to note an entry from Miroslav Krleža’s journal *Davni dani* (*Olden Days*) written in the period of the First World War, in which he wrote down distressing observations about Zagreb’s horses. Specifically, in his *olden-day-journal* entries, Krleža often records the deaths of innocent animals. For instance, he perceives (and commemorates in writing) the death of a mare that “croaked in Zrinjevac Park [...] While looking on the voiceless death of the equine, a passer-by is peeling and nibbling on roasted chestnuts.”⁷ Theatre, television, and film actress Eliza Gerner, a friend of Krleža’s, spoke of him as

² Visković 1996: 385

³ Alongside the term *companion*, Joan Dunayer (2004) also uses the term *pet*, albeit not defined speciesistically.

⁴ Visković 1996: 16

⁵ Arluke, Sanders 1996: 3

⁶ Kirksey and Helmreich 2010: 549

⁷ Krleža 1977a: 299

being heavily affected by horses clashing on the street: “He literally suffered because of it, and such clashes were a daily occurrence at the time.”⁸ The compassion towards the fates of horses associates Krleža’s psycho/biography with Nietzsche’s, who collapsed on the streets of Torino in 1888 due to the fate of a pulling horse that was mercilessly beaten by its owner – *he put his arms around its neck and sought to protect it, he burst into tears and his soul sunk into despair*.⁹ Krleža notes how August Cesarec (author, translator, publicist and political activist, one of the pioneers of the Communist movement in Croatia prior to the First World War) “in an intense ecstasy of joy, rapture, sentimental devotion and even tears [...] has been petting horses on the streets ever since childhood.”¹⁰ With the apophthegm “horses and women are equally passive historical phenomena; both assist in battles,”¹¹ he notes the historical subjugation of women and animals (horses as the *central animals in war*) in androcentric wars. Shortly after the observed death of the mare, which *croaked* (I point out Krleža’s linguistic speciesism in the context of the animal’s fate mentioned above) in Zrinjevac Park, Krleža records the fate of an ox on his way to the slaughterhouse: “[...] amid Ilica Street, a silvery-satin ox is trudging to the abattoir.”¹²

Furthermore, he notices a run-over dog in a puddle of blood on the tram tracks: “A carnivore feels compassion towards the canine’s blood-soaked carcass since it is not ‘appetising’, since it cannot be eaten as, say, an equally repulsive slain piglet.”¹³ Under date of 20 September 1919, at 11 p.m., he records the memory of visiting a slaughterhouse with Franjo Ciraki: “Premiere night. This is the first abattoir I have visited in my entire life. Sheep eyes in blood. Blood-soaked sheep.”¹⁴

Today, as regards horses, they are kept in urban surroundings only as pets for sports entertainment at hippodromes, or as zoo-therapists. The results of a study published in the journal *Human-Animal Interaction Bulletin* have therefore shown that cortisol levels – in the afternoon and in the morning upon waking up – of a group of adolescents included

⁸ Gerner 1993: 8

⁹ Wirth 2001: 110

¹⁰ Krleža 1977a: 25

¹¹ Krleža 1977: 350

¹² Krleža 1977a: 300. In an entry in *Olden Days*, on 11 May 1917 at 5 p.m., near the Chapel of St. Vitus on Sokolovac in Požega, Krleža records that he is sitting among cockchafers, bumblebees, ants, bees, flies, and May flowers “under chestnut trees in full, exquisite bloom, with [his] palms covered in pollen and (white) petals from daisies and marguerites; the clouded heavenly titans of May are softly drifting above us on the fiddle of the spring wind, in the evening’s orange glow. A solemn atmosphere” (Krleža 1977: 253). Ivo Frangeš interprets the aforementioned note as one of Krleža’s “warmest Matoš-like visions of Croatian landscape” (Frangeš 1977:309). (I would like to refer to Amiel’s saying “any landscape is a condition of the spirit” which, for example, was poeticised in the initial verse “My soul is where enchantment dwells” of the poem *At Home* by Matoš.) This is followed by a record of a white ox passing by, who left behind him “a comet’s tail full of ammonia with a scent of warm manure” (Krleža 1977: 253), and goes on to say that today, this white ox is as ready for the slaughterhouse as we are, “once a God, a subjugator of Europe, and today a four-legged castrated misery” (Krleža 1977: 254). Yet, I would like to add (even though it is irrelevant for the poetic and historical iconogram on anthropoid bestiality) that the aforementioned zoolatric and Greco-mythic analogy refers to a bull (hence, not an ox), in the form of which Zeus ravished Europe.

¹³ Krleža 1977a: 303

¹⁴ Krleža 1977a: 219, emphasis by S. M.

in an equine-facilitated programme are significantly lower compared to another group of children who do not interact with horses.¹⁵

Let us return for a moment to the term *pet*, which, as I have already stated, animal rights theoretician and feminist Joan Dunayer (2004) does not consider speciesistic; she uses it alongside the term *companion*. Specifically, the term *pet* is shunned by many nonhuman rights advocates and denotes an animal that is kept for amusement and companionship.

Historian Keith Thomas considers pets to be domesticated animals with three functions: firstly, they live with humans in their homes (they are let into the house); secondly, they are named (they have an individual personal name); and thirdly, they are not eaten.¹⁶ Let us observe for a moment the first definition, which says that a companion or pet is an animal living with humans in their homes. Then how do we name animals that live on a chain, attached to a metal leash in the yards of human homes, often on concrete in their own excrement which, unfortunately, is still the case in many households in Croatia, especially in the suburbs (e.g., in the Dubrava district, dogs are often kept on chains in yards, sometimes without doghouses, and sleep on concrete)? I would like to mention the example of a dog in my street with the same fate; truth be told, it does have a doghouse in the yard, but permanently resides in a constricted space. Its “owners” never take it for walks and feed it primarily with scraps from their table. This dog is not kept for amusement (which is the meaning of the term *pet*) and companionship (which is the meaning of the term *animal companion*); it is mistreated as a means for keeping trespassers away from the house.

In the following part of the text, the emphasis is placed on abandoned cats – which do not have a home and were once named, but their names have been forgotten. The fact is that cats are generally left to survive on their own, hunting mice and rats, “[...] The large number of dogs, and especially cats that are fending for themselves outdoors and filling animal shelters [...]”¹⁷ Specifically, motivated by the idea of cultural animal studies, Croatia’s first zoo-ethicist Nikola Visković, Rosana Ratkovčić and I have initiated the publishing of *Mačkozbornik* (“Catnicle”/“Catmanac”, currently in print) with a felinological sequence from the anthropo-zoomorphic cat-headed goddess Bastet¹⁸ and the anthropomorphic neotenic *Hello Kitty* to the mythic superhero, the anthropo-zoomorphic Catwoman. While Katharine M. Rogers (2001) chose Garfield for the subtitle of her book *The Cat and the Human Imagination: Feline Images from Bast to Garfield*, we opted for Catwoman so as to keep the feminine narrative within the felinological fate related to all the *Others* who are marked as degraded and damaged. Therefore, I will also present certain instances related to the titular subject with selected examples from the collection mentioned above of papers.

