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Razprave

Studi

Articles

An Ithyphallic Idol from the Monastery of St. Naum near Ohrid

— Nikos Chausidis, Igor Eftimovski —

Članek predstavlja kamniti idol, ki se nahaja na dvorišču samostana sv. Nauma pri Ohridu. Odkrit je bil znotraj samostanskih meja oz. nekje v njegovi okolici, čas odkritja pa ni znan. Avtorja podajata opis spomenika, domneve o njegovi nekdanji podobi in analizo njegovih ikonografskih elementov s poudarkom na itifaličnosti in postavitvi rok. Članek skozi analogije ocenjuje kronološko in kulturno pripadnost idola z argumenti v prid morebitnega pogansko-slovanskega značaja. Spomenik je interpretiran tudi v kontekstu mitološkega in verskega izročila regije, s poudarkom na lokalnem kultu sv. Nauma in legendi o tem, kako je vpregel medveda. V tej smeri so v članku predstavljeni tudi okoliški toponimi, ki vsebujejo pogansko-slovanske teonime, med katerimi prevladujejo tisti htonične narave. Dodelitev značilnosti idola je nato izpeljana na podlagi primerjave njegove ikonografije s področji sv. Nauma kot krščanskega naslednika upodobljenega lika: poljedelstvo, živinoreja, voda, obrt, trgovina, pa tudi zdravljenje, zlasti neplodnosti in mentalnih bolezni.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kamniti idol, paleo-balkansko poganstvo, slovansko poganstvo, krščanstvo, folklorna tradicija, samostan sv. Nauma, Ohrid (Makedonija)

The article presents a stone idol located in the courtyard of the monastery of St. Naum near Ohrid, discovered within its boundaries or somewhere in its surroundings at an unknown date. The authors offer a description of the monument, assumptions about its former appearance, and an analysis of its iconographic elements, with an emphasis on ithyphallicity and the pose of the hands. Through analogies, the article assesses the chronological and cultural affiliation of the idol, with arguments in favor of its potential Pagan-Slavic character. The monument is also observed in context of the mythological and religious traditions of the region, with a focus on the local cult of St. Naum and the legend of how he yoked a bear. In that direction, presented in the article are also the surrounding toponyms that contain Pagan-Slavic theonyms, with a predominance of those of a chthonic nature. The attribution and character of the idol is then derived on the basis of comparing its iconography with the domains of St. Naum as the depicted character's Christian successor: agriculture, livestock, water, crafts, trade, as well as healing, especially of childlessness and mental illness.

KEYWORDS: stone idol, Paleo-Balkan Paganism, Slavic Paganism, Christianity, folk traditions, St. Naum Monastery, Ohrid (Macedonia)

The famous monastery of St. Naum lies on the southeast shore of Lake Ohrid, 34 kilometres from the city of Ohrid (T.XVIII: 1). It is located in attractive natural surroundings, where large springs emerge from the foot of Mount Galičica, their water forming a short riverbed and lagoon with two islets before flowing into the lake (T.I: 1, 2, 5). In the first hagiography of St. Naum they are called “исход Белаго Езера” (“the source of the White Lake/the source of Lake Ohrid”). Nowadays they are known as the springs of the Black

Drin River because this river flows out at the opposite end of the lake, near the present day city of Struga (T.XVIII: 1). The monastery is located on the western edge of this natural complex, built on a rock that rises steeply above the lake (T.I: 1, 5). It consists of a central church dedicated to St. Naum (originally dedicated to the Holy Archangels), surrounded by living quarters and ancillary buildings. Written sources and archeological findings indicate that it was built in 900 or 905 CE by St. Naum of Ohrid, as a counterpart to the church of St. Panteleimon, erected in 893 CE in the city of Ohrid by St. Clement of Ohrid. These churches were built after Ss. Naum and Clement returned from the mission of Ss. Cyril and Methodius for the christianization and enliteration of the Slavs in Moravia and Pannonia. During Ottoman rule, Naum's church was demolished, along with its later extensions, and the present temple was constructed in its place in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to archaeological research, the temple partially retained the plan of the old structure. Most of the ancillary monastery buildings are of a more recent date, built after the great fire that engulfed the complex in 1875. In the immediate vicinity of the monastery there are also three newer churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary (T.I: 3), St. Paraskeva (T.I: 4) and St. Athanasius (T.I: 5).¹

The subject of this study is a stone monument, now located in the monastery yard on a plinth near the northeast corner of the church (T.II). Doncho Petrovski, who has been working as the host of the monastery for more than 25 years, told us that the object was discovered during one of the monastery's recent renovations. It was probably built into one of the ancillary buildings.² According to the given statement and the absence of this object in the archaeological reports that refer to the named region, it can be concluded that it is a random find that was not discovered during archaeological excavations.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT (T.II)

The monument consists of a block of olive-coloured sandstone carved into an approximately cylindrical shape, with a height of about 57 cm and a diameter of about 28 cm. On the front a sculpted relief depicts a human figure, while the other parts do not have any pictorial elements. Its surface shows traces of various secondary actions by man and nature, and is significantly eroded. Meanwhile, the rear and upper parts have traces of moss and lichen (T.II: 1, 2, 3, 5). On the back, there are some small lumps of weak mortar that easily crumbles and falls off (T.II: 5), while on the front there are clearly visible traces of a white coating of lime (T.II: 4). The presence of mortar on the back supports the assumption that this side of the object was embedded in one of the monastery buildings,

¹ On the monastery, the monastery church, the life and activity of St. Naum: Грозданов 2015; on the construction of the church: Миљковиќ – Пенек 1985; on the ancillary buildings and the monastery's more recent history: Целакоски 1985.

² We took the photos and carried out the observations and conversation with the host in July 2010. In 2019, the same person and Father Nectarios (the abbot of the church) told us that the monument was found in one of the warehouses of the monastery lodgings (information obtained by Dragan Taneski from the Institute and Museum in Ohrid).

while the lime coating could indicate that the sculpted relief side protruded from the face of the wall and was whitewashed together with it.

As we have mentioned, the front of the monument features a relief with a frontally depicted anthropomorphic figure. However, the true proportions of the human body and other principles of realism have not been respected (T.II: 4).

Upper part

The artist dedicated much more attention to the head, which is disproportionate to the rest of the body, and is in fact as large as the figure's entire torso (T.II: 4; T.XII: 1). It is modelled in the form of an egg-shaped segment executed in high relief, the eyes being in the form of shallow indentations (quite close to each other), the mouth is extremely small, and the nostrils continue into the nose whose present unimpressiveness seems to be due to the damage caused by erosion and mechanical action. The oversized cheeks are especially eye-catching, as they are completely fused with the chin, leaving the impression of a stout figure. The ears are executed in a particularly plastic manner, and above them a shallow horizontal ridge extends from one end of the forehead to the other. It could represent three different elements: a shallow hemispherical hat, a helmet, or hair cut as a flat horizontal edge. There are three circular indentations on the chin that are neither symmetrical nor equal in size, and obviously do not represent a facial element. In the place where the neck should be (it is completely absent), under the lower edge of the head, extends a protruding arched segment that could be identified with some item of clothing (scarf, roll-collar), or with jewellery (torc or other similar jewellery for the neck). The fact that on the left this segment does not end at the neck (it does not go behind it), but continues up to the ear, suggests it could symbolise a rope, i.e. a loop or noose.

Middle part

The arms begin below the above segment, and descend downwards from the barely perceptible shoulders. The left arm is shorter and slightly bent at the elbow, while the right one is a little longer and also slightly bent at the elbow (T.II: 4). Both arms end with stylized hands, each of which has five short little fingers. Between the arms we can recognize the contours of the torso, which gradually narrows as it extends downwards. Its surface is carved roughly and has no discernible details.

Lower part

The lower part of the monument, where the figure's hands end, has two circular segments. One of them is preserved in full height, in the form of a clearly protruding hemisphere, while all that remains of the other is the base, probably due to the greater extent of erosion or some kind of mechanical damage (T.II: 3, 4, 6). Judging by the shape and position of these segments, it can be concluded that they represent testicles, and are quite enlarged in relation to the other parts of the body. Below these circular segments, the monument

is significantly damaged, so it is impossible to make out what the lower part may have looked like.

Assumptions regarding the appearance of the lost lower part of the monument

If we agree that the two hemispherical protrusions represent testicles, it seems logical that they were accompanied by some kind of representation of a phallus, which was lost along with the lower part of the monument. This could potentially be indicated by the indentation between the testicles, which could be the result of it having broken off (T.II: 4). There are therefore two theories concerning the appearance of this organ, which must also have had oversized dimensions if it was proportionate with the testicles. The first theory posits that it was analogous to the whole monument, was sculpted in relief, and extended downwards (T.III: 4, 5). According to the second theory, it protruded forwards, surpassing the testicles (T.III: 6). However, we think that the soft structure of the sandstone from which the monument is carved would not have allowed it to have been modelled as a particularly elongated and thin segment. There are also two theories concerning the appearance of the lost lower part of the object. According to the first, the figure's legs would have been represented here, probably in proportions and style that corresponded with the torso and the arms (T.III: 3). The second theory posits that nothing other than the phallus was depicted in this part (T.III: 4 – 6).

Unlike the monument's vertex, which has a slightly concave surface and no traces of recent fracturing (T.II), the lower end has sharper edges, which indicate secondary fragmentation. This fact raises the question of the dimensions of the lost lower part and the original height of the entire object, and thus of its character, function, and manner of placement. If it is assumed that the object continued downwards at least as far as its preserved height today, then the monument was like a pillar (with some kind of symbolic function), which could have been planted in the ground or into some other surface (T.III: 1, 3, 5, 6). According to the second theory, the lost part was not so long, whereby the supposed phallus in relief would have been partially buried in the ground, with certain symbolic implications (T.III: 4). If it is assumed that the object did not exceed the dimensions preserved today, then it would have represented a vertical stone block with a flat base adapted for being placed onto some horizontal platform or pedestal (T.III: 2).

The flat (or even slightly concave) surface of the vertex (T.II: 2 – 4) suggests it may have been adapted for performing rituals, for example libations, leaving offerings on its surface, or even for the sacrifice, i.e. the slaughter of small animals. For this assumption to be deemed acceptable, the monument should not exceed the optimal height for performing these acts – somewhere between 80 and 120 cm (T.III: 1, 2).

DATING OF THE MONUMENT

We cannot yet present facts and observations (typological, stylistic, or coming from the exact sciences) that would ensure the monument's precise dating. According to the first

impression, its general form, the choice of material and the style of craftsmanship, are not typical of the ancient stone monuments in this part of the Balkans, created in the spirit of Hellenic, Hellenistic and Roman culture. The presence of accentuated genitalia suggests it is not of Christian origin. Hence, it seems more probable that this object dates back to either the prehistoric and protohistoric periods (approximately to the middle of the 1st millennium BCE), the Early Middle Ages (to the period of mass Christianization of the Slavs settled in this part of the Balkans), or to the folkloric traditions that date from the Late Middle Ages to the early 20th century. We will try to get closer to answering the question about the age of this monument based on the comparative analyses presented in the following chapters.

In one of our older works we quoted excerpts from a medieval source, allegedly from the old hagiography of St. Naum, in which it was said on two occasions that this saint refused to allow the Macedonian Slavs to venerate idols: "... Кумири бо камени и дрвени сут вештију (се нешта кои) не видјат, ни слишат ... еретици же не клањајутсја иконам, но кумири нарицајутсја" (Чаусидис 1994, 357).³ This quote would serve as excellent textual support for the medieval and probable pagan⁴ Slavic character of the idol from the monastery of St. Naum, if it did not turn out that its author mistakenly connected it with the hagiography of this saint.⁵ The quoted excerpts do indeed exist, however, not in the indicated hagiography, but in the work entitled "Treatise Against the Bogomils", by Presbyter Cosmas, which dates back to between the 10th and 13th centuries: "*Горше бо соут' коумиръ глуухыхъ и слѣпныхъ: коумири бо камени и дрвени соуце вецїю "не видат', ни слышат'". Еретици же мысли ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ч'скыя имѣюще, самовольствомъ вкаманѣша, не познаша истиннаго оученїа. Нв к бѣсомъ ли приложя я?"*"⁶ (They are worse than the deaf and blind idols: for idols are made of wood and stone – they cannot see, or hear. The heretics, instead, have the thoughts of humans. They voluntarily turned themselves to stone and did not learn the true teachings. But can they be compared with devils?).

These quotations can still be included in this study as a potential historical source that indirectly points to the presence of such pagan idols in the Ohrid region. The reason for this is given to us by the hypotheses put forward that this work originated in Western Macedonia or Albania, and even in Ohrid, within the circle of the Ohrid Literary School (Драгојловиќ 1982: 47–50; Велев 2011: 25–43; Чаусидис 2003: 320). If any of them are accepted, then these words in the book by Presbyter Cosmas could be the result of his real insight into such stone and wooden idols in the above regions. This would also

³ "Koumiri (idols) made of stone and wood are things that cannot see or hear ... the heretics do not bow to icons, but call them koumiri (idols)".

⁴ The use of the word "pagan" in this paper is not in any way intended to be derogatory, but is understood as "rural folk religion" (based on its etymological origin from the Latin *pāgānus* = rural, rustic).

⁵ The sources were cited according to references from: Петровић 1970: 150 (newer edition: Петровић 1998, 212).

⁶ Велев 2011: 25–43 with presented bibliography, 55 (translation of the quote in Macedonian), 118 (quote in Old Slavonic); the term *коумиръ* in this work is used one more time, in the subsequent paragraph, when the author mentions that the heretics do not bow to icons, but call them idols ("... еретици же не кланяют сѧ иконамъ, но коумиры нарицають ѣ").

be supported by other parts of his work, in which he corroborates his criticisms and recommendations with examples that he obviously experienced himself during his direct contacts and activities with believers and converted heretics (Велев 2011: 39). In this case, the use of the Old Slavic (pre-Christian) term *коумиръ* is also indicative, specifically as an equivalent of the Greek *εἰδωλον*, whose genesis leads to Alano-Ossetian templates (Львов 1967).

ICONOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS AND THEIR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

On this occasion we are not able to present analogies that would fully or largely correspond to the form and iconography of the monument from the monastery of St. Naum. However, such analogies can be presented in relation to the individual iconographic elements that are present on it. In this chapter we will conduct a comparative analysis that we think will contribute to elucidating the chronological and cultural affiliation of the object, as well as the nature, meaning and functions of the character represented on it.

a) General composition and pose of the figure (ithyphallic figure in a standing position with arms lowered towards the genitals)

— GRAVESTONES FROM VUKSANLEKAJ/VUKSANLEKIĆI (T.IV)

As analogies closest to the objects from St. Naum in a morphological and geographical sense, we can consider the gravestones from the necropolis in Vuksanlekaj/Vuksanlekići near Tuzi in Montenegro, which date to the 17th and 18th centuries CE, and are associated with members of the Albanian ethnographic group known as the Malissori (T.IV: 1 compare with 2 – 6).⁷ The similarity between them is detectable at the level of the pose of the represented human figures, but also in some other specific elements. This especially refers to the specific pose of their arms which are slightly bent at the elbows, lowered towards the abdomen and groin, and end with small spread palms. In some cases, the style is also similar to that of the Ohrid monument. In two cases, there is an elongated segment below the right arm that interferes with the phallus (T.IV: 2, 3), however probably not directly but indirectly - as a remnant of some older templates whose original meaning in the meantime may have been forgotten or even changed, perhaps in the sense of a knife, a sword scabbard or something else (Autoresh 2015: 34, 53). The similarity also refers to the depiction of the heads and torsos of the figures in different techniques, whereby the former are executed in a higher relief, while the latter are shallower. On one gravestone, a shallow rib shape protrudes from the forehead of the large figure, similarly to the Ohrid monument, which in this case could also denote a hat, helmet or a specific hairstyle (T.IV: 4 compare with 1).

A common component of the compared objects should be their vertical disposition and the stone as the material from which they are made. But we should also not neglect

⁷ On the gravestones: Bešlagić 1970; Autoresh 2015.

the differences, given that the monuments from Vuksanlekaj/Vuksanlekići are not conceptualized as cylindrical pillars but as stelae, i.e. vertically placed slabs. If the proposed parallels are accepted, then the mentioned similarities could indicate two local variations of some more general regional tradition, whereby the differences would be due to the significant geographical (and probably also chronological) distance between the compared objects. In this context, the monument from St. Naum gives the impression of an older (or at least more archaic) manifestation of this phenomenon, whereby it seems more probable that it did not have a funerary character, but was used as a cult object (“idol”) within the context of some kind of sacred space. However, the funerary character of the monuments from Vuksanlekaj/Vuksanlekići still suggests caution regarding the rejection of the possibility that the Ohrid monument also had a funerary character.

On this occasion, we leave open the question of how the Malissori, whose native area is the region of Malësia (northern Albania) and the southeastern edge of Montenegro, could fit into the indicated relations. They represent a group of several separate tribes that speak Albanian, have an Albanian identity, and are either Catholic or Muslim. However, as with all other Balkan ethnic groups, the history and ethnogenesis of this group is complex, debatable and burdened with various political and nationalistic tendencies. It is mainly polarized between theses about their purely Albanian (autochthonous Illyrian or Paleo-Balkan) or Slavic, and even specifically Serbian, origin (Durham 1909; Јовићевић 1923: 73–79). In our case, the presence of an area having the same name in the surroundings of the Ohrid region may be indicative. We are referring to the area of Malesia, located about twenty kilometres north of the northern shore of Lake Ohrid.⁸

— ANCIENT FIGURES OF PRIAPUS (T.V)

In general terms, the same features also accompany the pictorial representations of the god Priapus and similar ancient deities that were usually depicted in a standing pose, with an erect and often oversized phallus. In some iconographic variants, the arms of the depicted character are lowered towards this organ (Dunleavy 2018; Stanković-Pešterac 2017). The representation from the Ohrid monument cannot be directly related to these examples because they are executed in a more or less realistic style with harmonized (and even idealized) proportions, solid posture and a detailed depiction of all the elements of the human body (T.V: 2, 3, 5). The modest representations of this god in the form of miniature bronze figurines, mass-produced for the needs of the average population, resemble it more closely (T.V: 6, 7). In these objects, most often used as votive objects or amulets, the pose and proportions of the figure are not so perfect, while the details are frequently neglected. Although in such figurines the small schematic hands directed towards the hypertrophied and stylized phallus come to the fore much more (making them resemble the monument from St. Naum more closely), they still adhere to the true proportions and the real contours of the human figure.

⁸ According to B. Rusić, the region's name is Albanian (*mal`esi*, meaning *hills*), although it was not originally inhabited by an Albanian population (Русић 1953: 7–9).

— RELIEF FROM MARIUPOL AND BRONZE AMULETS FROM EASTERN EUROPE (T.VI)

A relief whose pose and other features are similar to the Ohrid monument can be found on a partially preserved stone stele discovered in a kurgan near the village of Pikuzy near Mariupol (northern shore of the Sea of Azov), dating to between the 5th and 7th centuries CE. (T.VI: 2, 3 compare with 1) (Швецов 1980). The similarities are in the arms of the depicted figure, i.e. their orientation towards the genitals, which in this case are also represented by an oversized phallus and testicles. There are also similarities in the form of the head – the full cheeks, small mouth, the line on the forehead, which in this case denotes the edge of a helmet or hat with a pointed top, as well as in the absence of a neck. Certain similarities can also be noticed in regards to the style of execution, which is characterized by a high degree of stylization of the figure. The pose of the depicted character and other basic features share similarities with a category of bronze objects (conditionally named amulets), shaped in the form of schematized male ithyphallic figures (T.VI: 11 – 13). They are found in the wider area of the Eurasian steppes (often in women’s and children’s graves), and date back to between the 4th and 8th centuries CE. They are associated with various ethnic groups from this area, mainly from the circle of Iranian-speaking ones (Sarmatians, Alans), with whose mediation they probably also reached the Northern Black Sea region from the northern Caucasus. Their presence in this region is confirmed by several such specimens, which probably also influenced the formation of the stele from Pikuzy.⁹ On this occasion, especially interesting to us are the more realistic versions of these objects, that are increasingly being discovered on the territory of Ukraine and neighboring countries (T.VI: 4 – 6). Judging by the form and style of execution, they show similarities with the appliques of the “Martynovka” type, which at the same time points to their somewhat younger dating (7th century CE) and probable relations with the Slavs, i.e. the Antes (compare with T.VI: 7, 8).¹⁰ In the search for the genesis of these traditions (which has not yet been resolved), we propose to also include older objects from the Caucasus and Iran (examples T.VI: 9, 10). Despite the significant chronological gap, connections are evident not only in the iconography, but also in their purpose (as pendants).

The notable similarity of the indicated finds with the idol from St. Naum can be justified by certain historical processes that took place between the Northern Black Sea region and the Central and Southern Balkans. We can consider the main component of this connection to be the Antes – a specific group of early Slavic tribes formed in Eastern Europe, whose ethnogenesis included a significant share belonging to the non-Slavic, i.e. Iranian-speaking populations, including the autochthonous ethnic groups of the Northern Black Sea region. This is also the reason behind their non-Slavic ethnonym Antes, which in the earliest sources refers to Iranian-speaking ethnic groups. It is thought that during the great migrations, precisely the tribes of this group settled the eastern parts of

⁹ Вдовченков 2010; Вдовченков 2019; Ковалевская 1983; Швецов 1980.

¹⁰ They have mainly been found during illegal excavations, without adequate information on the site of discovery and the archaeological context. Photographs of them have been posted on the websites of illegal excavators, while several have been collected in the monograph by A. N. Spasovnykh (Спасёных 2020: 107–114, 137, 138, 269, 184).

the Balkan Peninsula, as well as the regions of Macedonia and Greece.¹¹ We can take two groups of finds from the above-mentioned parts of the Peninsula to be indicators of these movements. The first are the metal plaques from the Velestino hoard in Thessaly (T.X: 2 – 8), whose form clearly shows the same genetic line indicated above – starting with the oldest such examples from the Northern Caucasus (T.VI: 8), then the examples from the so-called Martynovka hoards (T.VI: 7, from the 6th century CE), all the way to the plaques from Velestino (T.X: 2 – 8, from the 7th-8th centuries CE) (Akhmedov 2018; Щеглова 2010; Szmoniewski 2008). The second group consists of bronze amulets from the Komani - Kruja culture, represented by rich finds from the territories of Albania, Montenegro, Dalmatia, and the northern shoreline of Lake Ohrid. Of particular interest to us in this case are the rings that show an encircled human figure (T.VII: 1 from “St. Erasmus” near Ohrid and T.VII: 2 from Mati in Albania). Objects with an analogous form or iconography can be traced to the other two Eastern European areas: the North Caucasus (T.VII: 9 – 14) and medieval Russia (T.VII: 6 – 8), but also in the Pannonian region (T.VII: 3 – 5) (Чаусидис 1991; Чаусидис 1992; Ефтимовски 2020). The idol from St. Naum fits in well with this line. According to the appearance of the depicted figure, it comes close to the Caucasian (T.VI: 1 compare with 8, 11 – 13), the Martynovka (T.VI: 1 compare with 7, indirectly also with 4 – 6) and the Velestino analogies (T.X: 2 – 8), while the place of discovery corresponds with the amulets from the Komani-Kruja culture (T.VII: 1, 2). The latter also show relations with the corresponding finds from the North Caucasus (T.VII: 9 – 14) and the Martynovka complex (T.VI: 7).

– MEANING OF THE POSE OF THE ARMS

In the three examples mentioned above (T.IV – T.VI), the position of the arms is particularly eye-catching. In the latter two, as well as in the Ohrid monument, they are directed towards the genitals. This pose can allude to several different actions, and according to the details, it can also have several meanings. If the arms are only directed towards the genitals, they can have a primarily optical role to direct the observer’s view and attention towards these organs (T.V; T.VI). However, if the hands are placed on the phallus itself, they could indirectly indicate the act of masturbation or even the sexual act, i.e. using the hands to direct the phallus towards the vaginal opening. In the case of the Ohrid monument, the first option seems more probable (pointing to, and thus emphasizing the functions and meanings of the genitals), however, given the high degree of stylization, it should not be excluded that the sculptor and the statue’s users may have had in mind one of the other indicated meanings. Perhaps the lack of skill or other technical reasons meant these other meanings were not presented in a more explicit, and realistic way.

It is worth mentioning another example that is unusual in its character and form. It is an extremely archaic wooden object with a cult character (carbon-dated to the middle of

¹¹ On these components in the ethnogenesis of the Antes and of the Slavs in general: Седов 1994, 277–279; Седов 1995, 80–84; Трубачев 2003, 49–53; Pleterski 1995, 550–552; Лома 1993; Vinski 1994; Чаусидис 2003, 103–105; a skeptical approach towards the Slavic character of the Antes: Szmoniewski 2010; on the Iranian components in the Slavic pagan religion: Топоров 1989; Дудко 1991; Borissoff 2014; Чаусидис 2003, 141–171.

the 1st millennium BCE), discovered in a bog at Broddenbjerg near Viborg (Denmark), which actually represents an adapted natural element, i.e. a set of three branches whose modification (and especially the modelling of a human head at the top) resulted in an ithyphallic figure (T.V: 4) (Johansen 1981; *Broddenbjerg* 2021). In this case, the phallus was accentuated using the opposite approach – by omitting the arms.

b) Elements in the area of the neck and head

– ARCHED RIB IN THE AREA OF THE NECK

We have already noted that the arched rib that extends below the head of the monument from St. Naum can be identified as an item of clothing or jewellery. In the first case, it could either be a scarf or a roll-collar that covers the neck, while in the second case - a torc or some other type of jewellery intended for this part of the body. This element is present in various cultures, but we will single out the examples that are associated with the Celts, Scythians and Slavs.

In the Celtic examples, this motif is depicted more specifically and more clearly than in the Ohrid idol, so there is no doubt that it represents a torc (T.VIII; T.X: 9 – 11 compare with 1). However, the combination of the torc with ithyphallicity in certain Celtic examples imposes the need to carefully consider this potential genetic connection. The most interesting Celtic analogy is the anthropomorphic sculpture from Hirschlanden (Germany), which is made of limestone and dated to the Late Hallstatt period (6th–5th centuries BCE, T.VIII: 5). It depicts a life-size man wearing only a conical hat (possible reference to a glans penis?), a torc and a belt with a dagger. One of his arms is bent in the area of the chest, and the other on the abdomen. In the crotch area, a pair of testicles is depicted along with a phallus in relief that extends upwards, but its size is not over-emphasised (Green 2004, 68–69; Karwowski 2012, 199; *Hirschlanden* 2021). Torcs are also a common element among the Celtic miniature ithyphallic bronze figurines. One such impressive example has been discovered at Prašník (Slovakia), which depicts an anthropomorphic figure with a torc, bent arms, two circlets in the area of the chest, testicles and a phallus extending upwards (T.VIII: 2, another similar specimen 3). The hermaphroditic character of the figure cannot be excluded if we take into account the circlets on the chest (breasts/nipples), and especially the oval indentation on the abdomen (opening into the womb equated with the vulva?) (similar solutions: Чаусидис 2020: 58, 59; T.3: 6). Another example worth mentioning is the bronze figurine from Oberleiserberg (Austria) which, unlike the previous ones, is characterized by hypertrophy of the phallus (T.VIII: 4). This figurine could also be treated as an anthropomorphized phallus, whereby the strongly stylized head symbolises a glans penis, while the torc takes on the role of a praeputium (Karwowski 2012). Based on archaeological and historical data, it is assumed that the torc had strong symbolic value in Celtic culture, denoting high military or social status, power, wealth and belonging to the community (Green 2004: 40–47). The torc is a common attribute in the representations of the Celtic mythical character known as Cernunnos – a deity with deer antlers, which is associated with the underworld, fertility, vegetation, animals and commerce (T.VIII: 6) (Bober 1951; Green 2004: 42–45, 177).

To summarize the results of the above comparisons, we may conclude that Celtic figures have a higher degree of anthropomorphism (as opposed to columnarity), that there are differences in the pose of the hands, and the proportions of the phallus are realistic (with the exception of the last example T.VIII: 4). In opposition to this, the indicated comparisons gain in their significance if we take into account the confirmed presence in the Ohrid region of Celtic cultural elements dating to the Hellenistic period.¹² However, it must be noted that these are incidental examples of graves with deposited Celtic weapons and military equipment, which do not necessarily indicate the presence in this region of some more integral forms of Celtic culture.¹³

The Scythian analogies seem to correspond better because the indicated motif in their case, as in the monument from St. Naum, is indefinite, i.e. is not accompanied by any elements that would determine its more specific character (T.IX). They are represented by a rather numerous category of columnar stone monuments (so far numbering over 150 specimens), spread over the territory of the North Black Sea region – from Dobrudja in the west to the North Caucasus in the east (T.IX: 2 – 8 compare with 1). They date from between the 7th and 3rd centuries BCE, and are associated mainly with the Scythians, but also with some other populations from this region. Several specimens have been found in situ, at the tops of burial mounds, which is why the prevailing opinion is that they were used as funerary monuments placed over the tombs of prominent individuals from the mentioned societies. The appendage to the necks of these monuments most commonly appears in a form quite similar to the Ohrid version, in the form of a thick, smooth and arched segment, but there are also examples where it is twisted, divided by transverse grooves or even duplicated. These parallels gain significance due to two other elements that are also present in the Ohrid monument. The first is the phallus and testicles which in some of these monuments are depicted in shallow relief under the belt of the portrayed character (T.IX: 2 – 4 compare with 1). The second is the arms, which are also lowered and often symmetrical, but the hands, unlike the Ohrid example, (with rare exceptions) do not cross the line of the belt (T.IX: 3 – 5 compare with 1).¹⁴

Regarding the arched element at the neck, the Slavic analogies have shown themselves to be particularly indicative, especially the metal plaques from the Velestino hoard in Thessaly, which date back to the 7th and 8th centuries CE, and are associated with the Slavic tribe of the Belegezites whose presence in this region is confirmed by written sources relating to these centuries (T.X: 2 – 8 compare with 1).¹⁵ They have special significance in our analyses due to their relative geographical proximity to the region from which the monument from St. Naum hails, their early medieval dating, and their Pagan

¹² Guštin & Kuzman & Malenko 2011; Ardjanliev 2014; Guštin & Kuzman & Preložnik 2014.

¹³ In specific cases, for example, they could be the graves of Celtic mercenaries or of locals who in some way gained possession of equipment typical of Celtic warriors.

¹⁴ Overview and basic information: Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994; on the various poses of the arms: Ермоленко 2019.

¹⁵ Monographic presentation of the hoard: Curta & Szmoniewski 2019; a critical look at the interpretations presented in the work: Chausidis 2019; iconography of the objects and interpretation of the depicted characters: Čausidis 2005.

Slavic character, if the arguments for such dating and ethnic affiliation of the Ohrid idol are accepted. It is especially important that the indicated element appears on many of the anthropomorphic or zooanthropomorphic figures from this hoard, showing that it is an important component, which in this case seems to have gained the status of a general, typical and recognizable feature of the style, i.e. the manner of pictorial depiction of these objects. In almost all cases, this element is divided into segments (compare with the Scythian examples - T.IX), which at the same time is also the key feature that distinguishes them from the monument from St. Naum. These are the specific plaques from this hoard on which the indicated motif can be found: the figure of a birth-giving woman (maybe a hermaphrodite with a pointed beard?) from whose crotch emerges a human head (T.X: 2); the hybrid figure with the body of a human and the head of a wolf or other similar carnivorous animal (T.X: 3); the female figure with legs apart in movement, open genitals and a child on her lap, holding a stringed musical instrument in her hand (in this case the indicated element is in the form of a double rib – T.X: 4); the pair of human figures dressed in long garments, with large hats or hairstyles (T.X: 5); the winged female figure with a grotesque face, and arms in the orans posture (in this case it is not certain whether it is a special accessory on the neck or part of the radiant halo that surrounds the whole head) (T.X: 7); the lying figure (male or child) depicted at the front legs of a horse with a wide-open toothed muzzle (T.X: 8).

At this point we should also mention the frequent presence of real torcs in the grave inventories of the necropolises belonging to the aforementioned early medieval Komani–Kruja culture, also confirmed on the northern shore of Lake Ohrid. Bronze torcs have been discovered at the sites of “St. Erasmus” near Ohrid (T.X: 12), and “Ciganski Grobišta” near the village of Radolišta (in the vicinity of Struga), in the 7th and 8th century burials that are associated with the indicated culture (Мањева 2013: 1296–1298).

In the description of the monument from St. Naum, we pointed out that the arched segment that extends along the neck of the depicted character from the left rises towards the ear, indicating that it could represent a loop, i.e. noose. Such a possibility is also indicated by the ithyphallic folk parallels presented below (named “German”, “Little Man”, and other examples), given their pronounced sacrificial character and the presence of the Cosmic Axis in the function of a sacrificial pillar. As a paradigmatic example of the mythical characters of this type, we can point to the Germano-Nordic supreme god Odin, who sacrificed himself on the cosmic tree Yggdrasil by hanging and being pierced with a spear, in order to be resurrected after nine days and nights, to discover the secret of the magic runes.¹⁶ The same mythical paradigm was also behind numerous other mythical characters sacrificed on the Cosmic Tree or next to it, a significant portion of them also being ithyphallic, such as the one sitting on top of the “cluster pendants” from the Iron Age (T.XIV: 3 – 5; see further).¹⁷

¹⁶ (Hávamál, 140–141). One of Odin’s many names was also *Hangatýr/Hangaguð*, that is, the god of the hanged (Gylfaginning, 20; Skáldskaparmál, 1–2). According to *interpretatio romana*, Odin was identified with Mercury, i.e. Hermes, to whom the Germanics also offered human sacrifices (Tacitus, Germania, 9). See also Ellis Davidson 1990: 140–142 (on the connection of Odin with Mercury), 143–145 (on the sacrifice of Odin).

¹⁷ On the god sacrificed on the Cosmic Axis, in context of the “cluster pendants”: Чаусидис 2017: 256–271; on hanging as a sacrificial act and execution: Чаусидис 2011: 48–51.

The Caucasian, Iranian (T.VI: 9, 10) and even medieval ithyphallic pendants from Eastern Europe (T.VI: 11 – 13), which were intended for hanging (on a chain or a rope), fit well in this concept, although they were not attached to the neck but to the ring formed on their back or occiput (Чаясидис 2011: 50, T.II: 6; Chausidis 2021: Ch.VI).

This mythologem also found its thisworldly manifestation in the real sacrificial rituals of archaic communities. In archaeological and historical terms, such traditions are best recorded among the Germanic and Nordic archaic communities, to whose mythology the aforementioned god Odin also belongs. Among the numerous naturally mummified bodies from the Iron Age found in the bogs of northwestern Europe, cases of ritual sacrifice have been discovered in which the dead (male and female) were first hanged and then thrown into the bog, with the rope still around their neck.¹⁸ In later times, we learn from the medieval author Adam of Bremen that in the sacred forest next to the great temple at Uppsala (Sweden), around the time of the vernal equinox, nine males of each species, including humans, were sacrificed by hanging (Adamus Bremensis, IV. 26–28). Another interesting account is found in the medieval chronicle *Historia Norwegiæ*, according to which the legendary Swedish king Domald, son of Wisbur, was hanged by the Swedes as a sacrifice to the goddess “Ceres”, in order to ensure a successful yield of the crops: “Cuius [Wisbur] filium Domald Sweones suspendentes pro fertilitate frugum Cereri hostiam obtulerunt” (*Historia Norwegie*, IX. 10).

The connection between the noted Germanic and Nordic examples, and the Ohrid ithyphallic idol (where we may have a combination of ithyphallicism and hanging), is justified by a real phenomenon known as *post-mortem erection*. It most commonly occurs in individuals who have been executed or who commit suicide by hanging, and is thought to happen as a result of the pressure of the rope on the spinal cord or cerebellum of the hanged (*Death erection 2021*). In this context, all the above males who were hanged (mythical characters and sacrificed individuals) acquire the meaning of impregnators of the goddess of the chthonic realms (and of agriculture) who, by the act of hanging, were provided with a “posthumous” or “eternal” erection, as well as passage to her abode, in order to realize her impregnation. Although these traditions are best attested among the Germanic and Scandinavian archaic societies, the real basis on which they are founded and the other previously referenced examples indicate their much wider distribution.

– DIVISION IN THE AREA OF THE FOREHEAD

As we have already mentioned, the segment formed at the top of the head of the monument from St. Naum, viewed through a realistic perspective, resembles a hemispherical hat, helmet or even hairstyle of the depicted character, cut on the forehead in a flat line

¹⁸ The most famous such examples are the so-called Tollund Man and Elling Woman (both dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE), discovered about 60 metres from each other in a bog near Silkeborg, Denmark (Vandkilde 2004). According to P. V. Glob, such sacrifices were dedicated to the goddess Nerthus - Mother Earth (Glob 1969). The same author connects the rope around the victim's neck, as well as the cult of Nerthus, with the torc as a symbolic object (Glob 1969, 163–166). We learn from the Roman historian Tacitus that human sacrifices were indeed part of the cult of Nerthus, but he wrote that individuals were drowned in water, and does not say anything about hanging (Tacitus, *Germania*, 40).

(T.IX: 1). Unlike the previous one, it is an elementary and very common motif which therefore cannot have more significant value in this comparative analysis. Despite the many analogies from different periods and regions, on this occasion we can once again refer to an example from the Velestino plaques, which are geographically closest. This time it is the one depicting a profile of a galloping horseman, holding a sword and shield in his hands, on whose head stands out a similar segment which, as in the Ohrid monument, could bear the three indicated meanings (T.X: 6 compare with 1). A similar division of the vertex of the head, which most often resembles a hat, is also commonly present on the miniature Slavic idols from the territories of Russia and Poland (T.XI: 7 – 9, 13, 14 compare with 1). It is formed most impressively and realistically on the Sheksna (T.XI: 12) and the Zbruch idols (T.XI: 4). On the Sheksna idol it has the form of a hat that covers the head of the depicted character, while on the Zbruch idol it covers the heads of the four deities in its upper zone.¹⁹

– THE WHOLE MONUMENT AS A PERSONALIZED PHALLUS

The division at the top of the character's head, as present on the monument from St. Naum, perceived on its own or especially in combination with the additional element at the neck, can also be observed through a symbolic perspective. This perception would be based on the identification of the entire figure of the depicted character with the phallus. (T.XI: 1). In this context, its head is equated with the glans penis, while the torso, and even the whole object represents the corpus of the male sexual organ. Regarding the specific monument, when applying this concept of the personalization of the phallus, we are encouraged by the presence of the testicles, and of course by the almost certain presence of the later lost phallus. In this context, the unusual shape of the head of the depicted character also makes sense – the fusion of the cheeks, chin and vertex into some kind of egg-shaped segment can be justified by the intention to bring it closer to the shape of the glans penis. We may also seek the reason for the division of the vertex, and especially for the arched segment at the neck, which in this case would suggest the praeputium penis. It is very likely that when the Ohrid monument was made and used, the proposed identification was not perceived by its users (or at least was not in the forefront), but was present as a remnant of some older templates. Thereby, the phallic meaning of the whole monument cannot be completely ruled out, given its verticality and cylindrical columnar shape.

The equalization of the male sexual organ with the whole male figure is one of the ways in which the personalization of the phallus is manifested: a phenomenon behind which, on the one hand, stands the intention to present the male genitalia as a separate entity and person with autonomous will, and on the other – the reduction of the man and his intentions and behaviors to the function of his genitals. Within the spheres of religion, these symbolic concepts are motivated by the need to deify the phallus, that is, to accentuate and personalize its functions into a special mythical character or deity. These processes and the specific pictorial approaches that accompany them have an archetypal character, i.e. they are common to all humankind, and are therefore present in various regions and

¹⁹ On the Sheksna idol: Седов 1982: 264, 298 – T.LXXV: 1; on the Zbruch idol: Рыбаков 1987: 236–251.

various historical periods. Within the circle of the Indo-European populations, they are best represented in three cultures – the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age cultures of Iran (more specifically in the Luristan region T.XI: 10, 11), the cultures of Early Antiquity in the North Black Sea region (T.IX: 2 – 8), and the early medieval European cultures that are mainly associated with the Slavs (T.XI: 2 – 9, 12 – 15).²⁰

The already mentioned examples from the North Black Sea region are particularly interesting for us because they also possess pictorial elements that are present on the Ohrid monument (T.IX). The basic shape and composition of these columnar monuments is more or less reminiscent of the contours of the phallus. The torso of the depicted character is equated with the corpus of the phallus, the head represents the glans penis, while below it, at the neck, the mentioned division (collar, scarf, torc) coincides with the praeputium of the phallus. The older prototypes of these monuments can be traced back to the Bronze Age, to significantly wider territories, including the Balkan Peninsula (T.XVI: 7).²¹ D. S. Rayevskiy points to their cosmological symbolism, i.e. their identification with the Cosmic Pillar, the giant phallus, and with some macrocosmic anthropomorphic character whose figure, divided into three zones by the torc and the belt, coincides with the three levels of the universe. He links the raising of these objects with the deaths of rulers, as an act of re-establishing the cosmic order disturbed by their passing. It is important to note the identification of these pillars with the deceased king or prince, equated with the mythical ancestor (specifically the Scythian Targitay), represented as the Cosmic Pillar and a gigantic (macrocosmic) phallus, which justifies their appearance (Раевский 1983; Раевский 1985: 134–146).

In this group of monuments, the ones that are particularly important to us are those in which the male genital organ is depicted in addition to the monument's phallic shape – as in the monument from Ohrid. The organ is depicted on the appropriate part of the body of the human figure, accompanied by testicles, but this time with realistic proportions (T.IX: 2 – 4 compare with 1).

The personalization of the phallus also occurs in some cult objects associated with the early medieval culture of the Slavs. We should first mention the monumental columnar idols made of stone. In its purest form, this phenomenon is present in the already mentioned monument from the Sheksna River basin (Vologda Oblast, northwestern Russia – T.XI: 12), in which the hat most evidently represents the glans penis. It is also present in the idol from the riverbed of the Zbruch River (territory of present-day western Ukraine), whose basic contours also have the shape of a phallus, but this time modeled in the form of a four-sided pillar (T.XI: 4). Its surfaces bear relief representations of human figures denoting individual deities, arranged according to their position in the universe, which is divided vertically (tripartite) and horizontally (quadripartite). The heads of the

²⁰ Our observations on this concept, with examples: Чаусидис 1994, 344–358; Chausidis 2021: Ch. VI.

²¹ On the older specimens with a less pronounced phallic shape: Чаусидис 2017: 871–874 (with presented bibliography). On the geographically closest such example (from Thessaly): Чаусидис, 1993: 161–163 (although the monument is now usually dated to the transitional period between the Bronze and the Iron Age, it is confusing that it also bears features close to the mentioned Scythian examples, but also to the medieval Slavic idols. Therefore, the possibility that it could date to a later period should not be fully rejected).

four deities in the upper zone are covered by a hemispherical segment that carries two meanings – on the one hand it represents a common hat, and on the other it is the glans penis of the macrocosmic phallus that extends through the three zones of the universe (graphic reconstruction – T.XI: 5) (Рыбаков 1987: 236–251).

The second group of cult objects consists of miniature objects made of wood, bone or horn, with a reduced iconography, and whose phallic shape is complemented by one (T.XI: 7–9, 13–15) or several faces (T.XI: 2, 3). In this case too, the glans penis interferes with the depicted heads or their hat (Чаясидис 1994: 348–350; Chausidis 2021: Ch. IX). In its purest form, this element is represented on the single-faced wooden objects from Staraya Russa (T.XI: 15) and Novgorod (T.XI: 14), while in the multi-faced ones, it appears on the wooden object from Svendborg (Denmark, 12th century CE – T.XI: 3), and in a slightly less transparent form on the specimen made of deer antler from Davina Kula near the village of Čučer, near Skopje (RN Macedonia, hypothetically dated to the 9th–10th centuries CE – T.XI: 2).²² In this context we should also mention the wooden phallic object from Łęczycza (Poland), dating to the 12th century CE, whose upper half is shaped in the form of a human torso with a head, but without arms (T.XI: 6). The purpose of the object is associated with wedding ceremonies, described in Russian medieval sources, during which the guests drank some kind of drink from a bucket, in which an object in the form of a phallus had previously been placed (“срамоту мужскою”).²³

c) Indentations in the area of the chin

Despite their marginality, the three indentations under the mouth of the Ohrid stone idol seem to be quite an interesting iconographic element (T.XII: 1). Their asymmetrical positioning and different sizes give reason to assume that they were not part of the original idea behind the object, but were added later by a person who was not so skilled in working with stone. Since it is not possible to connect them with any real element of the anatomy of the human head, assumptions are made that they were indented for some kind of symbolic, ritual or technical reason, or perhaps even without any particular meaning, as a form of vandalism or defilement of the monument. The analogies that we present in the following paragraphs can nevertheless be considered to support the argument that the indentations had a clear function.

The first group of analogies consists of numerous prehistoric (primarily Eneolithic) ceramic figurines, mainly from the eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula, which have several indentations in the same area under the mouth (T.XII: 4–6). We should also note the examples that are indented on the mouth itself, or those where the mouth is actually represented by such an opening (T.XII: 7, 8).²⁴ V. Nikolov thinks they were a specific

²² Chausidis 2021: Ch. IX; on the object from Svendborg: Kajkowski & Szczepanik 2013: 56, 57, fig. 13; from Čučer: Maneva 2001.

²³ Concerning the object: Hensel 1964, Fig. 12; about the ritual and the sources: Клейн 2004: 372, 373; on this and other phallus shaped objects: Чаясидис 1994: 344.

²⁴ Examples: Hansen 2007 (Teil I), 239 – Abb. 1, (Teil II), Taf. 360: 1; 361; 366; 367: 1; 379: 1, 14; 414: 2 (with openings under the mouth); 393; 394; 403: 1; 416; 418: 1, 10; 432: 2, 4, 12; 442:1 (with openings on the mouth).

feature of male characters, probably with a higher social rank, but are also typical of female figurines interpreted as representations of the Mother Goddess (Николов 2006: 117, 118).

When making female ceramic figurines, various prehistoric cultures (Neolithic and later) inserted cereal grains in the wet clay before the figurines were dried and fired. This was obviously a ritual act of symbolically fertilizing the represented characters, equated with sowing seeds in the Earth Mother – represented by the female shape (woman – earth) and the material from which they were made (clay – earth) (Бибииков 1951; Рыбаков 1981: 46, 48). Taking this into account, it seems that the openings on the chin or mouth of the finished (fired) figurines probably had a similar character. However, they were not only meant for implanting cereal grains (as a stimulus for growth), but also for ripe ears of cereal plants (as a product of growth). The question remains why they should be inserted precisely at the mouth. We will try to present the answer in the following paragraphs.

The same motif also appears on a category of medieval anthropomorphic bronze figurines that date to between the 8th and 10th centuries CE, which are widespread in Ukraine and Russia – north of the Black and Caspian Seas (Т.ХІІ: 2, 3). Despite the absence of definite facts, the cultural affiliation of these objects is usually associated with the Saltovo-Mayaki culture and the various nomadic peoples that existed in this region in the given period, and were mainly members of the Turkic-speaking group (Polovci, Tatars, Bulgars and Khazars). Theories about the Slavic origin of these finds have also been put forward, as well as assumptions about their relations with the Iranian or some other older cultures. The figurines depict a character with two or four faces, indicating his mythical nature.²⁵ Unlike the monument from St. Naum, in these figurines the openings are not punctured under the mouth, but directly on it. Although in this case the motivation for this solution could have been technical – to make the mouth more striking or to emphasize that it is open with accentuated teeth, the previous prehistoric examples also suggest the possible symbolic meaning of this element.

Until recently, there was a widespread harvest time custom among the Eastern and Southern Slavs that involved making a ritual object called a “beard” from the last bundle of wheat. This was equated with or dedicated to various male and female characters with the identities of Christian saints, but also to some more archaic mythical characters (Т.ХІ-ІІ: 2 – 4). In this case, we emphasise the variants in which the last bundle of wheat was intended to be a beard for a male mythical character (as “his beard”, i.e. as a “beard for him”). These characters can be grouped into three categories: not entirely specific sacral or mythical characters (grandfather, god, lord); characters with a Christian identity (St. Elijah, St. Nicholas, St. Spas, Christ, conditionally God, the Lord); characters with a Pagan Slavic identity (explicitly Veles-Volos, and conditionally also god, lord, grandfather). The threshing floor pillar was also often adorned with a “wheat beard” (photomontage Т.ХІІІ: 5), which implies some kind of more direct similarity with the Ohrid monument, bearing in mind its vertical, i.e. columnar form (Чаусидис 2005: 233–235; Чаусидис 1994: 423, 424; Терновская 1995).

²⁵ Давыденко и Гриб 2009: 187–189, 198 (Рис. 2), 199 (Рис. 3: 1–4), 200 (Рис. 4: 1, 2).

This ritual stems from the symbolic identification between plants and hairs, founded on the fact that both grow – plants from the earth and hairs on the bodies of humans and animals. In this case, the beard is chosen for its proximity to the mouth, which in the spheres of semiotics functions as a symbolic equivalent of the vulva – the place from which living beings are actually born. In cultures where it was believed that Mother Earth was responsible for the sprouting and growth of plants, the mechanism of this action was obvious – plants were born from her womb and genitals. However, in cases where the patron of the earth and agriculture was the male chthonic god, this concept could not work. Another concept was therefore introduced, according to which plants emerge from the mouth of this god (by disgorging/vomiting, which of course had to be preceded by the act of swallowing), or grow from his face, equated with the hairs of his beard, mustache, eyebrows, eyelashes and hair. Among the Slavs, but also more broadly, these mythologems have also found their own pictorial manifestation – in mythical images depicting the head of a male character, supplemented by various phytomorphic motifs (spiral twigs, leaves, flowers and fruits), which either grow from his mouth or are metamorphosed from the hairs of his head (T.XIII: 6 – 10).²⁶

In view of these facts, we put forward the assumption that the three indentations under the mouth of the Ohrid monument could have occurred as a consequence of its ritual, seasonal adornment with a “wheat beard”. This would involve the wheat ears of the last harvested bundle being fixed to the indentations (photomontage T.XIII: 1). Given the shallowness of these indentations, the wheat had to be fixed with some kind of sticky substance, such as wax or resin. Two facts encourage us in this hypothetical reconstruction, the first of which is the columnar shape of the monument that resembles the threshing floor pillar, which was also adorned with a “beard” (T.XIII: 5 compare with 1). The second is its ithyphallicity, which would fit well with the identity of this character as a fertilizer, that is, a stimulator of all life processes, including the growth of vegetation in general and of wheat in particular. This means the depicted mythical character would invest his sexual potency in the sowing, sprouting, growth and ripening of the wheat, giving a logical justification as to why precisely it would be endowed with a “wheat beard”.

If we accept the possibility that the lower part of our idol was planted in the ground, and that a part of its lost hypertrophied phallus was also below ground level (T.III: 4), then this very procedure of insertion, or planting in the earth of the statue of a god, acquires eminent agrarian symbolism. Particularly as an act of hierogamy, that is, the penetration of the god’s phallus (or his whole figure equated with the phallus) into the earth (understood as a woman, goddess, or mother) (T.III: 3 – 6).²⁷ In the following chapters we reference important arguments that support this meaning.

²⁶ Чаусидис 2005: 226–235 (on the symbolic concept), 236–240 (on the pictorial representations).

²⁷ On the procedures of ritual burial and planting ithyphallic and other figures into the ground: Велецкая 1984.

A DIACHRONIC OVERVIEW OF ITHYPHALLIC MYTHICAL CHARACTERS FROM THE OHRID REGION AND SURROUNDING AREAS

Regardless of the fact that the comparisons made in the previous chapters point more to the early medieval, and primarily the Slavic character of the monument from St. Naum, one should not rule out the possibility that its formation and the constitution of the cult that it represented, were influenced by the autochthonous traditions that encountered, and probably interacted with the Slavic communities that began to settle in this part of Macedonia in the 6th century CE. Therefore, we have decided to present in this chapter a summarized diachronic review of the archaeological finds from the Ohrid-Prespa region and its wider area, in which the central place is occupied by the male sexual organ.

a) Prehistory

We can consider the oldest such find (so far) to be the Late Neolithic or Eneolithic ceramic object from the site of Penelopa, which extends on the territory of the modern-day city of Ohrid (T.XIV: 9). It is shaped in the form of some kind of platform or small table (perhaps an altar or a sacrificial surface) on which an erect phallus with testicles rests obliquely.²⁸ As an even older example we can consider the ceramic phallus from the neighboring region of Pelagonia, discovered as an incidental find at one of the Neolithic sites in the vicinity of the village of Optičari (Bitola region) (T.XIV: 2). It is especially interesting to us because it is fashioned according to the indicated concept of personalization of the male sexual organ, which as a paradigm also stood at the basis of the idol from St. Naum (compare with T.IX; T.XI).²⁹ The traditions of venerating an ithyphallic god in the Ohrid-Prespa region continued into the Iron Age, the best indicator of which is the bronze pendant discovered as a grave good in the necropolis of Kuç i Zi near Korça (Albania), thirty kilometres from the monastery of St. Naum (T.XVIII: 1). It depicts a man with a designated phallus and testicles, sitting in a fetal position on top of a vertical pillar and supplemented by numerous button-like extensions, which was associated with some kind of plant, probably with the meaning of Cosmic Tree, i.e. Tree of Life (T.XIV: 3, 4). In numerous similar specimens discovered in various parts of Macedonia, the phallus is also present at the lower end of the pillar shaped in the form of a glans penis, indicating the equation of the tree with the erect phallus (T.XIV: 5). These objects belong to the type of “cluster pendants” (part of the group of “Macedonian Bronzes”, 8th – 7th centuries BCE) that women wore in the area of the waist and hip, as amulets for protection and to stimulate the genital organs.³⁰

²⁸ Кузман 2013: 355 – Сл. 46, 356, T.IV: 9; Чаусидис 2017: 204, 206 (Б26: 1).

²⁹ Чаусидис 1994, 345 (T.LXXXII: 4), 347. There is also the possibility that it is a later (perhaps medieval) modification of a prehistoric object.

³⁰ Чаусидис 2017, in general on this type of pendants: 155–303, on the ithyphallic components: 196–208; on the cosmological aspects: 235–256.

b) Antiquity

Two bronze finds also indicate the veneration of ithyphallic characters in the Ohrid region in the ancient period. The first is a bronze statuette from Plaošnik, dating to the Hellenistic or Early Roman period, depicting an old male bearded character who represented Daedalus or more likely Silenus (T.XIV: 6). He is depicted in a pose somewhat similar to that of the character from the previous objects – without clothes, hairy, with naked genitals and with a waving cloak in the form of wings (Чаусидис 2012; Битракова Грозданова 2017: 391–394). The second object is a miniature bronze herma from the Early Roman period in which one can sense the identification between the erect phallus and the accentuated nose – a concept that was quite widespread in antiquity (T.XV: 5) (Чаусидис 2017: 198, 204, 205, Б25: 7; Кузман и Димитрова 2010, 81). Two ancient vessels with a spout in the form of an erect phallus have also been found on the territory of RN Macedonia. These were certainly used within the frames of some cult (probably from the circle of Dionysus) based on the deification of this organ. The first was discovered in the Hellenistic layers of the ancient town of Gortynia (near present-day Gevgelija – T.XIV: 8),³¹ while the second originates from the village of Istibanja near Štip, and dates back to the Late Roman period (4th century CE – T.XIV: 7) (Чаусидис 2017: 204 – Б25: 3). Finally, it is also worth mentioning a marble phallus from the Archaeological Museum in Skopje that is sculpted realistically and with realistic dimensions (the style suggests it dates from the Ancient period). However, the specific location of its discovery is unknown.³²

c) Middle Ages

Ithyphallic characters in Macedonia can be found even within the context of Christian iconography, as is the case with two figures that appear in the frescoes in the church of St. Demetrius at Marko's Monastery (near Skopje, 14th century CE – T.XV: 8, 9). They are depicted in a crouching position and with an erect phallus, which makes them similar to the indicated examples from the Iron Age, the numerous ancient examples (most often identified with Silenus and Satyr), but also the figurine of “Daedalus” from Plaošnik (compare with T.XIV: 3 – 6). It should be noted that both figures are quite hairy, and one of them is zoomorphic or zooanthropomorphic, probably with the features of a monkey. The question remains open whether these unusual characters are the result of some older local traditions or whether they came from the “international” corpus of symbolic motifs that moved freely throughout Christendom in the medieval period, but had roots in much older pre-Christian traditions (Чаусидис 2017: 204, 221 /Б35: 6, 7/, 222, 235; Мирковић 1974, Сл. 66, Сл. 67).

³¹ Чаусидис 2017: 204 (Б25: 6); Fowler & Blazevska 1996: 21 – MN18.4.3.

³² The object was presented at the exhibition “Red Rooster - Black Hen: cults of fertility, rites, customs and beliefs” (Museum of Macedonia – Skopje, 2015).

d) Folkloric traditions

Unexpected as it may seem, male mythical characters with an accentuated sexual organ survived in the Balkans up until the mid 20th century, in parallel with the ethnography of the Slavic peoples (Macedonians, Bulgarians, Serbs), but also of the non-Slavic ones (Romanians, Moldavians). We are speaking of two phenomena that do not seem to be connected, except for the fact that they concern the fabrication and use of a male figurine with an oversized phallus. In both cases they were made by women, mainly from unfired clay, in the contexts of two completely different ritual traditions.

In Macedonia (the surroundings of Skopje) the figurines were called *čoveče* (little man) or *domakjin na crepnite* (host/husband of the *crepnas*; a *crepna* being a type of traditional earthenware dish for baking bread), and were made during the ritual procedures of making bread baking moulds, mainly practised on the feast of St. Jeremiah. The figurine was in the shape of a man (twenty centimetres high) with an oversized phallus stuck on a large nail driven into the center of the largest baking dish. It was believed that it would keep this and all the other dishes from cracking during the process of drying (photomontage T.XV: 7). After new baking dishes and a new such figurine were made the following year, the old one was left in the attic or simply thrown away (Филиповић 1951, 104, 147, 148; Чаусидис и Николов 2006: 99, 115, 125, 126). In the Kyustendil area (Pirin Macedonia, now in Bulgaria), this figurine was kept near the hearth, and placed in the baking mould to “sleep” during the night before the bread was kneaded (T.XV: 6) (Mesnil & Popova 2002: 247, 248, 250, 252). Analyses suggest that it is a remnant of a mythical character (in some cases perhaps of a theistic nature) whose fertile power was invested in the rising of the bread dough, implying its function as the “husband of the baking mould”, i.e. the “father of the bread”, and the identification of his semen with the yeast. His annual elimination refers to the sacrifice of the depicted character as a form of investing his vital force into the fertility of nature and the household. The functions indicated correspond well with the season in which these objects were made – in the spring when the earth and all of nature awaken (Чаусидис и Николов 2006; Чаусидис 2010a).

The second type of ithyphallic figurines, known as “German”, were also made of unfired clay, and were similar in shape and size to the previous ones. They too were made by women as part of a ritual of the same name, in which the figurine occupied the central place (T.XV: 2 – 4). The ritual was performed mainly incidentally - in the event of a prolonged drought, and consisted in the symbolic burial of the figurine, preceded by all the usual funeral procedures for the burial of a real deceased person: mourning and a vigil over the figurine of German, complete with candles. The figurine was then carried in procession through the village, laid in a coffin or on a bier, and then buried in the field or, more commonly, broken and scattered over the fields or thrown into water. Songs have also been recorded that speak of German having “died for want of rain” (“умрел од суша за киша”), or that he was instructed to go to heaven and plead to God for rain. The ritual bearing this name is mainly observed in certain parts of Bulgaria (Герман / German) and Serbia (Ђерман, Џерман / Gjerman, Djerman), and with other names also in Romania (Kaloyan, Skaloyan), Moldova (Trayan), and among the Eastern Slavs (Ярило,

Горюн / Yarilo, Goryun). In some South Slavic regions, a character with the same name, and the same or similar functions, is also found in magical chants (“basmī” / “baenja”), which are mainly aimed at controlling atmospheric phenomena.³³

The “German” ritual has not survived in the folk traditions from the territory of Macedonia, but we may consider an indirect argument for its former existence in this region to be the presence of this character in magical folk chants and toponymy. It is quite significant that such a toponym (the village of German/Agios Germanos) is located on the southeastern shore of Lake Prespa, at a distance of fifty kilometres from the monastery of St. Naum (T.XVIII: 1), although in this specific case the name of the village could have come from the old village church dedicated to the Christian saint of the same name (Пјанка 1970: 132, 135, 217). However, we think that the first option is supported by other examples from Macedonia where such a toponym refers to a larger area (such as Mount German in the Kumanovo region), and is not accompanied by any Christian building dedicated to this saint. The ithyphallicity of German’s figurine rules out the possibility that it was created by folklorising the Christian saint of the same name. It is just the opposite – the cult of the saint was built upon the pagan character and even took over its functions in connection with the control of atmospheric phenomena.