As an example, I note the Old Cat Shelter (Stari maček) owned by Ljiljana Horvat Komerički, who sought to provide a safe and comfortable home for cats that had never had

¹⁵ Pendry, Smith, Roeter 2014

¹⁶ Thomas 1983: 112-115

¹⁷ Johnson 2009: 74

¹⁸ From whose alternative name *Pasht* the ambiguous English word *pussy* is also derived (Sax 2001: 58, 60).

one or were abandoned by their human families. Most of them are found on the streets, sick and injured. The initiative has been supported by many organisations, as well as private persons. Today, Old Cat Shelter is home to 129 cats and is the only shelter in Croatia exclusively for abandoned cats (I would like to mention here that Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, does not have a cat shelter). It is located in the village of Voloder near Kutina, approximately 55 km from Zagreb. It was built on the estate of the Komerički family in Moslavačka Gora Regional Park and is surrounded by vineyards and the forest. The costs of food, water, heating, medical treatment and hired hands exceed €2500 per month. The shelter does not receive any support from the government or local authorities. It is almost entirely financed by Josip and Ljiljana Komerički. Hired labour, which is needed from time to time, is financed by Zlata Kilchenmann. They occasionally receive food donations from some Croatian food companies. However, such donations are sporadic, and the shelter cannot depend on them entirely. Veterinary services and medications must be paid in cash.¹⁹

Furthermore, I quote a story from a Croatian island as conveyed by anthropologist Karmen Turčinov:

Two young men, fishermen Stipe and Ive spent a winter on an island alone, with twenty feral cats. There were many cold and windy days in a row, and the food became scarce. There was only a sufficient quantity of flour and sauerkraut as these goods are not perishable. The young men would prepare a large pot of sauerkraut with bread and give that to the cats. The cats were called “Nikadnerecinemogu” (Never-Say-I-Cannot). But these supplies also became scarce and were slowly running out. Out of fear and discomfort, they no longer opened the front door as the cats were jumping on it at every little sound. The cats were wailing and howling around the house throughout the night, and the storm was very strong. After a few days and nights, the fishermen’s lives became unbearable.

One morning, having once again spent the night hungry and sleepless, the fishermen made a decision: they would capture the cats and put them in jute bags. They caught almost twenty. Some of the cats fled, probably realising the goal of this hellish plan. It was an act bordering on insanity – a fight for life or death. The bags were loaded on a ship and transported to a nearby islet situated just shy of a mile from the island. They untied the bags and released the cats on the desolate islet. The distraught cats dispersed around, and the fishermen sailed back to their bay. After this, they did not feel like doing anything. They just wanted peace, peace and more peace.

However, early in the evening, they could not believe their eyes when they saw all of the cats from the islet swimming back in the direction of their bay.”²⁰

¹⁹ Horvat Komerički in *Mačkozbornik*.

²⁰ Upon exploring the island, they realised there was no food and estimated that they will only survive if they return to the same port. The cats came back exhausted, wet and hungry, and there was still no food there (Turčinov, *Mačkozbornik*, manuscript).

As another example, I would like to mention Željka Bišćan who has experience in the coexistence of different animal species (dogs, cats, pigs, sheep, goats, horses, parrots, chickens, ducks, turtles, geckos, fish, hamsters, mice, guinea pigs). In 2017, her house was home to nine dogs, seven pigs, a duck, a rooster and two humans (herself and her husband), which is an extraordinary example of helping animals.

Briefly put, all of these examples serve to demonstrate that it is possible today to help animals which do not live in their natural habitats, but by keeping them as domestic *pets* or *companions* in an imposed life on the border between nature and culture, only to be abandoned in worst-case scenarios.²¹

As yet another example, I would like to mention a lady from the suburbs of Zagreb – the already-mentioned district of Dubrava – who, during the extremely harsh winter of 2016, made a small improvised shelter for cats out of cardboard boxes to keep their food dry from the snow. I would also like to briefly note Sonja Manojlović, librarian at the National and University Library in Zagreb, who is well-known for her work of rescuing cats. Furthermore, thanks to journalist and activist Vesna Kesić, Prvić Luka has become known as the island of happy cats. We should also mention Mr Jura and Mrs Dragica, who for years have been taking care of two cats, White (10) and Grey (5), which live in a tree hollow in Bundek Park in Zagreb.²² In Dubrovnik, a small group of people have created improvised feeding stations at certain locations in the city. As Dubrovnik is a tourist destination with a typically Mediterranean architecture of narrow streets and passages, seventy-five-year-old Mrs Lili Kera provided a street money box to collect contributions for the cats, with requests written in English to raise the tourists' awareness of this local issue. Mrs Kera's pension is around €200, half of which is spent on stray cats; she also has cat houses in her garden. There are also numerous NGOs in Croatia such as SOS CAT, Prava šapa (True Paw), Prijatelji životinja (Animal Friends), among others.

In contrast, the lives of stray dogs and cats, and hunting them, is a lucrative business in some towns in Croatia. For instance, the City of Split pays 984 kunas for every cat, and 1660 kunas for every dog removed from the streets to a private company from Šibenik and slightly less for carcasses (this linguistic speciesism is used by the newspaper article I quote here), which costs around 1.1 million kunas annually. In 2012, 54 live cats and 839 dead cats were removed, as well as 28 dog carcasses and 224 live dogs. One such collection campaign, carried out recently on Marjan Hill above Split, caused such a stir that the police had to intervene (Vuković 2013).

FELINE EXHIBITIONS

As I have already stated in the abstract, in this part of the paper, I will note key feline exhibitions in Croatia. As regards the region (i.e., the former Yugoslav countries), the correlation between cats and people has been validated in museums by Piero Pazzi, Venetian art collector

²¹ Bišćan, *Mačkozbornik*, manuscript.

²² Ljudi velikog srca: Deda Jura i teta Dragica brinu o uličnim macama s Bundeka (2016).

and lecturer at the Academy of Fine Arts (Accademia di belle arti di Venezia), who recently founded the Cats Museum in Kotor, Montenegro, where he presented his cat-collection of historical postcards, photographs, publications, illustrations, postage stamps, advertisements and other graphic materials, the oldest of which date to the 17th century, united by the motif of the cat. Thanks to the efforts of the Pazzi, the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral joined in the marking of the 100th anniversary of the First World War with the exhibition *Miau, miau, što sam ja radila u Prvom svjetskom ratu* (Meow Meow, What I Did in the First World War, Rijeka, 2014), which featured around a hundred enlarged historical postcards and photographs from the First World War with the cat as the main character.²³

Furthermore, I would like to mention here the only cat-monument in Croatia: a wooden sculpture depicting cats, located in Osijek. In Osijek’s industrial district, the villa of the Hermann family stands out architecturally and is far better known as the *Mačkamama* (Cat-Mum) *Castle*. This is the “feline” moniker of benefactress Paulina Hermann (Nova Gradiška 1859 – Osijek 1939) who, alongside misfortunate humans (vagabonds, impoverished labourers, persons in mental distress), also helped animals, primarily cats. It is believed that caring for animals and helping humans caused her financial ruin at the end of her life.²⁴ It would be interesting to gather together the urban myths/legends about Hermann, a.k.a. Cat-Mum, as one of them alleges that she also kept wild cats, even a lion.

The most recent feline exhibition is entitled *Mačka u hrvatskoj likovnoj umjetnosti* (The Cat in Croatian Fine Arts; exhibition authors: Dajana Vlaisavljević and Snježana Pavičić; curator: Nikolina Šimunović, Head of Prica Gallery; Samobor, 18 October–24 November 2019). Until this exhibition, there were only three key exhibitions in Croatia from the field of fine art animal studies – *Sve naše životinje. Animalističke teme u hrvatskoj modernoj likovnoj umjetnosti* (All Our Animals – Animals as Subjects in Croatian Modern Fine Arts, Zagreb, Modern Gallery, 9 March–9 May 2017, exhibition author: Dajana Vlaisavljević); the exhibition *Srce iznad teka* (Heart over Appetite) organised by artist Sanja Burazin (Galić Salon, Split, 1–14 October 2014), organised on the occasion of World Vegetarian Day (1 October) and World Animal Day (4 October) as the first larger-scale domestic exhibition on the subject of animal rights art; and the animal studies exhibition *Pas u hrvatskoj likovnoj umjetnosti od 19. st. do danas* (The Dog in Croatian Fine Arts from the 19th Century to the Present) Prica Gallery, Samobor, 19 November–15 December 2013 by the same authors who organised the first-mentioned feline exhibition.

The authors commenced the visual journey through fine art animal studies with the animal that is commonly reputed as our best friend; in Slavic languages, however, this animal’s name is most commonly used in swearwords, hence the etymological kinship of the words *pas* (dog) and *psovka* (swearword). With the feline exhibition, the aforementioned authors have continued their research of animal motifs and subjects within the cycle *Animal Studies in Croatian Fine Arts*, initiated in 2013 with the already-mentioned canine one.

Briefly put, the exhibition featured artworks by numerous domestic artists created within a period of nearly two decades, from Izidor Kršnjavi’s *Pet studija mačjih glava*

²³ Marjanić 2015.

²⁴ “Paulina Hermann”.

(Five Studies of Cats' Heads) from 1874 and *Studije mačića* (Studies of Kittens, from around 1900 – with five white kittens) by Nikola Mašić to, for example, Ivan Kožarić (*Mačke / Cats*, 1971–2002; *Mačka i miš / Cat and Mouse*, 1980s; *Mačka na cesti / Cat on the Street*, 1986), Stipan Tadić (*Roadkill*, 2015), or Igor Kuduz and his tomcat Mohammad (*Revelation Archive – 341 Stories of the Prophet*, 2014), which photographically corresponds with the captured yawn of a cat, similar to Kršnjavi who, with his study, also caught the cat's open jaw, either while attacking or while hissing in self-defence. As regards Kuduz's Mohammad, the series had been created from 2014 until 2016, starting from an incidental photograph of Mohammad's yaw, which soon – as the author himself states – turned into systematic, disciplined and somewhat obsessive recording of a one-and-the-same moment in a cat's life. In his own words:

I was captivated by the realisation that I've become *reeeeally* familiar with my own cat's daily routine, and that I can effortlessly identify the moment at which a yawn could take place. Not one photograph is the result of a long period of pursuing, and I merely recognised the moment. Marko Golub wrote a fantastic text on the whole matter when I organised an *ad hoc* exhibition at Žitnjak Ateliers, at which I exhibited the entire series, nearly 350 photographs, for the first and hitherto only time.

Alongside the aforementioned first two domestic feline exhibitions (featuring cats as artistic inspiration), I would also like to point out the fact that two more exhibitions on the subject of animals were organised in Zagreb nearly concurrently – an artistic/animal one, and the other from the aspect of ethnozoology and anthropology of animals – the already-mentioned *Sve naše životinje. Animalističke teme u hrvatskoj modernoj likovnoj umjetnosti* (All Our Animals – Animals as Subjects in Croatian Modern Fine Arts, Modern Gallery, Zagreb, 2017, exhibition author: Dajana Vlaisavljević) and *O životinjama i ljudima* (Of Animals and Humans, Ethnographic Museum, Zagreb, 22 April–12 November 2017, authors: Željka Petrović Osmak, Tea Rittig Šiško, Gordana Viljević), both of which, naturally, also featured cats. The ethno-zoo exhibition, therefore, highlighted, among other things, the fact that cats and dogs who once lived in rural homesteads did not have a name, as opposed to, for example, Daisy the cow or Misty the mare. In contrast, today – as pets, within the framework of petism as matrices of speciesism – they are named, as opposed to all of those nameless animals who are slaughtered daily (Viljević 2017) – the ones we eat and whose skins we wear, as underscored by Melanie Joy in her book *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs, and Wear Cows* (2009) on carnism as the ruling dogma.

BERGER'S QUESTION "HOW DO WE SEE ANIMALS?"

As for the aforementioned animal rights exhibition *Heart over Appetite*, the fact remains that, concerning urban animals, they are most frequently and continuously present on our plates, in industrial farms and slaughterhouses (which have been removed from

the scope of both urban and rural surroundings, just like concentration camps), where many of them spend and end their lives. As regards local cases, I would like to note the example of Jerry the Bull, who outwitted his pursuers. Specifically, having escaped from the slaughterhouse, Jerry became the most famous fugitive in Croatia, who was cheered on even by the most adamant meat-eaters. He was given the slogan “We Are All Jerry” (and a Facebook support group “Support for Jerry the Bull”) by the press and was ultimately set free, if his owner and slaughterer are to be believed. Jerry escaped from the slaughterhouse depot in Kaštel Stari near Split in 2019, and soon became the most sought-after individual in Croatia. As recorded by writer and journalist Ante Tomić, “the nitwits initially lured the escaped bull with food, and then set up an erotic trap with several young, fairly attractive cows.”²⁵ What is sad, however, is that Jerry was the star of Facebook and Instagram only for a couple of days, and his fate was soon forgotten as is always the case with all slaughterhouse animals; or, as documented by Ante Tomić:

Our hyperactive world, our attention-deficient civilisation suddenly forgot about Jerry. On Tuesday night, his adventures were still the main subject of news programmes and web portals, and as early as Wednesday nobody mentioned the humorous case of the bull who escaped the butcher’s knife.²⁶

Truth be told, considering the media structure, this may have only been a media spin that was intended to shift public attention to poor Jerry from a topical political issue that was thereby supposed to have been concealed.

John Berger dedicates part of his essay *Why Look at Animals?* to imprisoned animals, stressing that, since the 19th century, following the Second Industrial Revolution, animals – in their disappearance from our everyday life – have mostly been adjoined to the *family* and the *society of the spectacle* as pets and as prisoners in zoos. This fate also befell the cat on its path to domestication. Therefore, we also applied human hierarchic relationships to the feline world: we speak of cat elites, for example, with the Croatian Association of Felinological Societies, who organise exhibitions of purebred cats and so-called elite races (hence the term “race” has also been assigned to denote the breed),²⁷ while on the other hand, domestic cats and other abandoned animals lead “a dog’s life” (why not that of a cat, too, within the framework of zoo-comparisons?) as is demonstrated, for example, by the example of Mačkograd (Catville) in Poreč.²⁸

Public zoos, which emerged in the 19th century, functioned as an affirmation of colonial power – the conquest of exotic lands. Contemporaneously with this colonial practice of exhibiting exotic animals, the 19th century also saw increased demand for realistic toys of

²⁵ Tomić 2019: 26-27.