Although these are two different rituals, the male principle (represented by the ithyphallic figurine) appears as a common component in both. In the first case it operates on a mesocosmic and microcosmic level (in the production of bread, and earlier probably more broadly in the fertility of the household and the family), while in the second it operates on a macrocosmic level (in the fertility of nature producing a successful yield in the fields and crops grown). Certain macrocosmic aspects can also be recognized in the case of the “Little Man”, especially in the act of throwing it away or leaving it in the attic (return, sacrifice), which corresponds to the analogous “burial” of German. This meaning can also be discerned in the planting of the “Little Man” on the nail driven into the centre of the baking dish, which also acquires the meaning of his sacrifice on the Cosmic Pillar that rises in the center of the universe (T.XV: 7 compare with T.XIV: 3 – 5). This interpretation corresponds well with the macrocosmic aspects of the baking dish (*crepna*) and the large metal lid (*vršnik*) placed on it. In everyday language and in some Macedonian legends these are equated with the cosmos, the dish representing the Earth’s plate, while the metal lid is the celestial dome. A common component linking the two rites is also the feast day of St. Jeremiah because the name of this saint contains the same root that is also inherent in the name German (Чausидис и Николов 2006: 115–126; Чausидис 2010a: 98–104).

In our previous studies we have put forward several hypotheses about the origin of this character, and have come to the conclusion that it represents an extremely archaic phenomenon that shows relations with both Slavic and Paleo-Balkan traditions. At the base of the name, i.e. the theonym, German, lays the root *ger-*, *jer-*, *jar-*, *yer-*, *yar-*, in which one can recognise the universal *life force* that stimulates, i.e. drives the productive power of the female elements (earth, woman, hearth/oven, vessel for the preparation of

³³ Чausидис и Николов 2006: 114–116 (with presented bibliography); Чausидис 1994: 359–365; Чausидис 2010a; Кабакова и Сedaкова 1995.

food). The same root is contained in the lexemes that denote: heat (Serbian: *japa / jara*), the summer part of the *year* (Polish: *jar*; German: *Jahr*; Proto-Germanic: *jēran*; Avestan: *yārə*; PIE: **yóh₁t*), young man, lover (Serbian: *јаран / jaran*), erotic fire, passion (Serbian: *јаруч / jarič*), mating of animals (Bulgarian. *јару се / yari se*), male animal (Macedonian: *јарец / jarec*), yeast (Serbian and Croatian: *đermo/germa*). It is also present in the theonyms of some Slavic (Yarilo, Yarovit) and ancient Mediterranean deities (Hermes / Doric: Herman, Heracles) with an accentuated masculine character.³⁴

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF THE MONUMENT'S PAGAN SLAVIC AFFILIATION

The presented parallels for the monument from the monastery of St. Naum and the diachronic overview of similar ithyphallic representations from the surrounding Macedonian regions indicate the immediate proximity of this find to examples relating to Slavic culture. In this chapter we will present some further facts, which we believe provide additional arguments in support of this view.

We think that primarily it is worth mentioning a medieval source from the 11th century that speaks explicitly about the veneration of idols among the Slavs in Macedonia. It is an episode from the Hagiography of George the Hagiorite, which describes in detail how the saint destroyed the marble idol of a goddess venerated by the “Bulgarians who call themselves Slavs”, living in the locality of Livadia near Thessaloniki.³⁵

No stone objects with the character of monumental idols whose appearance or documented archeological context could be unambiguously defined as Slavic have yet been found on the territory of the Southern Slavs. In academic literature, however, such a possibility is discussed in connection with the following finds: the multi-headed (three- or four-headed) idol from Vačane near Bribir (Croatia) (T.XVI: 2) (Чаусидис 1994: 465–471; Čausidis 2005: 440–443; Гарашанин 1961; Goss 2009); the four-sided stone idol from the village of Plavna near Negotin (Serbia) (T.XVI: 6, height 183 cm) (Чаусидис 1994, 476, 477; Гарашанин 1961, 70); the aforementioned stone monument from Gunitza (Thessaly) (T.XVI: 7) (Чаусидис 1993: 161–163; Чаусидис 1994, 93, 356, 481; Гарашанин 1961: 69). We should pay particular attention to the cylindrical stone object with three human heads from the church of St. Helena and St. Mary Magdalene at Magdalensberg (Štalenska gora, Carinthia, Austria) (T.XVI: 8, 9) (Kahl 2005, 38). It shares three important similarities with the idol from St. Naum – it is currently located in a Christian building, the heads are similarly modelled (T.XVI: 8, 9 compare with 1), and both have a recipient that was obviously intended for offering sacrificial gifts (similar, but much more distinctly shaped than the slight indentation in the Ohrid idol).

³⁴ In more detail on these and other examples: Чаусидис 1994: 228, 365, 447–449; Чаусидис 2010a: 94, 100; Иванов и Топоров 1974: 214, 215.

³⁵ Чаусидис 1994: 27, 28 (with presented bibliography), an overview of other such historical sources and folklore traditions relating to the Southern Slavs: 356–358.

The Ohrid monument is also close to some medieval idols (with a greater or lesser degree of probability defined as Slavic) in terms of its appearance. We are thinking of the contrast between the head, sculpted in high relief, and the body, which is modelled in a quite shallow relief. In this respect, we should pay special attention to the idol from Zbruch (T.XI: 4 compare with 1), and the idols from Negotin and Olsztyn (T.XVI: 6, 5 compare with 1).

If we accept the striking similarities between this monument and the tombstones from Vuksanlekaj/Vuksanlekići (T.IV), then the supposed Slavic components in these tombstones could be due to the possible participation of some Slavic element in the ethnographic group (the Malissori) behind these monuments. Alternatively, they may simply be the result of cultural influence.

If we agree with the possibility (which in our opinion is the most probable) that the ithyphallic idol from the monastery of St. Naum represented a deity whose theonym contained the root *jar/yar/ger*, then this assumption could be supported by some historical sources that mention cult objects of Slavic gods whose theonym contains the same root. Among the Western Slavs, for example, that would be Gerovit or Yarovit (Latin: Gerovitus, Herovith) who was venerated in Havelberg and Wolgast (Wologošč), and was specifically honored in the spring as a god of war and vegetation (Profantova & Profant 2000: 89, 90). In Russia there are two legends about the existence of idols of such deities: Yarilo (Ярило) and Yarun (Ярун). According to the first, an idol of Yarilo stood on the *Poklonnaya gora* (Поклонная гора/ Hill of Worshipful Submission) near Galich-Mersky, where the feast of *Yarilki* was celebrated en masse until the end of the 19th century. The second example refers to *Yarunovaya gora* (Яруновья гора / Hill of Yarun) near Suzdal, where an idol of Yarun stood at the junction of two local streams, and where a church was later built (Золотов 1985: 235).

The indicated example from Magdalensberg (T.XVI: 8, 9) raises the question of how the monument from St. Naum came to be within the circle of the monastery, probably built into one of its buildings, with a visible front side. It turns out that this was not a rare phenomenon, which also occurred with other such objects. It is worth mentioning two examples that relate to Pagan Slavic cult monuments. The first is a relief depicting a human figure holding a rhyton, embedded in a church in Altenkirchen on the island of Rügen (Germany) (T.XVI: 4). The figure's appearance matches the idol of the god Svanovit, which stood in his temple located on this island in the town of Arkona. According to the descriptions, this figure also held a rhyton. The second example is a columnar, four-headed stone idol set into the top of the dome of the church in Plaveč near Znojmo (Czech Republic – T.XVI: 3) (Plichta 1974; Pleterski 2011: 128, 131). The position of these two examples does not indicate improvisation and the use of old objects as ordinary construction material or as indeterminate decorative elements from the past. On the contrary, they indicate respect for the objects and a desire to give them a worthy place in the context of the new Christian building. These actions reflect how much the people who built the churches valued these objects, so much so that they wanted to incorporate them in some way into the newly accepted religion.

The next source, however, shows that this was not only a spontaneous reaction of the faithful who had previously venerated these objects, but also a strategy of the Church

Fathers cunningly planned in advance for a more successful conversion of the pagans and to make them gradually abandon the worship of the old gods. This is the letter written by Pope Gregory I (the Great, 590-604 CE) to Abbot Mellitus, who was preparing to accompany St. Augustine of Canterbury on a mission to England in 597 CE:

“Tell Augustine that he should be no means destroy the temples of the gods but rather the idols within those temples. Let him, after he has purified them with holy water, place altars and relics of the saints in them. For, if those temples are well built, they should be converted from the worship of demons to the service of the true God. Thus, seeing that their places of worship are not destroyed, the people will banish error from their hearts and come to places familiar and dear to them in acknowledgement and worship of the true God. Further, since it has been their custom to slaughter oxen in sacrifice, they should receive some solemnity in exchange. Let them therefore, on the day of the dedication of their churches, or on the feast of the martyrs whose relics are preserved in them, build themselves huts around their one-time temples and celebrate the occasion with religious feasting. They will sacrifice and eat the animals not any more as an offering to the devil, but for the glory of God to whom, as the giver of all things, they will give thanks for having been satiated. Thus, if they are not deprived of all exterior joys, they will more easily taste the interior ones. For surely it is impossible to efface all at once everything from their strong minds, just as, when one wishes to condition that she should be permitted to practice her religion with the bishop, Luidhard, who was sent with her to preserve the faith” (Epistola 76: PL 77: 1215–1216; *Gregory* 2021).

It is not impossible that St. Naum acted according to the same principles. As the Ohrid idol was probably not kept in a temple, i.e. in a closed building, but in an outdoor cultic area under the open sky, he may have decided to bring it into the circle of the monastery in order to lure its worshippers inside and perform their pagan rites alongside it. Later, when Christianity had prevailed, the idol lost its former cultic significance and was incorporated into one of the monastery buildings as a “memento of the old traditions”.

THE IDOL FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. NAUM IN THE CONTEXT OF OTHER MYTHOLOGICAL AND CULTIC TRADITIONS FROM THE SURROUNDING REGION

In this chapter we will try to observe the monument from the monastery of St. Naum in the context of the narrower and broader ambient in which it was found. In doing so, we will consider the legends and toponyms from the Ohrid-Prespa region and its surroundings, which contain certain mythological and religious content that could be associated with the idol.

a) Legend of how St. Naum harnessed a bear to a yoke

In the church of the monastery of St. Naum, more precisely in the chapel where the tomb of its founder and patron is located, there are frescoes of the saint's hagiographic cycle that were painted in 1800 CE. One of them depicts a two-wheeled cart with a harnessed ox and a carnivorous animal, next to which St. Naum of Ohrid stands holding the neck of an animal, the same as the latter, but this time standing on its hind legs (T.XVII: 8) (Грозданов 2015: 144–149). As we will see below, this is one of the saint's miracles in which he harnessed a bear to a yoke, in place of an ox that it had previously eaten. Other representations of this scene have been preserved elsewhere in the monastery. In more recent times, a similar composition was created above the entrance to the monastery, and accounts by some visitors in the first decades of the 20th century mention another similar image located elsewhere on the premises. The oldest depiction of this scene appears on an icon from the iconostasis of the monastery church, dated to 1711 CE, on which the scene of the bear harnessed to a cart is depicted next to the legs of the two saints from Ohrid – St. Naum and St. Clement (T.XVII: 4). It can also be seen in a simpler form on a stone slab in the courtyard of the monastery. The relief depicts only the two animals harnessed to a yoke (T.XVII: 1). According to available information, it was previously located on the bridge (built in 1828 CE) under which the water from the springs of the Black Drin River flows into the lake (T.I: 5). The miracle of St. Naum depicted in these compositions was also evoked by a stuffed bearskin, which was displayed in the large hallway of the monastery lodgings until the First World War.³⁶ The special significance of this scene is indicated by its presence on several monastery seals. On the more recent seals, the animals are also shown pulling a cart (T.XVII: 3, from 1774 CE), while on the oldest seal they are pulling a plough (T.XVII: 2, from the 17th century CE) (Грозданов 2015: 213–219; Целакоски 1983; Миљковиќ – Пепек 1987). The scene can also be seen on several icons from different parts of Macedonia, and further afield (Ohrid, Bitola, Prilep, Belgrade), where the figure of St. Naum is accompanied by scenes from his hagiographic cycle, the model for which can be found in the copperplate made by H. Žefarović in 1743 in Vienna (T.XVII: 5, 6) (Грозданов 2015: 186–189; Matičetov 1987: 176, 177; Јовановић 1959).

Two theories have been advanced concerning the history of this miracle. According to the first, its absence from the hagiographies of St. Naum (as well as the absence of some of his other miracles) points to an origin in other Christian texts. A canon in honour of St. Naum, written in the 13th century CE by the Archbishop of Ohrid, Constantine Kabasilas, which states that the saint managed to harness a “wild beast” in a field belonging to the Church, is usually taken as evidence to support the first theory. This account is interpreted as a metaphor in which the pagan-heathens are identified with wild beasts, and their harnessing in the Church field symbolises their baptism and admission into the Christian Church. C. Grozdanov has expressed the opinion that the legend of the bear

³⁶ Грозданов 2015: 118–120; Целакоски 1983, 14; Целакоски 1985: 31, 32; Matičetov 1987: 177, 178.

being harnessed to a plough arose in the Ottoman period as a result of the “other” (he probably meant *literal*) interpretation of this metaphor.³⁷

We consider the second theory, according to which this miracle has no historical-literary basis but is based on the legends and other popular traditions of the population of the surrounding region, to be more credible. Due to their exceptional importance and popularity, these traditions had to gradually “spill over” into local Christian traditions.³⁸ In this context, the words of Constantine Kabasilas may be seen as an early attempt by the Church Fathers to integrate these traditions into the local cult of St. Naum, which indicates their existence in the Middle Ages.

The oldest legend of this kind in Macedonia was recorded by K. Shapkarev in the second half of the 19th century, and it talks about a man from the vicinity of the monastery who complained to St. Naum that a bear had eaten one of the two oxen he was using to plough the fields. The saint solved the problem by harnessing the bear to the yoke, in the place of the ox it had devoured, and ordered it to pull the plough with the remaining ox (Шапкарев 1976: 127–128). Several more variants were recorded in the following years, in which the basic plot remains the same.³⁹ Although the similarity of this legend to the pictorial examples is obvious, their difference should also be noted. With the exception of the oldest seal from the monastery of St. Naum (T.XVII: 2), and the lost painting that hung in its ancillary premises, all the other examples depict a cart attached to the yoke (T.XVII: 3, 4 – 6, 8). While the legend speaks of a plough, the relief plate depicts only the pair of animals harnessed to a yoke, without showing what they are pulling (T.XVII: 1). We will try to answer this question in the following chapters.

This scene has been the subject of research by many scholars, but it is the works by M. Matičetov and V. Živančević that deserve special attention.

The first author focused on finding other such traditions in Europe and the Middle East that can be traced back as far as the 6th century CE. He listed over 30 examples (often the bear is replaced by a wolf, and sometimes by a lion or dragon) in the form of miracles, recorded in the hagiographies of various local saints, or featured in the accompanying pictorial illustrations. There are even more examples of analogous acts present in folklore, usually as stories and legends categorized in appropriate databases (under the number AT 1910) (Aarne & Thompson 1961: 514). Such traditions have also been recorded in the neighbouring Balkan countries of Greece (region near Olympus), Bulgaria (Sofia, Varna) and Serbia (Матичетов 1975; Matičetov 1987).

V. Živančević directed his research to uncover the mythical-religious aspects of this act. Based on comparisons with other corresponding traditions, he concluded that this

³⁷ Discussion on this issue: Грозданов 2015: 145, 216. This miracle was also included in the long “service” for St. Naum’s feast day, which includes the sentence „звѣры ти оукрутиль еси“ (“you tamed the beast”): Лавров 1907 (cited according to Matičetov 1987, 178 and footnote 35).

³⁸ This theory is supported by the large volume of comparative material collected by M. Matičetov and other researchers (see below), which points to the archetypal character of this phenomenon and its widespread presence in Europe, and also the Middle East.

³⁹ Саздов 1985 (with presented bibliography); Целакоски 1997: 49–54, a variant with harnessing to a cart instead of a plough 50, 51; Ристески 2005: 111–114, 161–163, a cart instead of a plough 114, a variant with a wolf harnessed to a plough 115.

legend is a reflection of an archaic custom once present in this region and further afield, in which a bear (certainly domesticated) was harnessed to a plough during the first ritual ploughing of the fields. The author sees the essence of this act in the transposition of the wild animal's vital force into the ploughed field. He thinks that the bear in the ritual appears as a sacred animal, and even as a theriomorphic epiphany of the Slavic chthonic god Veles.⁴⁰ The same concept also applies to two other ritual activities. One of them involves making magic circles around the settlement by ploughing in the event of mass livestock deaths. In some parts of Russia, a bear's head was carried during the ploughing (alternated with an icon of St. Blaise) (Успенский 1982: 99, 100). The other ritual involves men wearing special winter costumes (for example, "kurenti", "kukeri", "djamalari" and "mečkari") harnessing and pulling a plough. In these cases, the presence of the "wild" and "animalistic" is manifested through their furry costumes and animal masks (examples: Живанчевић 1963: 57; Teržan 2001; Валенцова 2004).

Building upon the observations of the abovementioned authors, we continued our search for other traditions from the immediate and wider surroundings of the monastery of St. Naum that would support the above interpretations (Чausидис 1994: 396–400). We think some of them could help reveal the chronological and cultural affiliation of the idol from the monastery of St. Naum, identify the character it represented, and determine its nature and functions.

b) Surrounding toponyms with a Pagan Slavic character

The Slavic affiliation of the monument from St. Naum is also indicated by the rich toponymy of the surrounding region. There are several examples that indicate certain Pagan Slavic or other non-Christian mythical-religious traditions. The first of these traditions include the toponyms around Lake Ohrid and Lake Prespa, some examples showing connections with the epiphanies of the Slavic chthonic deities, also manifested in the etymology of their theonyms. The significant number of such toponyms may also be seen as the result of the environment itself, i.e. the presence of lakes whose large water surfaces emphasise the chthonic aspects.

– VELES

The village of Velestovo lies above the eastern shore of Lake Ohrid, on the slopes of Mount Galičica. North of it lies the village of Velgošti, and in the background of the lake's northern shore there is a village called Velešta. All three names may be connected with the theonym Veles.⁴¹ Similar toponyms are also present in other parts of the Bal-

⁴⁰ Живанчевић 1963; other authors have also referred to these legends: Matić 1972: 144, 145; Ilić 1988: 210, 332.

⁴¹ Our assumptions about the indicated meaning, with similar parallels: Чausидис 1994: 395–398; on the archaic Slavic features of the toponym Velgošti: Илиевски 1988: 450. Also worth mentioning is the fact that sources mention a cult place and idol of the god Gerovit/Yarovit at the locality of Wolgast/Wologošč on the Baltic coast (Ebbo, III. 7; Herbordus, II. 39, III. 4; Helmold, I. 38), which could etymologically correspond to the village of Velgošti near Ohrid. Furthermore, on the banks of the Drin, opposite the mouth of the Valbona, there was a similar toponym, Radogošta, in the Middle Ages, which coincides with the name of the god Radogost, mentioned in the medieval sources referring to the Polabian Slavs (Люма 1991: 321, 322).

kans, for example, in Serbia there are the hill and village of Veles (western Serbia), and the village of Velesnica (on the Danube, near Kladovo), while in Montenegro there is a village called Velestovo (Кулишић 1998, 85). We should also mention several examples from Thessaly, a region which in the Early Middle Ages was settled by the Slavic Belegezites (Velesi, Velesjotes, Velesnikon, and Velestinon). Velestinon was already mentioned above as the place where the Early Slavic metal plaques with depictions of various mythical characters were discovered (Т.Х).⁴² In Russia, similar names (Volosovo, Velesovo) referred to places that appeared to stand out from the surroundings and were once probably associated with the god Volos/Veles (Рыбаков 1987: 137).

– TRIGLAV

On Mount Galičica, rising above the village of Konjsko near Ohrid (twenty kilometres north of the monastery of St. Naum), there is a peak called Truglaš. This name is considered to be a local dialectal variant of Triglav, which is a pagan Slavic theonym that appears in medieval sources and other traditions. Apart from its profane meaning (a hill with three peaks), this toponym can also be a theonym denoting a mythical character – a deity with three heads.⁴³ This is clearly and explicitly confirmed in the medieval sources that refer to the Western Slavs, specifically in the form “triglous”, which is even more similar to the Ohrid example (Monachus Prieflingensis, II. 11; Dynda 2014: 58–59, footnote 5). Among the Southern Slavs, this god is referred to by numerous toponyms, often accompanied by appropriate legends, and especially through various mythical characters with similar names recorded in folklore, all of which are based on the word meaning *three* or *threefold* (Trojan/Trajan, Troglava Arapina). This god is also present in archaeological material, such as objects or figures with three anthropomorphic heads or faces (examples T.XVIII: 3, 4). The analyses carried out so far have shown that this god is usually a chthonic character with an ambivalent nature, whose domain includes various spheres of activity (fertility, animals, wealth, death, the dead), and corresponds to the analogous type of Indo-European deities (Чausидис 2005: 241–269; Чausидис 2021: Ch. IX).

– CRNOBOG/CHERNOBOG

North of Lake Ohrid, near the village of Bajramovci (vicinity of Debar), there is a village called Crnoboci. Together with the village of Crnobuki near Bitola (referred to as Crnoboki in older documents), it can be associated with Crnobog (“Black God”) – another theonym and epiphany of a Slavic chthonic god (Čausидис 2009: 86–91; Чausидис 1994: 398). There are numerous indications that following the Christianisation of the Slavs (as well as other populations), their chthonic gods were identified with the devil. In addition to many concrete indications, this is also clearly suggested by some written documents.

⁴² On this and other toponyms in Thessaly with the same root: Чausидис 1993: 163–166.

⁴³ Илиевски 1988: 451; in the topographic map of SFR Yugoslavia (Kruševo-3, 1: 50 000, from the year 1958) the toponym is denoted as Truglaš. Concerning the Slavic god Triglav and his analogies and pictorial representations: Чausидис 1994: 391–393; Чausидис 2005: 241–260.

Helmold says the Slavs believed in the good and the evil god: “... in their language, they call the evil god Diabol [Devil] or Zcerneboch [Crnobog/Chernobog]” (Helmold, I. 52; Гейшор 1986: 132). This dualistically structured arrangement is also manifested in Slavic toponymy through the presence of pairs of toponyms containing the names of the above gods (or their equivalents), situated opposite each other, on either side of a river or stream (Čausidis 2009: 86–88; Чаусидис 2003: 141, 142, with presented bibliography). We have made an assumption about the presence of such a pair in the fresco composition of “The Harrowing of Hell” from the church of the Holy Mother of God Eleusa in the monastery of Veljusa (near Strumica, Macedonia, 11th century CE). Instead of just one figure (the devil) under the gates of hell, there are depicted two – one with light skin and the other with dark skin (Čausidis 2009: 88–91). In this context, the toponyms whose name means *black-headed* and which are located in the wider area are of particular interest to us: the village of Černoglave (Черноглаве) near Berat (Albania), the village of Černoglav (Черноглав) near Serres in Greece (Станковска 2002: 425, 426), and *Tzernoglavos*, mentioned in 1071 CE near the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos (Pavlikianov 2015: 670). They could be related to the theonym Chernoglav/Crnoglav (“Black-Headed”) or some of its specific epiphanies, since the Western Slavs mention a god with this name (Tiarnoglofi in Jasmund on the island of Rügen) whose statue had a silver beard (Knytlinga Saga; Profantova & Profant 2000: 60).

– THE DEVIL

Helmold’s account suggests a fairly early contamination of the character of the Slavic chthonic god (specifically Crnobog) with the devil. This phenomenon is also indicated by other facts. Some written sources from the 15th and 17th centuries indicate that for the Czechs, *Veles* was a synonym for an evil spirit, a demon and the devil.⁴⁴ A Russian account from the 19th century, which is based on an older text, describes the destruction of the cult and sanctuary of the pagan god *Volos* in Yaroslavl. *Volos* is identified with the devil and with the *bes/bies* in numerous places (Иванов и Топоров 1974: 55–66; Чаусидис 2003: 268). These facts give us reason to include the name of the medieval town of *Devol* in our research (Old Slavic: Дѣволъ). It was first mentioned in the second half of the 9th century and its diocese actually included the monastery of St. Naum.

Although the exact location of the town has not yet been confirmed, there is no doubt it was located in the area of the same name that stretched south of Lakes Ohrid and Prespa (T.XVIII: 1). Byzantine sources confirm that this town’s name was associated with the meaning of devil, as its name is transcribed in Greek as *Diabolis* (Διάβολις), or appears as *Selasforos* (Σελασφόρος), meaning *light bearer*, which is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *Lucifer*.⁴⁵ However, this toponym was recorded in the same region much earlier, in the form *Δαυλία/Δηβολία* (Ptolemy, III, 12, 23), as the name of an Illyrian town in the

⁴⁴ Успенский 1982: 57; Живанчевић 1963: 41; Иванов и Топоров 1974: 56, 57; Чаусидис 2003: 268.

⁴⁵ On these and various other versions of the toponym noted in the sources and for the proposed locations of the city: Бело и Дамо 2009: 232, 233; Филиппоски 2011a: 409–414; *Девол* 2021; Томоски 1975; Томоски, 1999: 294–296, 398–410.

region of the Apsos River, while a similar toponym is also observed in Phocis (Δαυλίς), as well as in Δαύλης.⁴⁶ Regardless of the Greek etymology of *διάβολος*, this lexeme cannot be taken as the basis for the medieval toponyms Дѣволъ and Διάβολις, but as their secondary reconceptualisation. It has been suggested that it first referred to the local river (ποταμος Διαβολεως), so in that context its root is sought in the Thracian **dhāw-ulē*, connected with the meanings of *river* and *river flow*.⁴⁷ We suggest that a Paeonian lexeme should also be included in these examinations, firstly because of the proximity of this region to Paeonia, and also because of the considerable distance from Thrace and its cultural influences. We have in mind the theonym Dyalos (variants Dryalus, Δρύαλος), which is presented in the Lexicon of Hesychius as the “Paeonian Dionysus”, and is also confirmed as a theonym by epigraphic monuments found in Kilkis (Greek part of Macedonia), and in the ancient city of Stobi (RN Macedonia) (in the second case as Dyalis).⁴⁸ This would also be supported by the presence in this part of the Balkans of another medieval settlement (most probably a town) named Devol, located in the very centre of former Paeonia (see below). Such an interpretation would also be supported by other facts, primarily the frequent identification of the pagan Dionysus with the Christian *Διάβολος*, based on their pronounced chthonic character, whereby the Paeonian variant would be even more interesting because of its greater phonetic proximity to the Christian term.⁴⁹ One could also include the Thracian mythical character Daba/Dava and the Phrygian Davos (a lame deity - wolf) in these comparisons. The latter may be considered a possible link to the Greek and Latin *Διάβολος/Diabolus* via the Semitic *Dava - ol* (meaning *Dava-god/Evil god*). All the above gives reason to incorporate in this analysis the Slavic theonym Dajbog/Dažbog, especially through the South Slavic Dabog and Hromi Dabo (a mythical character with accentuated chthonic features) (Драгојловиќ и Стојчевска-Антиќ 1990: 57–61; Чаусидис 2003: 149).

A second argument would be the presence in the Devol region (T.XVIII: 1) of the toponym Božigrad, i.e. “God’s Town” (present-day Miras),⁵⁰ which could be considered a Slavic translation of the ancient toponym, if the assumption were accepted that it was based on the above or other similar Paleo-Balkan theonym.⁵¹ This hypothesis becomes

⁴⁶ Бело и Дамо 2009: 232; Топоров 1964: 54 (with several similar toponyms in the Baltic region).

⁴⁷ Бело и Дамо 2009: 232, 233 (and other etymologies); Конески 1991: 94.

⁴⁸ (Hesychius Alexandrinus, Lexicon); Чаусидис 2017, 265, with presented bibliography.

⁴⁹ According to the archeological data discovered so far, the cult of Dionysus was particularly strong in the Ohrid-Prespa region: Битракова Грозданова 2017: 339–354 (in Ohrid); Ефтимовски 2017: 41–43 (in Prespa).

⁵⁰ On Božigrad (with a different interpretation): Бело и Дамо 2009: 234–237.

⁵¹ In the Ohrid-Prespa region there are also other toponyms that contain elements of a chthonic character (for all the toponyms mentioned see T.XVIII: 1). The Slavic ones include the name of Mount Galičica, which separates the two lakes. The root *gal* is connected to the meanings *black/dark*. The same meaning is also borne by its peaks Čemerec (above the village of Skrebatno), Crn Kamen (above the village of Peštani) and the locality Temnono. An analogous meaning is also contained in Tomoros, the name of another of its peaks, based on the Paleo-Balkan root with the same meaning, also contained in the name of the Tomorr mountain massif, the Tomorica River (a tributary of the Devol River), and the region of the same name, all of which lie between the rivers Devol and Osum. There are also two toponyms whose names contain the meaning of *devil*: Vragoj Gumenja near the village of Elšani, on the west side of Galičica, and Čerti Kamen/Čertov Kamen, on its opposite side – near the village of Stenje in Prespa (Илиевски 1988: 418–420, 441, 442, 443, 448, 449, 451, 452); on Čerti Kamen/Čertov Kamen: Ефтимовски 2018: 131, 132.

more likely if we consider that the name *Devol* has the root *dev-*, i.e. *div-* as the basis of numerous Indo-European theonyms. In Macedonia, toponyms with this root are quite common (most often associated with old towns or rocks), and are frequently reconceptualised to mean *virgin* or *girl* (Devin Grad, Devikj, Devin Kamen). Also pertinent to this context is a variant of the story, recorded in Serbia, about the harnessing of a wild animal to a yoke. The protagonist is a mythical character named Div who comes to the mountain, catches the wolves that ate someone's oxen, and harnesses them in their place to pull his cart (Matičetoŭ 1987: 185).

The Slavic Triglav, represented in our case by the toponym Truglash, fits well into the interactions between the Christian devil and the Slavic chthonic gods. We are referring here to the folkloric and esoteric pictorial traditions in which the devil was depicted with three heads, i.e. three faces, among other things (example T.XVIII: 2). The reason for such an appearance should not be sought only in his treatment as a counterpart (perhaps even heretical) of the Holy Trinity, but also of the pagan chthonic gods with three heads (T.XVIII: 2 compare with 3, 4) (Sastre Vázquez 1994).

All the above, observed in a broader geographical and chronological context, points to the mutual interaction between the spiritual cultures of various populations that have existed in this region for centuries. There are indications that the strongly rooted traditions of veneration of chthonic deities, developed in pre-Roman and probably also in Roman times, faded in the early Christian period, and were refreshed after the settlement of the Slavs. However, this was followed by the replacement or reconceptualisation of old sacral toponyms with new ones, based on the names of the respective Slavic deities and mythical characters.

It is quite unusual in a Christian culture for a settlement, especially a town with the status of a regional centre and the seat of a bishopric, to be named after the most negative and hated character in Christianity – Devol, the devil. It is obvious that it was motivated by some factor that could not be ignored and avoided. In addition to the above, two other arguments support the fact that the Slavs recognised their chthonic god (most probably Veles or Crnobog) in the toponym Devol. The first is the presence in medieval Macedonia of another settlement (probably a town) with the same name – the above-mentioned Devol – in the area of Raec (near Kavadarci), indicating that this is not a coincidence, but a phenomenon that was more widespread in this part of the Balkans.⁵² The second argument is the name of another Macedonian medieval town, perhaps the only one in the Slavic world, which completely coincides with the theonym of a Pagan Slavic deity. We are speaking about the town of Veles whose name can be traced in sources from the first decades of the 11th century, up to the present day.⁵³ The town probably got its name from the strong and enduring pagan traditions (for example, the presence of a significant

⁵² It refers to the former town of Želišta, which the Turks called “Devol - kasabasi” (Радовановић 1924: 177, 214, 515); assumptions and discussions about the location and topography of the medieval town of Devol in Raec: Микулчиќ 1983; Томоски, 1999: 407, 408; Аџиевски 1987.

⁵³ On the sources, location and topography of the town: Микулчиќ 1985. The second example would be the city of Volos in Thessaly, if its genesis were not problematic (first mentioned as Γόλοϛ, and only later as Βόλοϛ): Чаусидис 1993: 165.

cultic place dedicated to this god), and then managed to preserve it throughout the Middle Ages. In the meantime, the toponym's original pagan meaning was forgotten (see below).

The toponym Devol appears in two other geographical names in the broader area of the town of Devol in present-day Albania. These are the Devol River and the region of the same name that stretched along its course, south of Lakes Ohrid and Prespa (T.XVIII: 1). If we accept the hypothesis that Devol is the old Balkan equivalent of the Christian Devil and of the Slavic chthonic god (Veles), and take into account that the domains of the latter, in addition to the earth and the underworld, also included the earthly waters, then it is also possible that the toponym Devol first referred to the river, and was only later used as a name for the town and the wider region (Конески 1991: 94–96; Бело и Дамо 2009: 232). The other two Macedonian examples referenced above also have a similar topography. The medieval town of Veles has a mystical setting with rocks and caves, right next to the Vardar River. The hill on the opposite bank (today known as St. Elijah, until recently without a church, but with a significant cultic site) was probably dedicated to the Slavic thunderer Perun – the opponent of Veles.⁵⁴ The medieval town of Devol in Reac (fifty kilometres from the previous one) also has a similar setting, next to a river and at the entrance into a mystical gorge with steep cliffs and caves (Микулчиќ 1983).

If we agree that the idol from the monastery of St. Naum represented a pagan deity, and that after Christianisation it was identified with the devil, then we could seek traces of this process in one of the legends about St. Naum. It is a very unusual (and of course fragmentary) legend in which the devil put a curse on St. Naum so he would never die, and he responded by turning the devil into stone. Then St. Naum asked the people: “Do you know in which church the devil has been turned into stone?” After they told him, he revived the devil, and later died himself (Целакоски 1997: 150). Perhaps the “stone devil in the church” is precisely the stone idol that is the subject of our study?

c) Stone pillars on Mount Galičica

In front of the newly built church in the village of Ljubaništa (2 km north of the monastery of St. Naum), there is a cylindrical stone pillar about 1.5 m high, with a slightly narrowed upper part and a flattened top (T.XVIII: 6). According to the villagers, it has always been in this place, ten metres from its current location. They also say that similar stone pillars, some of them cut in half, are found at several locations on Mount Galičica. Although there is no information about the nature and purpose of these objects, assumptions have been made that they are old milestones (Чубриќ 2006). Such an interpretation cannot be ruled out, although the object from Ljubaništa is made of rough stone, with an uneven surface and no markings, which is not typical of the Roman milestones that have also been discovered in this region. They could therefore be roadside markers or some other kind of markers from before or after Roman times. We should therefore not completely rule

⁵⁴ On the cultic objects in and around the medieval town, and arguments in favour of the Veles - Perun opposition, separated in this case by the Vardar River: Чаусидис 1994: 395, 396, 441.

out the possible cultic nature of these objects, regardless of whether it was their original purpose, or if it was acquired later as a result of their reconceptualisation.

BOGOMIL AND OTHER DUALISTIC IMPLICATIONS

The region that is home to the monastery of St. Naum appears in some medieval written sources as the centre of heretical movements. Some researchers are studying why St. Clement and St. Naum were sent from Preslav to this very region after they returned from the Moravian and Pannonian mission. They say this happened because it was believed that thanks to the authority and experience gained in the course of these missions, the two men were the best candidates to successfully deal with this challenge. Although it is commonly thought that the Bogomil heresy dominated in the indicated region, some in-depth studies suggests that behind this label were in fact the heretical teachings of the Messalians, Cathars and Novatians (Чausидис 2003: 118–123, 309–317, with presented bibliography). In our previous research we have tried to highlight some pictorial representations in the Christian temples of the Ohrid region that either directly or indirectly point to the presence of the dualistic heresy in this region, including the church of the St. Naum monastery (Чausидис 2003: 287–292). The importance of this task within the mission of the saints is also reflected in the traditions associated with St. Naum. We are speaking of another scene from his already mentioned hagiographic cycle, executed as a fresco composition or as part of an icon, depicting a confrontation between St. Naum and the Bogomils, which is explicitly indicated by the appropriate signature “St. Naum persecuted by the Bogomils” (Т.ХVIII: 5) (Чausидис 2003: 291, 292).

These observations lead us to the question: what was actually meant by the term *heresy* in the written sources that often refer to the Ohrid-Prespa region? Did it refer only to the above heretical teachings, or could it also include the pagan traditions of the Slavs and even of some other populations present in this region? Our observations so far show that this dichotomy was not so pronounced and decisive in the Middle Ages because the prohibition, persecution and repression of the two phenomena by the church meant they were both considered to be negative manifestations that had to be destroyed or suppressed to the margins of society. This status, and the absence of more serious internal dogmatic and institutional means of control, encouraged the rapprochement of the two phenomena, i.e. the mixing of some of their traditions. We are primarily referring here to the use of the pagan Slavic mythical-symbolic system for a more receptive (metaphorical and narrative) presentation of the complex and abstract heretical dogmas to ordinary uneducated believers (Чausидис 2003: 133–139).

There are still debates in academic circles regarding the parallel existence of dualism in the original pagan religion of the Slavs and in the Bogomil teachings which they are believed to have adopted after settling in the Balkans. Although in some older theories, Pagan Slavic dualism is even seen as a trigger of Bogomilism, according to more recent observations its role is reduced only to creating an affinity for the adoption of the heresy, whose origins in the Near East are not in doubt (Чausидис 2003: 91–113). In this sense, we can again consider

the account by Helmold that the Slavs believed in two gods with complementary qualities to be particularly paradigmatic. This in turn is a fundamental feature of most heretical teachings (Чаусидис 2003: 141). This conceptual structure can be sensed in the medieval sources that refer to the Eastern Slavs,⁵⁵ and also in the folkloric traditions of the Southern Slavs.⁵⁶

In this case, what is important for us are the dualistic teachings in which the opponent of the good God is not some minor figure whose importance amounts to emphasising the goodness, value and power of the positive God, but those in which he has the same rank as the latter, and is even surrounded by certain forms of veneration, referred to in the sources as “devil worship” (Чаусидис 2003: 267–269, 314, 315). This gives us another possible justification for the existence of the toponym “Devol”, according to which its emergence and survival throughout the centuries could be due not only to the traditions of Paleo-Balkan and Slavic paganism, but also the teachings of dualistic heresies from this part of the Peninsula.

ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE CHARACTER DEPICTED ON THE IDOL FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. NAUM

a) Attributes and functions of the Slavic chthonic god

The noted legend about the harnessing of the bear, and the toponyms from the Ohrid-Prespa region and its wider surroundings, point to a possible connection between the idol from the monastery of St. Naum and the Slavic chthonic god, who may have been represented in this case by the theonym *Veles*. In several historical sources, he is accompanied by the epithet “скотји бог” (“livestock god”), which is interpreted in two ways that need not be mutually exclusive. According to the first, he was the **patron of animals** (wild and domestic), as indicated by numerous traditions in Slavic folklore. According to the second, this epithet is a reflection of his **animalistic appearance**, i.e. this god’s theriomorphic epiphanies, supported by numerous arguments (folkloric and from the spheres of medieval pictoriality) in which the dominant place is occupied precisely by the bear.⁵⁷ In this context, the presence of the same animal in the legend about St. Naum gains significance. Quite logically, it appears in a secondary (Christianised and degraded) form, as a representative of the negative principle. Building upon the ritual paradigms of this action, which consisted in investing the bear’s enormous vital force (and that of the god it represented) into the ploughed field, the meaning of this procedure can be sought in the identification of the plough with the phallus, whereby the act of ploughing acquires the

⁵⁵ “Два суть бози: единъ небесный, другой во аде” (“There are two gods: one is heavenly, the other is in hell”) (Густынская летопись (Hustynja chronicle), contents referring to 1070 CE).

⁵⁶ “Кад јунаци руно вино пише, / не спомињу Бога јединога, / већ спомињу ђавола немилога, / ... бештимаше Бога јединога, / од стра Бога слушати не мореш!” (“When heroes drink red wine, / they do not mention the only God, / but mention the devil unpleasant, / ... cursing the only God, / you do not have to listen to God out of fear!”) (Archive of Vuk Karadžić, song “Марко Краљевић и цар Стефан” (“Prince Marko and Tsar Stefan”).

⁵⁷ Sources, their interpretations and relations with the bear: Живанчевић 1963: 46–50; Рыбаков 1981: 421–431; Успенский 1982: 85–89; Иванов и Топоров 1974: 47–50, 57–61.

meaning of hierogamy, that is, sexual intercourse between the harnessed teriomorphic god and the Earth Goddess.⁵⁸ The idol from the monastery of St. Naum can also find its place in the framework of this mythical paradigm, due to its pronounced ithyphallic appearance that is emphasised on several levels: by the presence of a human figure with oversized testicles and phallus; the accentuation of the genitals by the arms of the figure being directed towards them; by the contours of the monument, which allude to an erect phallus whose glans penis is depicted as a human head; by planting into the ground of the idol and perhaps of the phallus of the represented character.

In this context, one should ask why, contrary to the folk legends, the plough is not present in the frescoes and icons depicting the miracle of St. Naum, but has been replaced by a two-wheeled cart. This could be because the church fathers wanted to avoid giving legitimacy to the mentioned pagan rituals of harnessing a bear to a plough, which seem to have still been performed in the region at the time, by keeping this detail out of official ecclesiastical images.

b) The overlapping functions of St. Naum and his supposed Pagan Slavic predecessor

It is not impossible that in inheriting the cult role of his pagan predecessors, St. Naum also had to accept some of their domains of action. This is indicated by the overlapping of some of the saint's miraculous functions with those of the Slavic god Veles that refer to agriculture, livestock, water, commerce and healing.⁵⁹

— AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

These domains are clearly presented in the elaborated legend about **St. Naum harnessing a bear to a plough**. In addition to the already mentioned arguments that support the overlapping of functions with the god Veles, one can take the functions of St. Blaise, a Christian saint who appears in Slavic folklore (and beyond) as the patron and protector of livestock, and who also has a similar name (Живанчевић 1963). The presence of some other pre-Christian mythical character in the place of St. Naum (and of some other saints) is indicated by the other legends of the same type in which Дядо Господ/Grandfather God (around Sofia), or Div (Serbia) appears as the bear's tamer. Meanwhile, the devil appears in the role of the harnessed animal (compare T.XVII: 7). The latter is particularly interesting, given the chthonic aspects of the legend and other traditions in the area of the monastery (MatičetoV 1987: 173, 174, 181, 182, 184, 185).

— WATER

In a legend recorded by the Miladinov brothers, St. Naum is presented as the **keeper of the keys to the springs that fill Lake Ohrid**. If fully opened, they would flood the entire Ohrid and Struga Valley. This is reflected in another story in which he punishes a woman

⁵⁸ On ploughing as a symbolic sexual act: Чаусидис 2008: 15–20.

⁵⁹ On overlaps between the character and cult of St. Clement of Ohrid and the older gods venerated at Plaošnik in Ohrid: Чаусидис 2012: 79, 80; Чаусидис 2020: 154.

who wanted to measure the depth of the lake (Миладиновци 1983: 502–503; Саздов 1985: 118; Целакоски 1997: 145). The function of **lord of water** is typical for chthonic gods whose domains of action include not only the earth and the underworld, but also the earthly waters (springs, streams, rivers, swamps, lakes and seas) (Элиаде 1999, Глава V). Such functions are also attributed to Veles and his other Slavic chthonic equivalents (Иванов и Топоров 1974: 40–47; Успенский 1982: 81–84). The connection between St. Naum's domain and that of one of his pagan chthonic predecessors is also indicated by the various local legends referring to the dragon, i.e. the *lamya* that lives in Lake Ohrid. In this context, the legend that speaks of the saint's function as controller of the sources of the Black Drin River is particularly interesting. According to this legend, the springs were created during a confrontation with St. Naum, when the *lamya* made a hole under Mount Galičica so water from the neighbouring Lake Prespa could flow into Lake Ohrid (Лафазановски 2002: 3; Целакоски 1997: 103; Ристески 2005: 80). This parallel is a serious indicator of the same identity of the three mythical characters, who are all lords of this river source: the chthonic dragon as the zoomorphic patron of water; Veles, Crnobog and Triglav as Pagan Slavic deities; and St. Naum as their Christian successor.⁶⁰

— COMMERCE AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

In folk tradition, St. Naum of Ohrid also figures as the **patron of craftsmen and merchants** (Филипоски 2011б: 170). There are clear indications that the Slavic god Veles bore the same functions. In Kiev, the *kapyshche* (cult place) of Volos was not in the same place as that of the other gods (“на Княжеской Горе”, i.e. at the Princely Hill, next to the ruler's palace), but at Podil, i.e. the Lower City (“на торговом Подоле”), at the trading ports on the Pochaina River. There are indications that in Pskov it was located at the city market (“на Торгу”), where a church dedicated to his Christian substitute St. Blaise was later built. It is even said that when the Russian-Byzantine treaties were concluded in the 10th century CE, the Russian princes swore by Perun (“Перуном богом своим”), while the merchants swore by Volos (“Волосом скотием богом”).⁶¹ Finally, even today in the South Slavic languages the lexeme *стока/stoka* (Russian: *скот*) means livestock, but also goods intended for sale.

— HEALING

In the hagiography of St. Naum, and also in folk traditions, the saint is portrayed as a **healer** who had the power to cure various (especially spiritual, i.e. mental) illnesses (Филипоски 2011б: 168, 170; Филдишевски и Тунтев 1985). This is also indicated by the dedication of the monastery church to the Holy Archangels, given that churches dedicated to the Holy Archangels were usually built next to large springs whose water

⁶⁰ Other folk traditions about the dragon or *lamya* in Lake Ohrid: Лафазановски 2002; Чаусидис 1994: 399, 400; older ancient traditions: Чаусидис 2010б: 166–171; Чаусидис 2005: 225, on the connection between the dragon and the chthonic god: 209–225. In this legend, the phenomenon of fusion or identification of the dragonslayer with the dragon occurs, in this case represented by St. Naum.

⁶¹ Рыбаков 1987: 417–421, 427; Рыбаков 1981: 431, 422; assumptions about a similar topographic arrangement in Varoš - Prilep (RN Macedonia): Чаусидис 1994: 400–402.

was believed to have the power to heal the mentally ill (Грозданов 2015: 11). In various spheres of folk culture one can identify elements that point to the same function of Volos/Veles, also based mainly on the healing properties of water (Успенский 1982: 64–70). In Russia, there are several locations with a dominant stone or rock that was used for healing, which academic circles connect with Veles (Седов 1998). A Russian document from 1420 CE states that during a great epidemic, the citizens of Pskov decided to find and excavate the foundations of the original church (built upon the cult site of Volos), believing that by doing so they would be able to overcome the disease (Рыбаков 1987: 419, 420). This function would not only be specific to the Slavic chthonic god but also to most other similar figures, at least among the Indo-European populations, because it is quite logical for the god of the underworld, who is at the same time the lord of death, to also be the master of the illnesses that cause it.

The chthonic aspects are also contained in the power of St. Naum to **treat spiritual, i.e. mental illnesses**, and this is particularly emphasised in written sources and legends (Филипоски 2011б: 168, 170; Филдишевски и Тунтев 1985). This aspect is present in the definitions of these illnesses in archaic cultures, and even in Christianity. In Slavic languages it is implicit in words (e.g.: Macedonian: *беснило/besnilo*, *збеснат/zbesnat*; Serbian and Croatia: *bijesan*; Russian: *бешенный/bešenyj*) based on the Proto-Slavic root **bes* (a demonic character with negative symbolism), at the core of which stands the meaning of *fear* and *horror* (Skok 1974: *bijes*). These elements determine the cause and essence of the mental illnesses that were thought to have been caused by the *possession of man by some kind of demonic character – bes/bies*, who did not have to bear only a “Christian” nature (devil), but also an older Pagan one. If we take into account that the best healer of an illness is the one who caused it, i.e. its creator and master, then it also follows that the healer of “madness” was Bes/Bies himself – the former chthonic god.

In folk tradition, St. Naum is also presented as a **healer of infertility** (Филипоски 2011б: 170; Целакоски 1997: 79, 80; Ристески 2005: 86–88). This function is more directly related to the monument that is the subject of our study, as it has an accentuated ithyphallicity. This component points to the possibility that its venerators visited this idol and the location where it was placed in order to end their childlessness through some ritual and magical acts, i.e. to conceive and have offspring of their own. In addition to the usual offerings and sacrifices, they may also have left some of their clothes or jewellery next to the idol, as is still practiced in Macedonia today in locations with similar features (water, sacred stones).⁶² Given the global phallic shape of the idol, it is not impossible that more obscene acts were also performed on it, with allusions to sexual intercourse through which the depicted god would ensure conception. A direct paradigm for such immediate physical contact of women with the idol, is the ritual that was performed in the cult cave of Mal Zmeovets (meaning “Small Dragon’s Lair”) near the village of Dren (Demir Kapija, RN Macedonia), during which women without offspring left their

⁶² For example, Govedarov Kamen (“Cattleman’s Stone”) near Peširovo (Sveti Nikole) and Crn Kamen (“Black Stone”) near the medieval town of Veles (Поповска 2012: 47, 72, 78, 127–129, 151, 152, 190).

underwear beside the vertical phallus-like stalagmites, but also sat on them believing this would help them conceive.⁶³

CLOSING REMARKS

Based on the referenced material and the proposed interpretations, can it be concluded that the ithyphallic idol from the monastery of St. Naum represented the Slavic chthonic god Veles, i.e. Volos, Crnobog or Triglav?

Although some of the presented data does indicate such a possibility, this conclusion cannot be decisively confirmed. Ithyphallic gods often personify the male fertilising power on its own, without any connection with the chthonic realms or some other cosmic elements. When connections nevertheless exist, they usually refer to some celestial elements, for example the sun, specifically by identifying the male fertilising power with the heat and light which, radiating from this celestial body, stimulates the earth's fertility. In other cases, this function is also attributed to thunder, i.e. lightning, or to rain, once again understood as celestial rather than chthonic elements. However, this option cannot be ruled out, given the absence of any rules and patterns in the constitution of a particular mythical character or deity, and its functions and domains. Although ithyphallicity is in principle personalised in a separate category of deities, it can become an attribute of any male deity, expressing one of his domains of action, equated with the functions of his sexual organs. In the case of the supreme god, this would be his role as creator of the universe or of man, or the function of a Cosmic Pillar on which the whole universe rests (T.XI: 4, 5). In the case of the Sun-God, it can symbolise the productive heat that awakens nature, while for war deities it symbolises their aggression and militancy (the best illustration of both functions is the West Slavic god Gerovit/Yarovit). Regarding the gods of the earth, the underworld and the earthly waters, the accentuation of the genitals may reflect the chthonic forces contained in the water and the earth that are responsible for the fertility of nature and the sprouting of vegetation.

In our case, there may also have been two separate male deities whose theonyms left traces in the local toponymy. It could either have been a chthonic god (Veles, Crnobog), or a deity representing the male fertilising power, whose theonym may have contained the root *ger* or *jar/yar* (German, Yaro, Yarilo, Yarovit). It is not excluded that both deities were venerated in the same cultic space, perhaps on the very site of the current monastery of St. Naum or in the picturesque natural environment around the springs of the Black Drin River. It is possible that these two characters were in some kind of mutual relationship, whereby the chthonic god (of an older age) figured as the father of the younger ithyphallic god. Over time, the two characters could also have merged, i.e. one could have assimilated the other, although not completely, but only in some of his

⁶³ Chausidis 2020: 159 (the ritual has been recorded in the last decades of the 20th century); on other, primarily ancient, archaeological traces of cultic activities in this and the neighboring cave (Golem Zmeovets, meaning "Large Dragon's Lair"): 160–162.

aspects, in order to acquire the other character's theonym while maintaining their own appearance. We cannot therefore rule out the possibility that the idol (which undoubtedly looks like an ithyphallic god) was venerated under the theonym of the chthonic god (Veles or Crnobog).

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CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

T.I

Monastery of St. Naum and the springs of the Black Drin River: **1.** View of the monastery from the northwest <<http://www.hotel-stnaum.com.mk/>> (06.05.2021); **2.** Springs of the Black Drin River <<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/111182684526228163/>> (06.05.2021); **3.** Church of the Virgin Mary <<https://www.fotocommunity.de/photo/sv-bogorodica-iz-avori-crni-drim-ristovskich/20177954>> (06.05.2021); **4.** Building above one of the springs dedicated to St. Paraskeva <<https://ohridpress.com.mk/?p=123681>> (06.05.2021); **5.** Plan of the complex of the Black Drin River springs <<https://www.google.com/maps/place/Monastery+of+St.+Naum/@40.910318,20.7404396,15.75z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x0:0x-527f1a786822494d!8m2!3d40.9138726!4d20.7406172>> (06.05.2021).

T.II

Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. **1.** Photo: D. Taneski; **2-6.** Photo: N. Chausidis.

T.III

Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. **1-6.** Variants of the possible appearance and proportions of the idol and its original placement (photos and drawings: N. Chausidis).

T.IV

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2-6.** Tombstones, 17th-18th centuries CE (?), Vuksanlekaj/Vuksanlekići, Tuzi, Montenegro (van Twillert 2017).

T.V

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2.** Bronze figurine of Priapus, Roman period, unknown site (*Votive Priapus* 2021); **3.** Ceramic figurine of Priapus, ancient period, Ephesus Archaeological Museum in Izmir, Turkey (*Priapus* 2021); **4.** Wooden ithyphallic figure, 6th century BCE, Broddenbjerg, near Viborg, Denmark, National Museum, Copenhagen (*Museum Silkeborg* 2021); **5.** Bronze Tintinnabulum, Roman period, Naples Archaeological Museum, Italy (*Bronze Tintinnabulum* 2021); **6.** Bronze figurine, Roman period, Cawood, North Yorkshire, United Kingdom (Worrell & Pearce 2014, 406 - Fig. 5); **7.** Lead alloy figurine, Roman period, Leicestershire, United Kingdom (*Roman lead* 2021).

T.VI

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2, 3.** Motif from a stone stele, 5th-7th centuries CE, Pikuzy, Mariupol (Zhdanov), Pryazovia, Ukraine (Швецов 1980,

269 - а, б); **4, 5, 6.** Bronze figurines-amulets, Early Middle Ages, unknown sites, Eastern Europe (Спасёных 2020, 112); **7.** Silver applique, 6th-7th centuries, Martynovka, Cherkasy Oblast, Ukraine (Akhmedov 2018, 514 – Fig.7: 2); **8.** Silver applique, Early Middle Ages, Peregradnaya, Urup District, Karachay-Cherkess Republic (Akhmedov 2018, 509 – Fig.4: 5); **9.** Bronze pendant in the form of an ithyphallic figure, Iron Age, 6th-5th centuries BCE, Kazbek, Georgia (*Находки* 2020). **10.** Bronze pendant in the form of an ithyphallic figure, 7th-6th centuries BCE, Luristan, Iran (*Ithyphallic figure* 2020); **11, 12, 13.** Bronze pendants, Early Middle Ages, North Caucasus (Ковалевская 1983, 44 - Рис.1: 1-3).

T.VII

Openwork bronze pendants. **1.** 7th-8th centuries CE, St. Erasmus - Ohrid, RN Macedonia (Павловска 2012, 129); **2.** 7th - 8th century CE, Derjan, Mati, Albania (Kurti 1971, 272 – Fig. 1); **3, 4.** Early Middle Ages, Hungary (Popović 1984, 239 – Fig. 34); **5.** Early Middle Ages, Tiszafüred, Hungary (Garam 1995, Taf. 230: 7); **6.** Early Middle Ages, Eastern Europe (Спасёных 2020, 72: Г); **7.** Early Middle Ages, Eastern Europe (Спасёных 2020, 115: Б); **9-14.** Early Middle Ages, North Caucasus (Ковалевская 1983, 44 - Рис.1: 9, 15, 10, 11, 14, 12); **8.** Bronze belt distributor, Early Middle Ages, Eastern Europe (Спасёных 2020, 72: Б)

T.VIII

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2.** Bronze figurine, La Tène culture, Prašník, Slovakia (Karwowski 2012, 206 – Pl.1: 10); **3.** Bronze figurine, La Tène culture, Domèvre-en-Haye, Lorraine, France (Karwowski 2012, 208 – Pl.3: 1); **4.** Bronze figurine, La Tène culture, Oberleiserberg, Bezirk Korneuburg, Austria (Karwowski 2012, 190 – Fig. 2); **5.** Monumental stone statue, 5th century BCE, Hirschlanden, Baden-Württemberg, Germany (*Die schöne* 2021); **6.** Motif from a silver cauldron, Late La Tène period, Gundestrup, Denmark (*Cernunnos* 2021).

T.IX

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis). Stone sculptures (idols), Scythian culture (7th - 3rd centuries BCE); **2.** Novovasilyevka, Ukraine (Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994, 98 – Илл. 10); **3.** Sibioara, Romania (Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994, 89 – Илл. 1); **4.** Manychskaya, Russia (Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994, 177 – Илл. 89); **5.** Oľkhovchik, Ukraine (Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994, 136 – Илл. 81); **6.** Semenivka, Ukraine (Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994, 126 – Илл. 38: 72). **7.** Prydniprovsk'e, Ukraine (Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994, 135 – Илл. 47: 80); **8.** Kiev Museum, Kiev, Ukraine (Ольховский и Евдокимов 1994, 128 – Илл. 40: 73).

T.X

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis).

Lead plaques, 7th-8th centuries CE, Velestino, Thessaly, Greece, Princeton University Art Museum: **2.** (*Woman in Childbirth* 2021); **3.** (*Cynocephalus* 2021); **4.** (*Woman Running* 2021); **5.** (*Two Women* 2021); **7.** (*Winged female* 202.); **8.** Detail of the plaque (*Animal* 2021); **6.** Bronze plaque, 7th-8th centuries CE, Velestino, Thessaly (Čausidis 2005, 438 – T.I: 2); **9.** Stone sculpture, Celtic culture, Mšecké Žehrovice, Czech Republic (*Prehistoric* 2021); **10.** Stone sculpture (detail), Celtic culture, Euffigneix, France (*Celtic stone* 2021); **11.** Gallo-Roman statue of a Gallic warrior (detail), Vachères, Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, France (*Torc* 2021); **12.** Bronze torc, 7th-8th centuries CE, “St. Erasmus” - Ohrid, RN Macedonia (Санев и др. 1980, 111 – кат. бр. 599).