²⁶ Tomić 2019: 26.

²⁷ Mačkarica, 2016.

²⁸ On the temporary postponement of the eviction of Mačkograd (2016), <http://www.parentium.com/prva.asp?clanak=53193>; on Mačkograd moving to a legal shelter (2017), <http://porestina.info/mackograd-preselio-u-legalan-azil/>; on Poreč opening the first shelter for stray cats in Croatia, <https://www.parentium.com/prva.asp?clanak=61270>

animals. According to Berger's detections, the parallelism of this ideology of the Industrial Revolution in the context of the lives of animals extends even further: realistic toys have prompted a demand for a new toy – a city pet, in which the fate of cats is equally included. Therefore the Japanese Bobtail cat is most famous today as Hello Kitty, a little white cat with a pink bow. She first appeared, according to *Wikipedia*, on a coin purse in Japan in 1974, and in the US in 1976. Hello Kitty, produced by the company Sanrio and designed by Yuko Shimizu, today denotes hyper-consumerist symbolism based on ethno-tradition. Specifically, in Japan, bobtail cats are believed to bring good luck, prosperity and money. For that reason, porcelain or ceramic cats, the so-called *Maneki-Neko* (*beckoning* cats with an upright paw), are produced. Calico cats (*Mi-Ke* – tricolour) are particularly considered a symbol of good luck.²⁹

Hence, today the ideology of pets, as well as realistic toys of animals and Disney's cute anthropomorphic characters seemingly prevent us from facing the gory truth of the contemporary slaughterhouse holocaust, wherein animals have been reduced to raw material as if they were soulless machines.

In the final and most distressing part of his essay, Berger points out the fact that all sites of enforced marginalisation (e.g. ghettos, prisons, mental asylums, concentration camps) have something in common with zoos. However, he thereby adds that viewing the zoo in this sense, that is, merely as a symbol, would be overly easy and overly evasive since zoos, in this modern totalitarianism which we silently witness, merely represent the relations between man and animal; and nothing else (Berger 2007: 255-261).

Hereby, I conclude this part of the text on the cat, the most popular so-called *pet* today (apparently due to its independence, unlike the dog that requires far more attention, care, and patience) – or *companion*, to quote Joan Dunayer in her destruction of speciesist determinants – even though cats were the last species to be domesticated – allow me to use a more suitable term – imprisoned. Alternatively, as accurately summarised by French sociologist Marcel Mauss: *the cat is the only animal to have succeeded in domesticating man*. He was absolutely right. However, here we can also sarcastically add that this animal made a historical journey from sacralisation and demonisation to petishism. Christianity sought to nullify the aforementioned demonisation with the life of St. Gertrude (7th ct.), the patron saint of cats, whose feast day is on 17 March. Apart from being the patron saint of cats, she is also the patron saint of travellers, widows, and gardeners, and provides protection from mice and mental illnesses. All of the aforementioned seems to be encompassed by Ivan Večenaj's (*Paunchy*) *Jana* with her only companion – a shaggy black cat.³⁰

Suzana Marjanić

²⁹ According to some interpretations, the Maneki-Neko has a bib under its chin, like the Bodhisattva Jizo.

³⁰ Ivan Večenaj's *Pupava Jana* (*Paunchy Jana*, 1962), an exceptional surreal-'naïve' depiction of Jana with mental suffering who is feeding a black cat milk by a spoon, is included in the aforementioned feline exhibition.

A CASE STUDY OF THE ISLAND OF SILBA

On Croatian islands, particularly smaller ones, the area’s isolation positively influences the self-organisation of the local population alongside the participation of several tourists, who work together on raising funds for food, medical treatment, and spaying and neutering of the island’s cats.

The number of stray cats on islands is constantly increasing as pets brought by tourists are left behind at the end of summer vacation. On the example of the island of Silba and its only (eponymous) town, we will recount the positive practice of self-organisation of the local population in protecting and caring for the island’s stray cats.

Several islanders have started caring for abandoned cats at their initiative by letting them into their homes and providing them with food, shelter and protection, including Mrs Ankica Vukorepa, and Mrs Ljiljana and Mr Aljo, husband and wife.

The Society for the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage of the Island of Silba has recently initiated the so-called “Kitten Department,” bringing together islanders and their guests who work together to protect cats. After collecting money for food for abandoned cats, members distribute the food to places at which cats gather, such as the island’s landfill. The collected donations also cover cat food for the locals who care for a large number of cats in their homes. Therefore we can say that stray cats on Silba are looked after in terms of food thanks to the efforts of the “Kitten Department” and several especially engaged individuals. It has also been noted that feral cats live in the island’s forests and eat whatever they can catch.

In 2016, organised by the “Kitten Department” and thanks to special efforts by Petra Hillinger, a large-scale campaign of spaying and neutering of the island’s cats was initiated to prevent the increasing number of the island’s stray cats. Petra Hillinger, an Austrian tourist who has spent her summers on Silba since childhood, brought her veterinarian friends who voluntarily spayed and neutered around sixty cats at their own expense. Notices inviting the residents to bring in their cats to be spayed/neutered were put up on the island, and traps were set for feral cats. Unfortunately, some cat owners did not want to spay or neuter them even though it was free of charge and prefer to throw new-born kittens into the sea. It should also be noted that, according to experience, systematic neutering within a one-year period reduces the population of cats by up to 40 per cent.

The abandoned cats that gather on the island’s landfill are fed by Mrs Ljiljana and her husband Aljo, who also care for a large number of cats in their home. At the time I visited them, they were quite concerned about Bijeli (Whitey), a male named after the colour of his fur, since he started developing skin cancer on one of his ears due to lack of pigment and exposure to the sun. With great effort by Mrs Ljiljana and after taking the cat to a vet in Zadar to be operated on, the cat pulled through, the infected part of the ear was surgically removed, and the cat is healthy today, albeit missing one ear.³¹

³¹ I heard an anecdote from the residents that a nun living on the island, a “švora”, once reproached Aljo for his caring for cats, to which he replied that “if she wears this habit (nun’s attire) of hers, she might as well know that animals are God’s creatures.”

Some locals who are always on the island (i.e. throughout the entire year), such as Mrs Verica and Mrs Đimberta, provide care and food for the cats who live in the homes of people who only spend their summers on the island.

Among the islanders who took on themselves the care and protection of abandoned cats without any previous organisation, we should especially note Mrs Ankica Vukorepa, who gathers cats in her home and has been caring for them for more than fifteen years.

Mrs Ankica comes from Miljevci near Drniš, where she worked as a primary school teacher; having retired, she moved to Silba together with her late husband Čedo, into her family's old house. She cared for cats while she was still living and working in Miljevci; she remembers an anecdote from that time, about a cat who knew which of her students brought good lunch from home, so he would sit next to this student and wait for a treat or two. This cat was later run over by another student with a motorcycle, with the kind of violent malice that is characteristic of children but is little spoken of as they are typically idealised.

Among cats that are cared for by Mrs Ankica today, Krivi (Crooked) is the only cat that came to Silba from Miljevci. He was brought to their home by Ankica's husband Čedo as a kitten; after her husband passed, she found the cat sleeping on his grave. The cat got his name because he had broken his spine and has had a crooked posture ever since.