T.XI

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2.** Object made of deer antler, Middle Ages, Davina Kula, Čučer, Skopje, RN Macedonia (Maneva 2001, back cover of the journal); **3.** Wooden object, 12th century CE, Svendborg, Denmark (*Halla* 2020); **4, 5.** Stone idol, circa 10th century CE, Husiatyn, valley of the Zbruch River, Ternopil Oblast, Ukraine, drawing with and without interior details, Kraków Archaeological Museum, Poland (drawing: Чаусидис 1994, 475 – Т. СІХ: 2, according to published photos: Lenczyk 1964, Т. II; Т. III; Рыбаков 1987, Рис. 50; 51); **6.** Phallus-shaped object, wood, 12th century CE, Łęczysca, Poland (Гейцор 1986, 202 – Обр. 22); **7.** Figurine carved in horn, Middle Ages, Merseburg, Germany (Váňa 1983, 99); **8.** Wooden figurine, Middle Ages, Novgorod, Russia (Рыбаков 1987, 500 – Рис. 83); **9.** Wooden figurine, Middle Ages, Novgorod, Russia (Рыбаков 1987, 500 – Рис. 83); **10.** Bronze standard (detail), 8th-7th centuries BCE, Luristan, Iran, Louvre Museum (*Idoles tubulaires* 2020); **11.** Bronze standard (detail), 8th-7th centuries BCE, Luristan, Iran, Collection Godard: 122 (de Waele 1982, 104 – Fig. 84); **12.** Stone idol, Middle Ages, bank of the Sheksna River, Vologda Oblast, Russia (*Шекснинский* 2021); **13.** Wooden figurine, Middle Ages, Opole, Poland (Hensel 1964, Fig. 14); **14.** Wooden object, Middle Ages, Novgorod, Russia (Колчин et al 1985, 109: 206); **15.** Wooden phallus-shaped object, 11th century CE, Staraya Russa, Novgorod Oblast, Russia (Рыбаков 1981, 41).

T.XII

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard, upper part with depiction of the head (photo: N. Chausidis); **2.** Bronze figurine, Middle Ages, Staraya Ryazan', Russia (*Рязанский идол* 2020); **3.** Bronze figurine, Middle Ages, Yaremovka, Izium Raion, Ukraine (Давыденко и Гриб 2009, 198 – Рис. 2); **4.** Head of a ceramic figurine, Late Chalcolithic, Dinja, Haskovo, Bulgaria (Николов 2006, 118); **5.** Ceramic vessel with two human faces, Neolithic, Căscioarele, Călărași County, Romania (Hansen 2007, Tel II, Taf. 414: 2); **6.** Head of a ceramic figurine, Chalcolithic, Kubrat, Razgrad Province, Bulgaria (Hansen 2007, Tel II, Taf. 366); **7.** Ceramic figurine, Chalcolithic, Căscioarele, Călărași County, Romania (Hansen 2007, Tel II, Taf. 418: 10); **8.** Marble figurine, Chalcolithic, Sulica, Haskovo, Bulgaria (Hansen 2007, Tel II, Taf. 367: 3).

T.XIII

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. Possible purpose of the indentations on the chin (photography and photomontage: N. Chausidis). **2.** “Wheat beard”, ethnography, Bulgaria (*Сламата* 2021); **3.** “God’s beard”, ethnography, National Museum Zrenjanin, Serbia (*Božiju bradu* 2021); **4.** “Wheat beard”, ethnography, Bulgaria (*August* 2021); **5.** Pillar of a threshing floor adorned with a “beard” (photomontage: N. Chausidis); **6.** Relief in stone, Middle Ages (?), Leskovica, Štip, RN Macedonia (Јанакиевски 1998, 18 – Сл. 9); **7.** Manuscript decoration (detail), 14th century CE, Novgorod, Russia (Голейзовский 1983, 218 - Рис. 107); **8.** Depiction on an amulet, Middle Ages, Preslav, Bulgaria (Рашев 1984, 132 – Обр. 3: а); **9.** Motif on stone sculptures, 12th century CE, church of the Studenica Monastery, Serbia (Магловски 1982, 20 – Сл. 6); **10.** Motif on a belt buckle, Early Middle Ages, Dombóvár, Tolna, Hungary (Anibaldi & Werner 1963, Taf. 42: 3).

T.XIV

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2.** Ceramic figurine, Neolithic (?), Optičari, Bitola (collection of M. Malbašić, Bitola), RN Macedonia (Чаусидис 1994, 345 – Т.LXXXII: 4); **3, 4.** Bronze pendant, detail, Iron Age (7th-6th centuries BCE), Kuç i Zi, Korçë, Albania (*Shqip. Arkeologike* 1971, 48); **5.** Bronze pendant, detail, Iron Age (7th-6th centuries BCE), unknown site, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, United Kingdom (Vickers 1977, 20 – Fig. I: 2); **6.** Bronze statuette, Hellenistic or Early Roman period, Plaošnik, Ohrid, RN Macedonia (Чаусидис 2017, 227 – B38: 7); **7.** Ceramic vessel with phallus-shaped spout (replica cast according to the original), 4th century CE, Gorica - Slatina, Istibanja, Štip, RN Macedonia (photo: Mitko Šterjov, Institute and Museum - Štip); **8.** Ceramic vessel, Hellenistic period, Vardarski Rid, Gevgelija, RN Macedonia (Fowler & Blazevska 1996, 21 – MN18.4.3); **9.** Ceramic object in the form of a phallus, Late Neolithic - Eneolithic, Penelopa, Ohrid, RN Macedonia (Кузман 2013, IV: 9).

T.XV

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2, 3.** Clay figurines (“German”), ethnography, Lukovit region, Bulgaria (Костовъ 1913, 111 – Обр. 91а, 110 – Обр. 90а); **4.** Clay figurine (“German”), ethnography, Purilchevo, Mihailovgrad, Bulgaria (Mikov 1990, Fig. 8); **5.** Bronze statuette, Early Roman period, Ohrid, RN Macedonia (Кузман и Димитрова 2010, 81); **6.** Clay figurine, ethnography, Kyustendil region, Bulgaria (Mesnil & Popova 2002, 248 – Fig. 2); **7.** Clay figurine (“Little Man”), ethnography, Kučevište, Skorje, RN Macedonia (Филиповић 1951, Сл. 44; photomontage: Чаусидис и Николов 2006, 151 – Т.ІІ: 1); **8, 9.** Frescoes, 14th century CE, church of St. Demetrius, “Marko’s Monastery”, Sušica, Skorje, RN Macedonia (Мирковић 1974, Сл. 67, Сл. 66).

T.XVI

1. Stone monument from the St. Naum monastery yard. One of the possible reconstructions of the lost lower part (photo and drawing: N. Chausidis); **2.** Stone idol, Middle

Ages (?), Bribir, Vaćani, Dalmatia (Milošević 2011, 57 – Sl. 39); **3.** Stone Idol, 7th-8th centuries CE, spolia in the circular church in Plaveč, Moravia (*Studia mythologica slavica* 7, 2004, back cover of the journal); **4.** Stone relief, Middle Ages, spolia in the church in Altenkirchen, island of Rügen, Germany (*Аркона* 2021); **5.** Stone Idol, Middle Ages, Olsztyn, Poland (*Бабы* 2021); **6.** Stone columnar statue, Early Middle Ages (?), Plavne, Negotin, Serbia (*Possible* 2021); **7.** Stone stele/idol, Prehistory/Early Middle Ages (?), Soufli, Gounitsa, Larissa, Greece (*Prehist. Settlements* 2021); **8, 9.** Stone recipient, Middle Ages (?), Church of St. Helen and St. Mary Magdalene, Magdalensberg/Štalenska gora, Carinthia, Austria (*Studia Mythologica Slavica* 16. Ljubljana, 2013, back cover of the journal; detail: *Magdalensberg* 2021).

T.XVII

1. Stone relief slab, 1829 CE, St. Naum monastery yard, Ohrid, RN Macedonia (photo: N. Chausidis); **2.** Seal of the monastery of St. Naum, 17th century CE, National Church Museum of History and Archaeology of the Holy Synod - Sofia, Bulgaria (Целакоски 1985, 31); **3.** Seal of the monastery of St. Naum, 1774 CE (Целакоски 1983, 15 – Сл. 2); **4.** Icon of St. Clement and St. Naum, 1711 CE, iconostasis of the church in the monastery of St. Naum, Ohrid, detail with the harnessing of the bear (Целакоски 1997, 47); **5.** Graphic print, hagiographic cycle of St. Naum, a copy according to the original of H. Žefarović, 1849 CE (Грозданов 2015, 257); **6.** Graphic print (copperplate), hagiographic cycle of St. Naum, H. Žefarović, Vienna, 1743 CE (Matičetov 1987, 177 – Sl. 13); **7.** Illustration from a book, Ljubljana, 1913 (Matičetov 1987, 182 – Sl. 16); **8.** Fresco, 1800 CE, chapel of the church in the monastery of St. Naum, Ohrid (Грозданов 2015, 144).

T.XVIII

1. Some toponyms in the Ohrid-Prespa region and the Devol area (N. Chausidis; I. Eftimovski); **2.** Miniature “Trinity of Evil”, 15th century CE, France (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1987, 709); **3.** Fibula, Early Middle Ages, unknown site, private collection in the United Kingdom (Спасёных 2020, 54, 69); **4.** Three sides of the lower zone of the stone idol from the Zbruch River, Middle Ages, Ternopil Oblast, Ukraine, Kraków Archaeological Museum, Poland (drawing: Чаусидис 1994, 475 – Т. СІХ: 2, according to published photos: Lenczyk 1964, Т. II; Т. III; Рыбаков 1987, Рис. 50; 51); **5.** Scene from the icon “St. Naum - life and miracles”, circa 1780 CE, church of St. Nikola Gerakomija, Ohrid, photo: Museums of Macedonia - Skorje (Чаусидис 2003, Т. LVI); **6.** Stone pillar in front of the new church in the village of Ljubaništa, Ohrid (Чубрик 2006, 31).

ITIFALIČNI KAMENI IDOL IZ SAMOSTANA SV. NAUM KOD OHRIDA

NIKOS ČAUSIDIS, IGOR EFTIMOVSKI



Članak je posvećen kamenom idolu koji se danas nalazi u dvorištu samostana sv. Naum kod Ohrida, pronađenog u nepoznato vrijeme u blizini ovog objekta ili njegovoj neposrednoj okolini. Najprije je dat opis spomenika, pretpostavke o izgledu njegovog izgubljenog donjeg djela, nekadašnjoj visini i dataciji. Slijedi analiza njegove ikonografije, kroz primjenu semiotičke i komparativne metode, i to najprije na razini globalne kompozicije i poze figure. Kao ikonografske paralele itifaličnosti, stojeće poze i ruku spuštenih ka genitalijama, priloženi su nadgrobnici iz Vuksanlekića (17-18. st., Crna Gora), antički likovi Prijapa, reljef iz Mariopolja (5-7. st., sjeverna obala Azovskog Mora) te ranosrednjovjekovni brončani amuleti iz Istočne Europe. Detaljnije je obrađena poza ruku (kao naglašavanje itifaličnosti), lučno rebro u predjelu vrata (tokvez, praeputium ili omča za vješala) i brazda u predjelu čela (rub kape ili glavića penisa). Na kraju, kroz odgovarajuće paralele, razmatra se opcija tretiranja cjelog spomenika kao personaliziranog falusa. Istim pristupom obrađena su i udubljenja u predjelu brade, uz mogućnost da su u njih ritualno nadjevani klasovi prvog požnjevenog snopa. Unatoč tome što su se usporedbe više odnosile na ranosrednjovjekovni i prije svega na slavenski karakter spomenika, proveden je i dijakronijski pregled itifaličkih mitskih likova iz Ohrida i okolnih regiona. Kroz priložene paralele iz prapovijesti, antike, srednjeg vijeka i folklora, razmatra se moguća interakcija autohtonih tradicija sa tradicijama slavenskih zajednica nastanjenih na ovim prostorima u ranom srednjem vijeku. Na temelju prethodnih analiza, usporedbi s odgovarajućim slavenskim primjerima i pisanim izvorima koji govore o idolima kod Slavena, a posebno kod Južnih Slavena, procenjeni su argumenti u prilog pogansko-slavenskog karaktera idola iz samostana sv. Naum.

Drugi dio članka posvećen je sagledavanju idola u kontekstu drugih mitoloških i kulturnih predaja iz okolne regije. Pritom se posebna pozornost posvećuje lokalnoj tradiciji o tome kako je sv. Naum ujarmio medvjeda, za kaznu jer je pojeo vola koji je vukao plug. Analizom verbalnih formi predanja (sačuvanih u folkloru) i njegovih vizualnih manifestacija (freske, ikone, pečat manastira) ukazano je na predhrišćanski karakter ove mitologeme, čija prisutnost u Ohridu i široj regiji se može pratiti unazad sve do srednjeg vijeka. Osvrćući se na dosadašnja istraživanja ovih predaja, ukazano je na njihov htonski i agrarni predznak te na interakciju lika sveca sa starijim poganskim predajama toga kraja. U pravcu otkrivanja šireg konteksta spomenika, prikazano je nekoliko primjera toponimije područja oko Ohridskog i Prespoanskog jezera, koji sadrže teonime poganskih slavenskih božanstava, pri čemu posebno prevladavaju oni s htonskim predznakom, i to Veles, Triglav, Crnobog, a posredno i đavao. Pozornost je posvećena na nekoliko kamenih stupova lociranih na planini Galičici, u čijem se podnožju nalazi samostan, uz pretpostavke o njihovoj mogućoj rekontekstualizaciji – od drevnih graničnih markera do svetih kamenova. Kroz semiotičku i komparativnu analizu imena

poznatog srednjovjekovnog grada Devol lociranog jugozapadno od samostana sv. Naum, sugerira se na njegov mogući odnos s imenima navedenih pogansko-slavenskih htonskih bogova. S obzirom na široku rasprostranjenost bogumilstva i drugih dualističkih doktrina u Ohridskom regionu, potvrđenih u srednjovjekovnim izvorima, razmatraju se i moguće heretičke implikacije analiziranih tradicija.

U posljednjem poglavlju iznose se hipoteze o atribuciji lika prikazanog na idolu iz samostana sv. Naum, na temelju usporedbe njegove ikonografije s domaćim patrona ovog samostana sadržanim u navedenim predajama i vjerovanjima lokalnog stanovništva. Riječ je o sljedećim sferama i funkcijama: zemljoradnja, stočarstvo i općenito životinje (kroz upregnuće medvjeda u plug od strane sveca); zemaljske vode (čuvar je ključeva od izvora koji pune Ohridsko jezero); obrt i trgovina (zaštitnik je obrtnika i trgovaca); liječenje (iscjelitelj je, pre svega bezdjetnosti i duševnih bolesti). Pokazalo se da se većina ovih domena odnosi na htonske sfere i plodnost, te da korespondira s ikonografijom idola i funkcijama dobivenim na temelju njegovih semiotičkih i komparativnih istraživanja. Činjenica da ti atributi i funkcije odgovaraju domenama htonskih bogova (općenito, kao i slavenskih), ukazuje na mogućnost da je takav karakter imao i mitski lik koji je na njemu predstavljen. U tom kontekstu, podudaranje funkcija sv. Nauma s onima kod idola upućuje na proces njihova preuzimanja kod prvog od nekog njegovog pretpostavljenog pogansko-slavenskog prethodnika – pojava potvrđena u mnogim drugim sličnim situacijama.

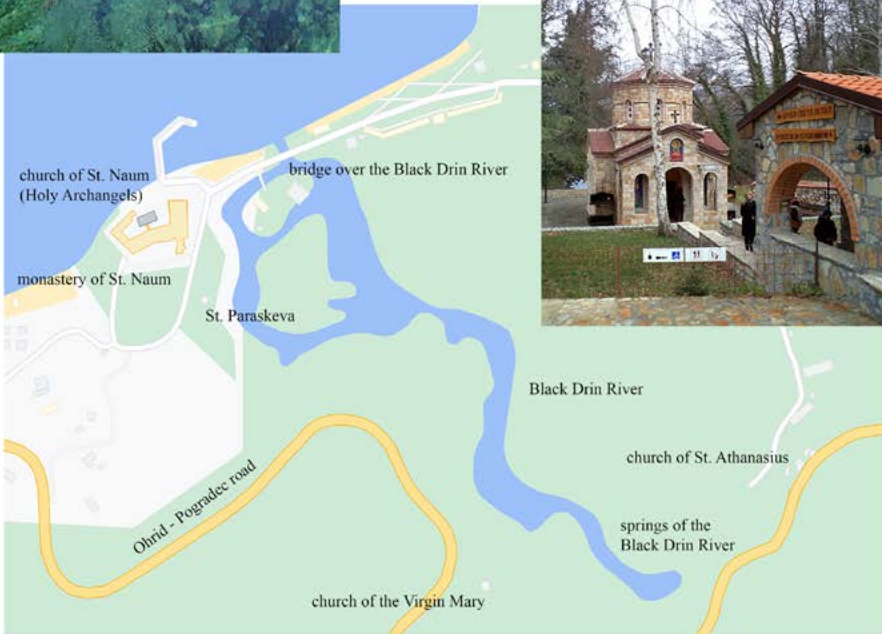
Nikos Chausidis, PhD, Full Professor, University of “Ss. Cyril and Methodius”
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T.I



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T.II



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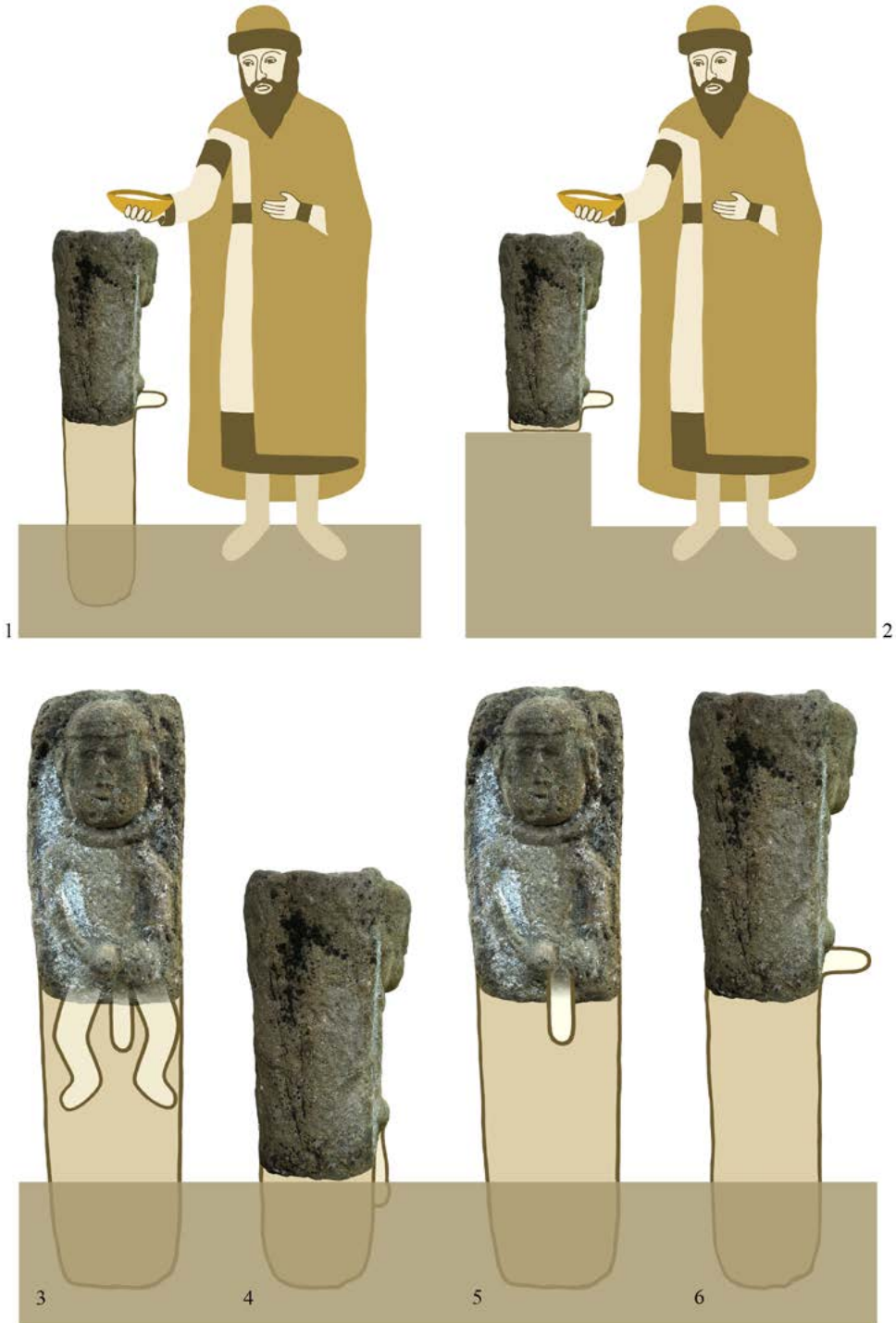


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T.III



T.IV



T.V



T.VI



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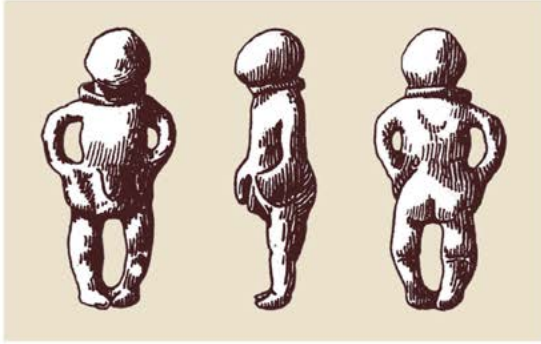
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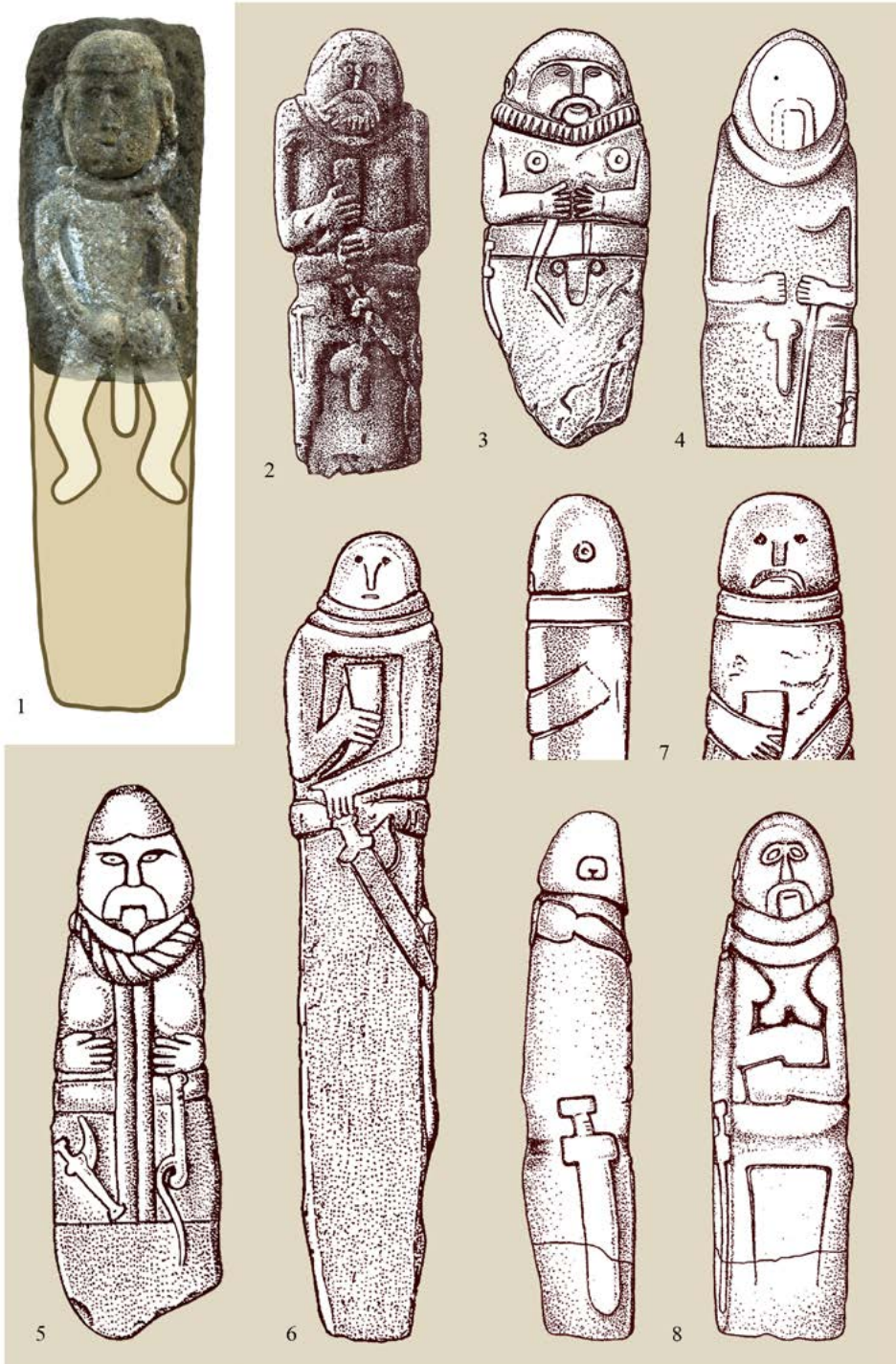
T.VII



T.VIII



T.IX



T.X



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T.XI



T.XII



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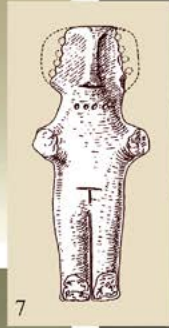
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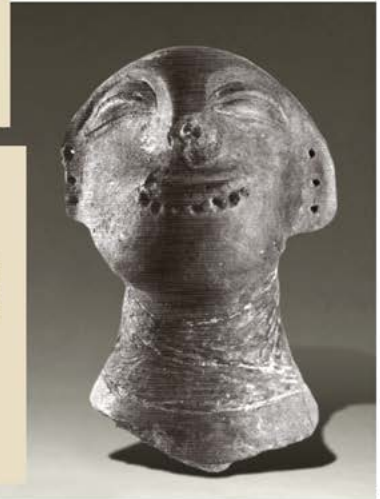
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T.XIII



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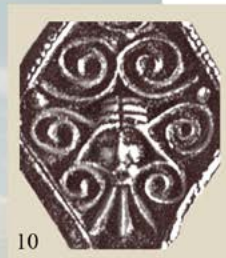
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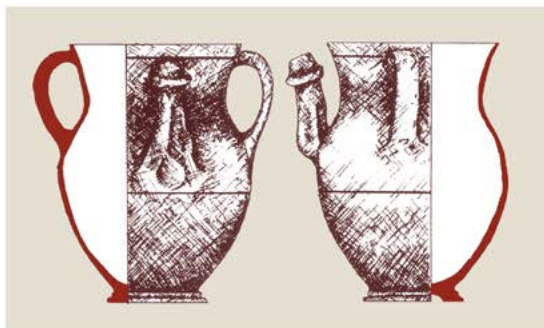
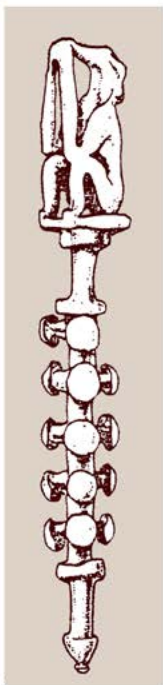
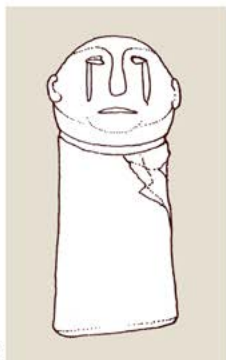


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T.XIV



T.XV



T.XVI



T.XVII



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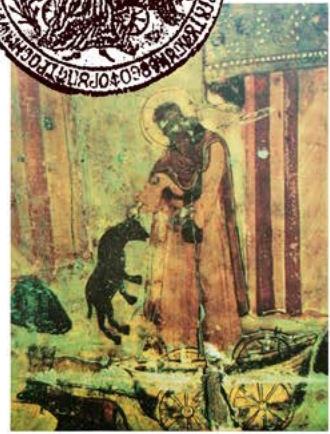
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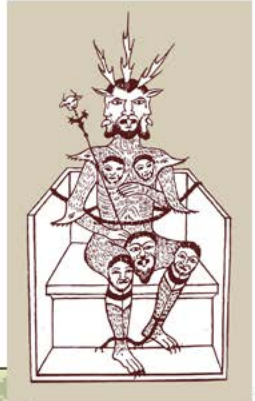


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T.XVIII



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6

Sacred Stones and Stone Structures in the Ritual Practice of the Turkic Population in the Southern Urals: Archaeological Evidence and Modernity

— Ainur I. Tuzbekov, Albert T. Akhatov —

Članek povzema, analizira in strukturira verovanja turškega prebivalstva južnega Urala, ki so povezana s kamni, gorami, menhirji, karaski, kamnitimi gomilami, nagrobniki itd. Na podlagi del ruskih in tujih avtorjev ter terenskega gradiva, zbranega med terenskim delom v letih 2011–2023, sta izpostavljeni dve skupini verovanj: kulti, povezani s kamni naravnega (božjega) izvora, in verovanja, povezana s kamnom, konstrukcije umetnega izvora. Opisane so različne oblike uporabe kamna in kamnitih konstrukcij pri Turkih v sodobni obredni praksi. Obravnavani so procesi sakralizacije in desakralizacije na kulturnih območjih Južnega Urala, ki se dogajajo na današnji stopnji razvoja. Posebej so analizirana verovanja, povezana z dragimi kamni, ki so jim ljudje dajali poseben simbolni pomen ter jim pripisovali zaščitne, magične in zdravilne lastnosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kult kamna, *karaski*, *aulia kabere*, sveti prostori, sakralizacija, desakralizacija, etnografija, arheologija, Južni Ural

The article summarises, analyses and structures the beliefs of the Turkic population of the Southern Urals that are associated with stones, mountains, menhirs, *karaski*, stone mounds, tombstones, etc.

Based on the works of Russian and foreign authors, as well as on field materials gathered during the expedition trips in 2011–2023, two groups of beliefs are singled out: cults associated with stones of natural (divine) origin, and beliefs associated with stone constructions of man-made origin. Various forms of the use of stone and stone constructions by the Turkic people in modern ritual practice are described. The processes of sacralisation and desacralisation at the cult sites of the Southern Urals occurring at the present stage of development are considered. Beliefs related to gemstones, to which people gave special symbolic meaning, and attributed protective, magic and healing properties, are analysed separately.

KEYWORDS: stone cult, *karaski*, *aulia kabere*, sacred area, sacralisation, desacralisation, ethnography, archaeology, Southern Urals

Since ancient times, rituals have been a significant element of any community's development and have accompanied people from the moment of their birth until their death. Originating in ancient times and later undergoing transformations to adapt to the changing

reality, many rituals have survived to the present day and continue to play an important role in the lives of modern people.¹

Researchers single out different types of rituals – calendar, crisis, imitation, and others. The magical and religious ones are considered particularly special (Chernykh 2012: 12-14).

One of the functions of the latter is to regulate relations between the socio-cultural and natural environment by including certain elements of nature (mountains, lakes, local areas, etc.) in the ritual practices of people when holding prayers and rituals on them.

The beliefs associated with stones and stone constructions common among the Turkic peoples of the Southern Urals may serve as such an example. Although scientists do not share a unified opinion on the time of their formation, some researchers believe they appeared among ancient peoples while they were living on the African continent (from where they moved out to settle elsewhere around 60,000 years ago). Others believe that the cult of stone began to form later – in the Early Metal Age (Ilimbetova 2020: 163–164).

According to Eliade, the worship of stones originated in the time of prehistoric peoples, as instruments of spiritual action or places of energy were intended to protect the people or their dead (Eliade 1999: 209). Later, it gradually developed to integrate both archaic elements and elements of monotheistic religions, and transformed into a rather complex system of religious beliefs. Nowadays, the beliefs associated with the veneration of mountains, rocks, cobblestones, stone mounds, etc., include not only the objects themselves, but also the surrounding territories.

The objective of this work is to analyse and systemise the beliefs connected with stones and stone constructions that are present among the Turkic population of the Southern Urals, represented by the Bashkir, Tatar, and Chuvash peoples.

The article is based on scientific works written by Russian and foreign authors, and on field materials found during expeditions in the years 2011–2023 to the territory of the Republic of Bashkortostan, Chelyabinsk and Orenburg Oblasts within the administrative territory of the Southern Urals, as well as on materials found during expeditions to the western part of Kurgan Oblast.

The study of beliefs related to stones and stone constructions, including those practised by the Turkic population of the Southern Urals, attracts the attention of specialists from various scientific areas who pay much attention to certain aspects of the problem.

Archaeologists investigate the role of these beliefs in the worldview of people in ancient times, and their place in the modern socio-cultural space of the Southern Urals. Potemkina (Potemkina 2011: 11–35) and Serikov (Serikov 2018: 80–97) have summarised and systematised material from the study of megalithic objects in the Urals in the cult practice of the region's ancient population; Kotov (Kotov 2012: 95–100), Garustovich and Ovsyannikov (Garustovich 2011: 401–408; Garustovich, Ovsyannikov 2012: 179–187) have analysed the data of Bashkir folklore, ethnography and archaeology related to various

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manifestations of the veneration of mountains among the Bashkirs; Grigoriev and Mineeva (Mineeva et al. 2013: 192–195) have observed the state of study and preservation of menhirs in the Southern Urals; Aminev, Ovsyannikov and Savelyev (Aminev et al. 2012: 6–20) have described and classified small cult objects of the Irendyk ridge; Tuzbekov has analysed present-day processes of sacralising archaeological objects such as stone mounds, menhirs, graves of “saints”, etc. (Tuzbekov 2018a: 39–49; Tuzbekov 2018b: 78–85). Serikov considered the role and place of precious and semi-precious stones in the cult practice of ancient people in the Southern Urals from the Upper Palaeolithic to Medieval times (Serikov 2019).

Ethnologists, folklorists and religious scholars who pay more attention to certain types of stones and stone constructions, or their mythological and ritual component, have made a great contribution to the study and description of beliefs related to stones. Thus, the works of Inan (Inan 1998), Velidi (Velidi 1981) and Absalyamova (Absalyamova 2014: 155–158) investigate the rituals of weather control using magic stones; the works of Nagaeva (Nagaeva 1984), Suleymanova (Suleymanova 2005) and Altynbaev (Altynbaev 2013) study the veneration of mountains and their place in the mythological tradition of the Turkic population of the Southern Urals.

The studies focusing on beliefs and rituals related to tombstones, stone constructions, and so on, are even more numerous. They have been carried out by Yunusova (Yunusova 2015: 106–115), Syzranov (Syzranov 2006: 127–143), Absalyamova (Absalyamova 2008: 207–210), Medvedev (Medvedev 2011: 375–384), Petrov (Petrov 2018: 109–122), Idiatullov (Idiatullov 2018: 89–94), etc.

The monograph by Ilimbetova is particularly worth mentioning, as it presents a consistent study of the cult of stone in the traditional culture of the Bashkir population of the Southern Urals on the basis of folklore, and mythological and ethnographic materials (Ilimbetova 2020).

The most noteworthy foreign studies have been written by Kazakh, Azerbaijani and Turkish scientists. They consider the problem of the coexistence of Islam and archaic religious beliefs associated with stones and stone constructions. The work by Azhigali (Azhigali 2002) stands out for its thoroughness: stone constructions and their use in the cult practice of the Turks of Kazakhstan are described and classified in much detail. The work by Kuliyeva (Kuliyeva 2007) takes into consideration the problems associated with the cult of stones among the Turkic peoples of Azerbaijan.

Another work by the Turkish religious scholar Tanyu (Tanyu 1968) should also be noted as it has not only studied the role of stone in ancient and modern religions, but also described and systematised the most widely used cult objects made of stone, and the related rituals among the Turkic peoples of Turkey and Central Asia.

An analysis of the available literature on the spiritual life and religious beliefs of the population of the Southern Urals, and accompanying field materials, indicates a large number of stone objects and complexes (holy stones, rocks, mountains, menhirs, single mounds, stone arrangements, etc.) used in the ritual practice of the Turkic-speaking population of the region in the relatively recent past and the present time. A comparison of the sacred representations of the modern Turkic peoples of the

Southern Urals with various types of hierotopias, the centres of which are stones, has made it possible to divide the beliefs associated with stones and stone constructions into two large groups:

1. beliefs related to stones of natural (divine) origin,
2. beliefs related to man-made stone constructions.

BELIEFS RELATED TO STONES OF NATURAL (DIVINE) ORIGIN

The first group includes the following:

1. *Beliefs related to single stones.* These consist mainly of stone sculptures with an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic appearance, or stand out due to the presence of small indentations resembling footprints or human hands (*sledovick* stones). The origin of the latter is associated with mythological saints or legendary historical figures. In the modern ritual practice of the Turkic population, they are used to summon rain, improve health, and wish a safe trip. Two examples include *Peygamber Tash* (Trail of the Prophet Muhammad in Bashkir) in the village of Kadyrsha in Zilairsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan (Fig. 1), and *Mahadi-Tash* (Mahdi stone in Bashkir) near the village of Ust-Bagaryak, Kunashaksky District, Chelyabinsk Oblast.

2. *Beliefs associated with the accumulation of stones.* The stones are located at a distance of no more than 50 metres from each other and have no analogues in the morphology of the surrounding landscape. These stones (called rain stones by the locals) often differ in size from each other, so worshippers arrange them in a hierarchy, calling the larger ones *Babai Tash* (grandfather stone in Bashkir), and *Atay* (father). Smaller ones are called *Abiy tash* (grandmother stone), and *Inei* (mother), etc. The religious practice of the Turkic population of the Southern Urals still includes the rain calling ceremony known as “Stones of Summer”, which is held in the villages of Zirikovo in Gafuriysky District (Fig. 2) and Kuseevo in Baymak District, both in the Republic of Bashkortostan, and the “Thunder Stones” ceremony at Assy in Beloretsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan. Local residents perform these rituals in times of drought or when there are floods. They wash the boulders, wipe them with oil and pray for good weather.

According to some researchers, the use of these stones is an ancient animistic relic of the cult of nature, and also indicates the common ancestral homeland of the Turkic peoples (Dorzhieva 2015: 12–16).

3. *Beliefs associated with rocks* are divided into beliefs related to:

1) rocks with anthropomorphic outlines. This subgroup includes religious beliefs associated with the rocks called *Tchertov Palets* (Devil’s Finger) on the Yamankaya ridge, the *Tchertov Palets* and *Ebey Tash* rocks in Abzelilovsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan, the *Tchertov Palets* on the Belaya River in Burzyansky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan;

2) rocks with a cave, such as the *Uklykaya* rock (Rock with arrows) at Tashasti village in Gafuriysky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan (Fig. 3).



Figure 1: A single stone “Peygamber tash”. Zilairsky district, Republic of Bashkortostan (photo by A. Tuzbekov, June 2016).



Figure 2: “Stones of Summer” – “Babai Tash” (left) and “Abiy Tash” (right). Gafuriysky district, Republic of Bashkortostan (photo by A. Akhatov, July 2014).

The allocation of this subgroup is explained by the existence of a cult of shooting at rocks with arrows with warheads dating from the 10th to the beginning of the 13th centuries. According to researchers, the presence of a large number of combat arrows on the eastern slope of the mountain may indicate that it was a military sanctuary, while the mountain itself was an object of veneration (Garustovich, Ovsyannikov 2012: 179–187). According to another version, the shelling of the rock represented the process of fertilization (Ozheredov 1999), and was associated with the cult of the goddess Humai.

Evidence of the existence of this cult is also recorded on *Kamen Dyrovatyi* (Stone with Holes) on the Chusovaya River (Serikov, Skochina 2011), and the *Tri Sestri* sanctuary (Three Sisters) in the Middle Trans-Urals. This cult has not been preserved in the modern-day religious practice of the population of the Southern Urals.

4. *Beliefs related to mountains.* Such beliefs are mostly associated with the veneration of the host spirit of a lonely mountain: Tura-Tau (Kotov 2012: 95), Yuraktau (Garustovich 2011: 404) of Ishimbai District of the Republic of Bashkortostan (Fig. 4), Kurmantau of Gafuriysky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan, Iremel, Yamantau of Beloretsk District of the Republic of Bashkortostan, Masim-tau of Burzyansky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan; or a mountain with extraordinary phenomena (Yangan-Tau mountain of Salavatsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan).

Considering the settlement of the Bashkirs, Shirgazin draws attention to the fact that each tribal unit had a sacred mountain on its territory (Shirgazin 2010: 169–184).

In the sacred beliefs of the modern Turkic population of the Southern Urals, cults associated with natural (divine) stones are losing their former significance. The sites mentioned above are being actively desacralized due to economic development, which means they are frequently transformed into tourist destinations and turned into places for recreation and entertainment. Despite this process, some of the objects from the first subgroup (single stones) continue to hold a significant place in the beliefs of the modern population (Garustovich 2011: 406). This leads to the realisation that objects of sacralisation with a specific centre, which occupy a small space, are more resistant to the processes of desacralisation.

BELIEFS RELATED TO MAN-MADE STONE CONSTRUCTIONS

In connection with this, the second group of beliefs associated with stones and man-made stone constructions with clear boundaries and centres is of undoubted interest for further study.

Concerning the typology proposed by Savelyev (Savelyev 2012), these beliefs can be divided into four subgroups:

1. *Beliefs related to menhirs.* These date back to the cults of the Bronze Age population and depend directly on their types (single, alley) and location. As a rule, separate menhirs are located at the bluff line of above-floodplain terraces, or near the terrace on a small hill near the river bank. Most menhir alleys are located topographically much higher, on the slopes of hills (Petrov 2007: 74). According to Eliade, such monuments



Figure 3: Uklykaya (arrowhead) Rock. Gafuriysky district Republic of Bashkortostan (photo by A. Akhatov, July 2014).



Figure 4: Mount «Tura-Tau». Ishimbaysky district, Republic of Bashkortostan (photo by A. Akhatov, July 2014).

were associated with the cult of the dead and were erected in order to pacify the soul of the deceased (Eliade 1999: 209–210).

Archaeological research conducted in the Southern Urals found no evidence of burial constructions or traces of memorial actions near most of the menhirs, indicating that these monuments were generally not related to funeral rites. A connection may be assumed due to the widespread cult of worship of steppe spirits in nomadic cultures, which also existed among the Bashkirs (Petrov 2007: 75).

Single menhirs were allegedly used as a border between developed and undeveloped areas, as a kind of guardian of homes. The existing tradition of relocating or building a new menhir as a guardian, or *kut* of a dwelling, and as a landmark for the construction of a settlement or a new street, recorded by the Bashkirs, may be evidence for the existence of this type of cult. As a rule, the menhir alleys stretch to the south of the most prominent peak of the district, which may be associated with the veneration of mountain spirits, widespread among the Turkic population of the Southern Urals.

In addition to the above-mentioned menhirs on the territory of the Bashkir Trans-Urals (Baymak and Abzelilovsky Districts of the Republic of Bashkortostan), other locations of menhirs have also been identified that are not linked to settlements and Bronze Age burial grounds. Menhirs were placed on the summits and slopes of mountains, as well as on river terraces. Indirect and direct data on these objects under study allows us to date them to the ethnographic time period (100–200 years) (Saveliev 2012: 128, 144). Researchers divide the menhirs into three groups: ritual-memorial complexes (Kyngyrtau-18, Ulkan-Seyalyk, Abzakovo), spatial markers (Kynyrtyash-7, Cook-teke-1), and separate cult objects (Sygyltau-5, Yanzigitovo-2, Talkas-8), which can have a memorial function and possibly also mark a burial site (Saveliev 2012: 145).

2. *Beliefs associated with stone pyramids (karaski, obo)* These are structures constructed mainly by the people of the southern part of the Bashkir Trans-Urals on the summits of mountains, on mountain passes, and near permanent settlements (Fig. 5). They were presumably erected in honour of the spirits of mountains and territories, and were constantly enlarged. Whoever climbed the mountain to perform a ritual for the spirits of the ancestral area had to take a stone and, having reached the summit, put it into the *karaski* (Bashkir word for guardians) and conducted a sacrificial ceremony in the hope of obtaining reliable protection for their ancestral territory (Aminev 2011).

Some *karaski* were in the shape of large columns or pyramids. Sometimes stone mounds from the early Iron Age served as the fundament, which was then completed with new stone arrangements and pyramids. Often there were heaps of brushwood or birch branches near the *karaski*. Some of the piles of stones had poles stuck in them with skulls of sheep impaled on the poles (Kotov 2012: 98). The modern Turkic population of the Southern Trans-Urals preserves the tradition of building *karaski*, but in most cases does not attach a spiritual meaning to this process, simply constructing them to scare away wolves or to pass the time while grazing cattle.

3. *Beliefs related to tombstone constructions.* Originally, people believed stones were the abode of God, or other higher powers, as well as the habitation of human souls (Fraser 1989: 339–340). That is why, after a person's death, burial stones or stone constructions



Figure 5: Stone pyramid »karasky«. Baymaksy district, Republic of Bashkortostan (photo by A.Tuzbekov, June 2016).

were built over the grave, or the place where the person died, to “fix” the soul of the deceased and provide it with a temporary home near the living people, so it could ensure the fertility of their fields by the force of its spiritual nature, and prevent the soul from wandering or becoming dangerous (Eliade 1999: 209–210).

The most common tombstone construction among the Turkic population of the Southern Urals is a stone stele that evolved from the small stone at the head of the grave known as the *bash tash* (headstone) to the big stele and most common form of Muslim tombstone, the *syin tash* (gravestone). The size and material from which the tombstones are made depend on the buried person’s importance. Tombstones on the graves of saints, Muslim clergy or dervishes are believed to possess a special supernatural power. For example, the residents of Abdrashitovo, a village in Duvansky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan, perform rain-calling cults by washing tombstones on the graves of saints during a drought. Meanwhile, in the village of Abultaevo, in Safakulevsky District of the Kurgan region, there are widespread beliefs associated with tombstones that are miraculously growing up from the ground (Fig. 6).

Sometimes they acquire anthropomorphic features. The residents of the village of Meseli in the Aurgazinsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan believe one of the gravestones is the “owner” of the cemetery (Medvedev 2015: 76).

4. *Beliefs associated with stone mounds, fences and stone arrangements.* These are more closely related to the ritual of venerating ancestors’ graves, preserved in the Southern

Urals, owing to the presence of Sunnism of the Hanafi madhhab, which is sufficiently liberal to incorporate pre-Islamic beliefs and nomad rituals (Syizranov 2006:129).

Archaeologists and ethnographers have so far identified more than 100 objects of this kind. Most of them are located on the territory of the eastern part of the Uraltau ridge. Common cases of inclusion of stone mounds, walls and arrangements in the rituals of the local population include (Aminev, Kotov, Ovsyannikov, Savelyev 2012): 1) the construction of *karaski* on the tops of mounds or near them (Olo-tau-2, Baymak District of the Republic of Bashkortostan); 2) the construction of stone walls on mounds (Bai-shevo-12, Baymak district of the Republic of Bashkortostan); 3) chaotic piles of stones and stone arrangements on the tops of mounds; 4) putting menhirs, stone arrangements and rings on the mounds, and the use of ancient mounds as awliya (Islamic saints); 5) the construction of stone walls around the mounds.

It is worth mentioning that the modern-day Turkic population of the Southern Urals admits the importance of funeral monuments located on the tops of mountains or hills in perpetuating the memory of their ancestors. Visiting the hills where mounds are located has become an integral part of most Muslim holidays. Evidence of the transformation of beliefs about such objects is of particular interest for researchers. While the idea of the sacredness of mounds is clearly fixed among the older generation, representatives of the younger generation also sacralise the areas adjacent to the mounds or the entire visible territory. The stone mound near the village of Suramanovo, Uchalinsky District of the Republic of Bashkortostan, which presumably dates back to the Middle Ages, may exemplify that. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the mound was used by local residents as a place where diseases of the genitourinary system of domestic animals were healed. Recently, the population has begun to call the mountain *auliale tau* (the mountain with the grave of a saint), connecting it with a saint allegedly buried here in ancient times (Tuzbekov, Bakhshiev 2022: 190).

5. Beliefs related to precious, semi-precious and ornamental stones

A special place in the ritual practice of the Turkic-speaking population of the Southern Urals is reserved for beliefs related to precious, semi-precious and ornamental stones. Differing from ordinary stones in their physical properties, rarity, bright colours, etc., stones worn in jewellery have acquired a special magic-religious character largely due to intermediate hierophany (manifestation of the sacred) or cratophany (manifestation of supernatural power), i.e., symbolism that gives them magical or religious significance (Eliade 1999: 397). At different times in different parts of the world, various peoples told legends about the origin of precious and semi-precious stones (including pearls and corals). Numerous superstitions and beliefs were associated with them, and they were widely used in magic, medicine, etc. (Eliade 1999: 397–402; Tanyu 1968: 8–9, 28, 51–52, 100–101, 137). In the past, they had numerous functions – aesthetic, practical, protective, ritual, symbolic, etc., some of which have survived to the present day.

Archaeological finds of precious and ornamental stones and minerals dating back around 800 thousand years have been discovered at monuments in Eurasia and Africa. In the Southern Urals, from the Upper Palaeolithic era to the Middle Ages, rock crystal, carnelian, malachite, agate, serpentinite, amber, jasper, etc. were widely used for making



Figure 6: A “growing” tombstone. Safakulevsky district, Kurgan region (photo by A. Tuzbekov, June 2006).

various objects. The majority of such finds are discovered in treasure troves, burial sites and sanctuaries, which suggests that they were endowed with symbolic meaning and mainly used by the ancient population in cult practices (Serikov 2019).

Folklore and mythological and ethnographic material shows that in the past different peoples, including those living in the Southern Urals, widely wore stones in jewellery to protect themselves against “evil forces” and mishaps, to attract longevity, enhance the reproductive qualities of people, as well as in folk medicine. The Bashkirs used carnelian in this way to treat heart and eye diseases, amber was used against hepatitis and to prevent Basedow’s disease. They also believed that diamonds worn in jewellery heal human diseases. In order to ensure good health and longevity, new-born babies were often given names of noble and precious stones.

In addition, the Bashkirs considered stones in jewellery to be a strong aphrodisiac, and believed that wearing jewellery – bracelets, rings, earrings, necklaces, etc. made of carnelian and amber (or encrusted with them) protects against the evil eye (Ilimbetova 2020: 20, 25–26, 33, 67, 105–106, 116, 119–120). Currently, representatives of different ethnic groups living in the Southern Urals (including Bashkirs, Tatars and Chuvash) are actively interested in the protective and healing properties of stones worn in jewellery, including the ones recommended on the basis of their date of birth according to the Eastern calendar (Galieva 2016: 125).

CONCLUSIONS

The literature and field materials studied testify that stones and stone constructions are an element of the modern-day religious and mythological beliefs (and corresponding cult actions) of the Turkic-speaking population of the Southern Urals. They can be nominally divided into two large groups. The first includes beliefs associated with stones of natural (divine) origin – individual stones and groups of stones, rocks, mountains, which are all losing their significance in the sacred beliefs of the modern Turkic population of the Southern Urals due to developments in agriculture and recreation. However, the situation is different for some *sledovick* stones (literally footprint stones) and rain stones, on which rituals are still carried out to summon rain, healing, etc. The second group includes beliefs associated with man-made stone constructions – menhirs, stone pyramids (*karaski*, obo), tombstone constructions, stone mounds, walls and stone arrangements, which are actively observed in the modern ritual practice of the Turkic population of the Southern Urals. These processes are most widely recorded today in the south-eastern Bashkir Trans-Urals. One of the features of such a process in this region is the inculcation of esoterism into the public consciousness, the basic conductors of which are marginal religious associations. In the ritual practice of the Turkic-speaking population of the Southern Urals, a special place is reserved for beliefs related to stones worn in jewellery. Unlike ordinary stones, they were believed to have special magical and healing properties designed to defend and protect their owner.

Overall, most of the surveyed archaeological sites are characterised by the spontaneity of the formation of the sacred area, and the formation of absolutely artificial beliefs, supported at the same time by some Muslim clergy, and sometimes by government bodies. The phenomena under consideration definitely require additional research. The similarity of these processes at various sites around the world testifies to the global character of the crisis of traditional (established) spiritual values – people looking for spiritual support instead turn to new or reviving religious systems, often giving simple and understandable solutions to the challenges of the modern world.

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САКРАЛЬНЫЕ КАМНИ И КАМЕННЫЕ СООРУЖЕНИЯ В
РИТУАЛЬНОЙ ПРАКТИКЕ ТЮРКОВ ЮЖНОГО УРАЛА:
АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВА И СОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ

АЙНУР И. ТУЗБЕКОВ, АЛЬБЕРТ Т. АХАТОВ



В статье обобщаются, анализируются и структурируются верования тюркского населения Южного Урала, связанные с камнями и каменными культовыми комплексами, используемыми людьми в ритуальной практике в относительно недавнем прошлом и в настоящее время.

Имеющаяся литература и полевые материалы, полученные в ходе экспедиционных выездов, совершенных в 2011–2023 гг. авторами свидетельствуют, что камень является одним из значимых элементов современных религиозно-мифологических представлений (и соответствующих культовых действий) людей, благодаря его наделению магическими, чудодейственными, сакральными и др. свойствами.

Сопоставление сакральных представлений современных тюркских народов Южного Урала с различными типами иеротопий, центрами которых являются камни, позволило разделить верования, связанные с камнями и каменными сооружениями, на две большие группы.

Первая включает в себя верования, связанные с камнями природного (божественного) происхождения – одиночные камни и группы камней, скалы, горы, которые ввиду их хозяйственного и рекреационного освоения теряют свое былое значение в сакральных представлениях современного тюркского населения Южного Урала. Исключения составляют отдельные камни-«следовики» и камни-дожда, на которых до настоящего времени проводятся ритуалы для вызова дождя, оздоровления и т.д.

Вторая группа – это верования, связанные с камнями рукотворного происхождения – менгирами, каменными пирамидами (караски, обо), надгробными каменными сооружениями, каменными курганами, оградками и выкладками, большая часть которых является объектами археологического наследия. Они достаточно активно используются в ритуальной практике тюркского населения Южного Урала в наши дни, особенно на юго-востоке – в Башкирском Зауралье.

Одной из особенностей данного процесса в этом регионе является внедрение в общественное сознание эзотерических (иррационально-мистических) составляющих, базовым проводником которых выступают маргинальные религиозные объединения. В целом, для большинства обследованных археологических объектов характерна стихийность формирования сакрального ареала, конструирование абсолютно искусственных представлений, поддерживаемых при этом частью мусульманского духовенства, а иногда и властными структурами.

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Strateške rabe pripovedi o nadnaravnem

————— Mirjam Mencej —————

Na podlagi terenskega dela avtorica obravnava pripovedi o verovanjih z vidika njihove strateške uporabe v vsakdanjem sporazumevanju. Kadar jim ustreza, jih pripovedovalci namerno uporabijo v svojo korist, da bi situacijo obrnili sebi v prid, ohranili dostojanstvo, prikrili svoje neustrezno vedenje, prikrili zadrego ali škandal, povečali svoj ugled ter zmanjšali ugled tekmeca ali osebe, s katero so v napetih odnosih.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: povedke, strateška raba folklore, čarovništvo, mrtvi, duhovi

Based on the fieldwork, the author discusses belief narratives from the perspective of their strategic use by individuals in everyday communication. When it serves them, the narrators can intentionally draw upon them, and mobilize them to their own benefit, to turn a situation to their profit, to save face, mask their deviant behaviour, conceal embarrassment and scandal, enhance their own prestige and reputation and lower that of a rival or a person with who they are in tense relationship.

KEYWORDS: legends, strategic use of folklore, witchcraft, ghosts

UVOD

Folkloru znotraj kulture in družbe opravlja različne vloge, pomembne za skupnost in družbo nasploh. Vlogo folkloru tako lahko prepoznamo v strukturiranju prostora, v katerem ljudje živijo, v vzdrževanju in krepitvi vrednot in norm vedenja, v ohranjanju družbenih institucij, v usmerjanju ljudi k podrejanju le-tem, v nujenju družbeno sprejemljivega izhoda izpod represije, ki jih te institucije naprtijo na posameznika, v nujenju platforme za pogajanja o mejnih izkušnjah, v obrambi kulture pred neposrednimi napadi nanjo itd. (glej, na primer, Bascom 1965 [1954]; Niles 1999: 66–67, 87–88; Mullen 2000: 136; Dégh 2001; Bird 2002; Gunnell 2008; Valk in Sävborg 2018). Toda določene družbene strukture, skupine ali posamezniki lahko folkloro (upo)rabijo tudi za uresničevanje lastnih, specifičnih interesov, torej *strateško*,¹ z »namenom, da prepriča[jo] druge v določena razumevanja in dejanja« (prim. Barry in Elmes 1997: 6). V tem članku se bom osredinila prav na strateške rabe folkloru.

¹ Termina »strategija« na tem mestu ne uporabljam v smislu de Certeaujeve definicije (1988 [1984]).

Sintagmo »(upo)raba folklore« (ang. *uses of folklore*) pogosto najdemo v besedilih folkloristov, ki se ukvarjajo s tisto folkloro, ki je bila iz celotnega nabora folklore določene naroda izbrana za simbol narodne identitete in uporabljena v procesu vzpostavljanja in krepitve njegove identitete.² Linda Dégh je tako na primer objavila članek, v katerem ta sintagma nastopa že v naslovu: *Uses of Folklore as Expressions of Identity by Hungarians in the Old and New Country* (1984; moj poudarek). Zasedimo jo tudi v razpravah o rabi folklore za doseg ideoloških in političnih ciljev posameznih družbenih skupin. Gary Allan Fine, na primer, našteva več takšnih primerov revolucijskih in reformističnih gibanj, ki so za doseg svojih ciljev uporabljala ljudske pesmi (1985). Christa Kamenetsky ugotavlja, da je nacionalsocialistična stranka v Nemčiji folkloro uporabljala za širjenje nacistične ideologije: »... pod vplivom nacionalsocialistične politike (...) stranki ni zadoščalo le raziskovanje virov tradicije, razen če so jih lahko (upo)rabili tudi za služenje zeleni ideologiji« (1972: 224; moj poudarek). V zvezi z rabo folklore v podporo določeni ideologiji, čeprav v nekoliko drugačnem smislu, je Kaarina Koski pisala o »(upo)rabi tradicijskih vernakularnih verovanj in mitologije« v finskih ezoteričnih revijah, ki so izhajale med letoma 1905 in 1920 (2020; moj poudarek). Folkloro so ezoterični krogi tega časa uporabili kot sredstvo dokazovanja obstoja duhovne resničnosti, torej v podporo širjenju svojega ideološkega prepričanja.

Folkloristi so prepoznali tudi komercialno (upo)rabo in prisvajanje folklore s strani oglaševalske industrije, industrije zabave in turizma. Goldstein, Grider in Thomas tako ugotavljajo, da »(...) kljub temu, da množično posredovana kultura išče novosti, pogosto ustvarja novo gradivo skozi konvencionalno vsebino, žanre ali sloge, prevzete iz tradicijske pripovedi. *Raba* velikanov za prodajo zelenjave ali neznanih letečih predmetov za prodajo sladkarij v komercialnem oglaševanju sta primera takšnega prisvajanja.« (2007: 213; moj poudarek).

V tem članku se ne bom ukvarjala z rabami folklore za uresničevanje interesov in ciljev posameznih družbenih struktur, skupin in gibanj. Namesto tega bom skušala pokazati, kako folkloro v svoji vsakodnevni komunikaciji *strateško* uporabljajo *posamezniki* za doseganje *osebnih* ciljev in za uresničitev *lastnih* interesov. Pri tem se ne bom posvetila rabam folklore nasploh, ampak se bom osredinila na rabe specifičnega žanra pripovedne folklore, in sicer povedk o »nadnaravnem« (vključno z memorati³ in govoricami⁴), in pokazala takšno njihovo vlogo na podlagi na terenu zbranega gradiva. V svoji raziskavi se bom opirala na primere iz dveh terenskih raziskav, v katerih so bile posnete povedke o nadnaravnem: prva je bila na temo čarovništva, ki smo jo s študenti in študentkami Oddelka za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo raziskovali na podeželju v vzhodni

² O rabah različnih elementov ljudske kulture oz. »dediščine« v kontekstu nacionalnega gibanja na Slovenskem so pisali tudi slovenski etnologi in etnologinje (gl. npr. Jezernik 2013; Klobčar in Knific 2021), a na tem mestu se osredinjam samo na rabo folklore in izhajam iz dobesedne uporabe izraza »(upo)raba folklore«.