With typically feline opportunism, in summer months Krivi moves to the home of Mrs Gavrilović, one of the tourists who resides on the island only during summer and cares for the island's cats within that period. There are fewer cats at Mrs Gavrilović's than there are at Mrs Ankica's, so Krivi has chosen the former location as his summer residence, probably due to more food and more care provided. In winter, when Mrs. Gavrilović leaves the island, Krivi returns to Mrs. Ankica's. Mrs. Ankica is extremely saddened by Krivi's summer infidelity since she is especially attached to him due to the memory of her late husband.

When notices were put up on the island, which informed the residents of the spaying/neutering programme organised by Petra Hillinger, they featured the photograph of Krivi, who thereby became a kind of trademark of Silba's cats, as well as of the care provided for them by these selfless women.

When Petra Hillinger resides on Silba, she also gathers a large number of cats in her home, whom she cares for and feeds. On her fence, she put up many notices advocating the care for cats, a donation box, and also the photograph of Krivi. Petra Hillinger's house on Silba is close to Mrs. Ankica's home, so her cats also drop by Petra's at mealtime.

Mrs. Ankica feeds, fosters and cares for approximately thirty cats in her home; the exact number is unknown as new cats keep coming. The number of cats in her home is this high since people throw abandoned cats or young kittens over her fence; she once found seven in a single day.

Mrs. Ankica calls the cats she cares for *Moje blago* (*My Treasure*). While she was talking about them, she was spraying water on some disobedient cats while saying the proverb "*Svaka ptica ima svoga orla*" (literally "Every bird has its eagle", meaning "There is always someone who is more powerful or influential", "There is a sky above the sky"), which is in contrast to the harmless solution she has for their disobedience. Mrs. Ankica told us that she is wrought with sadness over the suffering of her cats and the pain inflicted upon them by people.



Fig. 1. – Lunch at Petra Hillinger’s home, Silba, 2017 (photo by Rosana Ratkovčić).



Fig. 2. – Mrs. Ankica Vukorepa and her cats, Silba, 2017 (photo by Rosana Ratkovčić).

In and around Mrs. Ankica's house, everything is subordinated to cats. The property is full of makeshift cat houses, every cat has its own nook, but they also like dwelling in twos in a single house.

Mrs. Ankica feeds her cats several times a day; she prepares a mixture of bread soaked in soup or milk and store-bought cat food, a bit of dry kibble, some canned food, even though she keeps the latter for cats that are sick and eat very little. When she exits the house, she leaves food for them so that they stay inside; otherwise the cats go after her and follow her around the island. Furthermore, Mrs. Ankica always keeps a pouch of cat food in her bag so that she could feed the cats she meets along the way.

Apart from cats, in her love of animals, Mrs. Ankica also keeps turtles and a crow that she rescued from being attacked by cats. Afterwards, the crow became tame and stayed in Mrs. Ankica's garden.

Alongside Krivi, other cats that live with Mrs. Ankica include Moro (Dusky), Žuti (Amber), Brzi (Speedy), Bila (Snowball), Crni repić (Blacktail). A female named Mica (Kitty) escaped from the ship and returned when they wanted to take her away to Austria. There is also a pair of identical twins with unusual, lavender-coloured fur, and they both have an injured eye. One of the males had a broken jaw, which left him with a string of saliva constantly hanging from his mouth. Moro got his name after the colour of his fur and is one of Mrs. Ankica's favourites; he is skinny and a picky eater. Moro and Bila are the only cats allowed to sleep in the house.

Silba's cats have been immortalised in the works of Marija Ujević Galetović, one of Croatia's most significant female sculptors, who is linked to Silba through family and spends most of the year there. The cat motif is inevitable in her work and one of her trademarks, particularly in her numerous sculptures of hybrid figures of women with cat's heads. On Silba, she opened the Marija Ujević Galetović Gallery, arranged as an outdoor sculpture garden, with her sculptures on display. Marija Ujević Galetović, her sculptures and the cats of Silba are also the subject of the animated film *Mačka je uvijek ženska* (*A Cat Is Always Female*, 2019) by Martina Meštrović and Tanja Vujasinović, with which the authors have honoured their professor through a feminist lens.

Similar initiatives by locals and tourists for the protection of cats on the islands are also present on the island of Prvić in Šibenik archipelago, which saw the implementation of the project entitled *Prrrrrvrić, otok sretnih mačaka i zadovoljnih ljudi* (*Prrrrrvrić, Island of Happy Cats and Contented People*). According to the 2001 census, the island of Prvić with its two boroughs, Šepurine and Luka, had 453 residents.³² The locals realised that there were more cats than people on the island and decided to do something about it. The aim of the project *Prrrrrvrić, Island of Happy Cats and Contented People* includes not only systematic neutering of the island's cats, but also the fostering of cats and educating the local community. The initiative also has a Facebook page, *Otok sretnih mačaka* (The Island of Happy Cats).³³

³² "Mačkarica – sve o mačkama" / "Cat Lady – All About Cats". <http://www.mackarica.com/vijesti/prvic-je-postao-otok-sretnih-macaka-i-zadovoljnih-ljudi/> (accessed on 2 March 2017)

³³ "Otok sretnih mačaka" / "The Island of Happy Cats". <https://www.facebook.com/Otok-sretnih-macaka-1574977072730812/?fref=ts> (accessed on 2 March 2017)

On the island of Cres, the initiative entitled *Cres Cat Rescue* was launched by academic painter Koraljka Polaček in 2016, to control the population of the island’s cats and provide them with a better life.³⁴ As a member of the Animal Protection Society of Mali Lošinj, she implements the trap-neuter-release (TNR) programme, and collaborates with the volunteers in Rijeka and Zagreb and Veterinary Clinic Rijeka – Veterinary Clinic Mali Lošinj. Alongside Koraljka, Diana Primožić from the NGO *Vis Vitalis* also participates in the neutering programme of Cres’s cats, all of which are neutered at Veterinary Clinic Rijeka.³⁵ Neutering of the island’s cats is primarily financed by the Municipality of Cres, which tends to the wellbeing of its animals. Thus far, 280 cats on Cres have been neutered, many of them received medical treatment, and more than 40 cats have been adopted. Thanks to the volunteers, a meal is provided daily for around one hundred cats at various locations on the island.³⁶ Having moved to Cres, Koraljka Polaček began artistically painting fragments of Cres stone, and cats have been the main motif of her painterly expression for quite a while. The charity sale of Koraljka’s paintings through online auctions partly covers the costs of food, medicine, and other supplies for cats.³⁷

As we can see from the study, in Croatia, city governments do not encourage necessary care for stray dogs and cats, such as the construction of public and private shelters for abandoned and lost animals. However, Croatia’s smaller islands as isolated environments serve as an example of self-organisation of the local population who, together with several tourists, jointly work on raising funds, feeding, and spaying and neutering of the island’s cats (on the example of the island of Silba).

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Translated by Mirta Jurilj

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PETIŠIZAM ILI ŽIVOTINJE U GRADU I NA OTOCIMA: SLUČAJ SILBE

SUZANA MARJANIĆ, ROSANA RATKOVČIĆ



Prvi dio članka (Suzana Marjanić) dokumentira kako gradske vlasti u Hrvatskoj ne potiču potrebnu skrb za pse i mačke lualice – gradnju državnih i privatnih skloništa (azila) za napuštene i izgubljene životinje, kao ni hranilišta. Zagreb kao glavni grad Hrvatske nema azil za mačke. Završni dio toga prvoga dijela članka dokumentira ključne animalističke izložbe u Hrvatskoj. Tako su iste godine organizirane dvije animalističke izložbe u Zagrebu – jedna likovnoanimalistička, a druga iz aspekta etnozooologije i antropologije životinja – *Sve naše životinje. Animalističke teme u hrvatskoj modernoj likovnoj umjetnosti* (Moderna galerija, Zagreb, 2017, autorica izložbe: Dajana Vlasisavljević) i *O životinjama i ljudima* (Etnografski muzej, Zagreb, 2017., autorice: Željka Petrović Osmak, Tea Rittig Šiško, Gordana Vilječić), na kojima su svoje izložbeno mjesto pronašle, naravno, i mačke.

Drugi dio teksta (Rosana Ratkovčić) upozorava kako se na hrvatskim otocima povećava broj mačaka lualica zbog kućnih ljubimaca koje dovode turisti te ih nakon završetka ljetovanja ostave na otoku. Na primjeru otoka Silbe i jedinog istimenog naselja na otoku, autorica demonstrira pozitivnu praksu samoorganiziranja lokalnog stanovništva u brizi i zaštiti otočkih mačaka lualica. Postoji nekoliko otočana koji su se isprva samoinicijativno počeli brinuti o napuštenim mačkama, okupljajući ih u svojim domovima i pružajući im hranu, zaštitu i njegu. Nedavno je pri Udruzi za zaštitu prirodne i kulturne baštine otoka Silbe osnovana sekcija „Mačić“ koja okuplja otočane i njihove goste koji zajedno rade na zaštiti mačaka. Prikuplja se novac za hranu za napuštene mačke koju članovi sekcije raznose na mjesta na kojima se mačke okupljaju. Zalaganjem Petre Hillinger, turistice iz Austrije, organizirana je velika akcija steriliziranja i kastriranja otočkih mačaka kako bi se zaustavilo povećavanje broja mačaka lualica na otoku.

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Gradivo

Materiale

Material

Naš Triglav

==== Boris Čok =====

Ko mi je prababica Marija Ban - Frigleva iz Prelož v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja pripovedovala o staroverskem izročilu, mi je že na začetku pripovedi zaupno dejala: »*To ti povem zato, ker si naš!*« Takrat sem pač mislil, da to pomeni, da sem iz iste rodbine. Pa mi je hitro pojasnila, da to nima zveze samo z rodbino, da je pomen mnogo, mnogo globlji in da bom to razumel, ko bom odrasel. In res se mi je na tak način izraz »naš« počasi odstiral s pripovedmi drugih nosilk staroverskega izročila veliko pozneje, ko sem obiskoval njihove hčere, rojene med letoma 1920 in 1930.

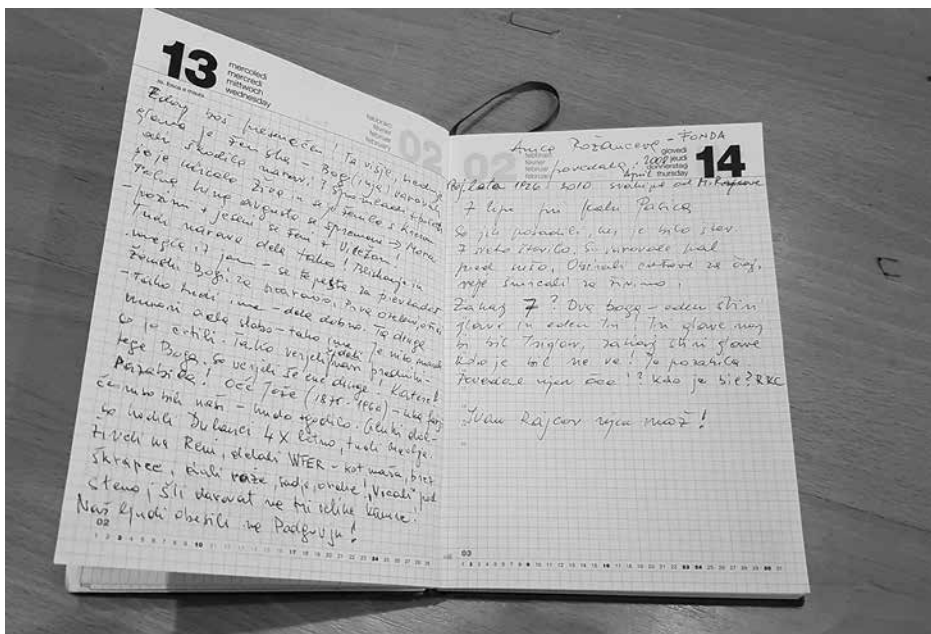
Ena izmed njih je bila tudi Marijana Mevlja (por. Božeglav), med vaščani bolj poznana kot Marija Rajceva, rojena leta 1922. Rajcevi, Ivancevi, Majlenderjevi, Kohtovi, Čaččevi, Fincetovi, Mevljovi, Vidčevi in Ulčarjevi so bile družine, ki so bile vse iz rodu s priimkom Mevlja po prvonaseljenem Matjažu. Celo njihove hiše so se držale skupaj, saj so si potomci ene družine samo dozidavali domove ob že obstoječi očetovi hiši. Med seboj so bili zelo povezani in od svoje mame nisem nikoli slišal, da bi bili kdaj hudo sprti. Seveda so bili med njimi manjši nesporazumi, a nič več kot to. Tudi moja mama Olga Ivanceva in Marija Rajceva sta si bili zelo blizu in prijateljici. Ko je morala Marija zaradi zdravstvenih težav v pozni starosti oditi v oskrbo v sežanski dom upokojencev, sem moral svojo mamo večkrat peljati k njej na obisk, tako kot k nekaterim drugim Lokavkam in Preložkam, ki so bile tam, npr. Karlina Liletova, Pepka Trepčeva, Marija Mihatova. Včasih sem šel po naročilu in priporočilu svoje mame tudi sam, da jim ponesem kaj malega, pa naj si bo samo tri pomaranče. To je bil predvsem znak pozornosti, s katerim jim je dala vedeti, da pogosto misli nanje – eden tistih prepoznavnih znakov, kaj pomeni biti »naš«. Bil je globoko zakoreninjen v podzavesti vaške skupnosti, predvsem tistega dela ljudi, ki so izhajali iz staroverske in avtohtone skupnosti. Precej prišlekov je bilo iz drugih slovenskih pokrajin; prihajali so s trebuhom za kruhom in se nastanili v naši vasi, saj dela in zaposlitve v hitro razvijajočem se Trstu ni primanjkovalo. Tudi zaledne vasi so bile pod vplivom tega razvoja, saj je skozi njega potekal predvsem furmanski promet iz pristanišča v osrčje Avstro-Ogrske in obratno. Pred izgradnjo železniške proge Dunaj–Trst (1842–1857) ali Južne železnice je glavna pot potekala prav skozi našo vas

Lokev. Zanimivo pri tem naseljevanju je bilo, da so prišleki še dolgo časa veljali za *forešte* – tujce; trajalo je kar nekaj desetletij, da so se počasi vključili v vaško skupnost. Iz pripovedi najstarejših vaščanov sem lahko zasledil, da jim niso zaupali, ker so bili preveč *farški* ali krščansko pobožni in niso ohranili niti trohice staroverstva, kar pa ni veljalo za potomce Uskokov, ki so prišli že veliko prej. Izvedel sem tudi, da Mevljev rod cerkvi ni bil preveč naklonjen že davno, davno prej, preden je prišel na oblast komunizem.