³ Memorati so osebne pripovedi o prvo-osebnih izkušnjah (von Sydow 1948: 87); v folkloristiki se jih navadno uporablja kot termin za osebne pripovedi o liminalnih, »nadnaravnih« izkušnjah.

⁴ Čeprav je med terenskim delom mogoče prepoznati določene žanrske specifikke posameznih pripovedi, je Linda Dégh prepričljivo pokazala, da memoratov, govoric (in fabulatov) ni mogoče imeti za ločene kategorije, in za vse predlagala nadpomenko "povedka" (2001: 23–97).

Sloveniji v letih 2000 in 2001, sama pa sem nadaljevala z raziskavo v letih 2013–2015; in druga je na temo komunikacije z mrtvimi, ki sem jo izvedla v Bosni in Hercegovini, na različnih podeželskih območjih in med različnimi etničnimi skupnostmi (Bošnjaki, Srbi, Hrvati, Romi) v letih 2016–2019.⁵

RAZISKAVE RABE FOLKLORE V POSAMEZNIKOVO KORIST

Poleg rab folklore za uresničitev interesov in namenov določenih družbenih, ekonomskih, političnih in drugih skupin, institucij in struktur so nekateri folkloristi že opozarjali tudi na vlogo folklore pri uresničevanju ciljev in interesov *posameznikov*. Peter Narváez, ki je preučeval novofundlandske zgodbe o vilincih (*fairies*), ki naj bi nabiralce jagodičevja zapeljali na napačno pot, tako piše, da so posamezniki memorate lahko na različne načine uporabili v svojo korist: »Poleg tega, da so se lahko izognili zadregi in sramoti [...], so pripovedovalci lahko uporabili vilince za prikrivanje dejanskih deviantnih vedenj, kot so dolgotrajna zamuda, predzakonski spolni odnosi, nezvestoba, incest, nadlegovanje otrok, pretepanje žena in spolni napad. Treba je upoštevati možnost prikrivanja škandala s pomočjo vilinskih alibijev [...]« (Narváez 1991: 354–357). Judith Devlin podobno poudarja, kako je bila francoska folklorista 19. stoletja o nadnaravnem »priročna« za »upravičevanje lastnega vedenja – povzročena bodisi zaradi lenobe, slabe koncentracije, pijanosti ali nepremišljenosti« (1987: 88). V zvezi s povedkami o volkodlakih posebej dodaja še, da so bile te lahko sredstvo za obrekovanje sosedov, s katerim so bili pripovedovalci v slabih odnosih (Devlin 1987: 73, 199). Charles Stewart, ki je raziskoval folkloro o nadnaravnem v Grčiji, ugotavlja, da je *exoticá* (generično ime za nadnaravna bitja – op. M. M.) hkrati kazen za moralne prekrške, kot so skrivne ljubezenske zveze, kraje itd., kot tudi krinka za tiste, ki jih zagrešijo (1991). Ágnes Hesz, ki je med madžarsko manjšino v Transilvaniji raziskovala prvoosebne pripovedi o komunikaciji z mrtvimi v sanjah, ugotavlja, da so se uporabljale (tudi) za posredno izražanje odobravanja ali kritike, za vzpostavitev ali rušenje ugleda, za manipulacijo javnega mnenja v sporih in celo za doseganje materialnih koristi (2012). Luka Šešo, ki je terensko raziskavo opravljal v zaledju Dalmacije, pa ugotavlja, da je širjenje povedk o nadnaravnih bitjih pomagalo ustvarjati ozračje strahu, ki so ga posamezniki s pridom izkoristili za krajo in torej pridobivanje materialnih koristi, da bi se izognili kazni, prikrili detomor, zunajzakonsko zvezo ali pijančevanje (Šešo 2016).

METODOLOŠKA VPRAŠANJA

Razprava o posameznikovi strateški rabi folklore seveda nujno trči ob nekatere metodološke probleme. Kot folkloristi komajda lahko upamo, da bi bili lahko prisotni v situaciji,

⁵ Terenska raziskava je bila izvedena v okviru ERC projekta *East-West*. *Vernacular religion on the boundary of Eastern and Western Christianity: continuity, changes and interactions* (№ 324214), pod vodstvom Éve Pócs. Ker gre pri obeh raziskavah za delikatne teme, se držim običajne prakse, da se natančne lokacije raziskave ne navaja. Vse gradivo je shranjeno in preverljivo v Dokumentaciji Oddelka za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo.

v kateri je posameznik folklorno pripoved morda uporabil strateško. Kadar folklorist ni udeležen v situaciji, v kateri je bila pripoved posredovana drugim, je težko ugotavljati namen njenega pripovedovanja – torej, ali so pripovedovalci podelili z drugimi opis svoje izkušnje, ki so jo razumeli kot nadnaravno, ali pa so pripoved o nadnaravnem uporabili »strateško«, da bi dosegli specifičen učinek. Še več – strateški namen pripovedovanja mora načeloma celo v situaciji, ko je pripoved uporabljena na tak način, ostati zakrit, saj sicer pripovedovalec ne bi dosegel svojega namena. Lahko seveda dopustimo tudi možnost, da meja med obema rabama niti pripovedovalcem samim ni bila vedno jasna – prvoosebni memorat o nadnaravni izkušnji, ki je v skladu z razpoložljivim kulturnim repertoarjem, lahko posameznik uporabi strateško v svojo korist in hkrati sam verjame (ali začne verjeti), da se je izkušnja zares zgodila. Vsi ti pomisleki vsekakor predstavljajo ovire za kakršno koli trdno sklepanje o namenu posameznika. Ker ne moremo biti prepričani niti o resničnosti izkušnje niti o resničnosti prepričanja ljudi v resničnost izkušnje, namen posameznika ne more biti v središču pozornosti. Namesto tega se bom posvetila *učinkom* pripovedovanja povedk o nadnaravnem v funkciji interesa posameznika oziroma *potencialu* teh povedk, da se (upo)rabijo za uresničevanje njegovih ciljev.

Pri ugotavljanju učinkov oz. potencialov povedk o nadnaravnem za uresničevanje posameznikovega interesa smo seveda do neke mere neizogibno prisiljeni v razvijanje interpretacij in hipotez. Kot piše Narváez, je »takšna dramaturška perspektiva oseb, ki sprejemajo odločitve, (sicer) samo ena interpretativna možnost, vendar se je treba zavedati vseh implikacij te možnosti« (1991: 357). Vsekakor pa se nam pri prepoznavanju strateške rabe folklorne ni treba naslanjati zgolj na intuicijo, pač pa si lahko pomagamo z nekaterimi ključi, ki nam jih ponujata tako besedilo kot specifični kontekst pripovedovanja, pa tudi širši družbeni in kulturni kontekst, znotraj katerega je zgodba pripovedovana. Povedni so predvsem tisti elementi v pripovedi, ki se razlikujejo od drugih različic istega tipa pripovedi ali splošno sprejetih (tradicijskih) verovanj. Kot trdijo diskurzivni analitiki, je mogoče funkcije diskurza identificirati prav s pozornostjo na variantnost: »Ker je različica posledica funkcije, jo je mogoče uporabiti kot analitični namig o tem, katera funkcija se izvaja v določenem delu diskurza« (Wetherell in Potter 1988: 170–171). Kot koristni se včasih izkažejo tudi osebni komentarji pripovedovalcev, ki spremljajo pripoved. Nadalje so pomembne kontekstualne informacije o specifični situaciji, to je o času in kraju dogodka, ko je bila povedka (prvič) povedana, ter o tem, komu je bila povedana in od koga jo je pripovedovalec slišal. In končno, tudi poznavanje širšega družbenega in kulturnega konteksta lahko ponudi dodatne informacije za lažje razumevanje namena pripovedovanja.

STRATEŠKE RABE Povedk O NADNARAVNEM

Čeprav, kot rečeno, strateškega namena posameznika, ki pripoveduje povedko o nadnaravni izkušnji, praviloma ni mogoče z gotovostjo določiti, pa je ta občasno vendarle bolj ali manj jasen tudi sogovornikom, ki jim je bila pripoved povedana. Tako so denimo moji sogovorniki včasih sami identificirali rabo folklornih pripovedi, ki so jim jo starši pripovedovali kot otrokom. Zgodbe o čarovnicah ali vračanju umrlih so tako retrospektivno

prepoznali kot vzgojno sredstvo, s katerim so jih hoteli starši prestrašiti, da bi se zvečer pravočasno vrnili domov in ponoči ne odhajali od doma (prim. Stewart 1991; Lindow 1978: 44; Devlin 1987: 77; Widdowson 1978: 35).

*Največ [je govorila] o coprnicah. Da so ble na metli pa de se je spremenila u zeleno luč al pa v rdečo luč in da so tiste coprnice potem krožle po po kakšni nivi pa škodo delale pa take stvari. [...] Ona, ja, ona ih je vidla ... **ona je to pripovedovala tko, da je otroke u strah spraulala, in verjetno mene tut. Sam ko sem js to dojela, da to ni [res], potem me ni blo tko [strah].** (5)⁶*

Enako včasih velja za pripovedi, ki so bile uporabljene kot sredstvo pritiska na odrasle, na primer predstavnike posameznih poklicev, predvsem tiste, od katerih poštenosti so bili ljudje odvisni, a te nikoli ni bilo mogoče imeti povsem pod nadzorom. Povedka o nepoštenem mlinarju, ki se je zaradi goljufanja po smrti spremenil v volkodlaka, ki je krožila v Hercegovini, je gotovo delovala (tudi) kot oblika pritiska na mlinarje, da bi pošteno merili količino namlete moke. Tak namen pripovedovanja te povedke je sam poudaril tudi eden od mojih sogovornikov:

I2: Kaže, krivo radio, kaže, to sam ja sad čula, krivo radio, krivo mirio, pa se ukaziva nešto u tamo. Znaš. Nešto dolazi ...

I3: A ja sam čula i u [...] Zvali ga R.⁷ R. zvali ga. Isto tako je ima mlin i tako biče da je nakrivo uzimo malo više nek je tribalo...

I2: Je toga bilo.

I3: A?

I2: Je.

I3: I da je dolazio, isto. To su tako bile priče.

M: Nakon smrti?

I3: Ma ja, ja. Ima mlin, pa dok goni žito, a bio je, kriza je bila...

I4: Lopov, naša je on nešto [...]

I3: Uvek je bilo trgovačko i miri, pa šta miri, miri. Kaže, neko miri nakrivo, izmiriće svoju dušu. To je rečenica.

I5. To su oni plašili mlinare ... (142)⁸

V teh dveh primerih bi lahko trdili, da učinek pripovedovanja ni bil zadovoljitev interesa prav določenih posameznikov, ki bi to zgodbo pripovedovali. Seveda je bil tak učinek posredno tudi v njihovem interesu: starši so tako lažje nadzorovali svoje otroke

⁶ Številka v oklepaju je oznaka za sogovornika v Dokumentaciji Oddelka za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani. V tem primeru: sogovornica, rojena 1931; intervju posnela Alenka Bartulović in Tina Volarič 18. 7. 2000, transkribirala Tanja Bizjan.

⁷ Vse osebe v pripovedih kot tudi sogovorniki so v članku anonimizirani.

⁸ Sogovorniki I2: ženska; I3: ženska, rojena 1943; I4: ženska, rojena 1928; I5: moški, rojen 1951; M: Mirjam Mencej. Posnela Mirjam Mencej v Hercegovini med bosanskimi Hrvatimi, 29. 5. 2017.

in poštenost predstavnikov določenih poklicev je nedvomno koristila med drugim tudi pripovedovalcem samim. Kljub temu bi *osebni* interes pripovedovalcev težko prepoznali kot ključnega za širjenje teh povedk – takšne in podobne pripovedi so prvenstveno podpirale in ojačevale družbene in kulturne norme, ki so veljale v skupnosti in družbi nasploh. Raba teh pripovedi za zagotovitev podrejanja splošno sprejetim normam vedenja ni bila v nobenem pogledu problematična in pripovedovalci zato niso imeli posebnega razloga, da bi skrivali pravi namen svojega pripovedovanja, še zlasti ne raziskovalcem, ki so v skupnost vstopali od zunaj.

To pa seveda ne drži, kadar so pripovedi uporabljene z namenom, da bi posameznikom te iste norme pomagale zaobiti in da bi se tako izognili posledicam, ki bi jih sicer doletele, kadar so jih uporabili v svojo korist ali z njimi škodovali drugim, ko so pripovedi uporabili zato, da bi situacijo, v kateri so se znašli, obrnili sebi v prid ipd. V takšnih situacijah bi lahko pričakovali, da bodo pripovedovalci veliko pozornosti namenili prav temu, da (strateškega) namena pripovedovanja zgodbe ne bi razkrili. V nadaljevanju bom pokazala nekaj primerov takšnih strateških rab povedk na primeru pripovedi o čarovništvu, posnetih na podeželju vzhodne Slovenije, in pripovedi o umrlih, ki se prikazujejo živim, posnetih na podeželju Bosne in Hercegovine.

STRATEŠKE RABE POVEDK O ČAROVNIŠTVU V LASTNO KORIST

Pripovedi o čarovništvu, zapisane na začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja na podeželju vzhodne Slovenije, ki jih bom predstavila najprej, se večinoma nanašajo na obdobje do nekako sedemdesetih let 19. stoletja. Do takrat je bilo verjetje v čarovništvo na tem območju še zelo živo in je predstavljalo interpretativni okvir, ki je imel v skupnosti avtoriteto, ki je ni bilo mogoče zlahka omajati (Mencej 2017). Vsaj nekatere pripovedi, ki so nesrečo in gospodarsko škodo pripisovale (medsosedskemu) čarovništvu, je mogoče razumeti tudi kot pripovedne strategije, ki so jih ljudje uporabili, kadar so prestopili sprejete norme vedenja. Na čarovništvo se je posameznik tako lahko skliceval, da bi upravičil svoja nesprejemljiva dejanja, ovrigel sume, da je storil prepovedano dejanje, se opral krivde ter posledično ohranil svoj status v skupnosti.

Govorice o tem, da je ženska, s katero naj bi se poročil, čaravnica, so bile tako lahko primeren izgovor za moškega, da prekine zaroko z osebo, s katero se ni (več) želel poročiti (prim. Devlin 1987: 199) – ki je torej storil dejanje, ki bi bilo sicer deležno zgražanja in obsojanja skupnosti. Čeprav se iz spodnje pripovedi ne zdi, da bi govornice sprožil moški sam, so te vseeno zadoščale, da je bilo njegovo sicer nesprejemljivo dejanje v skupnosti sprejeto kot upravičeno:

I: Dol pa vem onega, ko je star bako moj razlagal, si niso bile sosede strašno dobre, ne. Pa bi star bako moral tisto žensko imeti in da je bila coprnica. No, o tem, to pa lahko vama povem. Da je bila coprnica in je tudi sosedi šla, ko je neki šla sosedi v štal, pa so jo našli ljudje, de je nekaj čarala. Da je nekaj čarala. Pol je pa star ata rekel, moj star bako,

*ne, je rekel: »Tote coprnice pa res ne bom ubral, bom pa drugo vzел!«
In tako se je zgodilo. (79)⁹*

Omemba, da sta bili sosedji v slabih odnosih, in da je bila zavrnjena zaročenka zalotena pri izvajanju čarovništva prav v njihovi hiši, bi lahko kazala na to, da je bila vir govoric sosedja, morda tekunica za poroko z istim moškim. Ker so govorice sestavni del in ne zgolj odsev družbene realnosti, je mogoče pripovedi o čarovništvu učinkovito uporabiti tudi proti tekmečem, za znižanje njihovega ugleda in izboljšanje lastnega statusa (prim. Bleek 1976: 527, 540; Gustavsson 1979: 49; Gijswijt-Hofstra 1999: 175; Stewart in Strathern 2004: 33–35, 56).

Širjenje govoric o drugih osebah kot čarovnicah je bilo mogoče uporabiti tudi kot sredstvo maščevanja, na primer – kot trdi moj sogovornik v naslednjem intervjuju – zaradi ranjenega ponosa:

Zdaj, da je kdo coprncica? Ne, ne, to je blo pred. Vete, ka? Jaz bom takle reku ... Če sta dva hodla k eni, pa se je ona odločila za drugęga, je ta iz maščevalnosti jo prjavu, da je coprncica. (108)¹⁰

V naslednji pripovedi se ključ za identifikacijo namena pripovedovanja skriva v specifičnem elementu, ki ga v drugih povedkah o čarovnicah na tem območju ne najdemo – elementu golote.

*Je bla tu, je vedu on, de je ona, sneha nihova cuprncica, ne, je vedu, de tu zna cuprat, je ona nega sovražla jenga, ne, ga je tela to najlepše ulou, nutre porinla, dej biu pijan, de sej utupu, ne, on je pa biu tulku močn pa je se vzeu, mislm tisto uniču vzeu in ni več ona mela moči do jenga. I onde on jo prdržo do dneva. Koj sunce ven fshajalo, je **ona bla že preobl ..., gola pred njim, ne, je že bla gola.** Potlej pa ona nega prusla, de jo je spustiu, de bo... [...] Nč, samu tu je moja mama povedavala, de to se je resnično dogajalo. (4)¹¹*

Če upoštevamo, da so bili v obdobju, na katerega se te zgodbe nanašajo, moški na tem območju v več kot četrtini zakonov mlajši od svojih žena, in sicer v povprečju šest let mlajši (Sok 2003: 141–144), očetje torej niso bili vedno veliko starejši od svojih snah. Prihod mlade žene v novo (razširjeno) družino je tako predvidoma lahko občasno vodil v spolna razmerja ali sprožil spolno nasilje. Ker se golota v pripovedih o čarovništvu sicer ne pojavlja, te podrobnosti ne moremo pripisati splošnim predstavam o čarovnicah na

⁹ Sogovornica I1: ženska, roj. l. 7. 1923; posnele Urška Bajec, Mirjam Mencej in Jasmina Papić 21. 10. 2000; transkripcija: Urška Bajec.

¹⁰ Sogovornik: moški, rojen 1933; posnele Tanja Bizjan, Mirjam Mencej, Tjaša Pavšič in Tina Volarič, 18. 3. 2001; transkripcija: Tjaša Pavšič.

¹¹ Sogovornica: ženska, rojena 1933; posneli Alenka Bartulović in Tina Volarič, 18. 7. 2000; transkripcija: Tanja Bizjan.

tem območju, ampak bi prej kazala na situacijo, v kateri je prišlo do (poskusa) posilstva ali pa morda sporazumnega spolnega odnosa med snaho in tastom. Zgodbo o njenem čarovniškem napadu bi tako prvotni narator (tast) lahko uporabil strateško, da bi ljudem, ki so ju morda presenetili gola, ponudil ustrezno razlago, ali pa kot odgovor na snahino obtožbo (poskusa) posilstva. Zgodba, ki jo pripoveduje naratorka, izraža tastovo interpretacijo dogodka. Njegov ugled v družini in skupnosti bi trpel, če dogodka ne bi pripisal snahinemu čarovništvu – tako pa je bil uničen (samo) ugled ženske. Dejstvo, da pripoved, ki jo pripoveduje someščanka, poda le moški pogled, jasno kaže tudi na nemoč ženskega glasu v tradicionalni skupnosti.

V nasprotju z zgornjo pripovedjo, v kateri je strateško rabo pripovedi razkril (neobičajen) element vsebine (golota čaravnice), pa nam v naslednjih primerih pri razumevanju strateškosti rabe folklore pomaga poznavanje konteksta: védenje, da je bil status žensk v družini in skupnosti v obdobju, v katerem so bile čarovniške obtožbe del vsakdanjega diskurza, v celoti odvisen od njihovega uspeha pri delu. Ženske so se ob morebitnem neuspehu na področju, za katerega so bile odgovorne, lahko izognile posledicam le, če so zanj okrivile čaravnice (prim. Mencej 2015) – kot je razvidno iz naslednje pripovedi:

*En dekle [je] žel, pa benga ispeha. Neč, neč ji ni, bolj ko je hitela žet, nič ni mogla nardit. No, taku da je tri dni hodla tam en štikelček žet. Pol pa le zaahta žabo. Pol pa ne vem kdu, da ji je jeden povedal, da je mora za taca prjet. Za taca pa u zemljo, s kolom, s kolem predret, pa u zemljo zabit tisto žabo. In je nardila tist. Takule popoldne, proti noč. Drug den, drug den je bla soseda prvezana. Ona, ko je tisto žabo... [...] **Soseda no, jena v bližin, ku ji je ispeh jemala, da ni mogla požet nč.** (125)¹²*

Razširjene pripovedi o srečanjih s čaravnicami, ki so se običajno v podobi luči prikazovale ljudem v času od prvega mraka pa do zore in jih zapeljevale na napačno pot, so posamezniki lahko uporabili kot izgovor, da prenehajo z delom. Glede na to, da memorati o nočnih čaravnicah običajno govorijo o izkušnjah, ki se lahko zgodijo kadarkoli med prvim mrakom in zoro, se zdi druga ura zjutraj, ki je v naslednji pripovedi omenjena kot začetek delovanja čaravnic in zato kot utemeljen razlog za prenehanje dela na polju, arbitrarna in neutemeljena v lokalnih verovanjih – signal za identifikacijo strateške rabe pripovedi o čaravnicah:

*Smo šle enkrat žet ponoči, ko je bilo čez dan prevroče, pa je ob dveh ena rekla, da gre domov. Pa sem jaz rekla, da bi do dveh žele, pa je una rekla, da gre domov, ker bojo cumprnce prišle. Kmalu smo videle lučko pri lučki. **Pol je pa una rekla, da ne smemo več delat, ker bi nam cumprnce kaj***

¹² Sogovornica: ženska, rojena 1925; posnele Natalija Čulić, Vera Jaćimović in Adela Ramovš 19. 10. 2001; transkripcija: Vera Jaćimović in Adela Ramovš.

*naredile. Vsako noč smo ob dveh nehale delat, pa smo šle na čaj pa na šnops, pa spat. (127)*¹³

Čeprav se zdi razumno domnevati, da so bile zgodbe o nočnih čarovnicah lahko uporabljene tudi kot izgovor za (pre)pozno vrnitev domov, pa ni mogoče najti neposrednih dokazov, ki bi takšne domneve potrdili, saj so pripovedovalci, kot sem že rekla, zgodbe morali predstaviti tako, da jih razkrijejo tega, kar so želeli prikriti, ne bi kompromitiralo. Kljub temu kontekst specifične situacije, v kateri naj bi se izkušnje, o katerih ti memorati govorijo, zgodile, kaže, da so bili ti vsaj včasih uporabljeni v situacijah čezmernega popivanja. Pripovedi o čarovnicah, v katerih so te zlasti moške vso noč vodile po gozdu ali zapeljevale, da niso več našli poti domov, so bile vsekakor primerno upravičilo prepoznega prihoda domov, moške pa razrešile krivde in sramu zaradi pijanosti ali morebitnih drugih insinujacij (npr. nezvestobe, spolne zlorabe ipd.). Naslednja pripoved, na primer, neposredno povezuje izkušnjo, interpretirano kot rezultat čarovničinega delovanja, s popivanjem po končanem skupnem delu.

*I: Tole je bilo tako ... doli, malo od doma, ne vem, koliko že je to metrov /.../, ne, so pa hodili prej po količje /.../ **Potem pa veste, kako je, mislim količit, to je bil takrat običaj, to se je prej popivalo še pa še, vsakojakih tistih pesmi, ne, vse je pelo, no, potem so se pa nekaj tako tisti možakarji zbrali tam vkup, to so pa potem se zbrali, so rekli: No, zdaj bomo pa eno zapeli /.../ pa so popevali ...ko to je bilo prej nekaj enkratnega, ko se je to slišalo z vasi v drugo vas, ko so peli, pa je ... no, po je pa tu naenkrat /.../ je pa pokojni oče tako izginil iz tistega kroga, da ga ni bilo nikjer, no, potem je pa rekel, da se je nekam znašel, da ga je nekam te gori v gozd odneslo. /.../ (15)***¹⁴

STRATEŠKE RABE PRIPOVEDI O VRAČANJU UMRLIH

Tako kot pripovedi o čarovništvu so tudi pripovedi o umrlih, ki se iz različnih razlogov prikazujejo živim, sodile v vernakularni repertoar, ki je bil ljudem splošno znan. V Bosni so bili takšni umrli navadno imenovani volkodlak (*vukodlak, kudlak, kodlak, kuzlak*), vampir (*vampir, lampir*) ali prikazen (*pri(je)kaza, privid, utvara*); nanje so se včasih sklicevali tudi v obliki »prikazuje se« (*priviđa se, prividilo se, prikazuje se, ukaziva se, ukazalo se, priliči se*). Vsi trije emski izrazi se uporabljajo bolj ali manj zamenljivo. Moji sogovorniki so večinoma verjeli v resničnost prikazovanja teh mrtvih oziroma vsaj dopuščali možnost njihovega resničnega obstoja. Ob tako močni podpori v skupnosti

¹³ Sogovornica: ženska; posneli Miha Šinkovec, Miha Mulh in Tanja Skale 19. 10. 2001; transkripcija: Miha Šinkovec in Miha Mulh.

¹⁴ Sogovornica: ženska, rojena 1928; posneli Alenka Bartulović, Mirjam Mencej, Ljupčo Risteski in Tina Volarić 21. j. 2000; transkripcija: Alenka Bartulović.

so te pripovedi omogočale posameznikom, da so jih mobilizirali za izpolnitev osebnih interesov in uresničitve svojih ciljev.

V nasprotju s čarovnicami, za katere je veljalo, da delujejo iz zla in zavisti, so bila prikazovanja in dejanja mrtvih pogosto (čeprav ne vedno) razumljena kot moralno upravičena in znak, da se je oseba, ki je imela takšno izkušnjo, prekršila zoper sprejete socialne ali/in religijske norme. Pripovedi o prikazovanju mrtvih torej praviloma niso mogle biti uporabljene kot razlaga (neugodne) situacije, v kateri se je posameznik znašel, saj bi bil v tem primeru učinek ravno nasproten: z zgodbo o tem, da se jim je prikazal mrtvi, bi posredno priznali, da so sami prekršili norme vedênja. A ker je videnje pokojnika kazalo na kršitev družbenih norm, je bilo s širjenjem govoric, da se je umrli prikazal določeni osebi, mogoče znižati družbeni status druge osebe v skupnosti. Ágnes Hesz (2012) je tudi pokazala, da se pripovedi o mrtvih v sanjah lahko uporabljajo za izražanje neodobravanja dejanj drugih oseb, kot obliko »posredne komunikacije«. Pri posredni komunikaciji govorci mislijo nekaj drugega kot to, kar govorijo; njihovo besedilo, čeprav na diskurzivni ravni nevtralno, izraža moralno sodbo, ki jo mora oseba, ki ji je namenjena, šele izluščiti iz povedanega (Brenneis 1987: 504–507; Hesz 2012: 140–141). Ljudje takšno obliko komunikacije običajno uporabljajo zato, da bi se izognili morebitnim sporom, saj tako ne morejo biti prepoznani kot avtorji kritike. Če predvidevamo, da govornice prej ali slej pridejo na ušesa subjektu le-teh, bi takšno vlogo pripovedi – izražanje kritike na račun nesprejemljivega vedênja mladega para do matere oz. tašče – lahko prepoznali iz naslednjega pogovora:

II: Evo, ja sam čula kod nas, ovdje bio jedan, kažu, pretvorila valjda se bila u zmiju, al ja to nisam vidjela, samo sam čula.

M: Ova umrla?

II: Aha. Sin joj i sna[ha] bili zli. Nisu joj bili dobri. Al nisu se svađali, samo nisu htjeli od nje nik[kakve]e hrane nosit. A ona njima ko mat svaka, spremi, oni ostavi u vrećice onak objesi, kad oni odu, ona ode tamo, vidi, oni onu njenu hranu svu ostave vani. I ona onda jaukala i jaukala i klela. I kad je umrla, kažu, Boga m', jedva su pobjegli. Jedva su pobjegli. Ganjala ih.

M: U liku zmije?

II: Mhm.

M: A kako su znali da je to ona?

II: Pa iz tog groba, đe su bili svijeću palili, otale im izašla ta zmija.

M: Baš iz groba izašla?

II: Aha, baš tu đe sahrana im je izašla. Tako su pričale. Sad ja ne mogu reć da je to istina kad ja to nisam vidjela. Evo, ja sam čula kod nas, ovdje bio jedan, kažu, pretvorila valjda se bila u zmiju, al ja to nisam vidjela, samo sam čula. (117)¹⁵

¹⁵ Sogovornica II: ženska, rojena 1966, pravoslavka; posnela Mirjam Mencej v zahodni Bosni, 15. 4. 2016.

Ker sama nisem bila subjekt govornice, je ta zadržek seveda odpadel in je pripovedovalka lahko sporočila pripovedi – kritiko vedénja mladega para – na koncu izrazila tudi neposredno:

Jesu, kajali su se, žao im bilo. Kasnije. Kad napraviš zlo, ja uvijek kažem Bog pomozi, reko, nemoj nikad nikom zla činit, ni svome a pogotovo tuđem. Ni onom crnom Ciganu, reko, nije on, jadan, ni ništ kriv. Svaki je stvoren da živi nekako, na neki način se pati, mora živit ... (117)¹⁶

V nasprotju z zgornjimi pripovedmi, ki bi jih ožje lahko uvrstili med memorate in govornice, je naslednja pripoved povedka (fabulat)¹⁷. Govori o materi oz. tašči, ki se po smrti kot volkodlak v podobi svinje prikazuje svojemu sinu in snahi, s katerima je živela pod isto streho, da bi ju grajala zaradi slabega odnosa, ki sta ga imela do nje za časa življenja. Moralno sporočilo je iz povedke torej jasno razvidno:

II: I kako je, kako je sin volio mater. Znaš. Volio je mater i snaja. Kao sad ova moja snaja i moj sin. Kako su mene voleli, kako se mene poštivali, nisu dali meni jest i tako. Da sam ja krmača i što šta i ona ista. Kad je ona umrla, kaje prošlo je, prošla godina dana kaže. On sipa ..., svak kaže, joj Bože dragi, to je neka stara krmačetina, slaba, kaže, jede, to sve pojede. Ništa, onaj jedan večer, drugi, to naveče [ide] da sipa krmicama, dosta je bilo nako ... Vi to možda ne znate, al eto ja tebi pričam što je tad bilo. Ništa, kad nakon pet, šest dana kad sin od uvečer, kaže, žena mu onaj sipala krmcima, kaje, ništa, kad došla neka stara krmačetina i sve pojede. Znaš. Ka dobro. Iđe sin uveče, i nosi ti onaj vako neki kolčić. Nosi kolčić, znaš. Da on ubije tu, kao kuja došla, krmača, kuja, šta ja znam. Ništa. On, ona usula krmcima i otišla ona, došo on dolje, a on vati se da udari, kaje, a ona će, kaje: E, moj sine. [...] E, moj sine. Ja sam tvoja majka. Nemoj me ubijati. Što me ubijaš? Niste me poštovali, ništa mi niste dali, uvijek sam bila gladna, sad sam došla na ovo korito da pojiem. Eto, i to ka povukodlačila se.... [...]

M: A zašto se ona povukodlačila?

II: Pa, nemam pojma zašto. Nije, nisu je poštivali, nije jela, nisu je čuvali, nešto prošlo preko nje i. [...] (97)¹⁸

V tem primeru sem imela izjemno priložnost, da sem bila lahko priča strateški rabi povedke tako rekoč *in situ*. Med intervjujem, med katerim je bila ob naju tudi pripovedovalkina snaha, je namreč postalo očitno, da mi je sogovornica zgodbo pripovedovala predvsem zato, da jo je lahko uporabila kot moralni poduk lastni snahi. In če ta morda

¹⁶ Gl. op. 12.

¹⁷ »Kratke, eno-epizodne zgodbe, zgrajene (...) na elementih resničnih dogodkov in opažanj, pri čemer je resničnostna podlaga spremenjena s pomočjo kreativne domišljije ljudi« (von Sydow 1948: 73).

¹⁸ Sogovornica: ženska, rojena 1947, bosanska Srbkinja; posnela Mirjam Mencej v zahodni Bosni, 7. 4. 2016.

ni razumela sporočila njene zgodbe, ga zagotovo ni mogla spregledati, ko se je pripovedovalka, torej njena tašča, potem ko je povedko povedala do konca, izrecno obrnila nanjo z besedami:

*Da se to tako dogodilo. Nevalja. Svekrva ako imaš, poštuj je, ne moraš ti nju volit. Ti ako imaš svekrvu, ti nemoj volit svojo svekrvu, ne moraš je volit. Ova moja snaja [pokaže na snaho], ne mora ona mene volit, nek me samo poštiva. Jer ima i ona svoju djecu. Kad god će ona zasluži tako će joj vratit. A vidiš ti, kako je ta bila snaja, ona je bila čifut, bezobrazna i nije dala tome sinu, od te što se povukodlače, dala jesti, nit je volila je. Nije poštivala, nije ništa. Nije dala jesti. I ona sada došla da jede s krmcima. I on došo da je ubije. **Ta kajem svojoj snaji, kak god zaradi, tako će se vratit.** Kak god si ko zaradi, tako se njemu vrati. Jebi ga. (97)*

V tem primeru zgodba torej ni bila uporabljena za prikrievanje pripovedovalkega deviantnega vedenja, za reševanje lastnega statusa ali znižanje statusa drugih v skupnosti. Namesto tega je pripovedovalka, katere situacija je bila podobna situaciji umrle matere v povedki, saj je s sinom in snaho tudi sama živela v razširjeni družini, zgodbo uporabila sebi v prid – da bi si tako zagotovila spoštljiv odnos snahe.

ZAKLJUČEK

Na nekaj izbranih primerih pripovedi, posnetih med terenskimi raziskavami v vzhodni Sloveniji in Bosni in Hercegovini, sem v tem članku želela pokazati njihove strateške rabe s strani posameznikov. V skupnostih, v katerih se pripovedi o nadnaravnem »širijo z dovoljenjem« (prim. Ellis 1988: 66) in v katerih imajo te zadostno podporo in avtoriteto, je te pripovedi, ne glede na posameznikovo verjetje, mogoče uporabiti (tudi) v funkciji uresničevanja interesov in ciljev posameznikov. S sklicevanjem nanje oz. z njihovo (upo) rabo so posamezniki lahko prikriili in upravičili svoje nesprejemljivo vedenje, se izognili zadregi in sramoti zaradi kršenja družbenih norm in rešili svoj status v skupnosti, kadar je bil ta ogrožen, ali pa jih na drug način uporabili v svojo korist. Poleg tega so lahko s širjenjem govorice, ki so izhajale iz pripovedi o čarovništvu ali prikazovanju umrlih – iz rivalstva, maščevanja ali drugih razlogov – tudi znižali status drugih članov skupnosti ali pa jih uporabili za posredno kritiko njihovih nesprejemljivih dejanj.

A »strateškost« rabe folklorne, o kateri pišem v tem članku, ne pomeni nujno, da gre za premišljena in namerna, zavestno preračunana in manipulativna dejanja posameznikov. Kot meni Argyrou, gre bolj za intuitivna in spontana dejanja, strategijo, ki temelji na habitusu¹⁹ (1993: 267–268). Posamezniki strateške rabe folklorne praviloma ne načrtujejo vnaprej, ampak samo »naredijo, kar je naravno« ali izrečejo, kar se v situaciji »zdi

¹⁹ Tj. na normativnih vidikih vedenja, ki jih posameznik pridobi nereflktirano (namesto nezavedno), s socializacijo (prim. Bourdieu 1980).

primerno« (prim. Wetherell in Potter 1988: 171). Seveda pa temu ni tako, kadar govorimo o širjenju govoric – te je, nasprotno, mogoče uporabljati tudi namerno, z zavestnim namenom manipulacije javnega mnenja (Hesz 2007: 32) ali za kritiko neprimerne vedenja drugih. Folklorne pripovedi torej lahko razumemo kot družbene prakse, ki jih posamezniki vsaj občasno izvajajo v funkciji učinka, ki ga želijo doseči (prim. Wetherell in Potter 1988: 168–169).

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STRATEGIC USES OF BELIEF NARRATIVES

MIRJAM MENCEJ



As has already been demonstrated, folklore can be used by various social structures, groups and institutions to serve particular ideological, political, commercial and other aims. Moreover, individuals too may use folklore to their own benefit. When it serves them, individuals may intentionally draw upon folk narratives, and mobilize them to their own benefit, for their own interests and goals. This paper focuses on belief narratives from the perspective of their strategic use by individuals in everyday communication. Based on selected narratives collected during the fieldwork conducted in rural areas of Slovenia in 2000–2001 and 2013–2015, and in Bosnia & Herzegovina in 2016–2019, it demonstrates some possible uses of belief narratives about witchcraft and the restless dead. As argued, these may have been used by individuals to turn a situation to their benefit, to mask their deviant behaviour, to save face and retain the status in a community, to conceal embarrassment, to lower the status of another person out of vindictiveness and to put pressure on others or indirectly criticise others for their inappropriate behaviour.

This is not to say, however, that the narrators always tell their narratives with a conscious intention to manipulate their audience and achieve their aims. Usually, drawing upon belief narratives is not a calculated, manipulative act but rather a strategy based on the habitus (Argyrou 1993). This does not necessary hold true, however, when rumours are spread about others; these can be also spread intentionally to lower a prestige of another person or criticise them for deviant behaviour.

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Prezrti zgodovinski kontekst izročila o kralju Matjažu

————— Marija Klobčar —————

Raznolikost podob kralja Matjaža v slovenskem folklornem izročilu, kontekstov, s katerimi se povezujejo, in njegove vzporednice z izročilom drugih narodov so pomenile močan izziv za folkloristične raziskave: zaradi neskladnosti zgodovinskih dejstev se je uveljavila teza, da je Matija Korvin v vlogi kralja Matjaža nadomestil starejši lik. Prispevek na podlagi najvidnejšega uvodnega verza pesmi o Kralju Matjažu, predvsem pa z analizo prvotnega pomena pridevnika ogrski zgodovinsko osebo predkorvinovskega kralja Matjaža išče v obdobju, ki je za Slovence pomenilo največjo prelomnico, v času Karla Velikega oz. času, ko so Slovenci še ohranjali gospodarsko in družbeno moč in njene simbole, hkrati pa opozori na usodni čas, ki je temu sledil.

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KLJUČNE BESEDE: Kralj Matjaž, ljudsko izročilo, Karel Veliki, boji z Avari, Aachen, romanja

The diversity of depictions of King Matthias (Sln. kralj Matjaž) in Slovenian folk tradition, the contexts they are associated with, and the parallels with the traditions of other countries have posed a great challenge to folklore studies: due to disagreement among historical facts, the hypothesis that King Matthias was actually based on an older historical figure has become widely established. Based on the most important introductory line of Slovenian folksongs about King Matthias and, first and foremost, an analysis of different meanings of the term ‘Hungarians’ (Sln. Ogrji, Germ. Ungarn), this article looks for this historical figure in the period predating Matthias Corvinus that represented the greatest watershed for Slovenians—that is, the period of Charlemagne, or the period when the Slovenians still maintained their economic and social power and its symbols—while also drawing attention to the critical period that followed.

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KEYWORDS: King Matthias, folk tradition, Charlemagne, battles against the Avars, Aachen, pilgrimages

KRALJ MATJAŽ KOT ENA OD »PODOB IZ SANJ«: SPEČI PRAVIČNI VLADAR, UPANJE V NAJHUJŠI STISKI¹

Leta 1916, v času, ko so se Slovenci borili na frontah kot del avstroogrške vojske, je Ivan Cankar v *Podobah iz sanj* v svet vojne resničnosti in brezizhodnosti priklical podobo kralja Matjaža:

¹ Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa Folkloristične in etnološke raziskave slovenske duhovne kulture (P6-0111) in temeljnega raziskovalnega projekta Teža preteklosti. Dediščina večkulturnega območja: primer Kočevske (J6-4612), ki ju sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna.

Na tem svojem jeklenem prestolu je sedel kralj Matjaž, visok in silen. V obraz je bil hudo blede, pod širokimi čeljustmi so se bočili valovi mogočne črne brade; oči so ležale v globokih jamah in so gorele z motnim plamenom; orjaške pesti, nagosto poraščene, so počivale na hrastovi mizi, pripravljene, da se vzdignejo. Tako je sedel kralj Matjaž in tako so sedeli, sloneli in ležali tudi vojščaki njegovih; nobeden se ni ganil, ali nobeden ni spal, kajti vsaka ura bi lahko bila tista, ki je bila oznanjena pred tisoč leti.

V motnem plamenu oči Matjaževih in njegovih vojščakov je bilo napeto pričakovanje. Kakor da se je bil kazalec na uri pomaknil tik do dvanajste in da vsak hip udari kladivo na zvon. Vse pesti, mogočne, so čakale trdo stisnjene, da se razklenejo ter zgrabijo za meč. (Cankar 1916: 288)

Kralj Matjaž, ki je v ljudskih pesmih premagal Turke, svojo Alenčico rešil ujetništva, za nameček pa kot starodavni godec, igrc, z igranjem na gosli iz pekla reševal duše svojih bližnjih, je v Cankarjevih *Podobah iz sanj* zaživel v podobi, kot se je ohranjala na panjskih končnicah in v delu slovenskega pripovednega izročila: speči kralj Matjaž se je v slovenskih povedkah v svoji votlini pod goro, ki je bila na Slovenskem v različnih okoljih, tu in tam razkril naključnemu obiskovalcu, sicer pa živel v zgodbah o svojih junaških dejanjih, predvsem v bojih proti Turkom, včasih tudi proti Bogu, ali pa v zgodbah o rešitvi pred drugimi sovražniki (prim. Kropelj 2014: 245–247). Njegova odmevnost se je opirala na pravična dejanja, s katerimi je branil svoje ljudstvo, in na upanje v rešitev v najtežjih časih, v času Cankarjevega zapisa kot upanje na konec vojne in uresničitev tisočletnih slovenskih sanj.

Ivan Cankar je bil le eden od ustvarjalcev, ki je s tem motivom aktualiziral podobo kralja Matjaža. Da je ta podoba z interpretacijami sooblikovala podobo tega junaka, je konec petdesetih let 20. stoletja opazil že Milko Matičetov: »Škoda le, da nikoli ne vemo, kaj je zraslo med ljudstvom in kaj je pomodroval zraven pisatelj.« (Matičetov 1958b: 107) Univerzalnost te podobe pa je imela svoje ozadje tudi v izročilu: kralj Matjaž je namreč živel v srednji in vzhodni Evropi ter na severnem Balkanu, in sicer v madžarskem, poljskem, slovaškem, češkem, slovenskem, hrvaškem, srbskem, romunskem, ukrajinskem (predvsem rutenskem), avstrijskem in nemškem (predvsem šlezijskem in lužiškem) folklornem izročilu (Kropelj Telban 2019: 36).

Razširjenost tega izročila je bila na Slovenskem deležna tudi izjemne zapisovalske in raziskovalne pozornosti, hkrati pa je imela pomembno identifikacijsko vlogo s političnimi cilji, s katerimi so »slovenski narodni buditelji in voditelji vztrajno hodili buditi Kralja Matjaža« (Jezernik 2019: 72). Tudi navzočnost tega izročila v sodobnosti ohranjajo dejavnosti, oprte na izobraževanje in promocije, med katerimi je prireditve Gradovi kralja Matjaža (Kropelj 2014: 248–251), hkrati pa se izročilo še vedno naslanja na ustaljene pripovedi: »Danes ljudje, še posebej na Koroškem, radi poudarjajo, da si je ljudstvo izvolilo Kralja Matjaža na Gosposvetem polju, svoj prestol pa je imel na Krnskem gradu.« (Švab 2012: 9; po: Kropelj Telban 2019: 43) Različnost teh spodbud po eni strani narekuje vnovični premislek interpretacij vsebinskih ozadij kralja Matjaža, po drugi strani pa osvetlitev okoliščin, ki tega junaka povezujejo z najpomembnejšimi simboli slovenske zgodovine.

MATIJA KORVIN KOT KRALJ MATJAŽ IN DRUŽBENI KONTEKST SPREJEMANJA ALI ZAVRAČANJA NJEGOVEGA LIKA

Od prve omembe pesmi o kralju Matjažu se Matjaž omenja kot ogrski kralj. Furlanski krajevni zgodovinar Marcantonio Nicoletti, notar v Čedadu, ki je v drugi polovici 16. stoletja pisal o življenju in navadah tolminskih hribovcev, je med drugim omenil, da »pojejo o neizmerni slavi Kristusa in blaženih in prav tako o Matiji, ogrskem kralju, ki mu ni enakega, in o drugih med tem narodom znamenitih možeh v več vrst verzih v svojem jeziku« (Matičeto 1958a: 186). Pomen pesmi »od kralja Mathiaša« je viden tudi v tem, da je bila med prvimi zapisi slovenskih ljudskih pesmi, ki jih je zbral pater Dizma Zakotnik (Vraz 1839: X–XI). Te pesmi niso bile objavljene in tudi rokopisna zbirka z njihovimi zapisi se je izgubila, folklorne pesmi in povedke o kralju Matjažu pa so bile od začetka 19. stoletja naprej deležne velike zapisovalske, kmalu pa tudi raziskovalske pozornosti (več Grafenauer 1951: 9–11).

V tem času so imele zaradi kulturnega nacionalizma pripovedne pesmi posebno veljavo (Klobčar 2022: 384–385), predvsem pesmi o bojih s Turki, iz teh razlogov pa je bila tudi pesem o kralju Matjažu zelo poudarjena. Koroški duhovnik in zapisovalec ljudskega izročila Matija Majar je v tem okviru opažal živost izročila o kralju Matjažu na Koroškem ter z njim že leta 1841 seznanil Stanka Vraza, Vraz pa je to naslednje leto objavil v Kolu I. (Grafenauer 1951: 208). Leta 1843, torej v času, ko je imel Vrazov ilirizem na slovenske intelektualce izredno velik vpliv (Klobčar 2022: 383, 391–394), je Majar to izročilo jasno pripisal Matiji Korvinu: predstavil ga je kot kralja, ki se je s svojo črno vojsko najbolj proslavil v bojih s Turki (Majar 1843: 262), v prevodih slovenskih pesmi v nemščino pa je kralja Matjaža tudi poimenoval König Corvin, kralj Korvin (nav. delo: 263–276). To je bil hkrati čas, ko se Slovenci, ki so živeli pod ogrsko krono, zaradi poznega uveljavljanja madžarščine v vlogi uradnega jezika še niso čutili jezikovno ogrožene.

Razhajanj med biografskimi podatki Matije Korvina in motiviko kralja Matjaža se je zavedal prevajalec slovenskega ljudskega pesemskega izročila Anton Auersperg – Anastasius Grün. Grün je kot razgledani raziskovalec hkrati opozoril na motivno vpetost v evropski prostor, med drugim tudi na izročilo o spečem Frideriku Barbarossi v Kyfhäuserju in Karlu Velikem v salzburškem Unterbergu (Grün 1850: X–XI). Prav Grünovi prevodi slovenskih ljudskih pesmi so seznanili z matjaževskim izročilom madžarsko javnost, ki je od leta 1868 naprej spoznavala slovenske ljudske pesmi in pozneje tudi literarno ustvarjalnost o kralju Matjažu (Barbarič 1988: 4–11). V letu prve predstavitve matjaževskega izročila na Madžarskem pa se je med Slovenci pojavilo vprašanje, kako je Matija Korvin »pri našem narodu v toliko popularnost prišel, da se o njem celo pripoveduje, da je hudiča v pekel zaprl in smrt za več let v žaklju zavezano držal« (Kočevar F. 1868: 164).

Ti pomisleki so se krepili ob razjasnjevanju zgodovinskih dejstev, ki so opredeljevali življenje Matije Korvina: Simon Rutar je zelo jasno poudaril, da se »[n]iti eno dejanje našega Matijaža [...] ne vjema sè značjem in življenjem omenjenega kralja«, saj ga bojevanje s Turki »ni posebno mikalo«, nikoli ni bil v turškem ujetništvu, Turki

mu niso ugrabili nobene od žena, svoje življenje pa je v miru sklenil na Dunaju (Rutar 1879: 149–150). Zavedajoč se, da zgodovinsko jedro v tem izročilu ni jasno, je Rutar v kralju Matjažu videl mitološki lik: »Kralj Matijaž, ki reši svojo nevesto Alenčico iz sovražnikove oblasti, je *solnčni junak* (pomladanje sonce), ki otmě pomlajeno zemljo iz zimskega oterpenja in hudega mraza« (Rutar 1879: 139).

Z Rutarjevo mitološko interpretacijo, ob kateri prvotna razlaga ni bila pozabljena, z objavami v zbirki *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, kjer so bile pesmi o kralju Matjažu na prvem mestu (SNP I, 1895–1898: 3–34), in s sodobnimi literarnimi in likovnimi upodobitvami se je simbolna vloga njegovega lika krepila: »Kralja Matjaža pozna, rekel bi, vsak Slovenec, ta iz šolskih čitank, kjer se nahajajo narodne pesmi in pripovedke o Matjažu, drugi po Aškerčevi baladi v 'Stari pravdi', tretji vrhutega še po Cankarjevem simbolu v 'Kralju Matjažu in potepuhu Marku' in po novih Aškerčevih 'Junakih', a vsi smo kot otroci znali govoriti: 'Križ-kraž, kralj Matjaž'.« (Ilešič 1907: 255) Sklicevanje na Matijo Korvina je hkrati nasprotovalo interpretaciji Georga Graberja (1936), ki je v slovenskem izročilu o kralju Matjažu prepoznavala nemški vpliv (Grafenauer 1950–1951: 191), zato je tudi predstavitev Karla Velikega v Drabosnjakovih *Bukelcah od Matjaža* zbudila pozornost le kot bukovniški prevod nemškega izvirmika (Kotnik 1923/1924: 227).

Ta proces se je dogajal prav v času, ko so Slovenci, ki so živeli pod ogrsko krono, doživljali največje raznarodovanje: v Murski Soboti je delovalo Madžarsko izobraževalno društvo Slovenske krajine (Vendvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület), ki so ga Slovenci imenovali Pomadžarjevalno društvo Vendske krajine (Jerič 2001: 26). Pritisk po jezikovni identifikaciji Slovencev z Ogrsko domovino, ki ga je bilo močno čutiti že v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja, se je najbolj stopnjeval leta 1896, v pripravah na praznovanje tisočletnice prihoda Madžarov v Panonsko nižino. Ljudske šole so bile tedaj že v celoti madžarske (Jerič 2001: 8–9), javno izobešenje slovenske zastave na Kleklovi novi maši leta 1897 pa je kot velik prekršek obravnaval parlament v Pešti ([Baša] 1992: 102).

Slovenci, ki so tedaj živeli v dednih deželah Avstro-Ogrske, so bili o teh razmerah slabo obveščeni, seznanili pa so se z izsledki komparativne raziskave Zenona Kuzelje (1906), med drugim tudi z njegovo ugotovitvijo, da »Matjaževa slava pri Madžarih ni taka kakor pri Slovanih« in da je »v slovenskih pesmih matjaževstvo samo temelj za poetično zgradbo raznih popularnih zapadnoevropskih baladnih motivov« (Ilešič 1907: 255).

Kljub pomislekom se je v večini raziskav obdržalo mnenje o Matiji Korvinu kot zgodovinski podlagi kralja Matjaža, pojavljati pa so se začela tudi stališča, ki so temu nasprotovala. Nasprotniki korvinovske razlage se niso naslanjali le na neskladnost življenja, dejanj in smrti Matije Korvina z izročilom o kralju Matjažu, temveč tudi na ljudsko izročilo o madžarski vojski v času Matije Korvina. To izročilo je bilo živo predvsem na Koroškem: »Narod govori o Ogrih kot o Turkih; menda je bilo njihovo vedenje precej turško.« (Podgorc 1901: 101)

Pričevanje o ohranjenem negativnem spominu na Korvinovo vojsko in istovetenje dobrega spečega kralja Matjaža z njegovim likom pa sta se lahko pojavila celo v istem delu. Josip Gruden je v *Zgodovini Slovencev* negativni spomin na vojsko Matije Korvina zabeležil z zapisi, da je na Koroškem pobirala »hude davke v denarju in živilih« s pretvezo, da bo deželo branila pred Turki, pri čemer v času turških vpadov kmetov ni

varovala (Gruden 1910: 124) in je celo požigala o deželi (Gruden 1910: 318), na spopad med ogrsko vojsko in domačini, ki so se utaborili pri Gospe sveti, pa je stoletja spominjala ogrska krogla, obešena v cerkvi (Gruden 1910: 124). Po drugi strani je Gruden koroški pregovor »Odkar kralj Matjaž spi, nikjer pravice ni« v skladu z uveljavljeno predstavo tedanje folkloristike povezal z Matijo Korvinom in Korvina predstavil kot dobrega Kralja Matjaža, ki »je vedno branil preprosto ljudstvo proti nasilnosti plemstva« in bo s svojo »črno vojsko [...] pridrl na dan, premagal in zatrl vse slovenske nasprotnike, pregnal vso krivico s sveta in ustanovil zlate čase« (Gruden 1910: 125).

Soobstoj teh nasprotujočih si stališč je Gruden pojasnil: »Pri tem je naš 'Kralj Matjaž' skoraj popolnoma izgubil stik z zgodovinskim Matijem Korvinom. Nikakega sledu ni več o njegovem tujstvu ali ogrstvu, postal je pravi narodni junak slovenski. Na Koroškem pripovedujejo, da si ga je bilo ljudstvo samo izbralo za kralja na Gosposvetskem polju in da je imel svojo stolico na Krnskem gradu. Noč in dan so bila odprta vrata njegovega gradu, vsak siromak si je lahko izprosil milosti, vsak zatiranec je našel v njem pravico. Kralj je bil zelo dober in je dajal same zlate kovati.« (Gruden 1910: 215–216) Soobstoj teh nasprotujočih si stališč se je ohranil tudi v povojni objavi koroške pripovedne folklore (Möderndorfer 1946: 15, 221–224).

V prepletanju med ljudskim, posredovanim s šolskimi programi ali s poljudnimi in znanstvenimi objavami pesemskega in pripovednega izročila, in med sočasno avtorsko ustvarjalnostjo se je ohranjala podoba ogrskega kralja Matije Korvina, kot jo je že pred prvo svetovno vojno poskušal razložiti Zenon Kuzelja (Grafenauer 1950–1951: 189–192; Matičetov 1970a: 50), in kljub spoznanju, da je Matija Korvin v izročilu nadomestil starejšega junaka (Grafenauer 1950–1951: 192), občasno povzročala nelagodje ob predanosti Slovencev temu liku.

Nelagodje, ki ga je povzročalo ohranjanje predstave o Matiji Korvinu kot slovenskem kralju Matjažu (Vuga 1973a: 28–29), je spodbudilo iskanje junaka v slovenskem izročilu in ga našlo v sodobniku Matije Korvina, v Matjažu Kokovskem, ki ga je Saša Vuga upodobil v romanu *Erazem Predjamski* (Vuga 1973b: 724–739), in v Arnulfu Koroškem oz. Karantanskem (Šavli 1982, 1987). Polemike o vprašanju, kdo je bil kralj Matjaž oz. kakšno vlogo je imel pri oblikovanju tega lika Matija Korvin, so v javnih razpravah, v katere sta se z vnovičnimi objavami vključevala tako Saša Vuga kot Jožko Šavli, odmevale predvsem v času priprav na slovensko osamosvojitvev oz. same osamosvojitve, ta vprašanja pa so odpirali tudi na Hrvaškem. Raziskovalci so te hipoteze zanikali in svoja stališča argumentirali (npr. Maja Bošković-Stulli 1973; Matičetov 1991a, 1991b; Kroje Telban 2019).

Leta 1990 je oddelek za madžarski jezik in književnost na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru ob 500-letnici smrti kralja Matije Korvina pripravil simpozij, ki je vnovič poudaril velikokrat prevprašane povezave med Korvinom in kraljem Matjažem (Matičetov 1991a: 210), druge interpretacije, ki so v plebiscitarni odločitvi za slovensko samostojnost dobivale nov pomen (Vuga 1991; Šavli 1991), pa so se soočale s pomislekom, »[z]akaj ruvati Matijo Korvina iz našega ustnega izročila« (Matičetov 1991b: 199).

Interpretacije matjaževskega izročila so se v začetku 21. stoletja odmikale od zgodovinskega razumevanja: madžarski raziskovalec István Lukács je v poglavju o sprejemanju

Matjaževega mita v leposlovju ugotavljal, da je kralj Matjaž iz slovenskega ljudskega izročila arhetipski simbol (Pavičič 2003: 497). Vloga kralja Matjaža kot moškega arhetipa je bila poudarjena tudi v slovenski folkloristiki, s tem da je bilo izpostavljeno prehajanje zgodb in pesmi v slovensko mitologijo (Golež Kaučič 2003: 125–127) oz. iz arhetipizacije v kanonizacijo (Golež Kaučič 2019: 98–108), po drugi strani pa je bilo s poudarjanjem starejše bajeslovne tradicije, oprte predvsem na motiv spečega junaka, z analogijami v najstarejših indoevropskih epskih tradicijah s kraljem Matjažem nakazano prestopanje meja, ki potekajo med različnimi prostori ali svetovi (Šmitek 2009: 131–136). Poglobljeno so bile predstavljene tudi razsežnosti matjaževske problematike, razpete od kozmologije do različnih družbenih ravni ter vpetosti v različne čase, hkrati pa tudi razvoj njenega preučevanja in prezentacije (Kropej Telban 2018: 46, 64; Kropej Telban 2019: 35–43). Matjaževska motivika, povezana z boji proti Turkom, je ob tem prinesla pomembna raziskovalna spoznanja v preučevanju Drugega v slovenski folklori, in sicer tako z obravnavo še v pozno 20. stoletje ohranjenega rezijanskega izročila o Linčici Turkinčici (Dapit 2017: 179–194) ali kot prevpraševanje lika junaka, v katerem se utelesi boj proti sovražniku, Drugemu (Mlakar 2019: 88–92).

Na nujnost poglobljanja zgodovinskih raziskav je v mednarodnem okolju opozoril madžarski raziskovalec Vilmos Voigt. Poudaril je potrebo po »raziskovanju matjaževske folklore pred kraljem Matjažem« (Voigt 2010: 278), ob tem pa opozoril na pomemben dejavnik, ki razkriva vlogo Matije Korvina v izročilu: v času italijanske renesanse je namreč dobila pomembno mesto vladarska propaganda. Tako lahko na primer knjiga *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Matthiae / ad ducem Johannem, eius filium* (O izjemnih, modrih in šaljivih rekih in dejanjih kralja Matije / vojvodi Janezu, njegovemu sinu) (1485) Marzia Galeotta, namenjena opevanju slave Matije Korvina, pojasni vlogo Matije Korvina v matjaževski folklori (Voigt 2010: 279–283; prim. Šmitek 2009: 129). Avtor je s tem vnovič opozoril na potrebo po historični osvetlitvi problema in po mednarodnih primerjavah.

KORVINOVSKA PROPAGANDA IN VPRAŠANJE STAREJŠEGA LIKA KRALJA MATJAŽA

Opozorilo na korvinovsko propagando lahko pojasni slovenske ljudske pesmi, ki kralju Matjažu pripisujejo junaška dejanja, povezana z Otomanskim cesarstvom: glede na vlogo potujočih pevcev in prodajalcev, povezanih s prenašanjem zgodb o vojaških spopadih (Klobčar 2020: 66–71), je namreč mogoče pojasniti tudi te sorodnosti. Čeprav za neposredni vpliv dela, ki ga je v slavo Matije Korvina napisal Marzio Galeotto (Voigt 2010: 279), ni nobenih dokazov, so bile s folklorizacijo mogoče tudi te poti.