Pri enem od takih obiskov pri Mariji leta 2006 je pogovor nanesel tudi na izraz »naš«. In takrat mi je dejala brez zadržkov, da so »naši« bili in so še vsi tisti, ki so ohranili vsaj eno *majhno koreniko* stare vere. Vprašal sem jo, kaj pomeni *stara vera*, čeprav sem o tem že precej izvedel od nosilcev izročila, pa tudi iz književnosti. V oporo mi je bila predvsem knjiga *Slovanska mitologija in verovanje* (1990), ki jo je napisal Damjan J. Ovsec, in nekatere druge. Dejala mi je, da tudi ona kot otrok o tem ni vedela kaj dosti, mislila je, da so pripovedi starejših vaščanov pravlјice. Šele malo pred drugo svetovno vojno, okrog leta 1940, ji je mama Marija Petaros iz Gročane, por. Mevlja (1878–1953), povedala, da obredi priprošnje, češčenja, zaščite in oduročitve izvirajo iz stare vere, ki so jo imeli naši predniki, preden so jih na silo ali na prefinjen način pokristjanili. In še, da je njena mama vse to izvedela od svoje matere, njene none Marije Višnjevec, po rodu iz Vrhpolj. Moja tiha misel je bila, da sta to dve vasi, ki sta ohranili precej več staroverstva kot druge v bližini Lokve. Sledilo je vprašanje, ali vem, kaj predstavlja »naš Triglav«. Odgovoril sem ji, da našo najvišjo in najlepšo goro in starega boga. »*Ja, ampak ali veš, kaj predstavlja ta bog?*« je vprašala še enkrat. Samo namrščil sem obrvi in ji s tem dal vedeti, da nimam pojma, čeprav to ni bilo res; zanimalo me je, kaj mi bo povedala o tem.

Sledilo je njeno pojasnilo:

Že samo ime da vedeti, da je ta naš bog imel tri glave, to pomeni tri bogove v enem! Desna glava je bil bog Kres, ki je varoval nebo, in če ljudje niso delali dobro z naravo, jim je pošiljal strele na zemljo in jih tako kaznoval! Kamor trešči strela na tla, tam zraste njegova roža plutnek (perunika). Tega starega boga so se ljudje najbolj bali, ker so bile njegove strele nepredvidljive! Leva glava je bil bog Vilež, ki je varoval podzemlje, duše rajnkih in vile, na površju pa je ščitil domače živali. Pazil je tudi na ljudi, kaj delajo za časa življenja, in če so se prekršili proti naravi in živalim, je povzročal potrese. Ma sedaj boš pa presenečen: srednja glava, malo višja, je bila ženski bog, varovala je naravo ali ji škodovala. Spomladi in poleti je to bila Živa in je bila ljubica Kresa, ob polni luni avgusta meseca pa se je spremenila v Moro in tako postala jeseni in pozimi ljubica Vileža. Vidiš, in tako deluje tudi narava! Kadar grmi in bliska in se valijo megle iz jam, takrat se oba moška bogova tepeta za prevlado, obe ženski pa za naravo. Prva dela dobro, ko narava ozeleni in oživi, zato ima tudi tako ime. Druga dela slabo in naravo umori, zato ima tudi ona ustrezno ime. Te boginje naši predniki niso častili, ampak so jo črtili. Tako so naši predniki videli in verjeli v tega boga, tudi še ene druge! Moj oče Jožef Mevlja mi je povedal še to, če so te stvari prišle na uha farjem (ušesa župnikom), ki niso bili



Čokov zapis o Triglavu iz leta 2006.

»naši«, se je lahko marsikaj hudega zgodilo! Tako so Dulancem¹ razdejali svetišče v Gluhem dolu. Anbot (nekoč) davno nazaj so se Dulanci hodili štirikrat na leto klanjat v Gluhi dol, sedaj je od Čevitnikovih, tudi iz naše Mevljove rodovine. Takrat so še živeli na Reni. So delali wfer² podobno kot v cerkvi, samo tam niso dajali šoldu (denarja), temveč rože, sadje in take domače stvari! So se najprej vicali (očistili) pod eno veliko steno in potem šli k trem velikim kamnom.³ In so tudi kakšnega od »naših« ljudi obesili kot čarovnika ali čarovnico, so tudi to govorili ta stari, da se je dogajalo na Podgavju⁴ pri Grebenu!

Čeljust se mi je povabila od presenečenja in razburjenja, saj sem tako razlago o Triglavu slišal prvič. In takoj sem pomislil, da ni nič čudnega, da so v okolici Lokve, Divače in Prelož tri obredna mesta, ki so povezana z bogom Triglavom, njemu v nasprotje pa še cerkveni *pil* Svete trojice.

Potem mi je pripovedovala o svojih prednikih Rajcevih, da so bili zelo pridni, modri in ne preveč naklonjeni cerkvi. Kako so pridobili ogromne posesti proti Divači, Povirju in Matavunu. Pa tudi o moževih – Tončkovih *božeglavcih*, kako so bili za tiste čase izredno bistri in preudarni, čeprav so bili še nepismeni. Vse to mi je pripovedovala z velikim ponosom in občudovanjem do njih. Žal je kmalu za tem umrla in verjetno odnesla v grob še marsikatero skrivnost.

Boris Čok, Lokev

¹ Dulanci – vaščani Dulanje vasi v Lokvi, po starem imenovane Rena. *Renati* v narečju pomeni 'vzrejati, vzdrževati, npr. otroke ali celo družino'.

² *Wfer* – narečni izraz, ki verjetno izhaja iz italijanske besede *ofrire* 'podariti'. Pri maši se je šlo okrog oltarja, spotoma se je poljubilo možtranco, potem pa darovalo denar v *škrapco* – možnjiček.

³ Ti so pomenili boga Triglava (kasnejši dodatek zapisovalca – v originalnem zapisku tega ni).

⁴ Podgavjami – pod vešali.

Recenzije in
poročila o knjigah

Recensioni
di libri

Book
reviews

JIRÍ DYNDY, SLOVANSKÉ POHANSTVÍ VE STŘEDOVĚKÝCH RUSKÝCH KÁZÁNÍCH. [SLAVIC PAGANISM IN MEDIEVAL RUSSIAN HOMILETICS] PRAHA: SCRIPTORIUM 2019, 408 STRANI, 41 SLIK.

Češki religiolog in slavist Jiří Dynda je pravkar naredil naslednji korak v svojem izjemno plodnem prizadevanju za ponovno objavo pisnih virov, ki govorijo o nekrščanskem verovanju Slovanov. Potem ko je leta 2017 izšla njegova knjiga srednjeveških virov v latinščini, ki se nanašajo na prostor zahodnih Slovanov, je pravkar objavil zbirko srednjeveških pridig v stari knjižni vzhodni cerkveni slovanščini. Gre za besedila, ki poleg Pripovedi o minulih časih (znani tudi kot Nestorjeva kronika) vsebujejo najbolj znana besedila, ki jih že dolgo navajajo vsi raziskovalci verovanja starih Slovanov, zlasti vzhodnih Slovanov.

Dynda je deset najpomembnejših virov razvrstil enega ob drugem, z originalnimi besedili različnih redakcij in v vzporednem češkem prevodu. To bralcu omogoča pregledne strukturne primerjave in raziskovanje morebitnih povezav. A sopostavljeni viri predstavljajo samo tretjino obsega knjige; prvi dve tretjini zavzemajo komentarji, predvsem pa obširna analiza pripovedi. Pri tem gre za tekstnokritične literarnozgodovinske prijeme, ponekod pa tudi za vsebinske primerjave s poročili latinskih virov in celo za primerjave z nekaterimi folklornimi izročili. Vse to je namenjeno iskanju odgovora na osnovno vprašanje: kaj je tisto, na kar pridigarji ciljajo.

Medtem ko je povsem nedvoumno, da so avtorji krščanski duhovniki, ni tako jasno, kdo so njihovi poslušalci. Besedila so v precejšnji meri kompilacija starejših predlog. Gre za boljše ali slabše prevode iz bizantinskih grških besedil kot tudi za

odlomke starejših cerkvenoslovanskih spisov. To osnovno gradivo so pisci nato predelali do te mere, da so besedila postala razumljiva novemu občinstvu. Žal ni trdnih meril, ki bi pomagala razločevati med literarnimi umotvori piscev in opisi splošno znanih realij v njihovem življenjskem okolju. To dobro kaže zgodovina raziskav, ki jo Dynda vestno dodaja posamičnim primerom. Iz nje je razvidno, da je pristop posameznih interpretov močno individualno arbitraren. Kar nekateri jemljejo za čisto resnico, je drugim literarna izmišljotina. Seveda ima pri tem veljavo zdravorazumska predpostavka, da so imeli pisci pridig opraviti z nečim realnim, kar so razumeli kot odklon od pravovernega krščanstva. Če bi bile vse njihove navedbe čista izmišljotina, bi nastal problem motivacije, zakaj se sploh vznemirjajo. Dynda tako krmari med Scilo fantazije in Karibdo čiste resnice, pri čemer se ne boji povedati lastnega mnenja, čeprav ve, da je subjektivno. Tak pristop mu štejem v dobro, kajti načelno ne zaupam avtorjem, ki razglašajo lastno nepristranost in navidezno objektivnost. Kaj takega namreč ne more obstajati.

Dynda odklone, ki jih opisujejo pridige, obravnava kot dediščino poganskih navad, verovanj in ritualov, ki pa jo je treba presojeti v kontekstu krščanske kulture, v kontekstu tamkajšnje srednjeveške in novoveške religioznosti, ki je imela sinkretični sestav iz različnih delov, vendar je vseeno delovala celostno. S tem skuša tudi preseči pojem *dvojeverja*, ki je v srednjem veku, po njegovi analizi, pomenil dvoličnost in so mu šele moderni avtorji podelili pomen hkratne vere v dva religiozna sistema. To izločanje dvojeverja je rdeča nit Dyndove spremne študije. Morda bi se komu zdelo, da gre za njegovo raziskovalno kaprico, vendar je mnogo več kot to. Gre za paradigmatično

drugačen pogled na tedanje verske razmere, ki omogoča drugačna raziskovalna vprašanja. Od vprašanj pa so odvisni odgovori, ki jih iščemo. Že samo iz Dyndovih navajanj je razvidno, da se interpretiranje religije vzhodnih Slovanov že dolgo vrti v istih krogih, ki jih določata vera in dvom, ne pa povečevanje razumevanja. To stanje lahko preseka samo povsem nova vprašanja.

Ponovno je treba poudariti, da so avtorji virov o verovanju Slovanov krščanski duhovniki in da smo odvisni od njihove optike. Njihovi opisi so samo odmev nečesa. Česa? Kaj so videli? Kaj so razumeli? Kako so razumeli? Kaj so bili pripravljeni napisati? In če govorimo o omenjenih pridigah, so bile te zelo očitno namenjene kristjanom, nemalokrat so govorile celo o neprimernem obnašanju krščanskih duhovnikov. Kot da stojimo pred nevidnim informacijskim zidom.

Trdim, da nam prehod preko tega zidu pomaga ustvariti folkloristično gradivo, ki sta ga v zahodni Sloveniji našla Pavel Medvešček (*Iz nevidne strani neba: razkrite skrivnosti staroverstva*, Studia mythologica Slavica, Supplementa, suppl. 12, Ljubljana 2015) in Boris Čok (*V siju mesečine*, Studia mythologica Slavica, Supplementa, suppl. 5, Ljubljana 2012). Oba podajata prvoosebne izpovedi ljudi, ki so neodvisno od krščanstva ohranili svojo staro vero do naših dni. Na tem mestu ni pomembno, koliko je ta vera podobna tisti iz srednjega veka, zadošča že samo to, da gre za pogled z druge strani informacijskega zidu. In sedaj imamo možnost preveriti, kaj ta pogled pomeni na krščanski strani zidu.

Navedel bom samo en primer. Gre za globoko prepričanje o starosti domače vere, predvsem o tem, da je starejša od krščanstva, ki se je uveljavilo kasneje. To prepričanje je pomembno v sporu o tem, kdo je bolj upravičen do obstoja v nekem prostoru, do

obstoja, ki pomeni vero kot način življenja. In v takem sporu je normalno, da se argumentacija poenostavi na vprašanje, čigav bog je starejši. Ko postavimo to vprašanje, postanemo pozorni na pridigo (Pridiga in razodetje svetih apostolov), ki je Dynda ni uvrstil v svoj izbor in mimogrede omenja samo njen odlomek (str. 51). Ta pridiga namreč trdi, da so bili Perun, Hors, Div, Trojan nekoč ljudje v Rimu, Grčiji, na Cipru in drugod, ki so jih pozneje ljudje začeli lažnivo častiti po božje. Dynda odlomek obravnava kot literarno zanimivost. V luči vprašanja, čigav bog je starejši, pa dobi izjemno velik pomen. Domislica avtorja pridige je seveda brez tega vprašanja brez motivacije in navidezno naključna. Vendar ni, dokazuje, da je tudi tedaj obstajala živa diskusija o tem, čigav bog je starejši, dokazuje, da je ob krščanski skupnosti obstajala nesinkretična skupnost starovercev, ki se je borila za svojo identiteto in jo skušala ohraniti. Dokazuje, da je tudi pokristjanjena javnost verjela v večjo starost naštetih bogov, kar je pisec lahko razvednil samo s trditvijo, da so res starejši, da pa so lažni, ker so bili v resnici to nekoč ljudje.

Primer kaže, kako odlično je sestavljena knjiga Jiříja Dynde – je kot instrument, iz katerega lahko izvabimo nove zvoke, če le znamo najti pravo struno in nanjo zabrenkati.

Andrej Pleterski, Ljubljana

Navodila avtorjem

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