Kljub temu pa se pojavlja vprašanje izjemne pestrosti, številčnosti in odmevnosti matjaževskega izročila med Slovenci. To se je v pripovedni folklori izražalo z motivi njegove vojske z Bogom, spanja v gori in njegove vrnitve, obiskov pri kralju Matjažu v gori in povedk o zakladih (Grafenauer 1951: 66–70), v glasbeni pa s pesemskimi tipi Kralj Matjaž reši svojo nevesto, Kralj Matjaž v turški ječi in Smrt kralja Matjaža, v zbirki

Slovenske narodne pesmi postavljenimi na začetek (SNP I, 1895–1898: 3–34), in tipom Godec pred peklom, v isti zbirki objavljenem posebej (nav. delo: 112–116). Navzočnost spomina na kralja Matjaža so izražale tudi panjske končnice, na katerih je upodobljeno njegovo bivanje v gori.

Vzrok za takšno odmevnost lika kralja Matjaža je torej, kot kaže, vendarle treba iskati med starejšimi liki. To domnevo potrjuje tudi negativna podoba črne vojske, ki se je ohranjala v slovenskem izročilu. Ob ugotovitvi, poudarjeni ob predstavitvi Lukácsove študije o kralju Matjažu, da naj bi bil kralj Matjaž kot dobri kralj »predstavljen v ljudskem izročilu s tistih delov slovenskega etničnega ozemlja, kjer je vladal, kot negativna oseba pa s tistih, na katere so njegovi vojščaki hodili na plenilske pohode« (Pavičić 2003: 497), namreč sproža zelo jasen pomislek: opevanje kralja Matjaža med tolminskimi kmeti, ki ga je nakazoval Nicolettijev zapis, se nanaša na območje, ki ga vojska Matije Korvina ni zasedla in bi lahko nudilo le morebitni prostor za plenilske pohode. Ta razlaga pa ne velja niti za Koroško: negativni spomin na črno vojsko Matije Korvina se je tam ohranil do 20. stoletja (Podgorc 1901: 101; Gruden 1910: 214).

Zastavlja se torej vprašanje, ali je bil ogrski kralj, kot ga je zabeležil Nicoletti, res ogrski v tistem pomenu besede, ki jo poznamo. Tudi zbiralec koroških ljudskih pesmi, Janez Scheinigg, je namreč v slovenskem prispevku o koroških ljudskih pesmih zelo jasno poudaril, »da narod ni imel Matjaža za ogrskega kralja Matijo Korvina«. To je dokazoval z motivom spečega pravičnega vladarja, ki s svojo vojsko »čaka na čas, ko se bo vzdignil nad sovražnike »svete vere katoliške«, in s pesmijo »Lepa je krona vogerska, še lepši je Matijava« (Scheinigg 1885: 93–94). Po drugi strani je v delu *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Avstro-ogrsko monarhija v besedi in podobi) o kralju Matjažu med drugim zapisal: »Ime našega junaka je ime velikega madžarskega narodnega kralja Matije Korvina (1458² do 1490), ki mu je slovenski narod pripisal slavne bojne pohode njegovega očeta Jánosa Hunyadija in dejanja mogočnih grofov celjskih (Friderik II., Ulrik II.)« (Scheinigg 2018: 73–74)

Stališči obeh Scheiniggovih zapisov se torej razhajata, ob upoštevanju njegove trditve, objavljene v slovenskem prispevku, pa se pojavlja vprašanje, če je Matija Majar svoje interpretacije kralja Matjaža kot Matije Korvina (Majar 1843: 262–267) res izpeljeval iz koroškega ljudskega izročila. Začetek pesmi

Lepa je krona vogerska,
še lepši je Matijava,
Matijeva, Matjaževa,

ki ga je poudaril Scheinigg in se pojavlja v več pesmih o kralju Matjažu, ob tem najprej poudarja pomen krone in s tem status vladarja. Da se pesmi o kralju Matjažu nanašajo na kralja, je ugotavljal že Milko Matičetov, hkrati pa predstavil razširjenost pesmi o »lepi kroni ogrski« in refrena »Vivat, vivat, Kralj Matjaž« (Matičetov 1991a: 216): mnenje Saša Vuge, da je kralj Matjaž koroški kmet in puntar Matjaž Kokovski, je tako zavračal

² Pravilno: 1443.

z utemeljitvijo, da je kralju Matjažu podoba »lahko dal/posodil samo pravi kralj«. Vprašanje, kdo bi to bil, ga je sicer vodilo k ustaljeni interpretaciji, k podobi Matije Korvina (nav. delo 1991a: 220), poudarek o posebnem družbenem statusu glavnega protagonista pa je vendarle vreden premisleka.

Uvodni verz, ki ga je izpostavil Scheinigg, pa poudarja tudi pojem vogrski oz. ogrski, in sicer v posebnem pomenu: pridevnika vogerska in Matijeva postavlja kot nasprotje. To narekuje podrobnejšo osvetlitev pridevnika ogrski oz. vogrski v slovenski zgodovini.

POZABLJENI POMEN POJMOV OGRSKI, OGRSKI, OHANJEN NA ROMANJH V AACHEN IN KÖLN

Pridevnik *ogrski* je na Slovenskem danes sinonim za pridevnik *madžarski*, izjemoma je pojasnjen le še kot sinonim za pridevnik *hunski* (Ogrski ..., dostop 3. 5. 2023). V slovenski zgodovini pa se ta pridevnik pojavlja tudi v drugem pomenu, in sicer predvsem v povezavi z romanji Slovencev v Porenje.

Na romanjih v Porenje, v Aachen, Düren, Köln, Kornelimünster in Trier (Thoemmes 1937: 7), ki so imela kot romanja v *Kelmorajn* v slovenski zgodovini izjemen pomen, so namreč Nemci Slovence imenovali Ungern, torej Ogrri, pogosto tudi Wener, Weiner, Wiener in Slavonier (Stabej 1965: 9–12), pozneje pa z ustreznici pojma *slovenska nacija* (Kočevar V. 2022: 324–332). S to ustreznico so Slovence najjasneje opredelili ob ukinitvi teh romanj, v spisu z dne 13. oktobra 1775, ko je dunajska dvorna pisarna prepovedala »windische Procession«, slovensko procesijo (nav. delo: 340).

Vse do ukinitve teh romanj so bili torej slovenski romarji v Porenju večinoma označeni z etnonimom Ogrri, eno zadnjih pričevanj o tem pa prinaša romarska knjižica *Alt-Wenthen oder Ungern Ordnungs Büchlein* (Starih Vendov ali Ogrov rédozna knjižica),³ ki jo je konec 17. stoletja objavil Joannes Georg Feystriker. Namenjena je bila preverjanju istovetnosti slovenskih romarjev, ko so prispeli v Köln: Slovenci so imeli namreč na romanjih v Porenje posebne pravice in ugodnosti, v Kölnu predvsem brezplačno bivanje v hospicu Ipperwald, zato so gostitelji na podlagi priročnika s preverjanjem izločali morebitne neupravičence. Poleg obrazcev za preverjanje, kjer je poudarjena enoznačnost pojmov ogrski in slovenski, je knjižica vsebovala slovenske molitve in predstavila posebnosti bivanja slovenskih romarjev v tem mestu oz. njihov delež pri slovesnostih. Ena od posebnosti so bili tudi plesi po »zgledu kralja Davida« (Feystritzer 1993; Stabej 1965: 41–43; Simetinger 2021: 84–87).

Köln, na katerega se določbe za bivanje slovenskih romarjev neposredno nanašajo, je postal romarsko središče po letu 1164, ko je Friderik Barbarossa tja iz Milana prenesel svetinje sv. Treh kraljev (Stabej 1965: 6), z razglasitvijo Karla Velikega za svetnika leto za tem (nav. delo: 5) pa so nov pomen dobila tudi romanja v prvotno romarsko središče

³ Izraz Wenden (Vendi) so kot nemško poimenovanje za Slovence, ki se je pojavljalo poleg izraza Winden (Vindi), v starejši literaturi prevajali kot Slovenci. Slovenski prevod naslova omenjene knjižice je bil torej Starih Slovencev ali Ogrov rédozna knjižica (Stabej 1965: 41).

v tem okolju, Aachen. Tudi pojem *ogrski* v pomenu slovenski, poleg navedene knjižice izpričan še v drugih dokumentih (nav. delo: 4), je mogoče razložiti predvsem v povezavi z romanji v Aachen.

Po nekaterih pričevanjih naj bi se romanja Slovencev oz. Ogrov v Aachen začela že v času Karla Velikega (Thenen 2000: 129), torej v času, ko se evropski prostor še ni soočil z vpadi Madžarov. Da so imela ta romanja za Slovence poseben pomen, dokazuje postavitve Slovenskega oltarja v Ogrski kapeli; ta oltar je bil sprva kot Oltar štirih doktorjev posvečen sv. Hieronimu, Ambrožu, Gregorju in Avguštinu (Stabej 1965: 15; Kočevar V. 2022: 311), od 16. stoletja naprej pa sv. Metodu in Cirilu (nav. delo: 341). Listina z dne 26. junija 1495, ki potrjuje ustanovitev slovenske nadarbine, torej zagotovitev službe duhovnika, veččega slovenskega jezika, navaja, da so ta oltar slovenski romanji postavili na svoje stroške že zdavnaj. Šlo je torej za potrditev »davno jim pripadajočih pravic« glede na njihovo »preteklost, številnost in vnemo med rednimi ahenskimi romanji«. Denar sta dali mesti Ljubljana in Kranj, ki sta imeli s tem pravico do nameščanja nadarbinarja (Stabej 1965: 15).

Ta listina je torej potrdila dolgo tradicijo slovenskih romanj, ki pa se je dokazovala tudi s številčnostjo: vsakih sedem let je prišlo v Köln in Aachen okrog 300 slovenskih božjepotnikov, po nekaterih pričevanjih celo 400 oz. 500 (Stabej 1965: 28). Povezanost s tem prostorom je bila vidna tudi v gospodarstvu, saj so slovenski kmetje trgovali do Rena (nav. delo: 13), trgovanje do Aachna pa je bilo pomembno tudi za kranjske trgovce (nav. delo: 15).

Slovinci, označeni kot Ogrri, so imeli torej na romanjih v Aachen, pozneje tudi v Köln, zelo pomembno mesto. Ob ugotovitvi, da je imela na vzpostavitev romanj v severne dežele najpomembnejši vpliv vladavina Karla Velikega (Thoemmes 1937: 12),⁴ velja razmišljanje usmeriti v vlogo tega vladarja med Slovenci.

KAREL VELIKI IN VKLJUČITEV SLOVENCEV V FRANKOVSKO KRALJESTVO

Karel Veliki je bil »[p]rvi cesar na Zahodu po propadu rimskega cesarstva, velik vojskovodja in osvajalec, spreten politik, zaščitnik Cerkve in spodbujevalec pokristjanjevanja, podpornik znanosti in umetnosti, mitični *pater Europae*, simbol evropske identitete in enotnosti« (Strmole 2013: 151) ter obnovitelj nekdanje zahodnorimske države (Malmenvall 2016: 60). Njegovo življenje, ki ga je opisal njegov dvorjan, zaupnik in soustvarjalec karolinške renesanse, Einhard (Strmole 2013: 151), kaže izjemne značilnosti. Bil je Frank – beseda dobesedno pomeni *svobodni* (Heer 1977: 37) in je skupaj z bratom Karlomanom nasledil očeta Pipina, prvega iz rodu, ki so kot dotedanji upravitelji dvora, majordomi, nasledili Merovinge. Po bratovi smrti je bil ustoličen za kralja (Strmole 2013: 155–158).

⁴ Elisabeth Thoemmes je vse vire o Ogrih, ki se nanašajo na romanja v Porenje, pripisala Madžarom oz. potomcem nemških kolonistov na Madžarskem, zaradi tega enačenja je zavrnila tudi domnevo, da bi se romanja Ogrov začela v času Karla Velikega (Thoemmes 1937: 12–13).

S širjenjem Frankovskega kraljestva so prišli pod oblast Karla Velikega tudi Slovenci,⁵ bodisi s frankovsko priključitvijo vladavine, ki smo ji bili Slovenci podrejeni, kar je veljalo za Karantanijo, bodisi s frankovsko vojaško zmago nad oblastniki, ki so Slovence predhodno podjarmili.

Z vojno v Lombardiji je Karel Veliki zavzel kraljestvo Langobardov s Furlanijo vred in z njo tudi kos slovenske zemlje, namreč Goriško in del Notranjskega (Kos F. 1882: 528). Karantanci so prišli v okvir Frankovskega kraljestva leta 788: takrat je Karel Veliki odstavil še zadnjega bavarskega plemenskega vojvodo Tasila III., s čimer so pod njegovo neposredno oblast poleg Bavarecev prišli tudi Karantanci (Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec 2008: 33).

Ko so prišli Karantanci neposredno pod Franke, jim je Karel Veliki pustil domače kneze oz. vojvode in župane, da so ljudem še naprej vladali; s tem se je med njimi hitreje razširjevalo in utrjevalo krščanstvo (Kos F. 1882: 598), kar so olajševale tudi nižje dajatve. Ta čas je na Koroškem zaznamovalo delovanje Inga (nav. delo: 598), vodje Arnovega karantanskega misijona (Wolfram 1995: 288), s katerim je povezan tudi spomin na ustoličevanje koroškega vojvode in na najstarejši slovenski napis na vojvodskem prestolu, ki ga je verjetno dal napraviti Ingo sam (Kos F. 1882: 599).

V Panoniji so živeli Slovenci pod oblastjo Avarov oz. Obrov (Kos F. 1882: 399). Vojna proti Avarom, v kateri je bila pomembna tudi Karantanija kot mejna marka proti vzhodu (prim. Strmole 2013: 151) in sta jo zaznamovali leti 791 in 796 (Kos F. 1882: 530–532), je bila Karlova »zrela strateška mojstrovina in delo starosti« (Braunfels 1972: 55). Frankom je – tudi ob pomoči Slovencev – ob zavzetju avarskega Ringa prinesla izjemen plen, nakopičen v dvesto letih (Kos F. 1882: 532), »legendarni avarski zaklad«: Franki so v Aachen odpeljali petnajst velikih voz zlata, srebra in svile (Heer 1975: 108). Karlov kronist Einhard je o tem zapisal: »Seveda je vse do sedaj veljalo, da so Huni revni, toda toliko zlata in srebra se je našlo na kaganovem dvoru in toliko dragocenega plena je bilo odvzetega v bitkah, da se lahko po pravici verjame, da so Franki upravičeno odvzeli to, kar so Huni prej odvzeli drugim plemenom.« (Strmole 2013: 169) Ta zaklad, ki so ga Avari naropali, je postal največje bogastvo Karla Velikega (Heer 1975: 108). Nekaj tega bogastva je vladar podaril rimskemu papežu, nekaj cerkvam in samostanom, drugo pa je razdelil med svoje zveste služabnike (Kos F. 1882: 532).

Osvojeno ozemlje vzhodno od Ennsa so Franki označevali z različnimi imeni, med drugim tudi kot Sclavinia ali Vinidorum marca, pri čemer je bila Panonija vključena (Kammell 2017: 4, 12–13). Razširitev frankovske države na Panonijo je odprla tudi vprašanja pokristjanjevanja, pozneje pa zaslug zanj. Leta 811 Karel Veliki razmejil območji med Salzburgom in Oglejem, meja je bila reka Drava (Kos F. 1882: 656).

Pri ljudstvih, ki so mu bila podrejena, je Karel Veliki veljal za nosilca vrhovne posvetne oblasti, kar pa ni pomenilo absolutne vladavine. Čutil se je odgovornega za vsa področja družbenega življenja in prava v vseh delih svojega imperija. Izdajal je plemiške okrožnice, v katerih naj bi pravice revnih in šibkih zavaroval pred posegi plemstva (Braunfels 1972:

⁵ V teh opredelitvah uporabljam etnonim Slovenci, ne Alpski Slovani (prim. Pohl 2007: 303), in sicer tudi na podlagi nekaterih toponimov, v tem času izpričanih vse do Donave.

113). V karolinškem obdobju so bili namreč Franki kot ljudstvo podvrženi procesu, ki je vse več ljudi vodil v različne oblike suženjstva (Heer 1977: 37). Vzpostavil je celoten sistem odposlancev (*missi domici* – gospodovi odposlanci), duhovnikov in laikov, ki so kot potujoči dvor po vsej državi skrbeli za izvajanje njegovih odlokov (Braunfels 1972: 113).

Z odloki, imenovanimi kapitularji, tako ni spodkopaval »niti partikularnih pravnih običajev niti moči lokalnih in regionalnih voditeljev«. Temeljna vloga vladarja je bila namreč »v usklajevanju osebnih vezi med njim in plemstvom, temelječih na medsebojni zvestobi in povračilu za usluge.« (Malmenvall 2016: 60) Ob upravičenih pritožbah o neustreznem ravnanju oblastnikov se je zavzel tudi za podrejene: furlanskemu vojvodi Ivanu, ki se je boril proti Avarom, je vzel njegovo častno mesto in dovolil istrskim prebivalcem, da so smeli sami voliti svoje škofe, opate, svetne glavarje, župane in druge uradnike (Kos F. 1882: 602).

Postavni Karel Veliki, ki je – razen v izjemnih primerih – nosil oblačila »po izročilu svojih očetov, torej Frankov« (Strmole 2013: 181), in beneško tuniko, pa ni bil spoštovan le kot državni voditelj in vojskovodja, temveč tudi kot vladar, ki je v cesarstvu oz. kraljestvu skrbel za širjenje znanja, duhovnosti in umetnosti. Karolinška renesansa, ki je udejanjila ta načela, je pomenila »vračanje k starim avtoritetam, pogojeno s praktičnimi potrebami v službi utrjevanja novega krščanskega cesarstva« (Malmenvall 2016: 61). V vseh škofijah in samostanih so ustanavljali šole, namenjene poučevanju mladih v gramatiki, aritmetiki, glasbi, govorništvu in petju (Thenen 2000: 193), Karlova dvorna »akademija« v Aachnu pa je postala kulturno središče frankovske države (Malmenvall 2016: 61). Pomembni sta bili tako formalna izpiljenost kulturnih oblik – jezika, pisave, liturgije in arhitekture – kot izboljšanje celotnega cesarstva (nav. delo: 60).

Čeprav je bil slabo pismen, se je Karel Veliki tudi sam učil tujih jezikov in izjemno gojil svobodne umetnosti (Strmole 2013: 183–184). Največ pozornosti sta bili deležni historiografija in pesništvo, ki je vključevalo tudi slavlne pesmi (Malmenvall 2016: 68). Velel je zapisati dotlej nezapisane zakone vseh narodov, ki so bili pod njegovo oblastjo, prav tako pa je, kot je zapisal njegov kronist, »dal zapisati in ohraniti v spominu barbarske in prastare pesmi, ki so opevale dejanja in boje starodavnih kraljev« (Strmole 2013: 188).

Predanost krščanski veri je izrazil s postavitvijo bazilike v Aachnu, s podpiranjem Cerkve v Rimu in papeža ter s prizadevanjem, da bi se bogoslužje opravljalo s čim večjimi častmi, vključno z zglednim petjem psalmov (Strmole 2013: 185–186). Njegova skrb za to, da bi bila verska besedila vernikom razumljiva, so pri Slovencih pustila sled v Brižinskih spomenikih: z zakonodajnim odlokom *Admonitio generalis* (Splošni opomin) (Aachen, 23. marca 789) je namreč zapovedal, da morajo biti osnovna verska znanja vernikom razumljiva (Šekli 2022: 15), zato je možno predpostaviti, da so prva nabožna besedila, katerih prepisi so v *Brižinskih spomenikih*, nastala že na prelomu iz 8. v 9. stoletje (Šekli 2022: 15–16).

Izjemne značilnosti Karla Velikega, ki so ga, čeprav je imel več žena in priležnic (Strmole 2013: 176), kanonizirali (Thenen 2000: 225–252), so vključevale tudi druge ravni (Strmole 2013: 151–158). Med drugim je skrbel za podpiranje revnih, in sicer tako doma kot drugje (nav. delo: 185–186); v spomin na dvanajst apostolov je na svojem dvoru vsak dan nahranil dvanajst revežev (Thenen 2000: 213), za reveže pa je izjemno poskrbel tudi v oporoki (Strmole 2013: 194).

SMRT KARLA VELIKEGA IN SPREMINJANJE DRUŽBENIH RAZMER V SOCIALNEM SPOMINU SLOVENCEV

V obdobju pred Karlovo smrtjo se je zvrstilo veliko čudnih nebesnih znakov in nenavadnih dogodkov, povezanih s potresi in požari (Thenen 2000: 197; Strmole 2013: 191–192). Karel Veliki je umrl pri dvainsedemdesetih letih, 28. januarja leta 814 (Thenen 2000: 199), ali – kot je zapisal njegov kronist Einhard – »sedmega dne, odkar je obležal, ob tretji uri« (Strmole 213: 189). Pokopali so ga istega dne, in sicer v achenski cerkvi, ki jo je dal sam zgraditi, kronist pa je o tem zabeležil: »Telo so po slovesnem običaju umili in oskrbeli ter ga ob velikem žalovanju vsega ljudstva prinesli v cerkev in ga pokopali.« (Nav. delo: 190) Einhard je morda s svojim poročilom namerno želel odvrniti pozornost poznejših roparjev od pravega mesta pokopa, saj je o tem navedel le, da so nad grobom postavili pozlačen obok z njegovo podobo in napisom (Braunfels 1972: 112). Smiselnost zakritja mesta groba Karla Velikega se je pokazala predvsem ob vdoru Normanov leta 880 (Braunfels 1972: 103) oz. leta 881 (Thenen 2000: 218).

Smrt Karla Velikega je povzročila izjemno žalovanje: »Nepojemljivo je in s človeškim jezikom ne more biti opisano, kakšno srce parajoče neusmiljeno kričanje, objokovanje in žalost so se razlegali ne le po kraljestvu, temveč tudi med divjimi Ajdi. Vsi so ga objokovali kot skupnega očeta vsega sveta.« (Thenen 2000: 200) Ob smrti Karla Velikega sta namreč prišli do izraza njegova izjemna priljubljenost in slava: »Vsa ta ljudstva, ki so se po dejanjih, jezikih, navadah in nraveh tako razlikovala, so slavila njegova viteška junaštva, predana kraljestvu, in nikogaršnja čast in slava ga ni preseгла, niti med njegovimi nasledniki.« (Thenen 2000: 201)

Karizmatičnost Karla Velikega, ki je označevala njegovo življenje, z njegovo smrtjo ni zbledela. Ob ugibanjih o natančnem mestu njegovega groba, ki so se pojavila po njegovi smrti, so se izoblikovale tri domneve; ena od njih je bila lokacija v tleh predddverja in pod prestolom, ki je verjetno pripomogla k razlagi, do katere je prišlo ob odprtju groba (Braunfels 1972: 112). Oton III. se je namreč leta 1000 odločil poiskati in odpreti grob Karla Velikega. Iskali so ga na različnih krajih, »dokler niso prišli do oboka, v katerem je mogočni vladar Karel sedel na kraljevem prestolu s krono, žezlom in mečem ter s priloženim okrasjem« (Thenen 2000: 218–219). Poročilo, ki naj bi se sklicevalo na pričevanje samega Otona III., pa je ohranilo tudi opis domnevnega dogodka: ko so predrli tla, pod katerimi je bil obok iz marmorja in malte, so pod njim našli kralja, sedečega na prestolu, kot bi bil živ, z zlato krono na glavi in žezlom v roki, skozi rokavice pa so mu rasli nohti. V prostoru je bil močan vonj. Popadali so na kolena in kralja počastili, potem pa popravili, kar je bilo potrebno. Nobena okončina mu ni odpadla, manjkala je le konica njegovega nosu, ki so jo na vladarjev ukaz nadomestili z zlatom (Chamberlin 2020: 316).

Kljub uradni in danes veljavni razlagi, da »je bil Karel pokopan v dragocenem sarkofagu Proserpina, ki ga danes hranijo v Aachnu« (Braunfels 1972: 112), je podoba Karla Velikega, najdenega v grobu v sedečem položaju, s krono, drugimi vladarskimi simboli in okrasjem ter nabožnimi predmeti, nadaljevala izročilo o karizmatičnem vladarju. To izročilo se je še stoletja pozneje sklicevalo tudi na sam pokop: »Karlovo telo so ustrezno

oskrbeli z dragocenimi dišavami in ga, opremljenega z vsem okrasjem in z vladarskimi in verskimi atributi, sedečega na zlatem stolu namestili v obokan grob.« (Thenen 2000: 199–200)

S tem izročilom so se tako nedvomno na romanjih v Aachen srečevali tudi Slovenci, na romarskih poteh v Porenje imenovani Ogri. To pa ni bila edina povezava Slovencev z Aachnom v tem času: Oton III., ki je dal poiskati in odpreti grob Karla Velikega, je imel v svojem evangeliariju iz časa okrog leta 1000 posebno ilustracijo, na kateri je med personifikacijami ljudstev, ki se mu poklanjajo (Hirsch: 42), upodobljena tudi Sclavinia.⁶

Ob tem so se razmere za slovensko prebivalstvo kmalu po smrti Karla Velikega spremenile. Medtem ko so imeli Karantanci dotlej pod vodstvom domačih knezov »neke vrste notranjo samoupravo«, po vstaji panonskega kneza Ljudovita (819–822) o njihovi samostojnosti ni bilo več govora. Na reformo frankovskega vzhoda je vplivala tudi obramba pred Bolgari (Kos M. 1936: 71). Že leta 828 so bili tako v listini Ljudevita Pobožnega za samostan Kremsmünster slovenski kmetje označeni kot hlapci, »servi vel Sclavi« (Rutar 1882: 32). Temu samostanu je leta 777 bavarski vojvoda Tasilo podelil okrog deset slovenskih vasi, ki so jih vodili župani, in trideset slovenskih družin pri Dietachu (Kos F. 1882: 399, 463), kar je leta 791 kot vladar potrdil Karel Veliki (nav. delo: 529).

Območje Vzhodne marke, imenovane tudi Sclavinia ali Vinidorum marca (Kaemmel 2017: 4, 12–13), je bilo kot vzhodna meja frankovske države vedno v nevarnosti pred napadi nomadskih ljudstev, zato so se za obrambo meja na tem območju naseljevali Bavarci. Nemška kolonizacija med Slovenci se je zelo stopnjevala po bitki na Leškem polju pri Augsburgu leta 955, v kateri so bili Madžari premagani (Rutar 1882: 31). Izgubljanje družbene moči Slovencev je bilo od 9. stoletja naprej prepoznavno v germanizaciji, vidni v spreminjanju toponimov (Kaemmel 2017: 12–22), v podatkih, kot je še leta 1111 omenjena vas Windischendorf blizu Kremsa (Kaemmel 2017: 21), vzhodno od Badna v začetku 13. stoletja naveden Windischdorf,⁷ poznejši Wienersdorf, pa tudi v zaznamku suženjstva sredi 9. stoletja (Kaemmel 2017: 17) in drugih pričevanjih.

Suženjstvo je imelo pomembno ekonomsko ozadje: v 9. stoletju je vnovič zaživela trgovina z Orientom, ki je potekala po Donavi. V arhivih avstrijskih mest, posebno v arhivu obdonavskega mesta Stein, kjer je bil deželnoknežji carinski urad, sta se med dokumenti ohranili carinski tarifi iz let 1177 in 1178, ki kot izvozno blago navajata tudi »wendisch-slavische Mädchen«, slovenska dekleta (Kanitz 1868: 391; Rutar 1882: 32).

Medtem ko je bilo v cerkvenoupravnem pogledu pol stoletja po smrti Karla Velikega v ospredju vprašanje vloge salzburškega misijona v Karantaniji in Panoniji (Wolfram 1995: 193), je prebivalstvo vedno bolj trpelo zaradi vpadov Madžarov. Madžarski konjeniki so namreč »do odločilnega poraza pri Augsburgu leta 955, ki zaznamuje konec njihovih plenilnih pohodov in začetek njihovega prilagajanja zahodnim oblikam življenja, več kot petindvajsetkrat prečkali slovensko ozemlje« (Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec 2008: 50).

⁶ V sedmem poglavju dela *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (Spreobrnjenje Bavarcev in Karantancev) iz leta 871, ki se nanaša na uveljavljanje zaslug pokristjanjevanja, je Sclavinia geografsko omejena na Karantanijo in Spodnjo Panonijo (Kos M. 1936: 60; Wolfram 1995: 287).

⁷ V tem okolju je bil nemški izraz za pridevnik slovenski windisch, izjemoma tudi wendisch.

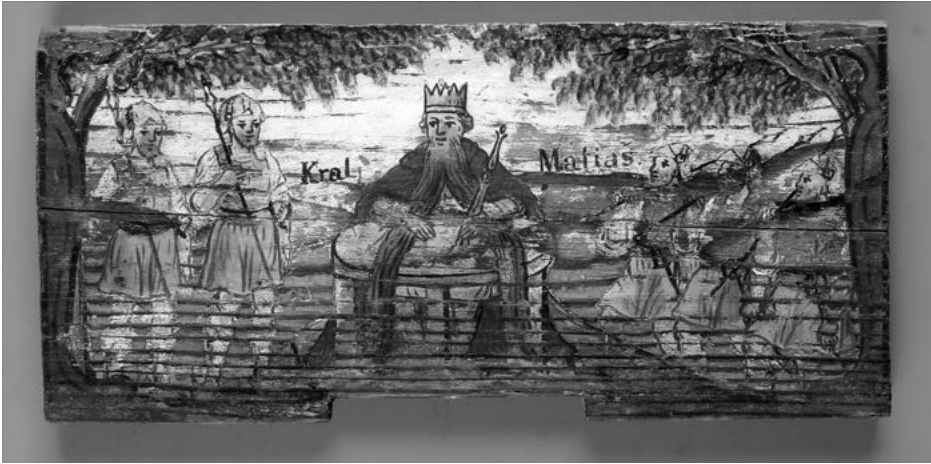
Ob stiskah, s katerimi so se Slovenci srečevali v nadaljnjih stoletjih, so se kot romarji v Porenje vedno znova srečevali s podobo in izročilom Karla Velikega. Karel Veliki je s svojim imenom tudi v slovenskem jeziku postal sinonim za vladarja, *kralja* (Snoj 1997: 268; prim. Grdina 1999: 29). V blišču aachenske katedrale se je ohranjala podoba blagostanja v času njegovega vladanja, v zgodbah o odkritju njegovega groba pa upanje, da se bo nekoč prebudil in podjarmljenim prinesel rešitev. Karel veliki je tako med Slovenci lahko postal *Kralj Matjaž*, morda tudi s prilagoditvijo njegovega latinskega poimenovanja *Karolus Magnus*: medtem ko je njegovo ime postalo obče poimenovanje za kralja, se je lahko pridevnik Veliki, ki ga sam ni uporabljal, z jezikovno transformacijo preoblikoval v ime Matjaž, v pesmih tudi Matija. Podoba Karla Velikega pa se je v spominu Slovencev zlahka prepletla s časom, ko so na Gosposvetskem polju ustoličevali svoje kneze, ali z voditelji, ki so jih spominjali nanj.

Ob stalnem stiku z Aachnom Slovincem lik Karla Velikega ni bil tuj, tako kot jim ni bil tuj frankovski trgovec Samo, ki jih je pred Avari ščutil več kot poldrugo stoletje pred njim (prim. Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec 2008: 22). Morda jim ni bil tuj tudi zato, ker se je izročilo skrbi za revne, ki ga je vzpostavil Karel Veliki, v Aachnu za Slovence ohranjalo: omogočala ga je nadarbina Arme-Wiener-spende, namenjena revnim Ogrom (Thoemmes 1937: 88). Glede na siceršnje preganjanje beračev, tudi potujočih muzikantov, z natisom zadnjič dokumentirano leta 1514 (Thenen 2000: 207–208), je bila to pomembna ugodnost. Po ukinitvi romanj – dunajska dvorna pisarna je 13. oktobra 1775 s prepovedjo »slovenske procesije« romanja Slovencev v Porenje prepovedala (Kočevar V. 2022: 321)⁸ – so ta sredstva namenili ubožcem mesta Aachen (Thoemmes 1937: 88). Med Slovenci pa se je ohranilo poimenovanje za plačilno valuto, kot jo je poznal Karel Veliki: kot med drugim dokazuje kovanec iz časa približno med 794–814, ki ga hrani Staatliche Münzsammlung München, se je denarna valuta Karla Velikega imenovala *denar* (Denar ..., dostop 10. 3. 1923).

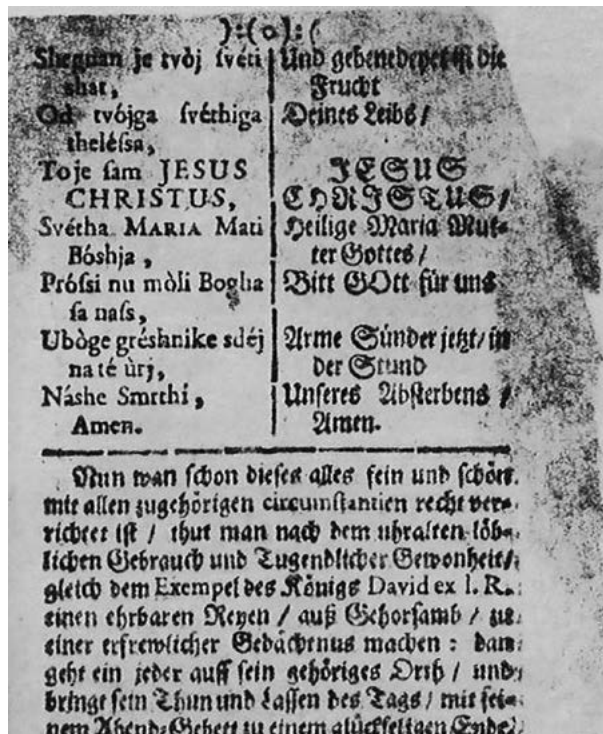
Možnost, da je slovenskega kralja Matjaža zaznamoval *Karolus Magnus*, Karel Veliki, poleg nekaterih zgodovinskih dejstev, predvsem zmage nad Avari, ki je rešila Slovence v Spodnji Panoniji, in ohranjanja veljave domačega plemstva v njegovem času, kaže tudi slovensko ljudsko izročilo. Po eni strani gre za razširjenost in vsebinsko raznolikost folklornih pripovedi o kralju Matjažu – zgodb, ki z motiviko konfliktov z Bogom oživljajo čas pokristjanjevanja, ter povedk o dobrem kralju, ki spi v svoji podzemni votlini, kot je veljalo za Karla Velikega, in o ljudeh, ki po naključju zaidejo k njemu oz. pridejo na sled njegovih zakladov. Kralja Matjaža v votlini prikazuje tudi podoba s panjskih končnic.

Po drugi strani je na vlogo Karla Velikega v podobi kralja Matjaža mogoče sklepati tudi na podlagi pesmi. Za pesem o Matjažu in Alenčici, znano kot tip 3 oz. »Kralj Matjaž reši svojo ugrabljeno ženo« (SLP I, 1970: 18–26), je že Ivan Grafenauer ugotavljal sorodnost s provansalsko-gaskonjsko-katalonskimi inačicami kancone *II Moro Saracino* (Grafenauer 1950/1951: 192–195). Pri pesmi tipa 5, »Kralj Matjaž rešen iz ječe«, so bile v nabor

⁸ Dunajska dvorna pisarna je »razbila sleherni dvom o izvoru romarjev, ko je v dekretu zapisala, da iz Koroške, Kranjske in Štajerske v Porenje vsakih sedem let poteka 'slovenska procesija' (windische Procession)« (Kočevar V. 2022: 340).



Slika 1: Lik Kralja Matjaža v votlini, kot je upodobljen na slovenski panjski končnici, se lahko naslanja na zgodbo o odkritju groba Karla Velikega, s katerimi so slovenski romarji v Aachnu prihajali v stik. Izvirnik hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej, EM 2338 E.



Slika 2: »Spoštljiv raj po prastarem hvale vrednem običaju in čednostni navadi, enako zgledu kralja Davida«, omenjen v slovenski romarski knjižici, je lahko ohranjal predstavo o povezavi med kraljem Davidom in Karlom Velikim, znano iz karolinške renesanse. Odlomek iz kopije romarske knjižice *Alt-Wenthen oder Ungern Ordnungs Büchlein*, v katerem je naveden omenjeni ples; NUK, R 286834; izvirnik hrani Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

variant (SLP I, 1970: 28–51) vključene tudi na novo odkrite rezijanske različice. Milko Matičetov, ki jih je našel, je ob objavi povabil »k ponovni preučitvi razmerja slovenskih pesmi tega tipa do tujih, ki so (neenakomerno, ne pregosto) raztresene od jugovzhoda do zahodne in severne Evrope«; nujnost preučevanja teh prepletanj je med drugim podkrepil s šesto različico, kjer »rešiteljica pelje ujetnika iz turške ječe proti meji skozi francoski predor« (Matičetov 1970a: 50). Na razširjenost te pesmi v širšem evropskem prostoru je pozneje vnovič opozoril z zgledi iz izročila raznih evropskih narodov (Matičetov 1991: 218–219; Dapit 217: 185–186).

Pesem »Godec pred peklom«, označena kot tip 48 (SLP I, 1970: 257–283), je ob tem kazala najmanj povezav z likom kralja Matjaža. Gre za pesem, ki ima vzporednice v moravskem in lužiškosrbskem izročilu (Matičetov 1970b: 282; Šmitek 2009: 131–132) in je bila med Slovenci zapisana v več kot tridesetih različicah (Matičetov 1970b: 257–283). Najstarejši, Vrazov zapis kot godca navaja kralja Matjaža (nav. delo: 257–258), v Reziji pa je bila v več različicah znana pesem, v kateri je godec kralj David (nav. delo: 282; Šmitek 2009: 131–132). Pesem o kralju Davidu je bila še v 18. stoletju zelo razširjena tudi v osrednji Sloveniji: v uvodu k Stržinarjevi pesmarici je namreč kot versko neustrezna navedena tudi »ena sila douga Peissem od Psalmista Davida« (Stržinar 1729: 9). Naslanjanje na izročilo kralja Davida so Slovenci izpričali tudi na samih romanjih v Porenje, kjer so plesali ples po »zgledu kralja Davida« (Feistritzer 1993; Stabej 1965: 41–43; Simetinger 2021: 84–87); v Kölnu so dvakrat ali trikrat tedensko »na slovenski način« plesali ob navzočnosti oseb tamkajšnjega višjega stanu (Kočevar V. 2022: 321).

Na to, da bi kralj David v pesmi o godcu pred peklom prvotno lahko predstavljal Karla Velikega, je mogoče sklepati na podlagi idejnega ozadja karolinške renesanse. Povezanost med karolinško dinastijo in Cerkvijo se je namreč naslanjala na idejo o povezavi med Staro in Novo zavezo, iz te interpretacije pa je izšlo tudi »pojmovanje Karla Velikega kot novega oz. krščanskega kralja Davida«. Ta primerjava se je odražala na različne načine, med drugim tudi »v slavnih formulacijah dvornih učenjakov«. (Malmenvall 2016: 73) Pesmi o godcu pred peklom in plesi Slovencev »po zgledu kralja Davida«, morda ohranjeni v romarskem vrtcu (Ramovš 1975: 74; Simetinger 2021: 86–87), so torej najdlje obdržali sledi slavnega obredja karolinške renesanse in samo podobo Karla Velikega.

ZAKLJUČEK

Ukinitiv romanj v Porenje je sčasoma močno zbrisala socialni spomin, vezan na Karla Velikega, oz. oslabila pomene izročila, povezanega z njim. Interpretacije tega izročila je usmerjala narodnoidentitetna vloga folkloristike, ki je kot svojo temeljno nalogo prepoznavala obrambo proti nemštvi.

Kralj Matjaž, opredeljen kot Matija Korvin in motivno oprt na junaške pesmi o kraljeviču Marku, je bil s folklorističnimi raziskavami tako eden najmočnejših opor proti nemškemu raznarodovalnemu pritisku. Pri tem so bile prezrte pomembne vezi s srednjeevropskim prostorom, v katerega smo bili Slovenci vključeni v času Karla Velikega, in preslišani pomembni izrazi družbene veljave v času vključitve v Sveto rimsko cesarstvo.

Predkorvinovska podoba kralja Matjaža, prepoznavna v teh vezeh, pa nas vodi ne le v čas pred Matijo Korvinom, temveč v čas pred prihodom Madžarov v Panonsko nižino. Ob tem pa hipoteza, da je temeljno podlago za podobo kralja Matjaža dal Karel Veliki, ne pomeni, da smo Slovenci to izročilo prevzeli od Nemcev, temveč da smo bili stoletja del istega prostora, ki smo ga zaznamovali tudi s svojo ustvarjalnostjo.

Dejstvo, da je izročilo o kralju Matjažu najbolj razširjeno prav med Slovenci, in domneva, da je njegovi podobi po vsej verjetnosti dal pomemben pečat Karel Veliki, nas zavezuje k poglobljeni preučitvi umeščenosti Slovencev v srednjeevropski prostor. To je toliko bolj potrebno zato, ker so stoletja asimilacije Slovencev spremenila tudi dojemanje etnonimov, posebno tistih, ki so na romanjih v Porenje označevala Slovence (Stabej 1965: 9–11). Terminološko sovpadanje namreč zlahka povzroči zavajajoče interpretacije. Prenosi, vezani na različne pomene istega pojma, pa so mogoči ne le pri ustnem gradivu, temveč celo ob gradivu, oprtem na pisni vir. Dokaz za to je vnovična izdaja knjižice, namenjene slovenskim romarjem v Kölnu,⁹ ki je bila z naslovom *Alt-Wenden oder Ungarn-Ordnungsbüchlein* leta 1993 v Aachnu izdana kot madžarsko izročilo (Feistritzer 1993).

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⁹ Knjižica je bila, po jeziku sodeč, izdana v 17. stoletju.

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THE OVERLOOKED HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF FOLK TRADITION RELATED TO KING MATTHIAS

MARIJA KLOBČAR



Singing songs that glorify Hungarian King Matthias is among the oldest Slovenian song practices attested in written sources, and songs about King Matthias (Sln. *kralj Matjaž*) were also among the first subjects of interest in folklore studies. Soon after the first transcriptions were made, the Carinthian priest and folksong collector Matija Majar (pseudonym Ziljski) presented songs about King Matthias in an article, published in German, providing not only their translation but also an interpretation that King Matthias was based on the historical figure of Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus (Majar 1843). In line with the ideas of Illyrianism, the

motifs of Matthias as a hero that defeats the Ottomans symbolically connected the Slovenians with other South Slavic nations; in addition, at the time this article was published, the Slovenians perceived the Hungarians as a nation that, just like them, was fighting for its rights within the monarchy and hence against German culture.

The suspicion that the folk tradition related to King Matthias in fact had nothing to do with the historical figure of Matthias Corvinus already raised doubts among Slovenians in the mid-nineteenth century about the explanations that based the folk character on Matthias Corvinus. A mythological interpretation appeared (Rutar 1879), representing King Matthias as the Sun King saving nature from the forces of winter. In addition, the symbolic meaning of King Matthias was reinforced as part of efforts to promote national identity, and, being viewed as historically the most important, songs about this hero, with motifs of battles against the Ottomans, were featured on the first pages of the collection *Slovenske narodne pesmi* (Slovenian Folksongs).

Despite different views, the Corvinus-based explanation of this character remained entrenched and grew stronger with international comparisons with the material of neighboring nations, especially those in the Balkans. The Slovenian folklore material stood out in terms of its exceptional diversity, representativeness, and ties with the German environment (Kuzelja 1906), whereas international comparisons revealed a surprisingly weak presence of King Matthias's motifs in the Hungarian tradition.

Hence, the Corvinus-based interpretation and the search for different explanations of the origins of King Matthias coexisted in Slovenian folklore studies for over a century and a half. Regardless of folklore specialists' dilemmas, the folk tradition related to King Matthias acquired symbolic dimensions in Slovenian national strivings and various artistic applications, which, together with the folk tradition and its examination, strengthened the role of King Matthias. Due to the generally accepted notion that King Matthias was based on a historical hero older than Matthias Corvinus (Grafenauer 1950–1951; Matičetov 1970; Kumer 1984), efforts to find different explanations also drew attention to other important personalities in Slovenian history, or either kept returning to mythological contexts (Šmitek 2009) or sought an explanation in archetypes (Lukács 2001; Golež Kaučič 2019), while also clarifying various social meanings of this phenomenon in the Slovenian-speaking environment (Kropej Telban 2014, 2019) and the perception of the Other (Dapit 2017; Mlakar 2019).

In comparative European folklore studies, studies of works promoting Corvinus elucidated the background of Matthias Corvinus's role as King Matthias, while also drawing attention to the fact that the issue of "Matthias folklore" predating King Matthias remained open (Voigt 2010).

This study problematizes the Corvinus-based Slovenian interpretations of King Matthias by highlighting the negative memory related to Matthias Corvinus's army in Slovenia and the fact that the Tolmin region, where songs glorifying "Hungarian" King Matthias were first attested, was not under Matthias Corvinus's rule. It also

draws attention to the frequent introductory line in Slovenian songs about King Matthias that contrasts Matthias's crown with the "Hungarian" crown.

This study thus defines the term 'Hungarian' within a historical context. In reference to Slovenians, the term has a double meaning: on their pilgrimages to the Rhine Valley, Slovenians were referred to as 'Hungarians' and sometimes also as 'Viennese'; they were only called 'Slovenians' (or 'Wends') after these pilgrimages were prohibited in 1775. They were also named *Ungern* 'Hungarians' in the seventeenth-century pilgrimage booklet *Alt-Wenthen oder Ungern Ordnungs Büchlein*, where their Slovenian identity is attested by the names of the regions they come from, questions and answers in Slovenian, and prayers in Slovenian. Initially, the most important pilgrimage destination for Slovenians in the Rhine Valley was Aachen, where they also had their own altar and benefice with a priest that spoke Slovenian.

Some attestations of Slovenian pilgrimages to Aachen go back to the period of Charlemagne (Thenen 2000), and so this article elucidates his role among the Slovenians. Based on historiographic research, it outlines Charlemagne's exceptional role as a ruler, politician, military commander, conqueror, and supporter of Christianization, the Church, education, science, and art, as well as the manner in which he ruled—he protected the weak and allowed conquered areas to remain under local administration (Braunfels 1972; Heer 1977; Strmole 2013; Malmenvall 2016). That also applied to the area inhabited by Slovenians. This study also describes the inclusion of Slovenians into the Frankish Kingdom, as part of both Carantania and Lower Pannonia, which was controlled by the Avars. Defeating the Avars was of exceptional importance not only to the Franks, but also the Slovenians, who were finally no longer under their control (Kos F. 1882).

Charlemagne was buried on the day he died, and he was deeply mourned throughout the empire. The opening of his tomb in AD 1000 also generated an exceptional response. Despite the official explanation that he had been buried in the precious Proserpina sarcophagus, certain accounts persisted that he was found sitting on his throne under an arch, wearing his crown and holding his scepter (Braunfels 1972). According to one account, he was also buried in that way (Thenen 2000). Slovenians must have been in contact with this tradition, which can be deduced from the importance of their pilgrimages to Aachen; in addition, the significance of Slovenians at that time is evident from an illustration in the gospel book of Otto III, the ruler that had Charlemagne's tomb opened.

The stories about the opening of Charlemagne's tomb, the imagery of which is reminiscent of the depictions of King Matthias on Slovenian beehive fronts, indicate that it is likely that the character of King Matthias among Slovenians was based on Charlemagne. In this article, this hypothesis relies on the role Charlemagne played among Slovenians, the radical changes to their situation after his death, and the preservation of image of Charlemagne that relied on pilgrimages to Aachen.

The hypothesis also relies on folk narratives that, by thematizing God, preserve the memory of Christianization, folk tales about King Matthias sleeping inside

a mountain, waiting to gather his army and come to the people's aid in time of their greatest need, and stories about his visitors and treasures. Among the songs, the role closest to that of Charlemagne can be found in the song type about a musician before hell, where King David or King Matthias appears in the role of the musician: in the spirit of the Carolingian Renaissance, Charlemagne was portrayed as King David as a tie between Antiquity and the revival of its values. On their pilgrimages to the Rhine Valley, Slovenians also presented this portrayal with a special dance "following the example of King David," which is also attested by the pilgrimage booklet mentioned above.

The Slovenian term *Kralj Matjaž* 'King Matthias' may also be derived from Charlemagne's Latin name, *Karolus Magnus*: as in most languages between the Baltic Sea and the Balkans, his first name became the general word for 'king', and, through linguistic transformation, the adjective *Magnus* 'Great' may have turned into *Matjaž* or, in some places, *Matija* 'Matthias'. At the same time, his figure is associated with former symbols of Slovenian identity, which during Charlemagne's reign were expressed through the ducal throne as well as through personalities that promoted this image.

The assumption that Charlemagne could have formed the primary basis for the character of King Matthias does not mean that Slovenians adopted this tradition from the Germans, but that for centuries they had been part of the same environment, which they also marked through their own creativity. After Charlemagne's death, that environment took away social power not only from the Slovenians, but also the Franks themselves (Heer 1977). At the same time, these issues draw attention to the importance of a complex examination of not only identifications, but also ethnonyms—especially ones for which the social memory has faded: with the terminological vagueness of the ethnonym 'Hungarian', the pilgrimage booklet that governed the Slovenian pilgrimages to the Rhine Valley—and also indirectly expressed the ties with Charlemagne—was published as part of the Hungarian tradition after the fall of the Iron Curtain (Feysrizer 1993).

Elementi pretkršćanskih vjerovanja u toponimiji južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita

— Mira Trošelj —

Prispevek se osredinja na toponimiju južnega in jugovzhodnega Velebita, povezano z degradiranimi in demoniziranimi bajeslovnimi bitji (vile in starke, babice), ta toponimija izhaja iz tradicionalnih simbolnih predstav in verovanj prebivalcev južnega Podgorja. Raziskava temelji na obravnavi ljudskih pripovedi, obrednih pesmi in novejših pisnih virov z namenom interpretacije toponimov v južnem Podgorju, ki pričajo o preživetju predkrščanskih, slovanskih verovanj.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: južni in jugovzhodni Velebit, toponimi, mitična krajina, mitična bitja, folklorni narativi

The paper focuses on the toponymy of south and southeast Velebit associated with degraded and demonised mythical beings (fairies and old women, *babas*), which arises from the traditional symbolical perceptions and beliefs of the inhabitants of southern Podgorje. The work uses folk narratives, ritual songs and more recent written sources with the aim of interpreting toponyms in southern Podgorje that are evidence of the survival of pre-Christian, Slavic beliefs.

KEYWORDS: south and southeast Velebit, toponymy, mythical landscape, mythical creatures, folk narratives

UVOD

Ovaj rad¹ se fokusira na toponimiju južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita povezanu s degradiranim i demoniziranim bićima (vilama i babama) u tradicijskim predodžbama i vjerovanjima južnih Podgoraca. Cilj je rada interpretirati imenovanje toponima motivirano prežiticima pretkršćanskih vjerovanja i praksi u južnom Podgorju, prema pučkim narativima, jednoj obrednoj pjesmi i recentnim pisanim izvorima (filološkim, etnološko-antropološkim i povijesno-geografskim). U tu svrhu predstaviti će se oni toponimi, koje je u određenom povijesnom kontekstu imenovalo stočarsko stanovništvo Podgorja, a koji su danas značajna prirodna i kulturna baština Velebita. Metodologija istraživanja sastoji se od terenskog rada: geomorfološki opis toponima, topografski

¹ Ovaj rad je preuređen, nadopunjen i ispravljen verzija istog, tiskanog u lokalnom časopisu MemorabiLika, 2021. s nekim ozbiljnim propustima i pogreškama u fusnotama pri čemu se dogodila neusklađenost kazivača i njihovih predaja, a rezultat toga je netočnost podataka. Isto se dogodilo i s citiranim autorskim izvorima.

razmještaj i snimanje, anketiranje kazivača, prikupljanje podataka iz recentnih izvora, analiza i kartografija. Predmet ove analize su vilinski toposi i sveti kameni Babe, čija je kulturna funkcija bila osigurati plodnost i rodnost, kao i oronime i hidronime Babe i okamenjene Babe. Toponimija Velebita prepoznatljiv je sloj prežitka staroslavenskih kozmogonijskih i drugih predodžbi, čije bi podrijetlo na južnom Velebitu moglo biti srednjovjekovnog postanja, premda nam arhivska građa, u prvom redu povijesna kartografija ne nudi podatke o tome sve do 18. stoljeća. Ovim prilogom nastoji se produbiti i proširiti spoznaje o *mitskoj* toponimiji u određenom prostornom i povijesnom kontekstu južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita. Budući da tema na Velebitu nije sustavno istraživana, neće biti moguće dati konačne odgovore i zaključke, neka pitanja ostat će otvorena za buduća istraživanja koja zahtijevaju interdisciplinarni pristup, osobito na onomastičkoj i etimologijskoj razini. U radu se analizira i interpretira pučka etimologija na temelju predajnih narativa i pučkih obrednih pjesama i pisanih izvora. Rad se ne bavi onomastičkom ni etimološkom analizom predmetnog korpusa.

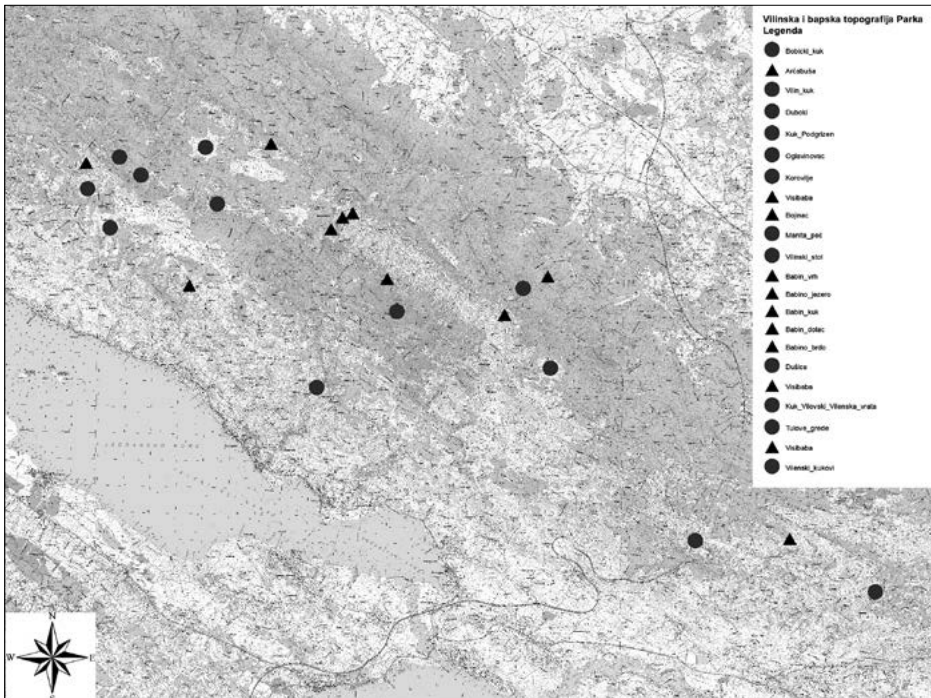
Toponimi motivirani prežiticima pretkršćanskih vjerovanja u geografiji Velebita generacijama prenose južni Podgorci putem predajnih narativa do kraja 20. stoljeća. Početkom 16. stoljeća kasnosrednjovjekovno stanovništvo napustilo je južno Podgorje pred turskim osvajanjima područja oko južnog Velebita. U opustošeno Podgorje u 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća mletačke vlasti, nakon Kandijskog rata, naseljavaju novo stanovništvo s područja Bukovice i Ravnih kotara (Perinčić Mayew 2012: 2–3). Nekih doseljenika iz toga vremena danas više nema na području općine Starigrada-Paklenice, ali su ostali toponimi prema njihovim prezimenima i imenima: Lekine Njive (Seline), Samardžića Dolac (Seline), Njive Došenove (zapadno od Paklenice), An(i)ća Luka i An(i)ća Kuk (Klanac Paklenice), Klimenta (doseljenici Klimente, južno od Kwartira, Paklenica), Sirotkuša Polje (doseljenici Sirotkovići, M. Rujno), Sirotkovića Zidine (Opuvani Dolac), Vučića Dolac (kod Pasjeg Klanca i Docca Županova), Puzića Dočina (V. Ledenik), Kosa Čolakova (M. Rujno), Arčabuša (doseljenici Arčabi, pod Bobičkim Kukom), Dolac Županov (doseljenici Župani, Gornji Ercezi), Žeželja Stanovi, Žeželja Lug (Tribanj-Ljubotić), Šešeljevac (doseljenici Šešelji, iznad Višerujna). Rukavinka (*stojbina* Rukavina na Bilom Sinokosu), Reljinovac/Renjovac (doseljenici Relje, Ljubotić), Ljubotić (doseljenik Ljubo, nepoznatog prezimena) i drugi. Moguće je da su novodoseljeni stočari Morlaci (danas Podgorci), sa spomenutog područja, bili i ranije u doticaju s Velebitom kao transhumantni stočari i da su putem predaja pamtili staru predtursku toponimiju koja se većim dijelom održala do danas. Prvi zemljovid, kako je već rečeno, koji prikazuju neke današnje toponime Nacionalnog parka Paklenice i okolice potječu s početka 18. stoljeća: zemljovid Morlaccia Veneta – Mappede Grimani, zemljovid Giovanni Battista Lodolija i zemljovid Topografico della Montagna Veneta – Mappede Grimani (Magaš 1999: 52, 56–57, kartografski prilozi 40–94). Primjerice, na zemljovidu iz 1773. pod nazivom: Topografija della montagna Morlaccia, Sveto Brdo upisano je kao Sveti Velebit: M. Santo o Velebich (autor Giuseppe Ferro Capi Ing. Izvor: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venecija).

Vilinski i bapski toponimi i njihov razmještaj u krajobrazu u predajnim narativima upućuju na tragove pretkršćanskog sustava vjerovanja i praksi koja su se održala do 20. stoljeća. U njihovoj interpretaciji nezaobilazne su teorije Radoslava Katičića, Vitomira



Slika 1: Zemljovid iz 17. stoljeća prikazuje uglavnom obalni dio južnog Podgorja, i za ovu temu su irelevantni (Zahvaljujem se prof. dr. Josipu Fariću na informaciji i pošiljci zemljovida južnog Velebita iz 1773. god. pod nazivom: Topografija della montagna Morlaccia, autora Giuseppe Ferro Capi Ing, na kojem su upisani neki današnji toponimi).

Belaja i Andreja Pleterskog. Vile i babe demonizirane su slike kulturne božice plodnosti Majke Zemlje (Tellus Mater). Oba lika prostorno su i simbolički neodvojiva, budući da u mitološkom kontekstu supstituiraju isti lik, ali u binarnom odnosu (mlada i ostarjela boginja). Ovdje će se prikazati odvojeno, a na topografskom prikazu u suodnosima u krajobrazu. Toponimiju krajobraza oblikovalo je tradicijsko stočarsko stanovništvo, budući da je stočarstvo na Velebitu drevna konstanta od prapovijesti do 20. stoljeća, stoga su bitan element duhovne kulture Podgoraca koja ne bi smjela biti zanemarena u turističkoj i drugim vidovima predstavljanja velebitskog krajobraza.



Slika 2: Topografska karta vilinskih i bapskih toponima od Arčabuše na sjeverozapadu do Vilenih kukova na jugoistoku. Vilinski toponimi su označeni crvenim krugom, a bapski crnim trokutom (izradio: Marjan Milovac).

DOSADAŠNJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

O temi *mitske* toponimije južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita malo se pisalo (vidi Trošelj 2011a: 345–370; Trošelj 2017: 28–36). Autorica je provodila terenska istraživanja od sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća u vremenu kada je još bilo malobrojnih stočara u planini, koji su in situ objašnjavali imenovanje pojedinog toponima. Na tragu svetih pjesama naše pretkršćanske starine, Radoslav Katičić dao je svoj doprinos interpretaciji toponima Vilinska Vrata, a razmještaj svetih trokutnih struktura u širem dinarskom krajobrazu Vitomir Belaj i Juraj Belaj. O malorujanskom kulturnom monolitu Babi tijekom 20. stoljeća

pisali su Branimir Gušić, Mirko Marković, Ante Glavičić i Ante Rukavina. U toponimiju i topografiju temeljenu na pučkim narativima i obrednim pjesmama šireg prostora nisu ulazili. Katičić je, međutim, pomoću obrednih svetih pjesama i narativa filološkom metodom interpretirao Vilinska Vrata ispod Svetog Brda na južnom Velebitu u suradnji s Tomom Višćakom u sklopu projekta Sakralna interpretacija krajobraza (Katičić 2014).

VILINSKA TOPONIMIJA

Vile su bile duboko ukorijenjene u vjerovanja i pripovjedačku tradiciju Podgoraca do sredine 20. stoljeća. Njihova mitološko-simbolička staništa obuhvaćaju najznačajnije lokalitete koji su vrijedan prilog kulturnoj, ali i fantastičnoj interpretaciji velebitskog krajobraza, pa im u fantastičnom imaginariju pripada posebno mjesto. To su kukovi, vrhovi, glavice, brda, *doci* i pećine u blizini vode: jezera, lokve, izvori, bunari a i potoci. U tradicijskoj predodžbi Podgoraca one su bića natprirodnih sposobnosti i ljepote, ali im antropomorfnu izgled narušava zoomorfnu atribut stopala (papci ili kopita – kozje ili magareće noge) što upućuje na njihov kontakt s onostranim svijetom i simboličkom poveznicom s plodnošću. Glavni su im izomorfizam krila pomoću kojih *prvaju/lete* i taj se let povezuje s atmosferilijama (vjetrom, oblakom) pa im se pripisuje svojstvo astralnog. Meteorna su bića, koja viju oblake i vjetar, igraju kolo i pjevaju, a noću jašu konje i kupaju se u jezerima. Osim što su demoni atmosferskih pojava, one su i demoni prirode, plodnosti i rodnosti, suđenice koje daju i uskraćuju, demoni bolesti, izlječiteljice i poznavateljice tajnih svojstava biljaka. Biljka korovilje/kovilje/*vilina kosa* pripisuje se vilinskoj kosi (svijetla je i duga kao kovilje). Duhovna su bića, ali se mogu i materijalizirati, što znači da su liminalne, povezane s gornjim, nebeskim i donjim, htonskim svijetom. Stoga se u pučkim narativima dovode u vezu s dušama umrlih (toponim Duš(i) ce). Pučki imaginarij upućuje na sveprisutan odnos ovostranog i onostranog u susretu čovjeka i vila u iskustvenom smislu o čemu će biti govora (vidi Trošelj 2011a: 351–352, 361–363; Kipre 2014: 100–121; Dronjić 2009: 255–257; Dronjić 2017: 340–341). One su graditeljice vilinskih dvora, prenositeljice vode, predu pređu, isušuju tlo za ispašu, čiste jezera, liječe, darivaju, ispunjavaju želje čovjeku koji je bio dobrohotan prema njima, kao što kažnjavaju one koji su ih iznevjerili (Katičić 2014: 79–98; Botica 1999: 29–40; Dronjić 2009; Dronjić 2017). Prema navedenom moguće je uočiti dodirne točke između vilinske ideosfere i boginje *Mokoši* u tome što obje simboliziraju ženski aspekt energije, prirodnosti, plodnosti i rodnosti, a mjesta njihove dodirnosti u prostoru su: *mrgilji/kuvini/međe*, mostovi, raskrižja, kukovi, izvori, jezera, bunari, pećine/*gradine*. Uz to pozitivan i negativan aspekt vila i mitskog božanstva reflektira i kozmičke promjene pa ih je obje moguće povezati na sljedećim razinama: ambivalentnom karakteru, imaju ulogu suđenica, s animalnim atributom povezane su s kultom plodnosti i meteorološkim aspektom prema godišnjim dobima, povezuju ovostrani i onostrani svijet. Vile su prema tomu personificirane i antropomorfizirane prirodne sile (vjetar, oblak, oluja, voda) koje označavaju godišnje cikluse. Kroz svoja djelovanja potpuna su preslika lokalnog mikrokozmosa (Kipre 2014: 31, 57, 100–101, 165, usp. Botica 1999).

Bobički Kuk i Bobičko Vrilo/Bobika

Toponim Bobički Kuk motiviran je biljnim svijetom (možda nekim bobičastim voćem), premda kazivači nisu bili sigurni u to. Iz predaje se doznaje da je bio vilinsko stanište i da su vile išle po vodu na izvor Bobiku koji se nalazi zapadno od Kuka. Vjeruje se da su vile “*u niko davno vrime strovale*” jedan kameni amorfni megalit s Kuka i on se *skotrlja* na dolac Arčabušu na nekad obradivu zemlju, a danas je zapuštena livada.² Takvih *skotrljanih meteornih* monolita može se vidjeti od Arčabuše do podnožja Kuka Vilina i Malog Rujna. Bobičke vile bile su povezane i s Vilinim Kukom na Malom Rujnu elementom vode i zraka.

Vilin Kuk, Duboki (Jezero, Jaz, Dol) i Po(d)grizen

Vilin Kuk osobite je geomorfologije koja u pučkom imaginariju dočarava predodžbu o staništu vila i to je stočare motiviralo u imenovanju Kuka. Kuk nije oštar ili piramidalan kao Bobički, nego mu vrh izgleda kao zaravn “*na kojoj su vile igrale kolo*”.³ Nalazi se u sredini između Bobičkog na zapadu i Čelopeka na istoku. Pogledom je usmjeren na Malo Rujno i Duboki s kojima je u binarnom odnosu: gore na vrhu Kuka je suho, a dolje na zemlji mokro (bunari i gusterne uz stanove, potok Kozjača, Duboko jezero). Ovakav raspored prirodnih struktura u prostoru imanentan je tragovima pretkršćanskih vjerovanja o stablu svijeta (Belaj 1998: 238–246, 325; Katičić 2008: 55–56; Kipre 2014: 16). Opozicija suho-mokro temeljna je odrednica mitske priče: Perun je gore na vrhu Kuka, na suhom, Veles u dolini, vodi (Duboki), a vila/*Mokoš* sjedinjuje oba toposa na prostoru Malog Rujna, neodvojivog dijela vilinskog svijeta i njihovog telurnog simbolizma koji ih veže uz Majku Zemlju (Kipre 2014: 100).

Une su razapele uže od Kuka Vilina do Po(d)grizena, omotala ga oko njegov kaj da se vipera omotala Po užu su gole prolazile priko malorujanske vode. Vidijai jedan čoban i une su za dišpet prilile vodu cigljin s Malog Rujna u Duboki. Takoj Malo Rujno postalo pasište, kojoj u davno doba bilo svo pod vodon. Na isušenon Rujnu blagoj paslo, a u Dubokon Jezeru se napajalo. Obnoć su vile čistile jezero od galebe i ujutro niko neb reka daj' tu blago paslo i pilo vodu. Al sada jezera više nema, produšlo se u Drugon ratu, 1941. Poslej na produši niknilo crno trnje. Obnoć su igrale kolo kod Ogrede Lazića kraj javora i čatrnje na Polju Sirotkuši, vidja se trag kozji papaka na nogan i kad zavijori vijorina svi su znal da vile igraju kolo i pivaju. Obdan su se kupale u jezeru. Bile su moćne, ništa ružno in reć, jer bi se osvetle. U kuku ima jedna velka pećina i kamenca s vodon di su vile živle, u nju stane pedeset ljudi. U njoj su čobani nalazl vilinske

² Kazivač: Bože Matak (1931–1017), Tribanj-Kopovine.

³ Kazivač: Ilija Prodan (1936), Tribanj-Šibuljina.



Slika 3: Vilin Kuk na Malom Rujnu u mogućoj ‘‘trokutnoj’’ strukturi: Kuk je na sjeveru, Duboko jezero/jaz (danas dolac) na zapadu i Kuk Po(d)grizen na jugozapadu (foto: Arhiv Nacionalnog parka Pakenica).



Slika 4: Kuk Po(d)grizen na jugozapadnoj strani Malog Rujna, na njemu su vile svezale omotano uže oko Kuka, kao što se vipera (poskok) omota oko grane stabla (snimila: Mirjana Trošelj).

*stvari: drvene žlice i zdile, drvene češljeve s kojiman su se češljale, sto, tronošce, prešljice i vrtena. Sasu zakantane u kuku.*⁴

Malo Rujno je sakralni topos neslućenih razmjera od pretkršćanskog doba. U prilog tome govori Gradina i Gradinica iz liburnskog doba i obrađeni kameni monoliti razrušenog liburnskog kulturnog svetišta uz potok Kozjaču, južno od Gradine i srednjovjekovne stočarske suhozidne Crkvine nepoznatog titulara, iako kazivači navode da se zvala crkvina Male Gospe, jer se na taj dan održavala misa. U Drugom ratu na dan Sv. Ilije na Ribničkim Vratima zbog iznenadne zime smrznula se skupina Podgoraca na povrtku iz Like. Od tada se na dan Sv. Ilije u Crkvini održavala misa za stradale. Rujanski objekti prirodno su raspoređeni *kružno* oko Malog Rujna “poput svetišta.“ Na sjeveru je Vilin Kuk, na zapadu Pogledalo i Duboki, jugozapadno Kuk Po(d)grizen, južno Gradinica i Zvirjak i sjeveroistočno Ribnička Vrata, kao liminalni topos (Dubolnić 2006: 1–55).

Oglav(i)novac

Pasište Oglav(i)novac metaforički je toponim motiviran ljudskim tijelom, glavom. To je zavala u čijem je središtu bila lokva i izvor, danas su posve nestali. U pučkom narativu kazuje se o pastirima koji su na njemu čuvali krupno *blago*.

*Odednon su čobani opazl da su volovi s rozin iskopal iz trave čovčju glavu/lubanju, uzel je u ruke i jedan čoban upita: čijaj ovo glava Bogeje pomilova? To čekan već sto godina, progovori glava. Jope su glavu zakopal. O glavu Oglavnovca počivaj u miru, rekoše čobani. Odunda se Oglavnovac tako zove, po čovčjoj glavilubanji. Niki su govori daj to bila glava Sv. Ivana.*⁵

Oglav(i)novac je također vilinski topos.

*Tamos' vile odnosle malu dicu da zaminu ostarilu vilu.*⁶ *Takomje did pripovida daj vidija vilu s diteton u naramku kako brželja priko Rujna, mislijaj daj nika žena s diteton. Un je zove da dođe u stan da će nevrime, a una, još brže odmače i nesta je kroz Vickovac. Did veli daj to siguro bila vila kojaj odnila ničije dite, kad je nako utekla.*⁷

Mitska predodžba ostarjele vile predočava boginjin ostarjeli aspekt na kraju vegetacijskog ciklusa, a “oteto“ dijete/mlado biće, simbolizira početak novog plodnog ciklusa. Ovdje su izražena dva stanja istog bića celestijalnog/solarnog i htonskog/podzemnog karaktera. Zamjena djeteta s ostarjelom vilom, zamjena je godišnjeg ciklusa plodnosti

⁴ Kazivači: Petar-Peko Babac (1934–1997), Dara Babac (1942–2019), Ilija Prodan, Tribanj-Šibuljina.

⁵ Kazivač: Pera-Perina Jović (1882–1977), V. Ledenik.

⁶ Kazivač: Dara Babac.

⁷ Kazivač: Marcela Parić (1921–2016), Bristovac-Tomići, V. Paklenica.

i rodnosti (Kipre 2014: 39). Oglav(i)novac je i Velesov topos. Na njemu se uglavnom napasalo krupno *blago*.

*Na srid Oglavnovca biloj vrilo, a blizo njeg jama brezdanka obresla travon.
Napojili se volovi i dva legla kraj vrila. Odednon se produši zemlja pod
njiman i oba propadoše u brezdanku.*⁸

Budući da je Veles bog *blaga*, čuvar podzemnog svijeta duša mrtvih, zaštitnik stočarstva, često je atribuiran s volovskim rogovima na glavi. Propadanje vola/volova u jamu bezdanku simbolizira Velesov onostrani svijet (podzemni) u kojem je on gospodar.

Korovilje/Kovilje

Toponim Korovilje motiviran je biljnim svijetom, biljkom korovilje/*kovilje* koja simbolizira *vilinu kosu* (svijetle je boje dugih i izvijenih pahuljastih “grančica“) pa je stočare asocijala na vilinsku dugu svijetlu kosu te se pretpostavlja da su vile i ondje zalazile, premda nemamo narativa koji bi to potvrdili. Geomorfološki toponim također asociira na *raspuštene viline kose*. *Kovilje* se bralo u lipnju i vezivalo u snop koji se bacao u vis i pri tom se izgovarala magijska formula kao epikleza Majci Zemlji: *Sid Baba sid i Sid Baba na zemlju*. Svakim bacanjem u vis snop viline kose sjedao je uspravno na tlo. Ritualnim bacanjem i izgovaranjem magijske formule *sjedanja na zemlju*, bez sumnjeje u određenom povijesnom kontekstu imalo simboličko značenje u smislu poticanja plodnosti i rodnosti zemlje. Svakim novim bacanjem snopa formula se opetovala.⁹ Od sredine 20. stoljeća simbolika rituala se izgubila, pa je bacanje Babe u vis, da bi uspješno *sjela* na zemlju, postala samo dječja igra.¹⁰ U negativnoj konotaciji postoji vrsta puzajućeg korova po zemlji također zvanog *vilina kosa*, a raste na obradivom zemljištu za uzgoj sadnica. *Kosa* se omota oko povrtnica i “guši“ im rast. Takvu se vrstu viline kose iskorjenjivalo. Ondje gdje bi se taj korov pojavio „govorlo se da se vile tako osvećuju vlasniku vrtla na Rujnu jer in je naudija. A mogut reć da nije bilo lako tu travu odmrst sa zeleni.“¹¹

Man(i)ta Peć, Vidakov Kuk i An(i)ća Kuk s okolnim pećinama

O navedenim toponimima i njihovoj mitskoj predodžbi, opširnije je pisano u 21. stoljeću na temelju prvih pisanih podataka početkom 20. stoljeća (Ružić 1929; Trošelj 2017). An(i)ća Luka i An(i)ća Kuk motivirani su prezimenom Anić, vjerojatno matronimik. U simboličkom smislu zajedno s Man(i)tom Peći i Vidakovim Kukom, najznačajniji su topisi u Nacionalnom parku Paklenici. Toponim Man(i)ta Peć motiviran je predajom o vilinskom staništu u pećini, pridjevom *manit*/mahnit (tur.: sulud, bijesan, pomaman),

⁸ Kazivač: Dara Babac.

⁹ Kazivač: Matija Jović (1924–2005), V. Ledenik.

¹⁰ Autoričino iskustvo iz djetinjstva.

¹¹ Kazivač: Slavka Poljak (1921–2017), Tribanj-Kozjača.

glagolom *manitati*/ludovati i imenicom *manitanje*, a proizlaze iz vilinske meteorne simbolicke ukanja, *manitanja*, zavijanja, urlikanja, kričanja i na taj su način vile personificirale atmosferske pojave u pećini i oko nje. Vila Suđenica koja prede *kudilju* i nosi vodu na glavi (Ružić 1929: 149–152; Trošelj 2017: 28–36) preko uža od An(i)ća Kuka do Man(i) te Peći, prežitak je dijadne boginje *Mokoši*, celestijalne (na Vidakovom Kuku) i htonske (u Man(i)toj Peći i An(i)ća Luci) koja u određenim godišnjim ciklusima donosi rađanje i smrt. Pećine su kao i jame vrata u podzemni/htonski svijet i neodvojiv su dio vilinskog svijeta i njihovog telurnog simbolizma koji ih veže uz Majku Zemlju (Kipre 2014: 83). „*Sasu vile u Anća Kuku zakantane*.“¹²

Vilinski Sto(l)

Megalitna stijena Vilinski Sto(l) motivirana je predajama o vilama i asocira na “pravi” stol kojeg se povezivalo s vilinskim djelovanjem. Smješten je u Borovniku (Cipalište, Pod Planon) “okružen” Jukića Vrilon s južne strane, Pećinom Kneževića od zapada, Pećinom Mokračom od istoka i Babinim Kukom i Babinim Docem sa sjeveroistoka.

Vilinski Sto(l) kameni je megalit dug desetak, širok oko šest i visok pet metara. Na njemu se nalazi prirodna kamenica iz koje se sliva voda za kišnih dana. Element vode u kozmogonijskim mitskim predodžbama vezan je uz simboliku plodnosti. Stol je prirodno “modeliran,” „*istesane i izglaçane površine, rekab da gaj kakav pravi majstor uređiva*.“¹³ Budući da su vile u obrednim i drugim predajama graditeljice, stol bi bio sastavni dio vilinske ikonografije u krajobrazu južnog Velebita.

„*Otprije se govorlo da su ga vile tako lipo uredle, jer su živle u pećini pod Babnin Kukon nad Borovnikom*.“¹⁴ One su se okupljale oko stola u prostoru šumovitog predjela znakovitog imena Borovnik. Bor je u Nacionalnom parku Paklenica *arbor mundi*, a zapadno od njegove granice, prema usmenoj predaji, tu bi simboliku imao javor, o kojem će se govoriti u okviru Kamenih Baba. Vilinski Sto(l) u kontekstu pretkršćanske starine upućuje na mitsko zbivanje, svetu svadbu, što se može iščitati iz stihova podgorske obredne pjesme: „*Što ti plačeš sestrice/ Već pogledaj pod oblake/ pod oblakon zlatan sto/ za njen sidi dragi tvoj*.“¹⁵ Vilinski kameni stol u mitu je zlatan, jer se nalazi pod oblakom na suhoj/zlatnoj grani na vrhu stabla svijeta u Perunovom *gradu/dvoru*. On je dakle i Mokošin stol pa je bijela vila borovničkog stola degradirana preoblika pradavne božice, koja svetom svadbom pokreće plodnost i rodnost prirode (vidi više o vilinskoj mitskoj simbolici zlata: stol, vrata, jabuka, grana, svjetlosne kuglaste munje, Katičić 2014; Kipre 2014: 35–36, 101).

¹² Kazivač: Marcela Parić.

¹³ Kazivač: Roko Parić (1947), Paklenica.

¹⁴ Kazivač: Marcela Parić.

¹⁵ Kazivač: Grg(i)ca Marasović (1913–2003), zabilježio Dušan Petričević, 1997.



Slika 5: Dušice ispod Svetog Brda s vrtačama iz kojih noću izbijaju svjetlosni plamičci (foto: Arhiv Nacionalnog parka Paklenica).

Duš(i)ce

Duš(i)ce su prostrano pasište ispunjeno vrtačama na jugoistočnoj strani ispod Svetog Brda. U pučkoj etimologiji ime je motivirano dječjim dušama/dušicama. Premda su deminutivni oblici netipični u govoru južnog Podgorja, a karakterističniji su augmentativi (kućetina, materesina, vričetina, babetina, štračetina itd.), stoga bi deminutivni toponim u poveznici sa Svetim Brdom imao simboličko značenje.

Kasu Turci Udbinjani odvodl kotarsku dicu u Liku, matere su i' u ljutoj žalosti pratle do Dušca i žalile, ajme naše dušce, vrate nan naše dušce. Otog žaljenja jadni matera Dušce su dobile ime.¹⁶ Poslen kada više nije bilo Turaka, lički su lugari oblazl seno na Dušcan. Užal su zimi viđat prtinu bosu dičji stopica od Svetog Brda na Dušce pa su zaključl da su to dušce dice koju su davno odvel Turci i sa'se njihovje duše vraćaju istin puton priko Dušca. E otog ti se Dušce tako zovu.¹⁷

Ime pasišta Duš(i)ce dolazi dakle od male, nedužne i bezgrješne dječje duše pa se to mjesto može smatrati posvećenim. Kada Gromovnik Perun u alopersonaži Sv. Ilija

¹⁶ Kazivač: Marjan Knežević (1955), Modrič.

¹⁷ Kazivač: Jakov Knežević (1926–2016), Modrič.

grmi i munje sijevaju na Svetom Brdu, tada na Duš(i)cama noću *svitlucaju duše*, koje vile prenose u onostrani svijet. Tako se navedeni toponimi potpuno uklapaju u vilinsku topografiju. „*Iz brojnih vrtača na Dušicama izbijaju sitni kuglasti plamičci, a to su duše koje će se s vilama vinuti u nebeska prostranstva*“ (Rukavina 1989: 136). Izjednačavanje dušica/duša i vila na Duš(i)cama u vidu svjetlosnih plamičaka, pojava je poznata i u zapadnoj Europi i širem geografskom prostoru, zabilježena pod imenom *ignis fatuus* (Hrobat 2010: 74, prema Mencej 2006a: 210).

Vilinska/Vilenska Vrata

„*U kontekstu pučkih vjerovanja o vilama potpuno se uklapa i toponim Vilinska Vrata. On je toponomastički element vilinske topografije na južnom Velebitu*“ (Katičić 2014: 82; 2010: 85–122, 217; usp. Kipre 2014: 241). Ubikacija toponima nije do danas precizno određena. Ličani ih smještaju između Alana i Svetog Brda, a Podgorci između Svetog Brda, Babinog Brda i Vilovskih Kukova. Na jednom zemljovidu Nacionalnog parka Paklenice iz 2014, upisan je Vilovski Kuk i Babino Brdo, ali bez Vilinskih/Vilenskih Vrata pa njihova ubikacija ostaje otvoreno pitanje, premda su neki Podgorci izjavljivali da su prolazili kroz njih na putu iz Like u Podgorje.

*To su prirodno prava vrata odistok Svetog Brda, al sasu siguro zaresla pa se više ne pozna di bi mogla bit. Kad vile iđu na zborovanje prolaze kroz Vilinska Vrata, na Dušcan se sastaju, a na Vilenon Kuku igraju kolo.*¹⁸

To su vrata Vilinoga grada, koji je vila/božica *Mokoš* gradila na suhoj grani na vrhu stabla svijeta. Sasvim je moguće da je taj vrh stabla, znakovitog imena, Sveto Brdo s Vilinskim Vratima na istočnoj strani, no za ovu hipotezu potrebna su terenska istraživanja lokaliteta Vilinskih Vrata, ali nema sumnje da je u mitskom kontekstu Sveto Brdo *arbor mundi* Perunov (Gromovnikov) i *Mokošin grad/dvor* (Katičić 2014: 84–85; vidi drugi vid interpretacije Sveto Brda: Rukavina 1989: 18–138). Ona je bijela vila u bijeloj haljini, gazdarica na vratima dvora. „*Grad gradila bijela vila ni na nebu ni na zemlji, neg' na grani od oblaka.*“ To nam govori da su vile množstvena i degradirana bića pradavnog lika boginje *Mokoš*, na vrhu stabla svijeta. Ona je u dvoru dijadna: Sunce i Suđenica s atributima gornje, ognjene (u *interpretatio christiana* Ognjena Marija), suhe Perunove i donje Velesove vlažne i mokre povezane s nizom hidronima kao što su Močila, Mokrača, Potok Paklenica, Manita Peć i Jama Vodarica. Na vratima vilinskog dvora odvija se mitsko zbivanje – sveta svadba, kao kod Vilinskog Stola: *pod oblakon zlatan stol*. Suho zlato-zlatan stol metafora je suhe grane na vrhu stabla svijeta. Ovaj motiv najsvetiji je dio praslavenskog mita, jer donosi plodnost i rodnost (Katičić 2014). Vilinska Vrata su vrata grada od suhoga zlata – suha grana na vrhu drveta svijeta – sjedištu boga Gromovnika (Sveto Brdo – *Svevid*, božansko sjedište, gleda na sve četiri strane svijeta).

¹⁸ Kazivač: Dane Rončević (1928–2011), Rovanjaska.

*Narod je virova da se za ljutog nevrimenta kad grmi i siva na Svetom Brdu bore božje i paklene sile paj' zato Sveto Brdo sveto.*¹⁹

Boj *božjih* i *paklenih sila* na Svetom Brdu upućuje na božanski boj Peruna i Velesa. Izaziva ga Veles zapriječnik koji uskraćuje: vodu, plodnost i blagostanje. Gromovnik ga tuče na izvoru ispod kamena u podnožju stabla svijeta. Veles pred njim bježi pod stablo, u vodu/more, u podzemni svijet u kojem je gospodar. Veles je i udjelitelj, daje kao što i uskaraćuje (Katičić 2008: 171; Kipre 2014: 36). Tomo Vinšćak je krajem 20. i početkom 21. stoljeća tijekom samostalnih istraživanja južnog Velebita i kasnije kao voditelj projekta Sakralna interpretacija krajobrazza, uočio poveznicu triju spomenutih toponima: Vilinska Vrata, Sveto Brdo, Dušice u kontekstu staroslavenske sakralne strukture u krajobrazu (Vinšćak 2010: 13–14).

Tulove Grede/Tule/Prag i Kraljičina Vrata

Tulove Grede prve su u nizu toponima lociranih na razmeđu južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita uz Majstorsku alansku cestu Bravar – Sv. Rok. Toponim je motiviran svojom neobičnom geomorfologijom. Tule su nalik tulcu/svitku ili okomito položenim gredama/obeliscima. U lokalnoj semantici tulo je izraz za *vrteno/vreteno* pa bi tule bile vretenaste grede, i drugo, tulo je drveni tulac o pojasu kosca u kojem drži brus za kosu. U pučkom imaginariju izazivale su fantastične predodžbe o bićima s nadnaravnim moćima koja borave u Tulama. Ondje su u istom prostoru obitavale nevidljive vile *zakantane/zatočene* u pećinama među stijenama (najveća je s istočne strane). Zmajevi su se legli u jamama Tula u blizini izvora, a *štrige/vještice* sastajale su se na vrhovima kukova. Sva tri demona imala su moć *prvanja/letenja*. Magična sposobnost letenja definira ih kao zračna bića. Za moć psihonavigacije vještica, tražilo se znanje određene magijske formule: *Ni o kamen, ni o drvo, već o Tulo*. Tko je formulu krivo izgovorio, stradao je. Aeromorfna kategorija magične transformacije u kojoj se i vila (mlada boginja) i vještica (ostarjela boginja) na Tulama izjednačuju s elementom zraka, oblaka, vjetra i oluje imaju meteorološke karakteristike. Isto se odnosi i na zmajeve koji ispuštaju plamene vjetrove. Unutar kružne formacije nalazi se duboki izvor i zmijske *zatočnice*. Zmaj/zmija Perunov je protivnik na dnu Tula, muški princip boga Velesa koji obitava u onostranom/podzemlje i zmijske Velesov ženski princip Vela – božica *Mokoš* kada je s njim u podzemlju (zimski ciklus). *Zakantani/zatočeni* i začarani demoni Tula povezani su sa zrakom u psihonavigaciji – putovanju duše u astralni svijet. Liminalnost puta određuje utrojeni karakter degradirane božice: mlada/vila/Mara, majka *Mokoš* i starica/vještica Baba (Morana/Jaga), ovisi o tome izražava li solarni ili htonski karakter. „Što je narod vjerovao o velebnim i mističnim Tulama govori kletva: *Dabogda skonča u Tulovin Gredan*“ (Hirc 1926: 144–145).

Prag, Podprag i Kraljičina Vrata liminalni su toposi između dvaju svjetova u obredu prijelaza, antropomorfnom ili psihonavigacijskom. Motivirani su i s predajama o vilama. Zapadno od Kraljičinih Vrata blizu Ripišta “viđene” su vile.

¹⁹ Kazivač: Dane Rončević.

Sama ja uveče, ugnala blago u tor, a blago se uskomešalo – mislin gladnoj, dan mu ist, a uno neće. Izađen prikuću – a uno sve ništo čudno – ja pogleda na brdo, kad uno – niko zujanje, kaj da ništo prše, leti na brdo. Kad uno sastale se vile – i plešu. Ja pobignen u kuću od pustog strava.²⁰

Ovom vilinskom pričom u “osobnom doživljaju“ kazivačice izražena je aeromorfna kategorija u kojoj su vile izjednačene s elementom zraka i vjetra: *zuj, vijorina, prvanje*. Vjetar tako postaje antropomorfan. Vile, zmajevi/zmije i vještice su personifikacija vegetacijskog ciklusa u kozmološkoj strukturi krajobraza, psihonavigacijom povezane s onostranim i ovostarnim svijetom (Kipre 2014: 54, 57–59).

Vileni/Vilenski Kukovi

Oronim se nalazi na jugoistočnom Velebitu iznad jame Mamet.

Ko se nadnese nad njon smami ga i upane u nju i nema mu spasa. Zato se tako zove jer mami i namami une koji su znatiželjni. Stari su govori da u njoj ima svake zvijeri.²¹

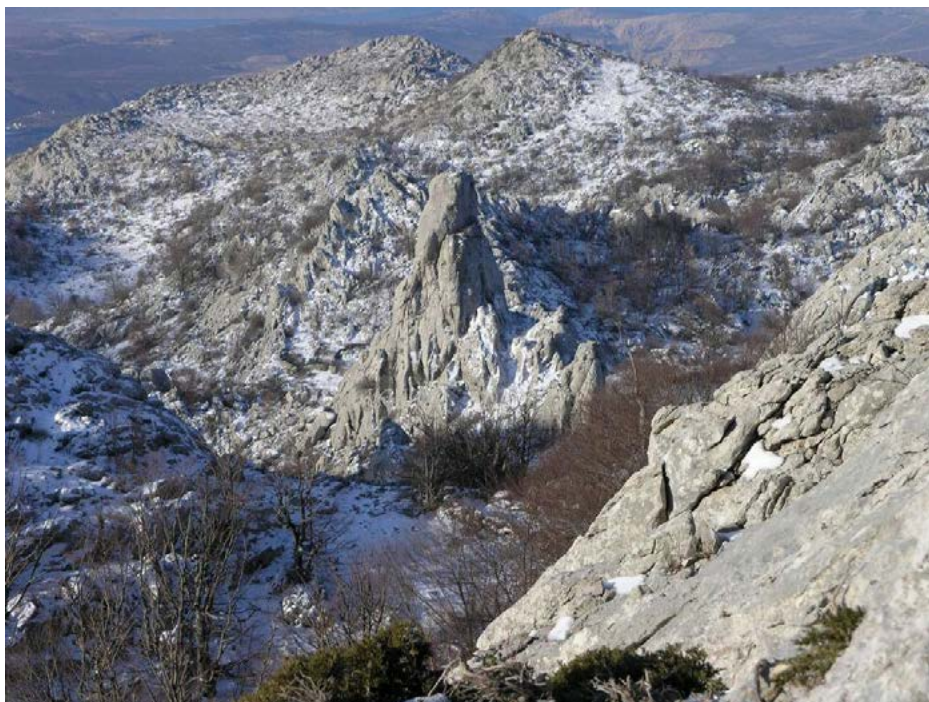
Vileni Kukovi motivirani su predajom o vjerovanju u vile. Geomorfološki ih tvore u polukružnoj formaciji Sandalj Kuk, Slatki Vr, Vrata na Panogi i Peć(i)ca (Milankovi stanovi) iznad Ražovog Kuka. Kukovi okružuju livadu Mala Dul(i)ba. Već je istaknuto kako tvore mitski vilinski trokut s Vilinskim vratima i Duš(i)cama. Vile noću igraju kolo na njegovim zaravnima. Međutim, simboličniju poveznicu imaju s Duš(i)cama na kojima, kako je već rečeno, „noću iskaču svitlosni plamičci, vatrice, svitleće iskricе.“ Isto se događalo i u Vilenim Kukovima.

Od 1996. godine provodila sam vikende i praznike s djecom u Maloj Dulibi Vilenskih Kukova u jednom stočarskom stanu. U veljači 1998. u predvečerje, djeca, Veljko i ja šetali smo Dulibicom u smjeru zapada. Vrijeme je bilo ugodno. Stotinjak metara od stana zastali smo i okrenuli se istočno u smjeru stana. Mrak je, nebo se jedva naziralo, kad odjednom opazismo kod stana svjetlo – svjetlosne kugle veličine manje lopte, kako kruže oko tora kraj stana, brzinski nepravilno lete u krugu, ali se nisu sudarale u kruženju. Odjednom su se kugle spojile u jednu, širile i gubile intenzitet svjetla i postajale sivkaste. Na kraju ‘igre, pretvorile’ su se u neki antropomorfni lik (vilu?) i posve nestale. Trajalo je to desetak minuta. Nažalost nisam ponijela mobitel da snimim tu mističnu pojavu.²²

²⁰ Kazivač: Ika Nekić (1911–1992), Podprag, zapisala Senka Župan, 1977, Priče s Velebita, 1999, Zadarska smotra, br. 4–6, Zadar, 345.

²¹ Kazivač: M. V. K., Golubić (želio je ostati anonimn).

²² Kazivanje svjedočanstva Lepe, Slavena i Srdana Petri i Veljka Karića, 2018, Zadar.



Slika 6: Vileni Kukovi, jugoistočni Velebit (snimila: Lepa Petri).

Vjerojatno su ovu pojavu i drugdje na prostoru Velebita zapazili i srednjovjekovni stočari i kao takvu pripisali je “božanskom čudu“ i opjevali u obrednim pjesmama koje Katičić filološkom metodom tumači gromovitim munjama mitskih božanstava staroslavlenskog panteona.²³ Katičićeva interpretacija obrednih mitema podudara se s iskustvenim doživljajem obitelji Petri i Karić. „/.../ Što su vrata suhog zlata, /na ta vila sjedi sama./ Vila gleda u oblake/ đe se munja s gromom igra, / Munja groma nadigrala/ dvjema-trima jabukama“ (Katičić 2014: 84). Tu se kazuje mitsko zbivanje – sveta svadba na zlatnim vratima vilinskoga grada, na suhom vrhu stabla svijeta gdje je Gromovnikovo i Vilino/Mokošino mjesto. Vila/božica utrojena sjedi na Vilinskim Vratima i gleda kako se pred njom igra munja s gromom. To se Perunova kći Mara/Morana igra sa zlatnim jabukama/svjetlosnim kuglama. One pokazuju njezinu dvojnu prirodu: plodonosnu i opasnu, razornu. Ona ih daje Jarilu/Juri i on ih zakotrlja niz polje, luke/livade i dulibe i tim činom potiče ciklus plodnosti i rodnosti. Zlatne jabuke gromovite ujedno su kuglaste munje, razorne i ubojite, kojima Gromovnikova kći Vila/Mara ubija prevrtljivog Juru i to je kraj plodnog ciklusa. Svjetlosne kugle u Maloj Dul(i)bi Vilenskih Kukova *igraju se kao munja s gromom* pri čemu na kraju igre *antropomorfiziraju* Vilin/Božičin/Marin lik kao

²³ Zahvaljujem se Anti Radoniću i Tihomiru Marjancu na prirodoslovnom tumačenju navedene “mistične” pojave. Radonić ističe da su kuglaste munje, nedovoljno istražene u znanosti, a pojavljuju se nakon grmljavinskog nevremena, premda je noć u Dul(i)bici bila mirna i tiha, a Marjanac navodi da bi mogao biti u pitanju plin radon koji zrači i povremeno se svjetlosno manifestira u prirodi nakon olujnog nevremena.

sliku kozmogonijske mitske predodžbe, kada će Mara i sama umrijeti metamorfozom u Moranu/*Materesinu*, božicu smrti i zime (Belaj 1998: 322–324, 349–351; Hrobat 2010: 213, 226). Tako pojava viđenih kuglastih munja u Dul(i)bici ispod Vilenih Kukova, prema Katičiću, može se staviti u kontekst pretkršćanske sakralne interpretacije velebitskog krajobraza. U prilog ovoj hipotezi idu i druga saznanja s područja jugoistočnog Velebita kada sam narativ Lepe Petri prepričala nekolicini tamošnjih kazivača.

E totje vilinsko kolo. Toj men moja baba kaživala da su otprije čobani uveče prelili prid stanovin i opazli bi pod kukovin nad Dulbon niko svitlo kako se vrti, a to da vile igraju kolo i za niko vrime svitlo nestane. Une se utvaraju, sasu vake, sasu nake. Sutradan su čobani vidli na livodici njihov stope kaj kozje papke. Nas su stariji strašl da ne idemo u Vilene Kukove, jer da će se vile dignit i nasmetat nan. Ja se nisan boja pa i' nisan vidija²⁴

BAPSKA TOPONIMIJA

Kulnikameni monoliti i toponimi Babe označavaju tragove pretkršćanskog sakralnog krajobraza južnog Velebita. U mitologiji slavenskih naroda Baba je ženski demon, koji personificira božanstvo plodnosti, kultnu boginju Majku Zemlju. U toponimiji Velebita relik je tih pretkršćanskih vjerovanja. U kontekstu pučkih vjerovanja, toponimi Babe nositelji su meteorološko-temporalne simbolike, personifikacija su vjetrenog, mračnog, kišnog i snježnog, ali i suhog, ognjenog. Istraživanja su pokazala da je u Babi po kojoj su imenovani amorfni kameni monoliti, kukovi, vrhovi, jezera, pećine, doci, brda, moguće prepoznati arhaični ženski lik Majke Zemlje. S jedne strane označava ostarjelu boginju, mračnu, htonsku, vezanu uz atmosferske pojave, a s druge za plodnost i rodnost, budući da je vezana uz element vode (potok, jezero, lokvu, bunar), vlage i padalina (kiša, snijeg) i uz obradive površine zemlje.²⁵ Njezin meteorološki aspekt također je vezan uz pojam Babin kut (strana na zapadnom obzoru), a to znači onaj dio planinskog krajobraza odakle dolazi nevrijeme (oluja, kiša, bura, snijeg, led). Tom nazivu temeljna je predodžba da je Baba personifikacija zime, leda, mraka, smrti. *Baba se smrsla* – vrhovi planine posuti snijegom. Poput vila, Baba je ambivalentno biće: s jedne strane simbolizira plodnost i rodnost i povezuje tri osnovna elementa prirode: vodu, zemlju i sunce, a s druge njezin degradirani lik povezuje se sa starim ružnim, demoniziranim Babama (Jaga/Roga, *Striga*/vještica i Morana/Baba Zima). Ona je gospodarica svih sila prirode makrokozmosa i mikrokozmosa (Hrobat 2010: 185–186, 196, 198, 207, 226). Starohrvatska toponimija oslanja se na pretkršćansku religiju pa demonizirano božanstvo Baba simbolizira pozitivan i negativan aspekt kozmičkog poretka. Stoga su bapski toponimi Velebita prema

²⁴ Kazivači: Marija-Maruška Maričić, Ika Milanko, Zaton Obrovački, Spasenije-Pajina Čavlin, Muškovci, 2018.

²⁵ Frazemi koji upućuju na Babin kult: *Pijan kaj Majka Zemlja* – natopljen alkoholom kao zemlja vlagom, *Nije ga takog rodla Majka Zemlja* – svestran, sposoban u plodnom stvaranju i sticanju. *Otvor se Zemljo Majko* – propadanje u podzemlje, zbog ružnih zbivanja na zemlji. Želi se naglasiti koliko se sramimo tuđe i svoje gluposti da bismo najradije propali u zemlju (kazivač: Matija Jović, V. Ledenik).



Slika 7: Baba Arčabuša na arčabuškom dolcu kraj stoljetnog javora visoke razgranate krošnje i širokog debla. Babu su u novije vrijeme s bočnih strana *obgrlila* mlađa stabla javora (snimila: Mirjana Trošelj).

predaji *sveta mjesta*. U korizmenim običajima u sjevernom Podgorju na pokladni četvrtak svetkovala se smrt Morane/Babe Zime. Baba se pilila na dvoje i to je bio kraj rasječene ili prepukle zime. Simboličko piljenje vršilo se na slamnatoj lutki koju se bacalo/utapalo u more. Tim obredom započinje novi godišnji ciklus, vrijeme plodnosti i rodnosti „*Moranu odvedosmo, Vesnu dovedosmo*“ (Krajač 1931: 311).

Baba Arčabuša²⁶

Baba Arčabuša je kameni amorfni megalit, “leži” na docu ispred Matačkih kuća na Arčabuši. Ovakvi kameni monoliti Babe u velebitskom krajobrazu odraz su simboličkih predodžbi u tradicijskim vjerovanjima Podgoraca, a personificiraju žensko božanstvo-demonu plodnosti. Posrednici su između makrokozmosa i mikrokozmosa. Tragovi tog pretkršćanskog kulta održali su se do 20. stoljeća. Kako im je funkcija bila osigurati plodnost i rodnost, s tog aspekta smatrani su *svetim kamenima*, koje je zajednica štovala na osobit način. Prvim ljetnim dolaskom s blagom na ispašu, žene i djeca ljubili su Babu,

²⁶ Istoimeni ojkonom upisan je u metatezi Račabuša na svim planinarskim zemljovidima južnog Velebita. Izvorni govornici Mataci svoju *stojbinu od starine* nazivaju Arčabuša i na tome inzistiraju (Ivan Matak, 1947, Ljubotić).

darivale je plodinama: žito, janje, med, runo vune i prinobile joj žrtvu ljevanicu i paljeticu: maslinovo ulje i svijeću. Cilj ove obredne prakse bio je udobrovoljiti Babu da im osigura opće blagostanje, plodnost i rodnost *blaga* i zemlje, zdravlje zajednice i zdravlje *blaga* da bi bilo zdravo i muzno. Babu su u epiklezi ljubili i darivali i neplodni bračni parovi da im donese željenu sreću (Vince-Pallua 2004: 29–30; Trošelj 2011a: 352–353). U drugoj polovini 20. stoljeća ljubljenje kamene Babe prenijelo se na živu babu prvim dolaskom na ljetnu ispašu i na blagdan Velike Gospe. To su obvezno morala činiti djeca, *radi svoje dobrobiti*. Djeci nepoznata baba, stajala je na vratima stana da je poljube u prisustvo odraslih (Trošelj 2011a: 352–353).

Kamen se skotrlja u niko davno vrime od Bobičkog Kuka. Kotrlja se oko pesto metara niz kosu i zaustavlja, na početku doca Arčabuše, baš prid našin kućan, kraj javora starog oko pesto godina. Stari su govorl da nan se spuštala stara vila/baba koja više ne more prvati. I tuj bija izvor, al bi prisušija. Kad pada kiša cidi se voda niz Kamen pa se vatala u ciglje za blago. Undaj moj did Nikola u 19. stolću na vr Kamena isklesa duboku kamencu, promjera 80x100 cm. I otad se voda sliva niz njega u čatrnju (bunarić) koju je napravija moj čaća 1957., cikon uzanaj s gornje strane.²⁷

Kamene Babe su, kako je već rečeno, povezane s vodom, vlagom i obrednim praksama darivanja plodinama, ljubljenjem i zagovorom za dobar urod, zdravlje *blaga* i zajednice. Vjerovalo se da pridonose plodnosti i rodnosti zemlje (Kipre 2014: 83). Lokalizacija kamenih Baba uz vodu (izvor, bunar, potok), polje i javor, upućuje na pučke predodžbe o njezinoj telurnoj i htonskoj simbolici. Takva ikonografija sačuvala je simboličku sliku spolnosti vlage/vode iz koje se rađa novi život (Kipre 2014: 85). Štovanje ženskih kulturnih kamena na Velebitu pretkršćanski je supstrat koji se održao do sredine 20. st.²⁸

Kamene Babe Malog i Velikog Rujna

Kamene Babe **2** i **3** na M. Rujnu u kontekstu tradicijskih vjerovanja bile su u funkciji do sredine 20. stoljeća, duže od Babe Arčabuše, jer su se mlađi naseljenici Arčabuše Mataci premjestili s *blagom* na druge lokacije. O **Babi 2** opisane su u literaturi tijekom 20. st. tradicijske obredne prakse u simboličnoj predodžbi kamena čija je funkcija bila osigurati plodnost i zdravlje *blaga* i stočara u planini (Gušić 1973; Marković 1980; Glavičić 1981–1982; Rukavina 1989; Trošelj 2011a: 352–353, 364; O Babi 3 Hrobat 2010: 198–204; O Babi 3 Pleterski 2009: 27–46).

*Kamen je sletija od Kuka Vilina pod Prodanove Njive, al niko ne pantij kadaj to bilo (misli se na Babu 2), al više se štovala minirana **Baba 1** kojaj*

²⁷ Kazivač: Bože Matak.

²⁸ Kamene Babe imaju svoj odraz u podgorskoj frazeologiji: *Ukipla se kaj Kamena Baba, Skamenla se kaj Baba Manda, Ne miče se oten kaj Kamena Baba od Sirotkuše.*



Slika 8: Malorujanska Baba 2 između Gradine, polja Sirotkuše i Prodanove njive (snimio: Andrej Pleterski).



Slika 9: Malorujanska Baba 3 ‘sjedi’ u podnožju Rujanske Kose, ‘gleda’ na malorujansko pasište, koje je bilo do sredine 20. stoljeća većim dijelom obradivo polje (snimio: Andrej Pleterski).

bila uz Lazića Bunar kraj velikog javora, a miniranaj iza Drugog rata, radi obziđivanja ograde di se kopalo da neb ulazlo blago. I ova minirana sletlaj ozgo s Kuka.²⁹

Javor uz Babe na ovom prostoru nesumnjivo je simbolizirao stablo svijeta, kao bor u Paklenici, a kazivači mu ponosno ističu starost, visinu, široko deblo i razgranatu krošnju, osobito javor Babe Arčabuše, malorujanske minirane Babe 1 i velikorujanske pod Rujanskom Kosom na istočnoj strani. Kraj njih je voda: bunari, izvori i jaruge niz koje se slivala voda s *brine*/brijega i Kose. Na granama javora Arčabuškog vješali su žitelji janjeće i ovčje runo nakon žrtvovanja na Jurjevo, Ivanje (Ivan Svitnjak) i Veliku Gospu. Prema navodima kazivača dva su razloga zašto su to činili, prvi je posve praktičan: da se runo osuši za izradu mješine za spremanje sira i drugi u simboličnoj ideji, da se vidi njihov doprinos štovanju spomenutih blagdana. Na upit zašto baš na javoru, odgovarali su zato što je njima *sveto drvo*.

Usmena predaja o velikorujanskoj Babi pod Kosom rujanskom:

Na Babi pod Koson vidija se snopić uklesanog žita, a niki vele daj to okamenjeno žito. Štoj daj, ne moš dokaživat, jer Babe više nema, al pantin kasan čobanija kaj klapac oko nje da san vidija na njoj žito kaj uklesano čekičen i dliton. Mi smo pod njon imal stanove. Nijet bila daleko od Bunara Jovića i Jaruge niz koju se slivala voda ozgo s Kose. Mojaj baba znala na prolće na nju stavt čup vune, daj to za zdravlje blaga. Bićej niko Kamen razbija ol odnija, jer nije bija velk kaj uni na Malon Rujnu, a javor se osušija. Pod njin je bilo kolalište i pivalo se. Stariji su otrprvo divanl da Kamena Baba nije od ovog naroda daj to uklesa narod kojij tu prije živija, niki Liburci, Grci, štot ja znan.³⁰

U terenskim istraživanjima 2016, velikorujanske Babe nije bilo in situ.

Bo(j)inac/Bojin Kuk i Jagin/Rogin Kuk

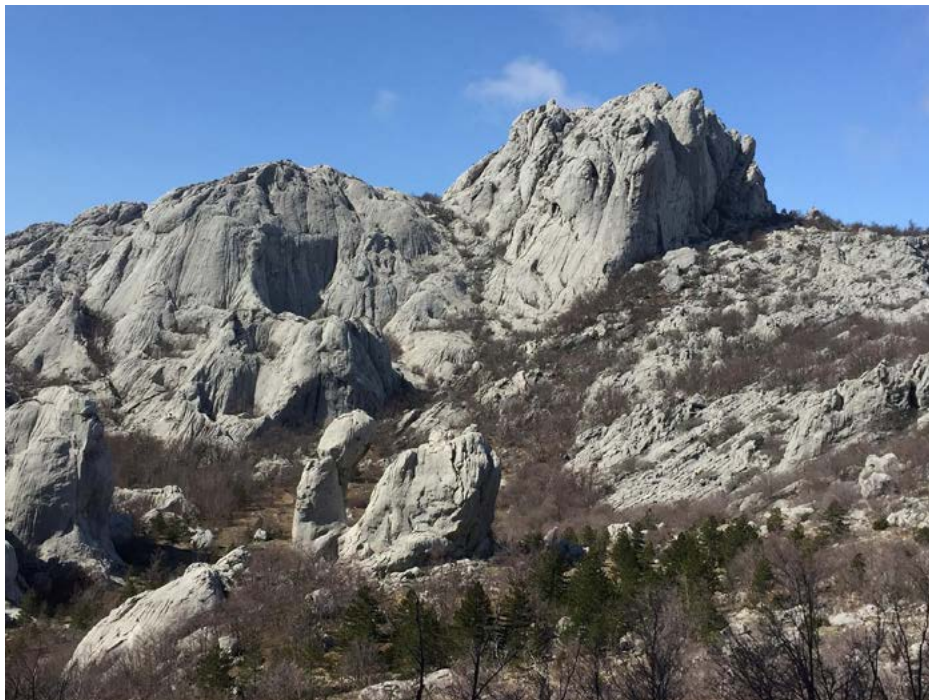
Bo(j)inac je geomorfološki sličan Vidakovom Kuku i Vilenim Kukovima. Okružen je nizom kukova od kojih su posebno zanimljivi najviši Bojin pod kojim se nalazi pećina za zatvaranje *blaga* i Jagin u Velikom Docu okruženom Bo(j)inačkim Kukovima. Topnim je motiviran antroponimom o *nikoj čobanci* Boji.

Bojaj na kuku napasala blago u srid lita. Odednon iz vedra neba počelo grmt i sivat. Nenadano grdno puče grom i ubi/prisiče Boju i po njoj kuk dobi ime Bojin Kuk.³¹

²⁹ Kazivač: Ilija Prodan.

³⁰ Kazivač: Jerolim-Role Petričević (1924–2019), M. Ledenik.

³¹ Kazivač: Pera-Perina Jović.



Slika 10: Bo(j)inac/Bojin Kuk, na njemu je Gromovnik prisikao/ubio čobanicu Boju na ispaši stada. U mitskoj predodžbi Boja bi mogla simbolizirati zapriječnicu Velu pa je zbog toga kažnjena (foto: Arhiv Nacionalnog parka Paklenica).

Božanski boj objašnjava godišnje cikluse. Pokreće ga munjama i gromovima Gromovnik Perun u alopersonaži Sveti Ilija, da bi oslobodio vode koje je zatvorio Veles/Vela u hipostazi Boja. U sukobu na Bo(j)incu Perunov suparnik Veles predstavljen je ženskom inačicom Velom/Bojom. Udarom groma kao dijela kozmičke strukture, uspostavlja se suodnos između kozmogonijskog mita o Perunovom sukobu sa zapriječnikom/zaprječnicom voda zmajem/zmijom. On oslobađa vode od Velesovih zoomorfnih supstituta na kraju vegetacijskog ciklusa, kada božanski par Mara i Jure postaju stari. Pastirica Boja supstitut Vele ulaskom u neplodan ciklus ubija Juru i na kraju kao Morana, vladar zime umire do uskrsnuća u novom ciklusu plodnosti (Kipre 2014: 94; Hrobat 2010: 217). Na dan Gromovnika Ilije (bilo po Gregorijanskom, bilo po Julijanskom kalendaru) događalo se da Gromovnik *pomete/smrzne/prisiče* pojedince oko rujanskog prostora i to na liminalnim toposima kao što su Ribnička Vrata, Vrata na Križu pod Aptovačkom Kosom, Jelovačka Vrata, Prag i Kraljičina Vrata. Ako netko kosi na dan Gromovnika Ilije u Lici govorilo se: „*Prisvitl, prisvitl Sveti Ilija i nama pukne grom i ubije čovka i njegove konje.*“³² Perun, u predaji Sv. Ilija, gromom bije zmiju/zmaja i pri tom ubije čovjeka i konje (Hrobat 2010: 215). U simbolici Bo(j)inca ključan je i njegov meteorološko-temporalni karakter. Po njemu su Podgorci predviđali vrijeme, osobito oni koji su ribarili.

³² Kazivač: Jerolim-Role Petričević.

Bilaj kapa ol brv nad Bo(j)incon – bura će. Bo(j)inac svitli – bura će. Čara nad Bo(j)incon – lipo će vrime. Bo(j)inac kuva – velko će nevrime s buron, škropcon i snigon. Kija od Bo(j)inca. Kad zabili Bo(j)inac, ne izlaz iskuće.³³ Kad snig pada, najprije ga vidiš na Bo(j)incu.³⁴

Meteorološku ulogu u frazeologiji Podgoraca dobila je i Velika Gospa Rujanska, pročeljem orijentirana prema Bojincu, budući da njezinim danom završava plodni i započinje neplodni ciklus godine.

Pope, mol se ti za kišu do Gospe, a ja ću sam od Gospe ol Molte se svi vi za kišu do Gospe, a ja ću sam od Gospe.³⁵

U Bo(j)inačkom Velikom Docu lociran je Jagin Kuk, neobične morfologije koja neupućenima izaziva lascivne konotacije. Zapravo su dvije Jage: *veća ozapad, a manja najerena odistok*. U *mitskoj* simbolici ključna je *najerena*/falusoidna Jaga. Nepoznato je tko je i kada imenovao Kuk tim imenom, budući da to žensko ime ne postoji u antroponomastici Podgorja, premda ima istu simboliku kao Baba Roga kojom se plašilo neposlušnu djecu: *Odnícete Baba Roga*. Baba Jaga je mitski lik iz ruskih usmenih predaja i bajki, a kako je došao kao antroponim do Velebita, ostat će otvoreno pitanje. Jaga je drevna boginja, antropomorfnu demonsko biće u kontaktu s onostranim/htonskim, degradirana, groteskna (*najerena*) starica, seksualno neprivlačna, ambivalentna, zbačena sa svoga trona i pretvorena u rugobu koja vlada prirodnim silama. „Označujuje falični atributi in je s svojimi grotesknimi značilnostmi objekt negativnih emocij“ (Hrobat 2010: 223). U interpretaciji će biti povezana s Moranom, budući da su oba lika istovjetna u *mitskoj* predodžbi o degradiranim boginjama u južnom Podgorju.

Bilaj davno nika čobanca Jaga, paslaj blago i zatrudnila s nikin Turčinom i ubla se, a bogovi su njezinu dušu zakantali u Jagin Kuk i kad se un sruši, Jagina će duša bit spašena.³⁶ Dušaj okamenjena u najerenoj Jagi, ženska duša, i kad kuk pane, unda će duša izać i spasit se.³⁷

Pripovidal su da se taj kuk zove po nikon Turčinu Jagi, jer da je un tu ima stojbinu i da su ga našli ajduci i ubil i po njen da se kuk tako zove.³⁸

Smatra se da je Baba Jaga gospodarica svijeta mrtvih (samoubojstvo pastirice i ubojstvo Turčina), boginja inicijacije i posrednica između dvaju svjetova (Pleterski 2014:104).

³³ Kazivač: Krešo Trošelj (1923–2009), Punta-Selo; Josip- Jole- Joce Smokrović (1930–2011), Selo

³⁴ Kazivač: B. J. (1939), Seline (željela je ostati anonimna).

³⁵ Kazivač: Ante Marasović, *Brko* (1913–1998), Marasovići, Starigrad-Paklenica.

³⁶ Kazivač: Duje Bušljeta (1964), Uramovac, Starigrad-Paklenica.

³⁷ Kazivač: Božica Bušljeta (1930), Uramovac, Starigrad-Paklenica.

³⁸ Kazivač: Jerolim-Role Petričević.

Motiv okamenjivanja kažnjenih žena zbog počinjenog grijeha čest je u pučkim predodžbama (Baba Marta/*maráč* i njezini janjci u vrijeme *zajmenika*, *čobanica* Manda u Velikoj Paklenici, Manda Petrićuša na Križu prema Aptovačkoj Kosi, svatovi u Svatovskoj Dragi u srednjem Podgorju).³⁹

Narativ opisuje kako je Turčin obljudio pastiricu koja osramoćena i ostavljena na kraju počinu samoubojstvo, a njezina duša okamenjena u Kuku bit će spašena tek kad se Kuk sruši. Dmonske sile su pastiricu okamenile zbog počinjenog grijeha i ona čeka nekoga da bude oslobođena, da joj oslobodi dušu. U tradicijskoj predodžbi kad se duša oslobodi ukletosti grešnog tereta, nakon pada Kuka, preći će u božanske nebeske sfere, u vječnost (Trošelj 2011: 104). Privremena ili trajna vezanost duše za kamen predstavlja stanje između života i smrti koje kažnjeno biće ne može promijeniti. Spas okamenjenoj može donijeti samo onaj tko nije u vlasti demonskih sila. S druge pak strane u *mitskom* kontekstu spolni čin pastirice i Turčina simbolizira ideju mitskog sukoba muškog i ženskog principa na kraju vegetacijskog ciklusa. Rušenjem Kuka Jaga će uskrsnuti u novom vegetacijskom ciklusu da bi se pokrenula plodnost i rodnost rujanskog područja. U drugoj verziji narativa ubijeni Turčin Jago alopersonaža je ostarjelog boga/božice ubijenog i



Slika 11: Jagin Kuk u dolcu okružen Bojinačkim kukukovima. Falusoidne je morfologije pa se u predaji naziva *najerena* Jaga. U Kuku je okamenjena Jagina duša (foto: Arhiv Nacionalnog parka Paklenica).

³⁹ Podgorci su rabili ovaj motiv u kletvama prema onome tko je nešto zgriješio: *Okamenla se dabogda* ili *Okamenija se dabogda*, *Skamenla se kaj baba na kamenu*. Motiv okamenjivanja kletvom i kaznom provlači se od antičkog mita (Nioba), a nalazimo ga i u književnosti (bajke) 19. i 20. st..

kastriranog na svom inicijacijskom putu iz ovostranog u onostrani svijet (Kipre 2014: 170, 265). Svako inicijacijsko putovanje određuje simbolizam prijelaza (ljet-zima, život-smrt) i njegov pogibeljni karakter. Ostarjelog boga/boginju Jagina Kuka simbolizira morfologija *najerenog* falusoidnog oblika u smrti zimskog godišnjeg ciklusa. U obredu prijelaza kamen/kuk je *axis mundi*, posrednik između ovostranog i onostranog svijeta za koji se vezuje duša. Veza duše i kamena najočitija je u kulturnom fenomenu *mirila* (Vinšćak 2010:11–14). Tako bi alopersnažni likovi pastirice i Turčina u pučkim predodžbama mogli supstituirati *mitska božanstava* i *mitska* zbivanja u kultu plodnosti i rodnosti, smrti i ponovnom rođenju.

Babin Vr(h) i Babino ili Vilinsko Jezero/Lokva

Bapski toponimi motivirani pretkršćanskim religijskim supstratom u hodu kroz godinu, najbrojniji su unutar Nacionalnog parka Paklenica. Vjerojatno je to zato što su tu planinski vrhovi znatno viši nego drugdje na Velebitu pa ranije započne zima i zapadne snijeg. Baba Zima/Morana gospodarila je tim prostorom i ostavila trajan supstratni biljeg mitske simbolike u krajobrazu Parka. Krajač ističe da su najviši vrhovi Velebita simboli kulturnih božanstava praslavenskog panteona. Raspoređeni su u krajobrazu prema svetim trokutima (V. Belaj, J. Belaj 2014: 55–56). U pučkim predodžbama Babin Vr(h) personifikacija je zime, tame i smrti. Baba zima u neplodnom ciklusu mete sve pred sobom: *mete snig, zameja je snig, kija snig*. Osim meteorološkog karaktera ona izražava i onostrani, liminalni svijet: solarni/nebeski i htonski/podzemni. Babin Vr(h) u zimskom razdoblju slikovito dočarava *Ledenu* Babu u “ležećem” položaju s “glavom” na sjeveru, a “nogama” prema istoku. Po sredini je istaknut “debeli bapski trbuh.” Oronim je u metaforičkom smislu jedinstven primjer “ležeće *Ledene* Babe” na Velebitu. U meteorološkom smislu zimi Babin Vr(h) najjače *kuva* i *kija* obavljen maglom i oblacima. Ledena Baba/Morana usmrćuje mikrokozmos u zimskom ciklusu, a krajem plodnog ciklusa kao mlada Mara usmrćuje Juru i postaje okrutna stara Morana koja simbolizira smrt i zimu (Belaj 1998: 321–324).

Ispod Babinog Vr(h)a je Babino/Vilinsko Jezero, motivirano imenima nadnaravnih bića. Danas je to samo **lokva** s tendencijom ubrzanog presušivanja (Adžić 2016: 43). Razlog tomu je nestanak stočarstva na Velebitu i “*vila u suživotu s njegovim stočarima*.” Zato se jezero zvalo još i Vilinsko, jer su, prema predaji, “*vile vodile brigu o njevoj čistoci*.”

*Voda mu je bila vajik čista, jer su ga vile obnoć čistile i igrale kolo oko njega. I čistile su galebu. U njen je voda bila vajik istog raza i nikad ne bi prisušla. A biloj okruglo i duboko, nema dna. Blago se nije subitalo spuštati nogan u jezero, samo tliko da se napije, a mogaj i čovik pit tu vodu.*⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Kazivač: Pera-Perina Jović; Gaja Poljak (1930–2016), Tribanj-Šibuljina.



Slika 12: Babin Vr(h), simbolizira Babu Zimu (snimio: Aleksandar Gospić).



Slika 13: Babino jezero/lokva gubi predodžbe trojne mitske strukture u krajobrazu (Babin vr(h) – Babino jezero – Babin dolac), zbog ubrzanog presušivanja i nestajanja (foto: Arhiv Nacionalnog parka Paklenica).

Babin Kuk i Babin Dolac

Oba toposa imenovana su po kulturnim Babama u supstratu pretkršćanskih vjerovanja o plodnosti i rodnošću, i po prostornom razmještanju odgovaraju *mitsko*-simboličkoj strukturi krajobrazu. Njima se pridružuje i treći, pećina Babinog Kuka zvana *Tiha* peć. Nejasna je semantika ovoga imena bez obzira na etimologiju, ali je bez sumnje poveznica s Babom u akvatičkom i htoničkom smislu.⁴¹ Interpretaciju otežava nedostatak predajnih izvora za oba toponima ali prema relevantnim pisanim izvorima, može se zaključiti da Babin Kuk simbolizira Babin/*Mokošin* solarni/nebeski karakter kada je kod Peruna, a Babin Dolac telurni kada je kod Velesa, budući da je Dolac ispod Babina Jezera, trokutna struktura je jasno naglašena: vrh, voda, dolac/livada (Kipre 2014: 16, 103; V. Belaj, J. Belaj: 2014: 55–56). U takvom nizu zadovoljavaju simboliku trojne mitske strukture krajobrazu: Babin Kuk – Babin Dolac – Babino Jezero i obrnuto u orijentaciji od sjevera: Babin Vr(h) – Babino Jezero – Babin Dolac.

*Pod Babinin Kukon je pećina u njoj je živila bila Vila a zera niže nje je Vilinski Sto. Navr njegov je kamenca za vodu i navr se čovk nije moga ispet bez visoki škala, a vile su prvale pa su mogle.*⁴²

Visibaba

Topnim Visibaba metaforičkog je postanja, a motiviran je istoimenim bijelim cvijetom simbolom kultne Babe Zime. Tri su takva toponima jedan na srednjem i dva na južnom Velebitu istovjetne bapske simbolike. Visibaba je pognuta, pogrbljena starica Baba i personificira zimu, a tako izgleda i bijeli cvijet koji se pojavljuje krajem zime, a bijela boja simbolično ga vezuje uz ostatke snijega i zime, ali i novog godišnjeg ciklusa. Sva tri oronima metaforički *više* osobito kad su još uvijek pod snijegom kasne zime i kad se na njima pojavi cvijet kaže se: „*Babi Visibabi je odvisilo*,“ što znači da dolazi kraj zime.

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Nadnaravna i degradirana bića vile i babe u tradicijskoj kulturi južnih Podgoraca obilježile su toponimiju i topografiju prostora južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita. Bogata topografija osobito vilinskih staništa na Velebitu, vrijedan je prilog kulturnoj i fantastičnoj interpretaciji krajobrazu. U imenovanju geografskih objekata u određenom povijesnom kontekstu, prema pučkoj predaji, uočavaju se pretkršćanski elementi, osobito u štovanju kulturnog kamena Babe kao supstrata Majke Zemlje. Velebit je zbog svoje osobite geomorfologije prostornih struktura *mitska* planina u kontinuitetu od indoeuropskih do ranosrednjovjekovnih i starohrvatskih doseljenika. Elementi mitološkog sustava vjerovanja osobito su

⁴¹ Kazivači nisu bili sigurni u ime, ali su isticali da su vile bile u pećini.

⁴² Kazivač: Roko Parić.

prisutni u toponimiji vilinske i bapske topografije. Prema pučkim predajama i recentnim izvorima uspostavlja se kontekst pretkršćanske starine kada se u emanaciji i epifaniji događala sakralizacija krajobraza južnog i jugoistočnog Velebita. Ti su prostori označavali svetost i predstavljali energetska točka božanske sile, mjesto gdje se neka svemirska sila koncentrira i grana, kao što su raskrižja, *mirilišta*, Sveto Brdo, Dušice, Močila, izvori, pećine, crkvine i druga, pri čemu su stočari prema nekom objektu u krajobrazu odnosili kao prema svetosti.

Za sustavnija istraživanja ove teme neophodan je interdisciplinarni pristup u prvom redu filološki, radi onomastičke i etimološke analize predmetnog korpusa, a metodom komparacije i analogije proširiti geografski prostor istraživanja. Veliki doprinos interdisciplinarnom pristupu istraživanja dao je Tomo Vinšćak kao voditelj projekta Sakralna geografija velebitskog krajobraza i šireg prostora od Istre do južne Dalmacije. Posebno je isticao na Velebitu toponimsku znakovitost Svetog brda, Dušica i Vilinskih vrata u kontekstu starovjersva (Vinšćak 2010: 13–14).

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ELEMENTS OF PRE-CHRISTIAN BELIEFS IN THE TOPONYMY OF SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST VELEBIT

MIRA TROŠELJ



The paper focuses on the toponymy of south and southeast Velebit associated with degraded and demonised mythical beings (fairies and old women, *babas*), which arises from the traditional symbolical perceptions and beliefs of the inhabitants of southern Podgorje. The work uses folk narratives, ritual songs and more recent written sources (philological, ethnological-anthropological and historical-geographical) with the aim of interpreting toponyms in southern Podgorje that are evidence of the survival of pre-Christian beliefs. For this purpose, the author presents toponyms named by the herding population of Podgorje in a particular historical context. Nowadays, these toponyms make up an important part of the natural and cultural heritage. The research methodology consisted of field work: visiting the site, geomorphological description of the toponym, determining its topographic distribution and photography, interviewing narrators, gathering data from recent sources, analysis and cartography. The analysis concentrates on fairy-related place names, holy *baba* stones, whose ritual function was to ensure fertility and childbirth, *baba* oronyms and hydronyms, and stone *babas*. The Velebit toponymy shows evidence of the survival of Old Slavic cosmological and other mythical perceptions through the examples of fairies and *babas*. These could be

of medieval origin in south Velebit, although archival material – primarily historical cartography – does not offer data from before the eighteenth century. This contribution is an attempt to further knowledge about mythical toponymy in the spatial and historical context of south and southeast Velebit. Since this subject has not been systematically researched, it is not possible to give definitive answers and conclusions, and some questions will remain open for future research requiring an interdisciplinary approach, especially on the onomastic and etymological levels. The paper analyses and interprets folk etymology on the basis of narrative and ritual folk songs. It does not give an onomastic or etymological analysis of the matter.

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Gradivo

Materiali

Material

Elementi slovenstva v odnosu do matične domovine in do latinskoameriške kulture v narativnem gradivu, dokumentiranem pri argentinskih Slovencih

Barbara Ivančič Kutin

Prispevek temelji na enomesečni terenski raziskavi, ki je leta 2019 potekala na treh lokacijah v Argentini med slovenskimi priseljenci in njihovimi potomci z namenom dokumentiranja narativnega gradiva, predvsem slovenske folkore. Večina pripovedovalcev, ki jih je raziskava zajela, so emigranti oz. njihovi potomci, ki so se v Argentino naselili po drugi svetovni vojni kot politični begunci. Ta slovenska skupnost je v novi deželi takoj po prihodu vzpostavila slovenske domove, ki so skrbeli za izobraževanje in gojenje slovenskega jezika in kulture (in s tem identitete) vse do danes. Analiza ugotavlja, kateri elementi slovenstva se v narativnem gradivu najbolj pogosto pojavljajo na nivoju jezika in »tradicionalne« kulture v odnosu do matične domovine Slovenije in do latinskoameriške kulture in katere distinkcije med kulturama so najbolj poudarjene.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovenski emigranti, Argentina, Slovenci, pripovedi, kultura, folklor, identiteta, diaspora

The article is based on a month-long field research conducted on three locations among Slovenians in Argentina in 2019, with the aim of documenting their (folk) narrative material. Most of the Slovenians cooperating as informants in this research are emigrants who settled in Argentina after the Second World War as political refugees, or their descendants. Immediately after arrival, this Slovene community established Slovenian centres called "Slovenian Homes", which took care of the education and cultivation of the Slovenian language and culture (and thus identity), a role they have preserved to this day. The analysis determines which Slovenian elements most often appear in the narrative material at the level of language and "traditional" culture in relation to the native homeland of Slovenia and to Latin American culture, and which distinctions between cultures are most emphasized.

KEYWORDS: Slovenian emigrants, Argentina, Slovenes, narratives, culture, folklore, identity, diaspora.

UVOD¹

Prispevek o elementih slovenstva v odnosu do matične domovine in do latinskoameriške kulture Slovencev v Argentini, kot se kaže skozi njihove pripovedi, temelji na narativnem gradivu, ki je bilo dokumentirano v enomesečni terenski raziskavi oktobra leta 2019 med člani slovenskih skupnosti v Argentini. Pojem »narativno gradivo« vključuje pripovedovanje, to je ubesedovanje zgodb, pri čemer je med drugim pomemben vsaj minimalni fabulativni lok in estetska funkcija, kot tudi pogovor, ki poteka na ravni vsakdanjega govornega posredovanja, npr. spomini, pripovedovanje o delu in načinu življenja itd. (Ivančič Kutin 2017: 66).² Vsebinsko so to folklorni žanri (povedke, anekdote, šaljive pripovedi, izštevanke, molitve, pregovori ...) pa tudi pripovedovanja o svojih lastnih spominih, izkušnjah, pogledih. Po dolžini so pripovedne enote različne – od kratkih izjav, fragmentarnih pripovedi do daljših zgodb.

Namen raziskave je bil pridobiti gradivo za dva etapna cilja: 1) zbrati folklorno in etnografsko gradivo za repozitorij pripovednega izročila Slovencev po svetu, ki nastaja v arhivu Inštituta za Slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU; 2) v dolgoročnejšem načrtu pa je iz dokumentiranega gradiva odbrati predvsem folklorne (deloma tudi spominske) pripovedi, ki bodo izšle v knjigi pri knjižni zbirki Glasovi.

Poleg teh dveh ciljev bo narativno gradivo, pridobljeno pri Slovencih v Argentini, in njegove analize vključeno tudi v argentinsko raziskavo o priseljenki narativni folklori v Argentini, ki jo vodi prof. dr. Maria Ines Palleiro na Univerzi v Buenos Airesu (Palleiro 2021).

SLOVENSKA SKUPNOST V ARGENTINI

Po neuradnih ocenah Urada za Slovence po svetu Republike Slovenije v Južni Ameriki živi več kot 30.000 Slovencev oz. njihovih potomcev, od tega velika večina, v Argentini.³ Prvi Slovenci so se začeli izseljevati v Argentino v drugi polovici 19. stoletja, ko so se na podlagi mednarodnega dogovora med Argentino in Avstro-Ogrsko kot kmetje naselili v provinci Entre Rios. To so bili ekonomski migranti. Tem so se v obdobju med obema svetovnjima vojnama pridružili politični migranti. Tedaj so bila v Argentini ustanovljena prva slovenska združenja pod okriljem različnih političnih taborov, z različnimi kulturno prosvetnimi programi, s političnim udejstvom ter tiskom (Žigon 1998; Žitnik Serafin 2020). Za migrantske tokove do konca druge svetovne vojne je značilno, da niso tako

¹ Ažuriran prevod izvirnega znanstvenega članka »Elements of Slovenian National Consciousness in Relation to the Mother Country and the Latin American Culture in Narrative Materials Documented among Slovenians in Argentina« objavljenega v: *Folkloristika* 6/2 (2021), str. 211–238. Prevod ni povsem identičen izvirniku v angleščini: nekateri krajši odseki so izpuščeni, drugi so dodani.
<http://folkloristics.org/Elements-of-Slovenian-National-Consciousness-in-Relation-to-the-Mother-Country-and-the-Latin-American-Culture-in-Narrative-Materials-Documented-among-Slovenians-in-Argentina.php>

² Za podrobnejše razlike med vsakdanjim govornim posredovanjem in pripovedovanjem gl. Ivančič Kutin 2004.

³ SV 1. <http://www.gov.si/teme/slovinci-v-juzni-ameriki/> (dostop 15. 6. 2021).

organizirano in kontinuirano gojili slovenske identitete kot povojni politični begunci (Žigon 2001). Svoje korenine so njihovi potomci začeli iskati in slovenstvo ponovno odkrivati šele po osamosvojitvi Slovenije leta 1991.⁴ Vzrok za »pozabo« so bile razmere v Argentini – država je tedaj potrebovala argentinske državljane, torej Argentinec ne glede na izvor, zato je bilo poudarjanje druge narodne pripadnosti nezaželeno, celo nevarno. Zakrivanje distinktivnih lastnosti, kot je jezik, je olajšalo integracijo v novo okolje. Raba slovenščine je bila torej omejena na komunikacijo med sorodniki in znanci. Prav nasprotno pa velja za politične begunce, ki so po drugi svetovni vojni v Argentino odšli s t. i. tretjim selitvenim tokom. Zanje je bila nacionalna, torej slovenska, identiteta med najpomembnejšimi vrednotami, zato so jo skrbno negovali in načrtno prenašali na svoje potomce, še zlasti rigorozno v jezikovnem (raba slovenščine) in verskem pogledu, pa tudi na drugih področjih slovenske kulture. Tudi slovenske jedi (npr. potica, kranjska klobasa), simboli (Triglav, slovenska zastava) in slovenska glasba (zborovsko petje ljudskih in umetnih pesmi, zabave s t. i. slovensko narodno-zabavno glasbo) so bili zanje močni etnično-identifikacijski atributi. Ta skupina priseljencev je ustvarila skupnost, ki je v primerjavi s prejšnjima dvema valoma med seboj veliko bolj povezana in organizirana (Molek 2019). Povezanost teh Slovencev ima temelje že iz let pred naselitvijo v Argentini: politični begunci so namreč od konca druge svetovne vojne pa vse do odobritve migracije v Argentino živeli v begunskih taboriščih v Italiji⁵ in Avstriji, kamor so pred režimsko ideologijo, temelječo na komunizmu, iz Jugoslavije pribežali ob koncu 2. svetovne vojne. Ker je bilo med begunci mnogo duhovnikov in drugih intelektualcev, so že v prvih tednih bivanja v taboriščih organizirali šolo, verske in kulturne dejavnosti (Švent 2007; Jaklitsch 2018; Repič 2006). V nekaj letih skupnega bivanja v taboriščih so se med ljudmi, ki so si delili skupno begunsko usodo, stkale trdne vezi, zaradi katerih so takoj po prihodu v Argentino začeli nastajati »slovenski domovi«. Na začetku je bila njihova glavna naloga pomoč novim slovenskim priseljencem, pozneje pa so se osredinili na povezovalno vlogo Slovencev v skrbi za negovanje slovenskih vrednot, ki jih je ta skupnost imela za svoje: jezik, katoliška vera, zaščita in prenašanje slovenstva – slovenske (nacionalne) identitete, pozneje pa so se cilji osredinili na zaščito in prenašanje identitete (Repič 2006:144–150; Molek 2019: 132).

Pripadniki te slovenske skupnosti po letu 1991 intenzivno vzdržujejo stike s Slovenijo v Argentini se že ves čas, odkar so tam, srečujejo pri verskih obredih in ob praznikih, aktivno sodelujejo pri kulturnih dejavnostih, dogodkih in prireditvah in se družijo. Ob sobotah teče pouk slovenskega jezika in slovenske kulture (Molek 2019). Maturanti ob uspešnem zaključku slovenske sobotne šole (obiskujejo jo vso osnovno in srednjo šolo, to je približno 12 let) obišejo Slovenijo in se udeležijo poletne šole slovenskega jezika v Ljubljani. Med mlajšimi generacijami se opaža odmikanje od »tradicionalnih« vzorcev in simbolov slovenstva, kar se npr. kaže tudi v vse večjem številu mešanih zakonov. To ima vpliv na znanje slovenščine, drugačnih, modernejših oblik druženja, zabave,

⁴ Nekateri njihovi potomci se slovenščine učijo na lektoratih slovenščine, ki delujejo na Državni univerzi v Buenos Airesu, La Plati in Cordobi ter na Slovenski katoliški univerzi v Cordobi (gl. Lorbek 2019; Kračun 2019)

⁵ Prvi leta 1947, zadnja skupina pa šele 1954 (Žigon 1998 53).

ustvarjanja (npr. novi glasbeni žanri) ipd. Skupnost je do teh sprememb vse bolj prizanesljiva, saj ne želi, da bi rigorozne zahteve in pričakovanja skupnosti mlade odvrčala od slovenske skupnosti (Molek n. d.). Argentinski Slovenci že od leta 1948 enkrat do dvakrat na mesec izdajajo časopis *Svobodna Slovenija – glasilo Slovencev v Argentini*,⁶ v katerem so obvestila in poročila, novice o dogodkih in dejavnostih slovenskih domov v Argentini, intervjuji in članki z različno vsebino, povzete so izbrane politične, športne, kulturne in druge aktualne novice iz Slovenije. Že več kot tri desetletja lahko Slovenci v Argentini enkrat tedensko v živo spremljajo radijsko oddajo *Okence v Slovenijo*,⁷ ki jo že od začetka vodi in oblikuje radijski voditelj Mirko Vasle; v oddaji se seznanjajo z dogodki v Sloveniji in med Slovenci v Argentini ter v živo ali prek telefonskega posnetka gostijo goste iz Slovenije. Oddaja je dvojezična, v slovenščini in španščini, da doseže tudi poslušalce, ki ne razumejo slovensko (UV 8: 4. 5. 2020).

TERENSKA RAZISKAVA V ARGENTINI

O slovenskih migracijah v Južno Ameriko skozi zgodovino ter o življenju, združenjih, dejavnostih, angažiranju in drugih vidikih tamkajšnje diaspore, še posebej v Argentini, je mogoče brati v številnih objavah s področja migracij v kontekstu (politične) in kulturne zgodovine, socialne in kulturne antropologije, etnologije, sociologije, zgodovinpisja, med katerimi so tudi celostne in z različni zornih kotov poglobljene znanstvene monografije (npr. Žigon 1998 in 2001; Repič 2006; Molek 2019; posebna poglavja tudi v Kalc, Hladnik Milharčič in Lukšič 2020); prav tako je bilo v znanstveni monografiji obdelano njihovo likovno (Toplak 2008) in literarno ustvarjanje (Žitnik in Glušič 1999). Slovenskemu jeziku (živost, raba, identitetni element) pri Slovencih v Južni Ameriki, predvsem Argentini, je precej pozornosti namenil Zvone Žigon (1998), v Braziliji pa je to vprašanje načela Manca Klun (2021). Besedni umetnosti govornega jezika, to je slovstveni folklori (v katero sodijo folklorna proza, folklorni obrazci in folklorna pesem) pa doslej še ni bilo namenjene usmerjene pozornosti,⁸ čeprav je med mnogo objavljenimi raziskavami, ki se opirajo na naracijske tehnike, med katere sodi tudi (avto/biografska) pripoved,⁹ mogoče zaslediti tudi narativno gradivo, ki bi ga lahko opredelili kot folklorno.¹⁰ Prav tako je mogoče najti folklorno gradivo v številnih po tematiki raznovrstnih publikacijah, ki jih izdajajo izseljenci sami v okviru slovenskih domov, Slovenske kulture akcije in drugih

⁶ SV 2: <http://svobodnaslovenija.com.ar/> Poleg tiskane različice je v novejšem času dostopna tudi spletna. Na spletni strani časopisa je dostopen tudi celoten arhiv vseh števil. Prva številka je izšla 1. 1. 1948.

⁷ SV 3: <http://www.okenceslo.com.ar/>

⁸ Prav tako doslej še ni bilo poglobljenih študij o drugih vrstah folklorne (plesni, glasbeni), z izjemo omemb v nekaterih člankih (npr. Kunej in Kunej 2016).

⁹ O biografski metodi na primeru slovenskih izseljencev v Avstralijo gl. Čebulj-Sajko 2001.

¹⁰ Za folklorno gradivo lahko načeloma upoštevamo pripovedi, ki jih informator pripoveduje »iz druge roke« oz. o izročilu, ki je ali je bilo navzoče v družini in drugih socialnih in interesnih skupinah (zgodbe vseh vrst, molitve, izštevank, ugank, in drugi folklorni žanri, v širšem pomenu pa sem sodijo tudi pripovedovanja o osebnih izkušnjah in spomini na različne prakse prenašanja vedenja, manifestacij kulture itd. (Stanonik 2001).

organizacij ter tudi individualno; poleg teh pa je v glasilu Svobodna Slovenija stalna rubrika z naslovom *Za razmislek in nasmeh*, v kateri objavljajo aforizme, citate pregovore, šale ...

Terensko dokumentiranje narativnega gradiva med argentinskimi Slovenci, na katerega se opira tukajšnji prispevek, je potekalo oktobra 2019 v slovenskih skupnostih v mestih Buenos Aires, San Carlos de Bariloche in Mendoza. Sodelovalo je 95 informatorjev. Člani slovenske skupnosti so potomci priseljencev po drugi svetovni vojni (nekateri so se rodili še v Sloveniji), najštevilčnejši so pripadniki druge generacije, nekaj je tudi tretje, številčno manj pa je tistih iz četrte generacije. Sodelujoči informatorji so razen nekaj izjem tekoče govorili slovensko, čeprav se je večina rodila v Argentini; Slovenijo so večinoma prvič obiskali kot odrasli, nekateri pa sploh še niso bili v Sloveniji. Potomcev t. i. staroslovencev iz prvega in drugega migracijskega vala raziskava ni dosegla, razen nekaj posameznikov. Nekaj sem jih srečala na lektoratu za slovenski jezik na univerzi v Buenos Airesu, kjer se učijo slovenščine; od teh sta dva informatorja pripovedovala v angleščini oz. španščini. V okolici Mendoze pa sem opravila pogovor s potomko Slovencev iz Benečije, s katero pa sem komunicirala v italijanščini.¹¹ Informatorje za raziskavo sem pridobivala preko posameznikov, ki so dejavnejše vpeti v društvena dogajanja,¹² ali po javnih predavanjih (na fakulteti in v slovenskih skupnostih), v katerih sem razložila namen pridobivanja gradiva, opisala svoje delo in predvajala posnetke, s katerimi so si potencialni informatorji predstavljali, kaj iščem.

Zbiranje gradiva se priložnostno še vedno nadaljuje ob srečanjih s posamičnimi argentinskimi Slovenci, ki obiščejo Slovenijo ali se vrnejo v domovino; informatorji včasih pošljejo dodatno gradivo na aplikacijo Whatsapp ali e-pošto.

Raziskava je potekala z etnografskimi metodami neposrednega opazovanja z udeležbo in metodo polstrukturiranega usmerjenega narativnega intervjuja (vodenege pogovora). Ta metoda se v okoliščinah, ko vemo, da sogovornika morda ne bomo več imeli priložnost srečati, izkaže kot najbolj ustrezna (Russel 1991: 203, 204, 2015, gl. tudi Žigon 2001: 16, 17); to se je potrdilo tudi v tej raziskavi. Pri dokumentiranju je bila najbolj v pomoč biografska metoda. Pogovori so potekali, kar se da, neformalno, pri čemer je bilo več pozornosti namenjene tistim vsebinam, ki so bile informatorju bližje, ljubše, kar se je izkazalo na mestu samem in sproti. Glavna značilnost teh pogovorov je bila torej improvizacija znotraj široko zastavljenega cilja pridobiti narativno, predvsem folklorno gradivo. Informatorje sem usmerjala v pripovedovanje spominov in slovstvene folklore, predvsem folklornih obrazcev in pripovedne folklore. Pogovori so bili dokumentirani v avdio tehniki, na koncu ali vmes sem naredila fotografijo, na terenu je nastajal terenski dnevnik, v katerega so bila zabeležena sprotna opažanja, seznam vsebin, metapodatki srečanja z informatorji (kraj in čas zapisa, podatki o informatorjih). Intervjuji oz. pogovori z informatorji so potekali individualno, v manjših skupinah znotraj družin, nekajkrat pa sem pogovor vodila v skupini (npr. po predavanjih), kar je bilo še posebej produktivno.

¹¹ Slovenski izseljenci, ki so prišli z območij slovenske manjšine v Italiji, so bili v uradnih registrih vodeni kot italijanski priseljenci (gl. Valentinčič 2017).

¹² Ljudi, ki so mi po svojih močeh pomagali iskati sogovornike, je bilo precej, vsem skupaj se iskreno zahvaljujem za pomoč.

Srečanja, tako skupinska kot individualna, so bila povečini daljša od ene ure. Nekateri udeleženi informatorji so povedali le kratko izštevanko ali vic, spet drugi po več zgodb (gl. tudi Ivančič Kutin 2020b).

Na podlagi lastne izkušnje ob neposredni navzočnosti pri pripovedovanju, iz grafičnih terenskih zapiskov, ki so nastali hkrati s tem, ter iz gradiva, ki je že bilo transkribirano z zvočnih posnetkov, je mogoče podati približno oceno o najbolj zastopanih vsebinah in žanrih dokumentiranega gradiva: med zgodbami prevladujejo spominske pripovedi, velikokrat s socialno tematiko, povezano z zgodovinskim kontekstom (begunstvo), ter pripovedi o slovenskih šegah in navadah tako »doma«, to je v Sloveniji, kot tudi v novi domovini (gl. primere v poglavju z gradivom). Posebno mesto zavzemajo šaljive zgodbe o jezikovnih interferencah / nesporazumih, ki so nastali npr. zaradi pomanjkljivega znanja večinskega jezika. Včasih gre za prvoosebne pripovedi o lastnem doživetju, v veliki večini pa so to zgodbe, ki jih v različnih variantah pozna širša slovenska skupnost, zato sodijo v polje slovstvene folklore.¹³ Medtem ko so spominske pripovedi lahko daljše, pa so folklorna besedila povečini kratka, pogosto fragmentarna. Dolgih zapletenih folklornih besedil ni veliko (za vzorec pa vendarle!), saj je težko že pri prvem (in največkrat edinem) srečanju z informatorjem v zelo kratkem času doseči razpoloženje za pripovedovanje pravljič in povedk. Je pa na drugi strani precej bogata bera folklornih obrazcev, saj se je v kratkih intervjujih najlažje spomniti izštevank, otroških rim, šal, kakega pregovora ali frazema, celo stare molitve.¹⁴ Natančnejšo evalvacijo vsebine, vrste ter količine gradiva bo seveda mogoče podati šele po transkripcijah in analizi vsega gradiva, to je okoli 50 ur (še neobdelanih, torej grobih) zvočnih posnetkov (Ivančič Kutin 2020b).

POGLEDI NA LASTNO IN NA VEČINSKO KULTURO, KI SE ODRAŽAJO V NARATIVNEM GRADIVU

Kulturno identiteto Slovencev v Argentini sestavlja več elementov (nezavedni vedenjski vzorci, hrana, glasba, društveno življenje, jezik), ti se med seboj močno prepletajo in jih je nemogoče obravnavati povsem ločeno (Žigon 1998: 106). Glavni identitetni simbol slovenstva med Slovenci v Argentini, pri katerih je potekala raziskava, je gotovo aktivno znanje slovenskega jezika, to je načeloma tudi njihov prvi jezik, ki so se ga naučili kot otroci. Slovenski jezik je torej tudi danes, tako kot v svoji raziskavi v 90. letih 20. stoletja ugotavlja Zvone Žigon (1998), najvidnejša in najbistvenejša komponenta narodnostne identitete, saj je sredstvo komuniciranja posameznika z zunanjim svetom, izražanja lastnih občutij, dajanje sporočil drugim članom skupnosti (Žigon 1998: 112). Jezik je »orodje« za izražanje mnogih z verbalno komunikacijo povezanih vidikov identitete, kot so različni

¹³ Tovrstne zgodbe so oblikovane tudi v dramsko besedilo z naslovom *Gringo, šaljiv prizor* (avtor je Marjan Willenpart, tipkopis, brez letnice), ki je bilo večkrat uprizorjeno na odrih slovenskih domov v Argentini.

¹⁴ Npr. Povsod je lepo, doma je najlepše. / Podpišem za prmejduš, da mi smo Slovenci. / Eden ne naredi nič. Je treba skupaj narediti vse. / Nadlešku maslu je krave paslu, je reklu be, ne boste mene! / Blagor mu, kdor se poščije, celo noč na mokrem spi. Zjutraj pa, ko sonce sije, se mu v štrozah posuši. Blagor mu, kdor se poserje, celo noč na mehkem spi. Zjutraj pa, ko sonce sije, se mu drek strdi.

segmenti umetniškega (po)ustvarjanja, npr. petje slovenskih pesmi, gledališka dejavnost, literarno ustvarjanje in nenazadnje (folklorno) pripovedovanje.

Žigon (1998) v svoji raziskavi obravnava jezik argentinskih Slovencev glede na generacijo priselitve:

Vsi pripadniki prve generacije političnih izseljencev so ohranili svoj jezik v popolnosti. Po večini so sicer opazne narečne značilnosti, predvsem doljenjskih, deloma gorenjskih in centralnih narečij pa tudi rahla arhaičnost jezika, ki je predvsem posledica izoliranosti od vplivov (srbsčine, hrvaščine, italijanščine, nemščine, predvsem pa angleščine), kakršnim je bila v zadnjih 5 desetletjih izpostavljena Slovenija. /.../ (Žigon 1998: 67).

Za drugo generacijo priseljencev Žigon ugotavlja, da je zanjo značilno vprašanje »dvojnosti« osebne in narodnostne identitete. Primarna socializacija je bila pri tej generaciji slovenska, saj so večino otroštva preživeli v slovenskem okolju, mnogi so se s španščino spoznali šele pri vstopu v malo ali osnovno šolo. Dvojnost njihove narodnostne identitete pa se pokaže ob obisku domovine njihovih staršev, kjer se izkaže, da je njihova narodnostna identiteta vendarle tudi argentinska (tudi zaradi jezika). Za drugo generacijo je namreč značilno specifično »narečje«, ki je zaradi vpliva španskega jezika zelo melodično, včasih z drugačnimi naglasi, tako da je podobno obalnim narečjem z nekaj primesmi gorenjščine in dolenjščine, nekaj težav pa imajo tudi s skladnjo (Žigon 1998: 68, 69). Tretja generacija, kot ugotavlja Žigon, kljub tekočemu govoru slovenščine za medsebojno komunikacijo pogosto uporablja španščino tudi znotraj skupnosti, predvsem pri športnih aktivnostih in zabavi; preklon na slovenski jezik se zgodi, če se približa kdo od slovenskih vzgojiteljev, učiteljev, duhovnikov ali v pogovoru s starejšimi člani skupnosti. Količina besednega zaklada te generacije je odvisna od tega, kolikšno pozornost socializaciji v slovenščini namenjajo ali so namenili njihovi starši. Pri prejšnji generaciji je bila ta sama po sebi umevna, pri starših, ki so bili sami rojeni v Argentini, pa to zahteva bistveno več zavestnega napora (Žigon 1998: 70).

Današnje stanje slovenskega pogovornega jezika, kot ga lahko ugotavljam iz svojega terenskega gradiva 2019, je zelo podobno tistemu, ki ga je pred več kot pred 20 leti opisal Zvone Žigon (1988); toda dodati je treba, da je bila večina informatorjev pričujoče raziskave pripadnikov druge generacije (rojeni po drugi svetovni vojni v Argentini dvema slovenskima staršema). Razen izrazitega romanskega melosa njihova slovenščina ni močno narečno zaznamovana; vsebuje sicer pogovorno besedje, kakršno je značilno tudi za pogovorne različice slovenskega jezika v Sloveniji, opazno manj pa je slengizmov in anglizmov, kakršni so trenutno navzoči v sodobni pogovorni slovenščini v Sloveniji oz. v zamejstvu. Špansko besedje je sprejeto za poimenovanje predmetnosti, ki v slovenskem jeziku niso znana (npr. *mate*, *asado*) ali so jih prvotni slovenski priseljenci še niso poznali od doma *colectivo* (mestni avtobus), *heladera* (hladilnik), *freezer* (zamrzovalnik), *lavarropa* (pralni stroj). T. i. »pravilna« slovenščina je zavestno negovana pri vseh oblikah javnega sporazumevanja, kar je razumljivo, saj le tako lahko jezik, ki predstavlja le otoček znotraj velike večinske kulture in je tisoče kilometrov oddaljen od domovine, deluje povezovalno.

Poleg jezika je pomemben del slovenstva ohranjanje šeg in navad – tako cerkvenega leta kot tudi življenjskega cikla, kulinarike ipd. V sobivanju z drugimi narodi in rabo španskega jezika povsod zunaj slovenske skupnosti je kultura argentinskih Slovencev prepletana z latinskoameriškimi kulturnimi elementi. A skozi pripovedi je mogoče zaznavati bolj ali manj ostro razlikovanje med slovensko in drugo, argentinsko, kulturo. Le-ta je v nekaterih segmentih sprejeta, včasih pa se sogovorniki deklarativno distancirajo od nje, čeprav jo dobro poznajo (npr. razne navade, vraževerje ipd.). Čeprav Slovenci predstavljajo le majhen delež prebivalstva v Argentini,¹⁵ sledove njihove navzočnosti, dejavnosti in kulture najdemo tudi širše – med »drugimi Argentinci« in v fizičnem prostoru (npr. stavbe slovenskih arhitektov, poimenovanja ulic, gora, vidni posamezniki v argentinskih moštvenih in individualnih športih ...).

PRIPOVEDI INFORMATORJEV

Kako se kažejo pogledi na lastno in na večinsko kulturo in identiteto skozi narativno gradivo argentinskih Slovencev, je v nadaljevanju ponazorjeno s konkretnimi pripovedmi; ¹⁶ te so razvrščene v vsebinske sklope, toda le pavšalno, saj se v posamezni pripovedni enoti prav lahko prepletajo elementi, ki bi jih lahko uvrstili tudi v druge vsebinske sklope.

O slovenski identiteti in slovenskem jeziku

Škof Trobec,¹⁷ tudi naša družina izhaja iz njegovega rodu, je znan po enem stavku, ki ga je izrekel v Ljubljani. On je peljal eno skupino Slovencev iz Amerike v Slovenijo na katoliški shod, ki je bil pred prvo vojno. In je rekel: »Slovenija je naša mati, Amerika pa naša nevesta.« To so njegove besede. S tem je povedal, da imamo izseljenci dve ljubezni. Tudi naši otroci imajo dve domovini. Tukaj so se rodili, vsa dediščina je pa iz Slovenije. (UV 6; UV 7)

Ko smo prišli mi v šolo, nismo znali čisto nič po špansko. Pa je učiteljica poklicala očeta v šolo in naročila, da naj z otroki govori špansko. Pa je rekel: »Jaz ne znam, se bodo že v šoli naučili.« (UV 2)

Poglejte, mi smo Slovenci, hrepenimo po Sloveniji. Vsaj jaz, in kot jaz, tudi mnogi drugi /.../ Ko sem prišel prvič v Slovenijo, nisem prišel v tujo deželo, prišel sem v mojo deželo! Sem se *hecal*, pravim: »Dragi moji, a

¹⁵ Ocena za leto 2019: 44.938.712 prebivalcev, od tega 86,4 % Evropejcev (večinoma Italijanov in Špancev), 8 % mesticcev, 4 % Arabcev, Judov in vzhodnoazijskih, 1,6 % Amerindijcev (Spletni vir Wikipedia).

¹⁶ Z izjemo pripovedi sester Ivanke in Francke Trobec ter Jerneja Tomazina, ki so bile objavljene v publikaciji *Domači kraji*, zborniku Občine – Dobrova – Polhov Gradec (gl. Ivančič Kutin 2021), druge narativne enote še niso bile objavljene.

¹⁷ Jakob Trobec (1838–1921), rojen na Logu pri Polhovem Gradcu, misijonar in škof v Minnesoti, ZDA.

tu vsi znate po slovensko? Čestitam!« sem rekel. Ker tukaj je tako: kdor v Argentini zna slovensko in da je še bolj mlad, je za nas *fešta* (praznik, op. B. I. K.). /.../ Ko pridem v Slovenijo, gledam televizijo, madona, pa vse po slovensko! Berem časopise – v slovenščini, ne. In to se je meni zares čudno zdelo takrat, leta 1972, ko sem bil prvič v Sloveniji. Mi smo ... je zelo težko povedati, kaj smo. Znamo slovensko, mi nismo zares ne tukaj ne tam. (UV 8)

Jaz sem največ dobil največ izobrazbe v slovenščini v zavodu, to je bil nekakšen slovenski internat, ki so ga vodili slovenski duhovniki. Dva taka zavoda sta delovala do 70. let 20. stoletja, v okrožju Lanus in Adrogue. V slednjem sem bival celotno srednji šolo, le vsak teden ali na dva tedna sem šel domov. Zavod je imel veliko knjižnico in tam sem bral in študiral in se sam učil. Prej, v osnovni šoli, sem hodil v sobotne šole v slovenskem domu, ampak le 2 leti. Tam učijo slovenščino, zgodovino, zemljepis, tudi literature nekaj. Smo bili še majhni, smo videli razliko: drugi otroci so imeli *fraj* dan, mi Slovenci pa v šoli. Nisem vedel, zakaj to. Ampak danes sem zelo hvaležen staršem in vzgojiteljem. To mi je omogočalo, da vodim slovensko radijsko oddajo. Veš, kaj je to zame? To je moja velika ljubezen. Poleg družine je to moja velika ljubezen. Jaz ne vem, kaj bi delal, če ne bi tega imel. Razumeš? In jaz se trudim, kljub temu, da je to amatersko – to se pravi, kot amater sem profesionalc (*smeh*). Hočem narediti vtis, da je to resna stvar. Da mi ne bi Slovenije osmešili, osramotili. Nasprotno. Da poskušamo pokazati pravo sliko Slovenije. In to vidijo tudi tam (v Sloveniji, op. B. I. K.). Zaradi tega nam pomagajo, mene povsod lepo sprejmejo – od predsednikov do premierov, kulturnikov, športnikov, znanstvenikov ... Z vsemi sem že imel intervju na našem radiu. (UV 8)

Poglejte, mi smo Slovenci, hrepenimo po Sloveniji. Vsaj jaz, in kot jaz, tudi mnogi drugi /.../ Ko sem prišel prvič v Slovenijo, nisem prišel v tujo deželo, prišel sem v mojo deželo! Sem se *hecal*, pravim: »Dragi moji, a tu vsi znate po slovensko? Čestitam!« Ker tukaj je tako: kdor v Argentini zna slovensko in da je še bolj mlad, je za nas *fešta* (praznik, op. B. I. K.). /.../ Ko pridem v Slovenijo, pa gledam televizijo, madona, pa vse po slovensko! Berem časopise – vse v slovenščini! Vse po slovensko, to se nam čudno zdi. In to se je meni zares čudno zdelo takrat, leta 1972, ko sem bil prvič tam. Mi smo ... je zelo težko povedati, kaj smo. Znamo slovensko, mi nismo zares ne tukaj ne tam. (UV 8)

Mladina, ko gre prvič v Slovenijo, jih kar preseneti to, da lahko tam povsod slovensko govorijo, da lahko vse razumejo. Vsi pravijo: »Lepše je, kot ste nam govorili.« V osnovni šoli se učijo slovenščine 7 let, 8 let, pa potem 6 let ali pa 5 let v srednji šoli. Jih učijo o zemljepisu Slovenije,

kažejo jim slike, vse. Marsikdo je rekel ob povratku: »Pa kaj ste vi mislili, da ste zapustili Slovenijo?!« Ampak to je bilo po sili razmer. Veliko, zelo veliko jih gre nazaj. Že drugi, tretji rod. Skupina študentov gre vsako leto tja v Slovenijo in ko se vračajo, mnogi rečejo: »Se vidimo, nasvidenje.« In grejo potem nazaj v Slovenijo. Študirat pa dobijo službe. Pa še kakšna ljubezen se zgodi vmes. (UV 7)

Se spreminja raba in pomen besed, recimo beseda *žiher* ali *ziher*. Mi smo rekli: »Mami, a *žihr* grem drsat, ne?« Zdaj pa otroci uporabljajo besedo *zihr*, na primer, če ti rečeš: »A bomo šli?« »Ja *zihr*.« To pomeni zagotovo. Besedo *zihr* uporabljajo namesto besede *sigurno* ali pa *gotovo*. Ko popravim otroke, naj pravilno govorijo, rečejo: »Mami, ne bodi no tako tečna!« (UV 3)

Tukaj so ljudje zelo verni. In če je kdo rekel pred jedjo namesto »Bog požegnaj« »dober tek«, so dodali: »Imajo zajci.« (UV 8)

Slovenci kot manjšina v latinskoameriškem jezikovnem okolju (jezikovne interference)

Interno se za Argentinec uporabljata beseda domačini. To pomeni zelo splošno Neslovenci, v natančnejšem pomenu pa je to človek temnejše polti, potomec Indijancev, Špancev ali Italijanov. (UV 8)

Ko smo prišli v Argentino smo takoj začeli delati. Nismo pa takoj znali špansko. Vse sorte heci so bili zaradi tega (smeh). Kočarjev Ivan je rekel, da je šel kupit v trgovino budilko, pa ni vedel, kako bi rekel. »Je rekel: „Mañana brrrrr.“ (smeh). Mañana pomeni jutri (smeh). Zjutraj, je hotel reči, da te pokliče, in pravi, da je prodajalka razumela. Zanimiv je ta narod tukaj, ti radi pomagajo. Ja, so zelo prijazni in se trudijo razumeti te. Ti grejo na roko pa ti radi pomagajo. Radi prodajajo (smeh). Radi razumejo, tudi če je narobe. (UV 7)

Isti, Kočarjev Ivan, je pravil, da je šel kupit querosen – petrolej. Petrolej so rabil za kurjavo Pa je rekel corazón, namesto querosen: »Señorita, me da corazón«. Gospodična, mi date srce? „Que te pasa!? – Kaj ti je!?“ Nerodno ji je bilo ... (Smeh). Se je oženil potem, ja, ampak ne s tisto prodajalko. Za poroko je poiskal Slovenko (smeh). (UV 7)

Ta je tudi dobra. So v Sloveniji dobili paket in pismo iz Argentine. V pismu je pisalo: »Sem dal notri v paket to pa to in *nada más*«. *Nada más* pomeni nič drugega. Pa pišejo nazaj: „Vse smo dobili v paketu, samo *nada más* ni bilo nikjer (smeh). (UV 7)

So slovenske besede, ki v pomenijo španščini kaj drugega, kaj grdega. Zato v Argentini veter vedno *vleče*, in ne *piha*. Na to moraš zelo paziti. Ker piha je prostaško rečeno moški spolni organ. (UV 2)

Teta so pa ženske prsi, joške. Da rečeš: »Teta, veter piha!« to je povsem neprimeren stavek, če te Argentinci poslušajo. (UV 8)

Ko so prišli predniki v Argentino, so nekateri znali po italijansko. In so rekli v trgovini, da hočejo *burro*, kot je po italijansko maslo. V španščini pa je *burro* osel. (UV 8)

Tudi so besede, ki se jih je dobro izogniti v Urugvaju ali pa v Čilah ali pa v Kolumbiji. Taka je besed *bunda*, v portugalščini je to prostaška beseda za ženski spolni organ. To se je meni zgodilo, v Sao Paulo, ko sem obiskal teto. Bila sva v mestu, veliko ljudi je bilo okoli. Jaz pa v slovenščini rečem, dovolj naglas, da so se ljudje ozrli: »Teta, *bundo* sem pozabil doma!« Teta ni vedela kam pogledati, tako jo je bilo sram. In potem mi je razložila. (UV 8)

Neka starejša ženska, ki ni znala špansko, je imela kokoši na dvorišču. Pa jih je klicala: »Putá, putá, putá ...!« Sosedje pa so mislili, da njih ozmerja s *puta* – pocestnico (prostaško, kurba, op. B. I. K.). (Več različnih informatorjev)

Neka noseča Slovenka je bila na *kolektivu* (avtobusu, op. B. I. K.), pa šofer rekel: »*Boletos!*« – to je vozovnica. Ona pa: »Ja, seveda, že naslednji mesec!« (UV 2)

Slovenske navade

Slovenske hrane ne pogrešamo, ker doma naredimo vse, kar smo *doma* jedli.¹⁸ Od zelja do kislega zelja, golaža, praženega krompirja, svaljkov, sirovih štrukljev, klobas in tako dalje. /.../ Zelje tukaj delajo Slovenci. Imamo tudi mesarja Slovenca – Franci Miklavc dela klobase, krvavice in druge dobrote. Upravlja bar ali restavracijo v Slomškovem domu in prodaja za vse Slovenske domove – ponuja krvavice, pečenice, kranjske klobase. Zdaj pripravlja še *lomo* – to je svinjsko stegno prekajeno, nekakšen pršut. Zdaj je začel. Prašiče pa kupi na drobno. Klobase dela, ko je še zima. Potem jih pa v *frizer* (zamrzovalnik, op. B. I. K.), v skrinjo da na led in se še poleti dobijo. Ni treba prej naročiti, ima zmeraj na razpolago, da kupimo.

¹⁸ Informatoriki sta se priselili v Argentino po osnovni šoli, leta 1954. Še vedno, ko govorita o Sloveniji, uporabita besedo »doma«.

On že ve, kaj je treba pripraviti, kakšne stvari ljudje kupujejo. »Vilim« pa je mesarsko podjetje, ki dela na veliko tudi za slovenske odjemalce. (UV 7)

Od starih navad pa imamo tudi tukaj še kaj. Jaz imam tukaj ohranjene navade o božiču. Na primer, da kropimo notri vse po stanovanju pa okrog hiše. Ja, pokropimo in pokadimo. Vse prostore. Zraven molimo Rožni venec. Pri jaslicah pa končamo ta Rožni venec. In vsi člani družine sodelujejo v procesiji. (UV 6)

Skupina Slovencev je živela v Churuki, bilo je okoli dvajset slovenskih družin in smo imeli slovenske navade, na primer Marijo smo za devetdnevnic¹⁹ pred Božičem nosili od hiše do hiše. In imam pesmi, ki smo peli, ko smo sprejemali v hišo Marijo. Lepa navada je bila, dokler je bilo več družin, zdaj so samo še kake tri ali štiri družine. (UV 5)

Slovenski pogled na argentinsko kulturo

Pijete *mate*? – Ga pijemo, če gremo recimo h hčerki, naredi *mate* in ga pijemo, ampak naša navada ni. Kakšni Slovenci ga pijejo. Tudi mi, če ga ponudijo, doma zase pa nikoli ne kuhamo. Ni to naša navada. Ko prvič vidiš, kako tu pijejo *mate*, si začuden, gledaš pa se jim smejiš, potem se pa tudi sam navadiš. Slovenci so se veliko navadili *mate* piti. Meni se nikoli ni zdel zlo privlačna pijača. Je pa to zelo družabno. Skodelica je narejena iz bučke, zraven je slamica *bombilla* in to gre naokoli od ust do ust – ne da bi se kaj obrisalo. Krop sam uniči bacile. To je družabna zadeva, *mate* povezuje družbo. Papež²⁰ pije *mate*. Mladina, ko se zbere skupaj ali gre na izlet, se usedejo v krog in si podajajo *mate*. Zdaj majo nekateri že termovke, da *mate* kar s sabo nosijo. V Urugvaju še bolj kot v Argentini. (UV 7)

Asado, to je pečenje mesa po argentinsko, to pa smo sprejeli. Tudi ženske se tega lotijo, ne le moški. Eni pravijo, da ni najbolj zdravo. Dobro pa je. Ne sme biti zažgan. Nekateri trdijo, da pečenje na oglju škoduje zdravju. Ampak narod tukaj že stoletja tako dela. Mi pa ne prav pogosto. Samo, kadar se nas več zbere, družine, prijatelji. Imamo več receptov in se kar dobro speče. Naredimo tudi čevapčiče. Te poznajo tudi domačini, ampak malo drugače. (UV7; UV6)

Tukaj imajo to vražo: na 29. v mesecu moraš pod krožnik njokov dati denar, da ti prinese srečo, pravijo. Mirtha Legrand, zelo fina gospa, znana

¹⁹ Nekdaj pri Slovencih zelo priljubljena Ljudska pobožnost, ko 9 dni pred božičem nosijo kip ali sliko device Marije od hiše do hiše, molijo in pojejo.

²⁰ Mišljen je aktualni papež Frančišek, ki prihaja iz Argentine.

voditeljica na televiziji, to vedno pravi. Ima že 93 let, pa ima še vedno dvakrat na teden program na televiziji. Ima nekaj gostov v oddaji, vse lepo fino, vse lepo postreženo, ko jejo. In pravi: »Denar pa dajte pod krožnik, da vam prinese srečo! » Je pa tako, da 29. je že konec meseca, zato denarja primanjkuje, pa mora biti poceni hrana, ne meso ... (UV 7)

Tu v Argentini in tudi v Braziliji na križišča večkrat prinesejo kakšne škatle ali pladnje, na njih pa dve čaši, steklenica pa kakšna sveča, kdaj tudi hrana, piščanec. Pravijo, da to so makumbas. To postavijo vedno na križišče, kraj, kjer se ceste križajo. Vem, ker mi mammo hišo na križišču in večkrat vidim tako stvar. Ampak tega ne počnejo Slovenci, samo Argentinci. (UV 4)

Difunta Correa je pa kot nekakšna svetnica. To je bilo ne vem točno v katerem stoletju, tisoč osemsto mogoče. Mož je bil v vojski, ona pa je z dojenčkom bežala v provinci San Juan, kjer je zelo puščavsko, pa je ženska od lakote in žeje umrla. Ko so jo našli, je bil otrok še živ, je pil mleko od mrtve matere nekaj dni. In to so ljudje meli za čudež, in to imajo kot za nekakšno svetnico. In vse tiste platenke z vodo so zanjo, da ne bi bila žejna. To je popularna religioznost. Kjer ob cesti vidiš kupe platenk, je sigurno za Difunto Correo. (UV 1)

Prepoznavnost in sledovi navzočnosti Slovencev v Argentini

Kaj je slovenskega med Argentinci? Žene mnogih Slovencev, ki so domačinke (Neslovenke, op. B. I. K.), znajo speči potico pa tudi kakšno drugo slovensko jed pripravijo. Pred leti sem pel pri slovenskem zboru Karantania, kjer smo peli večinoma slovenske pesmi. Spomnim se, da je nek argentinski zbor pel znano slovensko pesem. Slišali so, da smo jo mi zapeli in jim je bila všeč, pa so vodjo zbora prosil za note. Potem so jo tudi oni dolgo prepevali. Pesem se imenuje Mlatiči. (UV 8, 1. 5. 2020)

Profesionalni argentinski kvartet Opus4 ima na koncertih pesem *Pleničke je prala*. Bili so celo v Sloveniji, z mojim bratom na turneji.²¹ (UV 8)

Slovenci veljajo za športno velesilo. Veliko je člankov v argentinskem časopisju o uspehih slovenskih športnikov. Pred kratkim kje bilo o plezalki Janji Garnbret, kolesarstvu – Primož Roglič, Tadej Pogačar sta znana tudi med Argentinci. Pa Lučka Bregar, argentinska Slovenka, je trenerka ženske odbojarske ekipe Barcelona. Barcelona je klub, ki v športu ogromno pomeni, Argentinci se zelo zanimajo za šport. (UV 8)

²¹ Juan Vasle (*1954), operni in koncertni pevec, basbaritonist in novinar.

Tukaj je rokometaš Andrej Kogovšek, ki je še aktiven, ima 43 let. To je bil eden največjih argentinskih rokometašev. Po njem se imenuje rokometni turnir v provinci Santa Fe: *Torneo Andres Kogovšek*. (UV 8)

V Barilochah je *Lago Tonček*, jezero z imenom Tonček. Spomin na Tončka Pangerca,²² ki se je ubil tam v hribih. Tudi Tomaž Kralj pa Božo Vivod sta ostala za vedno v hribih, ko sta leta 1967 ali 1968 plezala na Tronador, to je najvišji vrh v okolici mesta Bariloche. Tam je tudi ena špica, ki se imenuje Campanile Esloveno (*Slovenski zvonik*). Koča pa se imenuje *Podskalca*. V Buenos Airesu je cesta, ki se imenuje *Slovenija – Eslovenia*, prav tu v mestu Buenos Aires. V predelu Castelar pa je ulica, ki se imenuje *Slovenija – Eslovenia*. Pa tudi v provinci Entre Rios, v glavnem mestu Parana je ulica Villa Eslovena. (UV 8)

SKLEP

Jezik ima v življenju posameznika in določene skupine ljudi več vlog. Poleg komunikacije, medsebojnega sporazumevanja in vplivanja je ena do pomembnejših vlog identifikacija, ki izraža posameznikovo osebno, kulturno, etnično, socialno in vsakršno drugo identiteto (Šabec 2002: 7; Gomezel Mikolič 2000: 180; Žigon 1998). Govorjeni jezik je tudi primarno »orodje« za prenos slovstvene folklorne in drugih pripovedi, posredovanih v ustni komunikaciji (Stanonik 2001); v folkloristiki je pripoved rezultat folklornega dogodka v živo, ki je sestavljen iz treh enakovrednih in med seboj prepletajočih se sestavin: teksta (ubeseditve), konteksta (okolščine, povezane z pripovedovalcem, naslovnikom, besedilom ...) in teksture (način pripovedovanja) (Dundes 1980 : 20–32). Zgodbe, ki se pripovedujejo (ali pojejo) niso torej nikoli avtonomne, pač pa so vselej odvisne od kulturnega vidika pripovedi; zgodba neprestano sprejema in prenaša nove kulturne pomene: vse, kar so ljudje sovražili, dopuščali, česa so se bali in kaj so si predstavljali, je mogoče razbrati v njihovih zgodbah. Zgodbe, ki jih ljudje pripovedujejo (ali pojejo), niso nikoli avtonomne, temveč so prepletene s kulturo in pripovednim kontekstom; upoštevanje kulturnih vidikov pripovedi oz. interakcije kulture in pripovedovanja je v folkloristiki med temeljnimi vodili (Rieuwerts 2017: 69, 70).

Gradivo, ki je predstavljeno v tukajšnjem prispevku, izraža jezikovno razsežnost že s tem, da so informatorji pripovedovali v slovenskem jeziku. Vsebina pripovedi odstira razmerja in poglede na svojo lastno kulturo in na kulturo »drugih«, pri čemer je mogoče zaznavati dokaj ostro razlikovanje med slovensko in »tujjo«, tj. argentinsko, latinskoameriško kulturo. Le-ta je v nekaterih segmentih sprejeta, včasih pa se sogovorniki deklarativno distancirajo od nje, čeprav jo dobro poznajo (npr. razne navade, vraževerje ipd.). Čeprav Slovenci predstavljajo le majhen delež prebivalstva v Argentini, sledove in spomenike njihove navzočnosti, dejavnosti in kulture najdemo v fizičnem prostoru

²² Tonček Pangerc (1925–1954), alpinist, rojen na Bledu, po 2. svetovni vojni emigriral v Argentino.

Argentine (stavbe slovenskih arhitektov, poimenovanja ulic, gora, vidni posamezniki v argentinskih moštvenih in individualnih športih ...), s tem pa tudi v pojmovnem svetu »drugih«, torej večine.

Kljub različnim raziskovalnim interesom in lastno metodologijo dokumentiranja in analiz gradiva imajo vede, ki se ukvarjajo z govorjenim diskurzom in njegovo vsebino (folkloristika, etnologija, kulturna in socialna antropologija, jezikoslovje, predvsem dialektologija in sociolingvistika, ter mnoge druge humanistične študije), pomembno stičišče – terensko gradivo iz ust informatorja.²³ Pri raziskovanju manjšinskih kultur, še posebej, če gre za oddaljene skupnosti in je dostopnost do terena omejena že zaradi logističnega in finančnega zalogaja, je objavljanje gradiva in s tem dostopnosti informacij ter sodelovanje med strokami in posameznimi raziskovalci še toliko bolj pomembno.²⁴

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²⁴ Za raziskavo priseljske folklore v Argentini, katere del je tudi slovenska, ter za knjižno izdajo folklornih in spominskih pripovedi Slovencev v Južni Ameriki, ki je načrtovana pri zbirki Glasovi, bi bilo gradivo drugih raziskovalcev in skupnosti same nadvse dobrodošlo! Še posebej to velja za daljša folklorna besedila, kot so pravlјice, povedke vseh vrst, saj je le-te pri časovno omejenih čezoceanskih terenskih obiskih in posledično premalo časa, ki je namenjen posameznim informatorjem in skupinam, izredno težko dokumentirati.

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ELEMENTS OF SLOVENIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN
RELATION TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY AND THE LATIN AMERICAN
CULTURE IN NARRATIVE MATERIALS DOCUMENTED AMONG
SLOVENIANS IN ARGENTINA

BARBARA IVANČIČ KUTIN



Language plays several roles in the life of the individual and of particular social groups. It is a factor of identification, expressing the individual's personal cultural, ethnic, social and any other identity (Šabec 2002: 7), and a means of communication, interpersonal interaction and influence (Gomezal Mikolič 2000: 180; Žigon 1998). Spoken language is the primary "tool" for the transfer of oral folklore and other storytelling matter transmitted through verbal communication (Stanonik 2001). In folkloristics, the narrative can be a result of the folk event transpiring in real time, composed of three intertwining and equally impactful components: text (vocalization), context (circumstances relating to the narrator, audience, text...), and texture (manner of storytelling) (Dundes 1980: 20–32). Stories being narrated (or sung) are thus never autonomous but always depend on the cultural aspect of the narrative in interaction with culture and narration; the story constantly absorbs and transmits new cultural meanings, since no matter what moves the people of a particular culture, whatever they might have hated, allowed, feared or imagined, all this is reflected within their narrative matter. (Folk) narratives thus aren't just

stories, and so folklorists also engage with the cultural aspects of storytelling, the mutual interaction between culture and storytelling. (Rieuwerts 2017: 69, 70).

The material presented in this paper expresses the linguistic dimension already in the fact that the informants narrated in Slovene. The content of the narratives reveals relationships and perspectives on one's own culture and on the culture of "others". In this respect, a rather sharp distinction can be perceived between Slovenian and "foreign", i.e. Argentinean, Latin American culture. The foreign culture is accepted in some segments, but sometimes the informants declaratively distance themselves from it, even though they know it well (e.g. various customs, superstitions, etc.). Although Slovenians represent only a small proportion of the population in Argentina, traces and monuments of their presence, activity and culture can be found in the physical space of Argentina (buildings created by Slovenian architects, street names, mountain names, prominent individuals in Argentine team and individual sports, etc.), and thus also in the conceptual world of the "others", i.e. the majority.

Despite different research interests and specific respective methodologies of documenting and analysing materials, the disciplines addressing spoken discourse and its content (folkloristics, ethnology, cultural and social anthropology, linguistics, especially dialectology and sociolinguistics, and many other humanities) exhibit a vital meeting point of contact - field materials from the oral storytelling of informants. In the study of minority cultures, especially remote communities to which access is limited for logistical and financial reasons alone, the publication of materials and the associated accessibility of information, as well as collaboration among professional communities and individual researchers, is even more important.

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Recenzije in
poročila o knjigah

Recensioni
di libri

Book
reviews

MAREK TAMM, PEETER TOROP (EDS.),
THE COMPANION TO JURI LOTMAN. A
SEMIOTIC THEORY OF CULTURE. LONDON,
 NEW YORK: BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC, 2022,
 534 PAGES.

The Companion was published last year when centenary celebrations of Lotman's birth were taking place in Estonia and around the world. It can be considered one of the most significant publications on Juri Lotman's work to appear in recent years. The two co-editors, Marek Tamm and Peeter Torop, are renowned and established Estonian scholars who have made it their mission to bring together the diverse voices of researchers, influenced to one degree or another by the semiotician's academic legacy. As they themselves write: "This is the very first attempt to offer a collective, systematic and interdisciplinary approach to Lotman's intellectual legacy, bringing together forty-three scholars from thirteen countries" (2). Since the limitations of this text do not allow us to thoroughly present each author's point of view, this brief overview of the work in question will highlight only a few selected aspects that can give the reader a basic insight into its structure and main aims, as well as the context of its creation.

The aforementioned commemoration of Lotman's centenary was international in character at all levels, and was aimed primarily at the West. The Companion is no different in this respect, and it is why English was chosen as the language of publication. This ensures readers can consistently follow the thoughts of individual authors through Lotman's works translated into English. References to his English articles and monographs are used throughout the work wherever possible. This strategy,

which gives the Companion a special status within the Lotmaniana, is also extended in the form of a remarkable bibliography by Remo Gramigna. The bibliography covers English-language publications by and about Lotman, and contains a total of 404 entries, 148 of which are Lotman's writings published in English between 1973 and 2020. This provides a solid foundation for communicating Lotman's ideas abroad, and allows some gaps to be filled and his achievements to be even more visible in the eyes of an international academic audience.

The editorial principles for structuring the content are already set out by the co-editors in the introduction, namely that the Companion is divided into three main thematic sections through which the reader can progress step by step in exploring the "Lotmanian semiosphere". Beginning with a brief biographical sketch, the first part of the book places Lotman's work in the context of the traditions of various schools of thought and sheds light on his predecessors. The second part narrows the focus to Lotman's basic theoretical concepts, while the third part presents various contemporary approaches to his semiotics in different academic disciplines.

In addition to the above-mentioned editorial structuring of the work and its adjustment to the international field, and the transdisciplinary knitting of semiotic connections between disciplines that are, at first glance, quite different in their object of research, the work is also an important attempt to cover the period following Lotman's death and all that has taken place in semiotics in connection with his legacy. In doing so, we aim at the points where the conception of his work has changed the most. This is inextricably linked to the actualisation of the research questions Lotman himself

had already posed, and their illumination from contemporary disciplinary perspectives. The intergenerational character of the Companion is also particularly noteworthy, as the authors range from representatives of the older generation of semioticians to authors who are still at the very beginning of their academic careers. The openness of Lotman's work and the dialogical potential of his intellectual legacy support the bridging not only of disciplinary but also of generational boundaries, and allow the authors to introduce themselves and their work within semiotics, even though they focus relatively narrowly on segments of Lotman's theoretical framework. In other words, it is impossible to introduce Lotman's work without the authors also introducing their own, due to their conceptual interconnectedness. This points to a common denominator that is explicitly or implicitly present in most of the Companion's texts – the orientation towards the future that poses questions, which this work seeks to answer. How can the tradition of Lotmanian thought be continued and semiotics further developed on the foundations of the Tartu-Moscow School? The third part of the book offers a variety of answers to this question.

The Companion is to be understood as a selection or a compendium, and since selection implies exclusion, there are parts that leave us wanting. Just as context was crucial for Lotman, so it must be for the reader of the Companion. Its publication was limited by time constraints, the selection and coordination of individual chapters and their authors, cancellations, and other minor setbacks, but the result is nevertheless an exemplary work. The condensed format of the volume, and the remarkable conciseness of the chapters in terms of content (and consequently form), have certainly played

an important role in making the volume manageable not only for the editors but also for the readers. This is especially welcome for beginners who want to familiarise themselves with Lotman's work and have access to condensed information in one place – the book provides them with a map and compass with which to effectively navigate the Lotmanian semiosphere.

So what has been omitted? What may the reader expect and not find? In the Slovenian context, Lotman is particularly well known among researchers in the field of Russian studies, who would have expected a section on certain periods of Russian literature or authors (e.g. Pushkin, Dostoevsky), particularities in Russian cultural history, and a more detailed treatment of certain concepts (e.g. the "minus device"). I would have expected a chapter highlighting the applicability of Lotman's theoretical concepts in the field of folklore studies. However, these wishes should not be misunderstood as criticisms, for the Companion fulfils its intended role and is aimed at a wide range of readers, from experts to beginners. This publication, dedicated to an individual who left a deep mark in many areas, will certainly not be the last project of its kind.

The reception of such multifaceted publications may be compared to seeds that sprout only where the soil allows, and yet there is also barren soil from which seeds unexpectedly sprout. This is the beauty of works that dare bring together a variety of viewpoints and different research directions in contemporary scholarship – in this case they draw from the same source. This is particularly important in the case of the Slovenian reception and gives hope that these ideas, although not new, may be rediscovered in certain research spheres, and that something new may emerge from

them. The Companion will help researchers better conceptualise, understand and reflect on their own work – at least the part that draws on Lotman. Knowing him will help us better understand our work and the dynamics between them. We may well conclude that although Lotman’s work is not a unified doctrine but reflects a particular way of thinking, the Companion fulfils the role it plays as a unique tribute to this semiotic way of thinking.

Rok Mrvič, Ljubljana

**SUZANA MARJANIĆ, MITOVI I RE/
KONSTRUKCIJE: TRAGOM NODILOVE “STARE
VJERE” SRBA I HRVATA.** ZAGREB: INSTITUT
ZA ETNOLOGIJU I FOLKLORISTIKU, 2022, 559
STRANA.

Osnovni predmet studije Suzane Marjanić *Mitovi i re/konstrukcije: tragom Nodilove “stare vjere” Srba i Hrvata* jeste znamenita knjiga Natka Nodila *Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata* (objavljivana najpre pod naslovom *Religija Srba i Hrvata, na glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog*) (1885–1890), prva rasprava o hrvatskoj i srpskoj (južnoslovenskoj) mitologiji. Ona se, kako ističe autorka, tematski može podeliti na dve veće celine – na vidovnu/solarnu mitologiju, i na studije o Gromovniku (Perunu), Ognju, vilama (meteorološka mitologija), religiju groba (antropologija smrti) i Mesečevu (lunarnu) mitologiju, i tu strukturu prati knjiga koja je pred nama. Sastoji se od uvodnog (Mitski uvodnik: Nodilova re/konstrukcija „stare vjere“ Srba i Hrvata) i još dvanaest poglavlja, koja se nižu sledećim redom: I. Mitsko u epskom ili božansko u ljudskom i svetačkom; II. Religija nebesnoga vidila; III. (Dijadna) boginja i duoteizam; IV. Temeljni mitski agon: Svantevid i njegov polionimijski protivnik; V. Blizanačka (embriološka) mitologija: dijada i trijada astralne mitologije; VI. O Suncu, ali bez prvenstva solarne mitološke teorije: noćna trilogija Sunca; VII. Solarna heptalogija i dodekalogija vs. vučja historija; VIII. Hod Sunca kroz godinu: ep o dodekalogiji; IX. Nodilova munjevana teorija: (feminina) aždaja i (maskulini) zmaj; X. Vatra kao domovina smrti u Nodilovoj Religiji groba; XI. Lunarna mitologija; XII. Autotematizacijsko traganje za zaključnom sintezom o Nodilovoj re/konstrukciji srpsko-hrvatske/hrvatsko-srpske mitologije, te obimnog spiska

literature, Kazala slavenskih i baltičkih teonima, zoomorfnih epikleza i fitonima, Imenskog kazala, apstrakta na engleskom i beleške o autorki.

U uvodnim poglavljima Suzana Marjanić kontekstualizuje Nodilovo pregnuće, s jedne strane, u političko-ideološkim okvirima (razgraničavajući polja istorijskih divergencija, ali i zajedničkih drevnih ishodišta kultura dvaju etnosa), a s druge, u okvirima savremenih naučnih paradigmi. Ona ističe kako se Nodilova metodologija zasniva na tada aktuelnoj filozofiji prirode (Naturphilosophie), što je smer koji je prirodne pojave i sile tumačio u alegorijskom ključu. Primarni izvor na kome Nodilo zasniva svoju rekonstrukciju južnoslovenskog panteona jeste Helmoldova *Chronica Slavorum* (oko 1170), na osnovu koje uspostavlja arkonskog Svantevida kao južnoslovensko vrhovno božanstvo, uparujući ga sa polapskom Živom, kao vrhovnom slovenskom boginjom. Na osnovu sporadičnih istorijskih svedočanstava i širokog komparativnog mitološkog materijala (vedska, iranska, skandinavska, grčka, rimska, baltička, germanska itd. mitologija i tradicija) Nodilo je, kako pokazuje autorka, indukovao „vlastitu hibridnu mitološku teoriju – vidovni mitologizam“. Letnja i dnevna figuracija vrhovnog slovenskog božanstva jeste Vid, a zimska i noćna – Veles (oslabljeni Svantevidov aspekt), čime Nodilo „inicira binomno vrhovno božanstvo Srba i Hrvata (Vid – Veles)“. Analogan biformizam Nodilo uspostavlja i kada je reč o vrhovnom ženskom božanstvu re/konstruišući „dijadnu boginju“ – vlažnu celestijalnu Vidu i suvu terestijalnu Živu, za šta potvrdu nalazi, primera radi, u zagonetkama o dve gospe – gde donja poručuje gornjoj „prolij tvoje zlatne suze, e umriješ od crne suše“. Pritom, teonim u značenju ostarele boginje Nodilo, kako pokazuje Suzana Marjanić, pronalazi

u narodnom imenu za Orion – Babini štapi, Babina štapka, za vreme (bablja zima, bablje/babino leto, babini jarci), te fitonimima (babina dušica, visibaba) i toponimima (Babino jezero, Babino polje, Babin dub, Babin lug). Centralnoj mitološkoj figuri u Nodilovoj rekonstrukciji opozitan je Crnobog (sa izmorfnim likovima Troglava/troglava, Balačka vojvode, troglavog Arapina).

Autorka ukazuje na činjenicu da je Nodilo razlikovao više aspekata Svantevida – njegovu vegetacijsku i ratničku funkciju, te figuriranje kao božanstva plodnosti i potentnosti – i, shodno tome, na njegovu disperzivnu nominaciju: Svarog, Veles, Rujevid, Porevid, Porenut, Pripegala. U Nodilovom sistemu, pokazuje Suzana Marjanić, Veles figurira kao Svantevidov ostareli aspekt koji „označava slabljenje vidne moći u dnevnom i godišnjem ciklusu ostarjeloga Vida“, zbog čega se ikonografski predstavlja kao jednook ili slep; Svarogovo ime aktivira se u trenutku kada Nodilo „od vidovne mitologije kreće na određivanje prototeizma (kult materijalnoga neba); riječ je o genealogiji u kojoj kao Svantevidov/ Svarogov sin figurira Sunce (Dabog, Dažbog, Svarožić)“; zbog njegovih sedam lica, Rujevid figurira u okviru Nodilove solarne heptalogije; Porevid (s pet glava) i Porenut (s pet lica, od kojih je peto bilo utisnuto na prsima) akteri su priče o Sunčevim hipostazama u okviru solarne heptalogije; Pripegala je, najzad, otelovljenje božjeg prijapizma. Shodno tome, postoje i paralelne genealogije: u jednoj „centralno mjesto pripada Vidovim sinovima/blizancima – indoeuropskim konjanicima (Jakšići: blizanački mitem) i njihovoj sestri Zori, koji ostvaruju incestnu kozmogonijsku hijerogamiju, a u drugoj genealogiji (u kojoj Svantevid figurira kao Svarog) dominira Sunce koje ima brata Mjeseca i sestru Danicu“. Na

sličan način, pokazuje Suzana Marjanić, Nodilo „račvanjem vlastite interpretatio multiplex vrluda u okviru“ polionimije vrhovnog ženskog božanstva: „nebesna Vida/Lelja/Živa/Zemlja/Zora“, čemu se mogu dodati i obredno-običajne i folklorne konceptualizacije mitske figure u obličju Kolede, Vare, Babe Zlate (Baba od Zlata, Baba Zlatna), Petke, Grozde.

Osnovni materijal na kome Nodilo indukuje svoju teoriju jesu epske pesme (delom i lirske i pripovetke), mada, pokazuje Suzana Marjanić, za mitologiju fundamentalnim smatra tri žanra: epske pesme i himnu, koji su se izvorno kazivali u sveto vreme, te priču, koja se pozicionira u okviru profanoga. Nodilo se pogotovo interesuje za one pesme koje određuje kao „neistorijske“ (što će reći, one s najarhaičnijim motivima i junacima čiji su istorijski prototipi najudaljeniji u vremenu, ili, rečima Vuka Karadžića – „pjesme junačke najstarije“), za koje pretpostavlja da su inicijalno opevale božanske podvige i slovile kao pravi mitovi. U njegovom vidokrugu našao se čitav spektar ključnih epskih figura koje otelovljuju određene aspekte njegove kompleksne mitološke rekonstrukcije. Obraćajući pažnju na teme vernog psa, čudesnog mača, neverstva žene, kao i na etimologiju, Nodilo izdvaja Jakšu, Voina i Banović Strahinju kao Svantevidove epske hipostaze. Nodilo u okvirima rekonstrukcije solarne mitologije interpretira čitav niz epskih likova, koji, prema njegovim nalazima, reflektuju različite aspekte vrhovnog božanstva u okviru dnevnog i godišnjeg ciklusa.

Među njima izdvaja se narativ o božanskim blizanicima, sa centralnim scenariom u okviru kojeg Nodilo izdvaja „dva konja, dva mača, dva hrta, požarni prizor, večernje okamenjivanje i jutarnje uskrснуće“. Pomoću mita o blizancima Nodilo je „interpretirao

uzlaznu putanju/evoluciju i silaznu putanju/involuciju Sunca, sliku jutarnjega i večernjega Sunca. Dualistička (dihotomijska) kozmologija izvire iz prirodnoga dualizma podneblja s dva oštro razgraničena godišnja (zimске i ljetne svetkovine) i dnevna (dan – noć) doba, u okviru čega je znakovito da su Blizanci treći zodijakalni znak koji prethodi ljetnom solsticiju“. U južnoslovenskoj epskoj tradiciji vezuje ga za braću Jakšiće. Posebno mesto zauzima kalendarski godišnji dodekaloški mit koji Nodilo vezuje za vojvodu Kaicu, odnosno dvanaest vojvoda Sibirjanin Janka, gde junaci poimence predstavljaju mesece u godini (Kaica Radonja, Vuk Dojčetić, Rajko/Boško Rajčević, Stojan „Stepojev sin“, Jovica Resavac, Golemović Đuro, Pavle Orlović, Rado-beg Mijajlo, Grčić Manojlo, Oblačić Rade), s Kaicom kao decembrom, zbog čega u epskom narativu i strada i biva oplakan junačkom tužbalicom. U okviru „meteorološke teorije“ figuriraju Jug i Jugovići, čiju nominaciju vezuje za toplu stranu sveta i topao vetar, a koji „figuriraju kao solarna i `vjetrena braća“.

Na pola puta između božanskih i epskih figuracija jesu sveci, o kojima Nodilo u više navrata piše kao o hristijanizovanim projekcijama slovenskih „olimpljana“. Iako se pominju u velikom broju, ključne pozicije u Nodilovoj rekonstrukciji, pokazuje Suzana Marjanić, imaju – očekivano – sv. Đorđe / sv. Juraj, kao refleks prolećnog vegetacijskog Vidovog/Santovidovog aspekta i kao naslednik domena protagoniste u arhetipskom sukobu Gromovnika i aždaje; sv. Nikola, koji prema Nodilu na kraju kosmičke godine zamenjuje ostarjelog Vida/Velesa i vezuje se, pored vode, i za Arbor Mundi; a u istorijsko-hrišćanskom ključu i sv. Vlah, legendarni zaštitnik Dubrovnika, u vezi s kim je analiziran niz istorijskih svedočanstava i folklornih narativa (Nodilo

ga interpretira kao hrišćansku alternativu boga Velesa/Vida).

Pristupajući akribično slojevitoj i kompleksnoj Nodilovoj knjizi, autorka ističe da njegova mitološka teorija nije samo solarna, „kako su je neki znanstvenici atribuirali“, apostrofirajući više puta Nodilov mitološki credo: „Pokretači vjere arijske valjda su, zajedno, i sunce, i munja, i vidilo, i oganj, i djedovi upokojeni“. Ovo argumentuje temeljitim osvrtima na Nodilovu konceptualizaciju Gromovnika (munja, zmaj, aždaja, arhetipski sukob), njegovo sagledavanje elemenata i uloge kulta predaka, te na njegovu „lunarnu mitologiju“. Suzana Marjanić ističe da se u Nodilovom sistemu neraskidivo sustiču solarni i predački kult, jer su „običaji iz solarnoga kulta povezani s kultom prirode i kultom predaka. Dnevno Sunce svake večeri, kao smrtonosni psihopomp i inicijatički hijerofant, silazi u carstvo mrtvih kamo sa sobom može povući (descensus) i čovjeka.“ U okviru „religije groba“ izdvaja se obred slave, odnosno proslavljanja krsnog imena, koji sadrži brojne elemente kulta mrtvih: u zdravicama i slavskim molitvama pominju se domaći pokojnici, a slavske „žrtve“ (panspermija) analogne su onima kod daća i pogreba. Suzana Marjanić dalje u tekstu zaključuje da je „propitivanje vokabulara religije groba Nodilu omogućilo određeno teorijsko pomirenje naturizma i animizma, teorije koja izvorište religije pronalazi u strahu od prirodnih fenomena (naturizam, mitologija prirode) i teorije koja izvorište religije pronalazi u animizmu (Edward Burnett Tylor)“. Ona ističe da Nodilo kreće u rekonstrukciju religije groba od pojma duše, da potencira njenu „neumrlost“ (za razliku od tela podložnog raspadanju), da je razlikuje od daha i duha, ali da poslednji termin ne definiše. Bavi se potom indoevropskom praksom incineracije, pri čemu na osnovu

opisa sahrane cara Dušana 1355. godine tvrdi da se drevna praksa duže zadržala kod Srba.

Nodilo takođe rekonstruiše osobeno „obiteljsko trojstvo“, pozivajući se na običaje oko Božića (rođenje mladoga boga), poglavito na materice, oce i detinjce i na liriku koja je tematizovala motive iz ovog kruga („Da okupam Koledo! – malog boga, Koledo! – I božića, Koledo!): „Božićni dani kano da su babine djeteta božića“ (Nodilo). Stoga i u okviru trijade „Božić, Božij dan i Stjepanj dan“ Nodilo detektuje poslednji praznik kao „Ženski dan“ koji je potom hristijanizovan i maskuliniziran.

Dalje, mitemu „munjevnoga oblaka“, pokazuje Suzana Marjanić, Nodilo povezuje s Perunom, a onda i sa sv. Ilijom i njegovom folklorom sestrom, ognjenom sveticom Marijom, za koje se vezuju narativi o „posljednjem vremenu“ i zemlji Indiji gde vlada „teško bezakonstvo“, kao i za motiv nebeskih ključara, koji zatvaraju i otvaraju godišnja doba. „Religiju ognja“ u epskom registru prepoznaje u figuri Zmaj Ognjenog Vuka, posmatrajući ga pritom u kontekstu narativa o „zmiji mladoženji“, a sve u kontekstu „mladoga noćnog zmaja/ ognja koji se svake večeri rađa na ognjištu i budi, dok pred zoru zamire“. U vezi sa Zmaj Ognjenim Vukom Nodilo iščitava i niktomorfnu prirodu zmaja „na primjeru njegova likantropskoga habitusa (vučja šapa), upućujući kako mitski vuk u arijskom sustavu vjerovanja simbolizira noć i noćno doba“.

Nodilo se, najzad, bavi i lunarnom mitologijom, posmatrajući Mesec kao koncept kalendarskoga merenja i postavljajući i njega, neminovno, u vezu s kultom predaka. Nodilo time zaokružuje i upotpunjuje rekonstrukciju drevnog koncepta vremena, koji se zasnivao i na Suncu (dnevni i godišnji ritmovi) i na Mesecu (nedeljni i mesečni ciklus). Atribute Meseca (koji se posmatra kao maskulino

božanstvo) prati u projekcijama na epske junake, Miloša Obilića i Starinu Novaka. Poslednjeg junaka, imenovanog u epici kao Novak Debelić i Starina Novak, u konstelaciji sa njegovim epskim sinom – Gruicom Novakovićem – Nodilo vidi kao tri Mesečeve hipostaze: „u mladini, naponu i starosti“.

Zasebne niše Nodilove, a onda i autorkine analize predstavljaju osvrti na toponime, hidronime, etimološke veze, obredno-običajnu praksu (recimo „materica“, pretposlednje nedelje pre Božića, i „oca“, poslednje nedelje pre Božića, kada deca vezuju roditelje, što simbolizuje zimsko vezivanje i prolećno odvezivanje Sunca i ljudi), folklorne likove (grabancijaši), simbole (metle, npr.), nominaciju nebeskih tela i biljaka, motive (incesta poglavito) itd. Poseban sloj studije predstavljaju analize zoosimbolike, koje lajtmotivski okupljaju veliki broj životinjskih vrsta: zmiju, kravu / bika, ovcu, vuka, kunu, lasicu, konja / kobilu, lastavicu, medveda, petla, psa, orla i dr.

Detaljno iščitavajući Nodilovu studiju, Suzana Marjanić ukazuje na njegove mestimične misinterpretacije (Orbinija i Prokopija, primera radi) i koriguje neka Nodilova rešenja, nudeći optimalnija (Nodilo, recimo, Svantevidovu četvoroglavost tumači kao atribut boga vedrine i čistine, dok autorka s razlogom ovakav imaginarijum dovodi u vezu sa simbolikom strana sveta „u okviru čega istok i jug označuju carstvo dana, proljeća i ljeta, a zapad i sjever – carstvo noći i zime prema mitskim kategorijama povezivanja strana svijeta uz aspekt dana / noći i uz godišnja doba“). Na tragu Nodilovih rešenja, autorka daje značajan prilog sagledavanju bazičnih koncepata folklornog mišljenja, na primer, kada dihotomiju Vida – Živa, vs. baba (ostareli boginjin aspekt) sagledava u „sponi vila – baba, što će reći aspekt mlade, dakako i lijepe boginje (s obzirom na još

uvijek živeći frazemski sklop lijepa kao vila) kao i ženstva (vilenice) koje je posvećeno iscjeliteljskoj bijeloj magiji [...] te aspekt ostarjele boginje (baba) kojoj su u narodnim vjerovanjima pridane negativne valorizacije ženstva i praksa crne magije (baba vještica, baba vračara, ruska Baba Jaga, Baba Ruga, babaroga, babice kao porodični demoni)“.

Iako je, kako autorka više puta ističe, Nodilova metodologija na granici umetnosti i nauke („riječ je o rekonstrukcijama koje prelaze područje stroge znanosti i zadiru u znanstvenostoliku fantastiku“), i uprkos tome što je vankontekstualno tumačio činjenice („nevjerovatno je koliko se trudio interpretirati istrgnute stihove – uglavnom, epskih i kalendarskih pjesama – iz konteksta, iščitavajući u njihovim svjetovima određeno pogansko značenje“), neke njegove postavke na dubljim strukturnim nivoima relevantne su i danas. U fundamentalnom mitskom agonu u različitim naučnim interpretacijama figuriraju različito nominovani akteri, ali su logika, ishod, pa i priroda sukoba analogni. U Nodilovoj verziji sukobljavaju se vrhovni staroslovenski bog Svantevid i ala (što je izuzetno produktivna leksema: alauža, alabuka, alavanta, alauk, alamunja, alakača, alapača, alosan i sl.), za šta paralele pronalazi u kosmičkom agonu između Gromovnika/Indre i zmaja/zmije, što će prihvatiti i potonja semiotičko-strukturalistička škola (V. Ivanov, V. Toporov). Dati mitem Nodilo pritom i razuđuje, smatrajući da ala nastupa leti, kao manipulator olujom i gradom, a da u zimskim mesecima deluje kao Vada (Kavga) i Mora.

Folklorističko-etimološka paleontologija, rekonstrukcija na osnovu petrificiranih, iz konteksta u većoj ili manjoj meri izmeštenih čestica negdašnje celine nije samo odlika mitološke škole kojoj se priklonio Natko Nodilo. Ista pregnuća obeležila su u rasponu od jednog veka i strukturalističko-semiotička

istraživanja V. Ivanova i N. Toporova, te, na hrvatskim i srpskim prostorima – Vitomira Belaja, Radoslava Katičića i Aleksandra Lome, da pomenemo samo one koji su fragmente istraživanja povezali u sistem. Ova činjenica ukazuje na vitalnost i produktivnost „detektivskih“ pregnuća „nodilovskog“ tipa, na značaj vraćanja njegovim istraživanjima, na inspirativnost tog „naučno-fantastičnog“ opusa za potonja promišljanja o putevima tradicije i ukrštajima različitih tradicijskih linija, o autohtonosti, generičkoj povezanosti i tipološkoj srodnosti motiva, što sve knjigu Suzane Marjanić čini dragocenom i uzbudljivom za čitanje.

Lidija Delić, Beograd

SAŠA BABIČ, MATEJA BELAK (UR.),
STAROVERSTVO V SLOVENIJI MED RELIGIJO
IN ZNANOSTJO – STUDIA MYTHOLOGICA
 SLAVICA – SUPPLEMENTA, ZBIRKA
 SUPPLEMENTUM 17. LJUBLJANA: ZALOŽBA
 ZRC, 2022, 176 STRANI.

Kot v uvodni besedi zapišeta urednici, dr. Saša Babič in Mateja Belak, je zbornik nastal v okviru projekta *Popis, analiza in ovrednotenje primarnih in sekundarnih virov slovenskih raziskovalcev o 'Posoškem staroverstvu'*, financiran s strani Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Ministrstva za kulturo. Nadaljujeta, da je »namen projekta in s tem tudi knjige predvsem kritično ovrednotiti prav to sporno gradivo in ga umestiti v zgodovinski, prostorski in družbeni kontekst, nikakor pa ne zanikati pristnosti virov«. Zbornik sestavlja osem prispevkov, razdeljenih v dve tematski poglavji: splošno vsebino in gradivo. V prvem delu tako srečamo (ob uvodni besedi urednic in kratkem opisu knjige) prispevke arheologinje in etnologinje Katje Hrobat Virloget, zgodovinarja Matjaža Bizjaka, politologinje Cirile Toplak, filozofa in teologa Lenarta Škofa, arheologa Mihe Miheliča ter arheologa, etnologa in zgodovinarja Andreja Pleterskega. V drugem delu se zapisom pridružita radiestezista in pristočasna raziskovalca staroverstva Rudi Čop in Franc Šturm.

V poglavju *Kratko o knjigi* Andrej Pleterski, sicer tudi sodelavec omenjenega projekta, v prvih nekaj odstavkih opiše pregled razvoja študij staroverstva na Slovenskem. Besedo »staroverstvo« pri tem uporablja kot krovni pojem za pripovedovanja o »naši stari veri s starimi bogovi in molitvami po starem« (9); njeno uporabo utemeljuje tudi z dejstvom, da se besede »pogan« in z njo povezanimi praksami še vedno drži negativna

konotacija, naravoverstvo ali rodnoverstvo pa trenutno še nista množično uveljavljena. Kratka uvodna beseda tako ponudi opise vključenih prispevkov, zaključí pa tako: »Če razumemo staroverstvo, razumemo čas in način življenja, v katerem sta bila religija in znanost še eno in isto« (11). Ta motivika se pojavi v zborniku še pozneje na več mestih in doseže višek z zadnjima dvema, alternativnima prispevkoma.

Prvi v nizu zapisov sestavlja članek *(Ne)pristnost verovanj in praks v gradivu o »posoških starovercih« ter o primerljivosti in o različnih pogledih na svet* (15) arheologinje in etnologinje Katje Hrobat Virloget, ki v prispevku (med drugim) naslovi kritiko nepristnosti Medveščkovih zapisov, saj je stroka, kot piše sama, »pri tem vprašanju povsem razdeljena« (15). Še več, oblikovali sta se »dve struji v etnologiji in v širših humanističnih in družboslovnih vedah« (16). Prva jemlje »Medveščkovo gradivo kot etnografski vir in o njem piše« (16), medtem ko druga »o pristnosti Medveščkovega gradiva dvomi, o njem ne objavlja razprav, kvečjemu jih zanimajo sodobni diskurzi in prakse, ki jih je omenjeno gradivo o posoških starovercih povzročilo« (16–17). V drugem delu prispevka Hrobat Virloget v poglavju *Razmislek o odnosu stroke in širše javnosti do staroverskega gradiva* obravnava distanciranje etnološke stroke do obravnave Medveščkovega gradiva ter dimenzije laičnega raziskovanja in njegovih »stranpoti« (15). Kot piše, »ker večina stroke ignorira gradivo o starovercih, nad katerim je širša javnost tako navdušena, ta potem sama išče odgovore na vprašanja« (22). V zadnjem, tretjem delu prispevka avtorica išče vzporednice verovanj in praks »posoškega staroverstva« v drugih geografskih in družbenih kontekstih ter ponudi določene vzporednice (na primer, s čaščenjem *babe*,

mitskim strukturiranjem krajine in tročani v slovanski mitologiji in tako dalje). Kot zaključek avtorica ponudi razmislek »o nam neznanem ali o trku različnih svetov«, v katerem izpostavi omejitve v raziskovalčevi perspektivi. Nadaljuje z nizanje vzporednic z ostalimi etnološkimi »odkritji« (na primer, z zapisi Borisa Čoka, z zapisi o žitkovskih boginjah, z zapisi Aleksandra Panjeka o razkolu med kmečko in gosposko družbo na Krasu, s pisanji Carla Ginzburga o benedantih).

V drugem prispevku prvega sklopa *Kolonizacija Srednjega Posočja* (35), Matjaž Bizjak obravnava poselitveno zgodovino Srednjega Posočja. Avtor na enajstih straneh ponudi vpogled v starejšo slovansko poselitev, ki jo je v obdobju po madžarskih vpadih pospeševal oglejski patriarhat. Slednji je na obravnavanem območju izoblikoval dve zemljiški gospodstvu: goriško in tolminsko. Kot skuša prikazati tudi z navajanjem prvih omemb krajev v Srednjem Posočju, so bila do konca 12. stoletja večinoma poseljena območja Goriških Brd, doline Soče, južni del Banjške planote ter spodnji dolini Bače in Idrijce z južnim delom Šentviške planote. V poznem srednjem veku je bila kolonizacija usmerjena v severni del Kambreškega hribovja in gozdnata območja, ki so se raztezala do freisinškega škofjeloškega gospodstva.

V prispevku *Družbeno-politični vidiki zahodnoslovenske naravoverske skupnosti* (47) Cirila Toplak obravnava staroverstvo z vidika politologije. Avtorica v začetku prispevka ponudi argumentacijo za obravnavo gradiva Pavla Medveščka kot verodostojnega vira o »zahodnoslovenski naravoverski kontrakulturi« (47), tudi z navajanjem lastnih etnografskih doživetij, odkritij in raziskovanj. V drugem poglavju se ravno tako opredeli do uporabe besedne zveze »posoško staroverstvo«, saj naj bi

slednje vsebovalo slabšalni kontekst. Kot piše, so se pripadniki skupnosti »šteli za naravoverce, a so ta izraz omenili le trije od Medveščkovih sogovornikov« (52). Slednji naj bi bil najbolj primeren za uporabo tudi po mnenju Pavla Medveščka. V naslednjih poglavjih Toplak obravnava naravoverstvo skozi politološke koncepte primordialne družbene forme, heterotopije, infrapolitike in globokega državljanstva. Kot primer vzporednosti družbenih struktur, naravoverske in krščanske, se (tako kot Hrobat Virloget) nanaša na pisanja in raziskovanja Aleksandra Panjka. Nadaljuje, da bi »lahko imeli opraviti z dvoverjem, značilnim za slovanska ljudska verovanja,« ki se kaže kot »zavestno politično ravnanje manjšine, skozi katerega je krščanska religija sčasoma postala temeljni referenčni okvir naravoverske ideologije in praks« (59). Namesto sklepa Toplak ponudi naravoversko kritiko kapitalizma in socializma, a tudi država po njihovem »ni bila nič boljša od cerkve« (66), kar utemeljuje sodelovanje naravovercev »v kmečkih puntih [...] in organizaciji TIGR pod italijansko okupacijo,« podpirali pa naj bi tudi »narodnoosvobodilni boj oziroma šli v partizane« (67). Kritična je tudi do »poblagovljena ter preveč dobesednega in površnega razumevanja naravoverstva« (68), za kar je po njenem mnenju (pri tem se nanaša na pisanja Hrobat-Virloget) odgovorna tudi stroka ter zaključí s pozivom za nadaljevanje (znanstvenega) raziskovanja zahodnoslovenskega naravoverstva.

Prispevek *Elementi slovenske prvotne religije* (71) Lenarta Škof je v zborniku prijetna novost, saj ponuja filozofsko-teološko interpretacijo. V prvem delu sestavka avtor primerja Medveščkovo gradivo s sodobnimi teorijami domorodnih religij sveta. Kot zapiše, je cilj prispevka »pokazati, da se v soočenju med prvotnimi elementarnimi

kozmoškimi matricami in sodobnimi teorijami tako v humanistiki kakor tudi v družboslovju in znanosti [...] izrisuje prostor ontološkega misterija in obenem kozmoško-kvantne zamotanosti (*entanglement*), ki nakazujeta na možnost prehoda k novomišljeni ontologiji in kozmoteologiji človeka, narave in boga« (73–74). V drugem delu avtor nadaljuje s teorijo monoteizma Jana Assmanna in teorijo prvotnega monoteizma Wilhelma Schmidta; s pomočjo Schmidtove teorije domorodne religije so bile slednje »prvič v zgodovini sprejete kot partnerice v dialogu« (71). Na teh temeljih Škof predstavi specifično versko okolje staroverstva (ali slovenske avtohtone religije) kot elementarno religijo in teologijo narave, in ponudi filozofsko-teološko interpretacijo elementov tega izročila. Zadnji del prispevka obravnava možnost prihoda postkrščanske in postreligiozne dobe. Sklepna opomba v načinu pisanja zveni bolj programsko, saj nudi napotke za doseganje »tretje dobe« in »postreligijske skupnosti«.

Prispevek *Trije Belini in njihovi sinkretizmi v ustnem izročilu zahodne Slovenije* (93) arheologa Mihe Miheliča osvetli sinkretizme na območju vzhodne Slovenije, s poudarkom na čaščenju boga Belina in niza podobnosti z njegovim krščanskim naslednikom sv. Albinom, njuna povezana na datum 1. marca (kot začetek Belinovega leta in pomladi, dan smrti sv. Albina) pa služi kot »srednjeveško-novoveški sinkretizem krščanskih elementov s staroverskimi elementi, ki izvirajo iz prazgodovine« (93). Podobna pa si nista le v tem, temveč tudi v vlogi zdravilcev. Mihelič tako piše, da so glede na staroversko izročilo »različni kamni, ki so bili povezani z Belinom, skrbeli za zdravje ljudi in živali. Kamen, imenovan Belistovo oko, ki so ga na kmetijah shranjevali v zunanjem slepem oknu hleva, je ščitil zdravje živine, kamen,

imenovan Belist, pa je skrbel za zdravje ljudi v hiši« (99). V nadaljevanju sledi več takih in podobnih povezav z uporabo imena. Mihelič ravno tako obravnava datiranje začetka Belinovega leta, za katerega se (že prej omenjeno) šteje 1. marec, in kot razlog ponudi več različnih odgovorov (imenovanju po škofu Albinu, izročilo o zaznamovanem hrastu nad Vrtačami pod Korado, koledar na vrhu Kunika nad Livškimi Ravnami, kamnit krog pri Belem križu pri Preložah, morebiti tudi koledar v bližini Podbrda pri Rodežu).

V zadnjem znanstvenem prispevku *Verovanj host v sklopu staroverstva na Slovenskem in verovanja starih Slovanov* (109) Andrej Pleterski »rekonstruira verovanjski sistem starih Slovanov, ki je vseboval mitično zgodbo o kozmičnem paru, ki spreminja svoje obnašanje v teku letnih časov, ter kompleksno božjo entiteto, ki so jo sestavljale delne entitete« (109). Ta najboljšejši prispevek zbornika, dolg kar 46 strani, ugotavlja povezanost »stare vere« z verovanjskim sistemom starih Slovanov. Avtor tudi podrobneje obravnava novodobno čaščenje Triglava v zahodni Sloveniji in v tem kontekstu interpretira cerkljanski pustni lik Pust. Posebno pozornost pritegne avtorjeva teorija o teritorialno organiziranih enotah, imenovane *hoste*, ki naj bi prišle v začetku 16. stoletja na območje Posočja z Dolenjske ali spodnjega Posavja. V tem kontekstu avtor niza strukturna ujemanja med reliefom s Svetih gor nad Bistrico ob Sotli in reliefoma iz Posočja (Nikrmanina zvezda in sedmak).

V zadnjem delu, poimenovanem *Gradivo* (145), presenetita zapisa dveh preučevalcev geomantije, radiestezije, v katerih preko praktičnih poskusov raziskujeta sveta mesta. Prvi članek Rudija Čopa *Vpliv megalitov na lokalno magnetno polje* (147) obravnava merjenje energije znotraj treh megalitov,

ki so jih postavili neimenovani poznavalci po izročilu starovercev. Kot piše so trije megaliti (ki skupaj tvorijo tročan) zmanjšali vpliv sprememb v lokalnem magnetnem polju, ki jih povzroča Sonce ob povečanem delovanju aktivnost. Pravilno postavljen monolit pa deluje kot pasivni element, ki omejuje ali celo stabilizira te spremembe na (za človeka) znosno raven. Zadnji prispevek Franca Šturma poimenovan *Cerkev kot del staroverskega svetišča* (157) obravnava stikanja med krščanstvom in »duhovnimi, naravnimi sistemi« starovercev. Obravnava in obrazložitvi konceptov, kot so na primer naravni sistemi, njihovi algoritmi, elementi naravnih sistemov posoških starovercev, metode za merjenje duhovnih polj, sledi obravnava »teoretičnih osnov«, kot so resonatorji, trikotnik, kvadrat, pravokotnik in krog kot resonatorji, zemeljski, vodni in ognjeni tročan. V zadnjem delu sledi praktični obravnava naravnega sistema v vasi Volarje in njeni okolici, s poudarkom na cerkvi svetega Brikcija, ki je, kot piše avtor, »del staroverskega svetišča« in je bila zgrajena »za vzdrževanje duhovnega polja pete moči« (167).

Kot raziskovalka sodobnih interpretacij staroverstva in etnologinja z ožjim poljem izkušenj, ne dovolim zapasti v produkcijo polarizirajočih mnenj. Želim in upam, da je moja skopa in kratka kritika določenih vidikov zbornika razumljena in sprejeta dobronamerno. Četudi urednici v začetku zbornika napovesta »kritično vrednotenje Medveščkovega gradiva«, se v skoraj isti sapi izpostavi, da zbornik ne bo naslavljaval vprašanja o kredibilnosti. Žal je, za namen nujne in zdrave znanstvene kritičnosti, treba nasloviti tudi slednje, saj primerjave iz tujine nakazujejo na relativno pogostost senzacionalnih »odkritij«. Kot piše Sabina Magliocco, folkloristom 19. stoletja slednja

niso bila nenavadna, saj so mnogi zapisovalci verjeli, da s svojim delom starodavnim besedilom »vračajo« njihov »prvotni« pomen; medtem so nevede ustvarili povsem nova (Sabina Magliocco, Book Review: The New Edition of Leland's Aradia. *Pomegranate: The International Journal of Pagan Studies* 13/9, 56). V tem znanstvenem kontekstu lahko razumemo tudi pisanja Pavla Medveščka – ne kot ponarejevalca in izumitelja, temveč zbiratelja gradiva, s svojimi lastnimi prepričanji, motivi in predsodki. V pisanjih bi bile vsekakor dobrodošle analogije in omembe, ki primarno ne spadajo »v kalup« (če izkoristimo zgoraj citirano recenzijo, so to lahko že pisanja Charlesa G. Lelanda). Nadaljnje, v znanstvenem zborniku sta prispevka s področja geomantije moteča in se kažeta kot želja po povezovanju vzporednih, med seboj oddaljenih svetov religije in (alternativne) znanosti (razmerje je tudi večkrat naslovljeno v posamičnih prispevkih). Navkljub pomanjkljivostim je zbornik dobrodošlo in zanimivo čtivo v študijah Medveščkovega staroverstva in tudi njegovih sodobnih interpretacijah.

Manca Račič, Cerklje ob Krki

SUZANA MARJANIĆ I ROSANA RATKOVČIĆ (UR.), MAČKOZBORNIK: OD BASTET DO CATWOMAN. ZAGREB: NAKLADA JESENSKI I TURK KULTURNO INFORMATIVNI CENTAR, 2022, 887 STRANA.

Dugo očekivani *Mačkozbornik* konačno je ugledao svetlost dana oktobra 2022. godine, sedam godina nakon što je ova priča započeta. Istoričarka umetnosti Rosana Ratkovčić udružila je snage s folkloristkinjom Suzanom Marjanić, koja se već dokazala na polju kulturne i kritičke animalistike. Njihov zamašni poduhvat rezultirao je svojevrsnim omažom životinji koja je oduvek deo života ljudi. Po sopstvenom priznanju urednica, njihov entuzijazam je podstaknut, pre svega, ljubavlju prema ovom, najpopularnijem (tzv.) kućnom ljubimcu, koji je prošao istorijski put „od sakralizacije preko demonizacije do petišizma” (30). Sam podnaslov *Mačkozbornika* – „od Bastet do Catwoman” otkriva širinu i kompleksnost obrađenih tema, što je sasvim u skladu s definicijom da kulturna animalistika proučava ulogu „životinja u cjelokupnoj materijalnoj i duhovnoj kulturi čovječanstva” (26). Na poziv se odazvao impozantan broj mačkoautora različitih profila, čemu svedoči i opsežnost zbornika od bezmalo 900 strana, deset poglavlja/temata u koja je razvrstano gotovo 60 priloga, uključujući i dva predgovora. Radovi razmatraju simboliku mačke u svim segmentima ljudskog življenja, promišljanja i delanja. Ne smeju se zanemariti ni ilustracije, koje ovu mačkotematiku dočaravaju, upotpunjuju, objašnjavaju i ulepšavaju.

Prvo poglavlje *Mačkozbornika* („Mačjih devet života – Suživot i zooetika”) otkriva život mačke u realnom ljudskom okruženju. Tu su sakupljene tople, ljudsko-mačje pripovedi o uzajamnoj zahvalnosti, razumevanju, ali i o neminovnim nesporazumima, koji

su najčešće rezultat (ljudskog) antropocentričnog pogleda na svet. Priča Ljiljane Horvat Komerički o sigurnom i udobnom domu za mačke otvara zbornik, ali bi mogla stajati i na njegovom kraju, kao opomena svima koji olako prihvataju ljubimce, da bi ih se potom još lakše odrekli. Jer, kakav god čovek bio prema njima, mačke, poput onih zvanih „Nikadnerecinemogu” u priči Karmen Turčinov, ipak uz njega instiktivno nalaze sigurnost i beg od beznađa. Štaviše, one „komuniciraju i zahvalnošću, prepoznajući ljude po njihovim individualnim osobinama” (64). Bruno Beljak dopunjuje ovo izlaganje zaključkom da je mačka „zamijenila svoju divlju slobodu, prepustivši se čovjeku u zamjenu za sigurnost i redovit obrok” (105). Autor poredi urbane s ruralnim mačkama. Mačke u gradovima jesu stekle udobnost u stanovima, ali su zauzvrat izgubile svoju prirodnu ulogu predatora. S druge strane, mačke u seoskim sredinama uglavnom su zadržale svoju etno ulogu, budući da „čovjek drži mačku u svojoj blizini, zbog njezinih etnomedicinskih vještina” koje su mu neophodne za preživljavanje (103). Josip Zanki u „Mačkama i razbijanju astralnih larvi”, prepliće sopstvena iskustva života s mačkama, s ezoterijskim narativima o staroegipatskim mačkama, koje su produkt genetskog inženjeringa. Temat zatvara Nikica Prvanović Babić pregledom mačje simbolike kroz istoriju i različite kulture, dopunjujući je korisnim, praktičnim mačko-prilogom iz veterinarske prakse.

Književnici rado uzimaju mačku za temu svog pisanja i o tome svedoči drugo poglavlje – „Mačak kod Tiffanyja”. Vinko Grubišić pokazuje kako je mačka postala oružje kojim, Baudelaire u pesmama, a Ionesco u dramama, vrše svoje „oponiranje suvremenicima, otpor jeziku, suprotstavljanje

svakodnevnim okolnostima i *takorekuć* sveukupnosti života” (151). I Virginija Woolf obilato koristi simboliku ove životinje, a Monika Bregović se usredsređuje na njen esej „Vlastita soba”. Bezrepa mačka spisateljici služi da ukaže na problematiku podređenog i pasivnog položaja žena u patrijarhalnim društvima. Lidija Delić u glavnoj junakinji romana *Časovi radosti* Vladana Matijevića, kao i u „belešci” na njegovom kraju, pronalazi „prepoznatljivu ’psihološku’ platformu preuzetu iz književne i folklorne imagologije o mačkama, eksplicitno je markirajući kao prostor projekcije pripovedačevih (sopstvenih) želja i motivacije za pisanje ovog romana” (170). Anica Vlašić-Anić skreće pažnju na *kaleidoskopično* nizanje doslovnih, konotativnih i figurativnih značenja reči u poeziji Daniila Harmsa, koje nas, u novim „kombinacijama metamačko-foričnih višesmislenosti, asocijativnosti i aluzivnosti – bespoštedno ’o/rašćaravaju” (189). Bestijarska ikonografija, koju razmatra Petra Pugar, našla se i u središtu *Kronika iz Narnije*, a C. S. Lewisu je poslužila da u liku lava Aslana spoji fantastiku s alegorijom Boga. Na kraju ovog poglavlja dočekuje nas Bernard Jan sa svojom potresnom ispovešću o *Svijetu bez boja*, koji nastaje onog trenutka kada nestane njegovog prijatelja, mačka Marcela.

Poglavlje „Mačak u čizmama”, razmatra mačku kao junaka narativa od (narodne) „bajke do suvremene dječje književnosti”. Nada Kujundžić detaljno analizira žanrovske mačko-transformacije u zbirci *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* braće Grimm, kao i u njenim različitim izdanjima. Barbara Pleić Tomić razotkriva tamnu stranu poznatog dečijeg klasika Ele Peroci, tako da Maca Papučarica pred našim očima postaje lik iz žanra psihološke i mitološke strave i užasa, brišući uzgred i zamisao majčinstva

kao „ideala bezuvjetne, neproblematične i neproblematizirane ljubavi i požrtvornosti” (269). Ljubica Matek nas podseća na zdušna nastojanja T. S. Eliota da svojim pesmama podstakne čitaoca na humaniji odnos prema ne-ljudskim bićima i njihovim jednako vrednim životima, prepoznajući u stavovima tog zagovornika mačjeg identiteta, vesnika kasnijeg bioetičkog egalitarizma. I James Joyce je upotrebio animalističke elemente u svojoj knjizi *Mačak i vrug* kako bi, ističe Martina Jurišić, dao „subverzivnu kritiku društva uobličenu u diskurs dječje književnosti” (299).

Slikom mačke u likovnoj i u drugim vizuelnim umetnostima bavi se poglavlje „Mačje oči”. Temat otvara Dajana Vlasisavljević svojim opsežnim, simboličko-ikonografskim i stilsko-morfološkim istraživanjima motiva mačke u hrvatskoj likovnoj umetnosti od 19. veka, koja otkrivaju postojani dualistički odnos čoveka prema ovoj životinji, od obožavanja do sotoniziranja. I Silva Kalčić i Leopold Rupnik u svojim se radovima osvrću na *Olimpiju* Édouarda Maneta. Kalčićeva razmatra primere interpretacije i remedijalizacije kontroverznog umetničkog klasika u modernoj i savremenoj umetnosti, na kojima možemo pratiti smenjivanje perspektiva sveta i čoveka u njemu, dok Rupnik iznalazi nove aspekte gledanja, zadirući u feminističke kulturnoanimalističke interpretacije mačije simbolike. Koncept Deleuzeovog i Guattarijevog trijadnog životinjstva preispituje Suzana Marjanić, i to na primeru video instalacija konceptualne umetnice Carolee Schneemann. *Mačkozbornik* ima i svog nakostrešenog mačka u linorezu, a priču o njemu Anđelko Mrkonjić spaja s toplom pričom o osiječkoj mačkozaštitnici – Mačkamami.

Dva rada u poglavlju „Ljudi-mačke” referišu na filmske mačke. Jela Sabljic Vujica

ovu životinju smatra metaforom poezije, ali se ipak fokusira na mačku u romanu koji je ujedno i predložak za film *Le Chat* Pierrea Granier-Deferrea. Tu *an unremarkable cat* „postaje i simbol i stvarnost, i sredstvo i pokretač značenjske emancipacije, samo biće ljudske tragedije” (375). Tomislav Oroz analizira zapadnjačku animalizovanu i demonizovanu recepciju Balkana u filmovima *Ljudi mačke* i *Prokletstvo ljudi mačaka* iz četrdesetih godina prošlog veka, kao i kasnije odgovore iz „domaće” perspektive u raznovrsnim izričajima popularne kulture” (411).

Upravo je popularna kultura područje u kom inspiraciju traže autori šestog poglavlja *Mačkozbornika*, nazvanog po možda najpoznatijoj pop-mački – „Hello Kitty”. Stripovska Catwoman je zanimljiva Koraljki Meštović, koja kroz prizmu rata mačke i miša razmatra rat polova, uz sve potencijalne „seksualne, rasne, rodne i političke konotacije” (429). I Igor Gajin Catwoman vidi kao žarišni simbol različitih projekcija, pogodan za raščlanjivanje stereotipa o ženama (i) mačkama. Poznati *anime* serijal *Mononoke*, Mileni Benini služi kao potka za poređenje uobičajenih mitoloških uloga mačke u japanskom mitu/tradiciji i fantastičnih mačaka, koje su potrebne da bi ženama-žrtvama omogućile da se izbore za pravdu. Marina Tkalčić i Vanesa Varga opominju na važnost rada društava za zaštitu životinja, čiji se aktivisti dovijaju na različite načine da ljude zainteresuju za spasavanje unesrećenih životinja. Jedan od efektnih načina je postavljanje duhovitih fotografija antropomorfiziranih životinja na društvene mreže. Mačka u muzici je zainteresovala Borisa Becka, te on traga za otelotvorenjima mačijeg imaginarijuma u ljubavnoj i verskoj tematici muzike Nicka Cavea, dok Mirta Jurilj istražuje mačku kao

temu, ali i „saradnicu”, u kompozitorskom radu kroz istoriju muzike od baroka, preko impresionizma i romantizma, do Freddieja Mercuryja.

Sedmo poglavlje, „Cerigradska mačka”, daje raznolike prikaze mačke u „kulturi i kulturalnim istraživanjima”. Dina Pokrajac preuzima zadatak da nam razotkrije strašnu tajnu „nacerene mačke”. Rosana Ratković nam približava simboliku mačke u islamskoj kulturi, od brojnih predanja o Poslaniku Muhammedu, gde je mačka pomoćnik i prijatelj, do stihovnih i proznih narativa sufijskih pesnika, kojima se izražava ljubav prema mačkama. Esej kojim se kroz lična iskustva života s mačkama, prvo razbijaju predrasude o ovim životinjama, a onda sve podiže i na višu razinu, te se zadire u najdublje hrišćanske tajne, izašao je iz pera Željke Bišćan. Tumačeći nedostatak stida kod mačke koja golog Derridu gleda kako se kupa, Žarko Paić pronalazi „uvjet mogućnosti drukčijeg odnosa između srodnih bića”, čime se pokušava stati na put antropocentričnoj poziciji humanističke tradicije, (neizlečivo) konfrotirane animalnosti. Predrag Krstić podseća da Derrida nije jedini filozof ogoljen pred svevidećim „mačijim okom”, a Snježana Zorić se nadovezuje na to, poredeći Derridinu humanizaciju životinje s Agambenovom animalizacijom čoveka, uz zaključak da „Dalaj Lamina mačka pokazuje nepostojanje ovakve diferencijacije u buddhističkom kontekstu” (653). Vanja Maganjić se uhvatila u koštac s teško izvršivim zadatkom pronalazjenja početaka mačko-ljudskog suživota, stavljajući u fokus mitologiju, prevashodno mačkoglavu boginju Bastet. Mačija gipkost i elegancija navela je ljude da oponašaju njene pokrete u raznim (telesnim) vežbama, poput one u hatha jogi, pa sve do scenskih umetnosti, a o tome piše Josipa Bubaš.

Mačkolingvistička problematika u poglavlju „Mačji kašalj“ sagledava se u brojnim frazemima, koje je, uz pomoć svojih studenata, Mira Menac-Mihalić pronašla u hrvatskim lokalnim govorima. Luka Velić je dokazao da je moguće porediti ljudski i mačiji jezik, odlučivši se „na davanje primjera mjaukanja i na kratku analizu primjera ljudsko-mačjega međudjelovanja odnosno jezičnoga razumijevanja” (722).

Kroz svoju dugu zajedničku istoriju života s mačkama, razvijana je simbolika ove životinje u etnotradiciji. Upravo je to tema devetog poglavlja *Mačkozbornika* – „Povući mačka za rep”. Aleksandr V. Gura razmatra mačiju simboliku u širim okvirima slovenske etnotradicije, dokazujući da je mačka predstavljena u gotovo svim folklornim žanrovima. Slovenskim kontekstom se bavi i Biljana Sikimić, usredsređujući se na još jedno poređenje žene i mačke, i to na primeru motiva „mačke kradljivice”, tj. tradicionalnog odnosa prema hrani za ljude i onoj namenjenoj/zabranjenoj mačkama. Iryna Oğijenko proučava bogatu ukrajinsku folklornu sliku sveta u prikupljenim legendama i predanjima o poreklu i osobinama mačke. Folklornim verovanjima iste tradicije bavi se i Dariya Pavlešen, uočavajući njihove transformacije iz usmene u pisanu književnost, čime mačka, od klasičnog frazeološkog, postaje savremeni književni junak. Odgovor na pitanje da li je mačka božansko biće daje Ivica Kipre zaključujući da se njena uloga kreće od „zoomorfno supstituta praslavenskog gromovnikovog oponenta” do životinjskog odrugotvorenja htonskog i „plodotvornog duha Majke zemlje” (813). U ovaj temat je uvršten i dragoceni etnološki zapis o mačkama iz monografije *Priroda u verovanju i predanju našega naroda II* (1958) Tihomira R. Đorđevića.

Poslednje, deseto poglavlje, „Mačji post scriptum”, čitaoca vraća svakodnevicu, u kojoj ljudi i mačke dele dobro i zlo. Započinje intervjuom snimljenim u tematskom kafiću *Cat Caffè* u Zagrebu, u kom se ljudi s mačkama mogu družiti ili među njima uživati, a gde se svakako o njima može mnogo naučiti. Dunja Knebl staru hrvatsku baladu „Sveča dogorijeva”, u kojoj je mačak u ulozi junakovog (čudesnog) pomagača, interpretativno vizualizira pričom o dva crna mačka. Zvezdana Jembrih ovom sveobuhvatom mačkoistraživanju doprinosi prikupljenim zagorskim izrekama o mačkama. Frane Rogić daje još jednu ispovest o životu s mačkom, i to onom jednookom, koja je usvojila ljude i prostor, te njima vlada po sopstvenom nahođenju.

I pesnička promišljanja su našla svoje mesto u *Mačkozborniku*. „Mačke su zlokobna djeca mjeseca”, umuje Vladimir Dodig Trokut. I to one mačke koje „Pjevaju pjesmu vječnih promjena. Prate tragove, vrebaju. Spremne za skok nepogrešiva čula. [...] Noć se priljubila uz njihovo sviloliko krzno. Motre neku nadolazeću slutnju...” (877–878). A da svi znamo mačiji jezik, razumeli bismo da nam ona kaže: „Tu kandžom prčkam ja! Čuješ? Moj život / Nehajno koristim po potrebi. Kradem / Ti san po potrebi i bacam stvari, zabavljaj me!” (Sanjin Sorel, 879). Nikša Marinović stavlja usključnik na celu ovu priču. Vagali smo, vagali i zaključili: „*Moj prinče Žulijan / Mi smo društvo priroda / Složna braća / Yin i Yang*“ (884).

Kako i dolikuje posle ovolikog učenja, valjalo bi doznati koliko smo zapravo naučili. Zato *Mačkozbornik* zaključuje zanimljivi „Mačkokviz”, koji čitaocu služi da proveriti svoje znanje o mačkama, značajno obogaćeno čitanjem ove dragocene riznice mačkoradova.

Mačkopriču možemo zaključiti rezimeom Lidije Delić: „U rasponu od divinizovane životinje (Egipat), inkarnacije predaka (Čajkanović 1994/5: 99) i oličenja bogatstva (feng šui), do 'crne', koja preseca srećne puteve i prati srednjovekovno i ino veštičarenje, mačka nije izuzetak. Nema, međutim, mnogo simbola koji su u toj meri postali 'roršahova mrlja' ljudske vrste i koji su u toj meri razigrali ljudsku maštu na planu psihološke projekcije poput simbola mačke, ni u folklornoj ni u popularnoj kulturi: lenja, mudra (Garfield), hitra, spretna, gipka, samostalna (Cat Claw), radoznala (*curiosity killed the cat*), sebična, umiljata, čista, lukava, tajanstvena, oprezna, neoprezna ('devet života'), opasna, nelojalna, neosvojiva, sklona igri... Svako navođenje ovog tipa neminovno je osuđeno na nepotpunost, tim pre što i polna diferencijacija ('mačak'/'macan') ima udela u sveukupnom imaginativnom skoruu.” (170)

Čitaocu, na kraju, preostaje samo da se nada nekom budućem *Psozborniku*, *Pticozborniku*, *Konjozborniku* itd. (iako, moram priznati, ovi naslovi uopšte ne zvuče tako logično kao: *Mačkozbornik*). Potrebno je (samo) da se nađu tako uporne i posvećene urednice kakve su mačkoSuzana i mačkoRosana. Veliko hvala!

Danijela Vasić, Beograd

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