## Aleksandra Popvasileva The Motive of a Pregnant Man in our Knowledge

Motiv nosečega moškega iz ljudske pripovedne tradicije in iz mitov se tematsko navezuje na partenogenezo, to je deviško, magično rojstvo glavnega junaka v ljudskih pripovedkah, mitih in legendah. Po avtoričinem védenju v nasprotju s partenogenezo (zanositev po čudežu) pa primeri, v katerih oče rodi otroka, v zgodbah niso prav pogosti. Kaže, da je ta del partenogeneze v zgodbah in znanstvenih raziskavah zanimanje za kuvado potisnilo v ozadje. Kuvada je budila zanimanje raziskovalcev, tako antropologov kot folkloristov, ki so v zgodbe o kuvadi vključevali tudi motiv nosečega moškega.

The appearance of the motif of a Pregnant Man as a folk fantasy expressed in the folk narrative tradition and in the myth, thematically is connected with the motive of a parthenogenesis, that is with a motive of a magic birth of a hero in folk stories, myths and legends. According to the knowledge of the author of this work, father gives a birth, contrary to parthenogenesis (with a meaning that a woman becomes pregnant in a magic way) did not raise a lot of interest in stories. It seems that this part of the pathogenesis in stories and scientific exploring is pushed back by the custom of kuvade. This custom has kept the interest of researchers - anthropologists and folklorists who include to kuvade stories and myths with the above mentioned motive.

a fish was my father, a man was my mother

The appearance of the motif of a "pregnant man", or "father gives a birth" ( $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$  tiktel) as a folk fantasy expressed in the folk narrative tradition and in the myth, thematically is connected with a motive of a *miraculous birth*, that is with the motif of

Antti Aarne's - Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography (FF Communications No 184). Helsinki, 1964, 240.

a magic birth of the hero in folk stories, myths and legends. But, contrary to parthenogenesis - (in meaning of woman gives a birth in a miraculous way), which has raised the interest of a lot of researchers - folklorists, mythologists, religion historians etc. all over the world - there are only few types of folk tales where the fantasy of heroes born by father (πατηρ τικτει) is presented, although they are spread all over world too. According to our knowlege in the most of cases they are only an introduction to other types and they are not very often present in narrators' repertoire. We believe that this was "helped" by the extreme fantasy built in the plot of this kind of narration which can not be adjusted to children's interest which are supposed to be the potential factor of future narrators. And the researcher's interest is not as strong as in the parthenogenesis. It seems that this part of the motif of a miraculous born hero in stories is pushed back in scientific exploring by the custom of kuvade2, which kept the interest of researchers - ethnologists (anthropologists) and folklorists - who included both stories and mentioned motifs in kuvade. Here we are going to keep shortly to this custom. Of curse, only as a connection and distinction of these two identical occurrences, at least at first sight. But they are very different. We also would like to present some our observations regarding this problem: custom and stories have points of contact only in short relations - subject in both cases belongs to a male; the action is also same in both cases - birth. And this is where the mutual connection ends. According to the opinion of ethnologists (anthropologists) Kuvade is registered as a custom at Celts, Trichinas, a lot of native communities in America, Asia and Oceanic, Europe and the Balkans. Kuvade is an entirety of customs and rituals on the occasion of birth that creates an illusion that a father is the one that gives a birth, not the mother. So, father pretends that he is sick, he eats dietetic food, groans and sometimes dresses up female cloth. After that he gets congratulations and cradles the newborn child. At the same time mother goes on with her jobs immediately after she delivers the baby. Perhaps it will look like a joke, but we see this formulation as a transformation of the modern juristic rule according to which a husband can have only 12 free days after baby's delivery (for example in America) in order - as they say - "to rest and drink, and go and see the baby in the maternity hospital from time to time." We should agree that this is not same as Zeus's sign. It means that we have a ostensible practical goal in the custom. Contrary to this we find a built in fantasy in the synopsis of stories and myths. According to this fantasy a man (father) becomes pregnant in a miracle way and an embryo is developed in him and he carries it nine months. Thus, according the folk fantasy there is no problem with getting pregnant. But there is a problem how to deliver the baby?! We shall say something more about when we shall review the stories. As regarding to the issue why it is so, it is not on us to judge. Respectable ethnologists (anthropologists) like J.J. Bachofen, 1861, Geza Roheim, 1955, and Tihomir Djordjevic, 1955, have occupied themselves with this issue and have had their own theories and hypothesis. However, we think that Geza's opinion3 is more appropriate and we accept it. The same is with the stories too. We shall try further to justify this our attitude.

We would like here to emphasize the following regarding kuvade: Within the folk tradition of south Slaves we do not find this custom among Macedonians (in their ethnic

2 From French Language: lying.

<sup>4 (</sup>examples of denying the term "father". Contrary to this, a mother, maybe even two, is recognised to a child. There are two reasons for this: a) it is dangerous to be a father, b) fathers are dangerous). Geza Roheim, Magija i shizofrenija, prijevod: Duška Geić, Zagreb, 1990, 118–121.

entirety). We came to this conclusion on the base of researching on the field that lasted several years and studying of the ethnographic materials published by our predecessors of last century. It is not found among Bulgarian birth rituals either (we have a complete insight into published materials and we confirm the same after consultations we have had with our colleagues from the Ethnographic Museum of Sofia).

As we mentioned in the beginning, folklorists have not been interested a lot in this kind of folk works neither in the past nor nowadays. Two works from the 60-ies of this century are all we have succeeded to found (among scattered data in big ethnograpfic publications - Frazer, Malinovski, Claud Lévi-Stros, motif Index by Thompson and in the international Index of story types Arne - by Thompson etc.). One of this works is "A myth for Athena's birth and a folk narration from Corsica"<sup>4</sup>, by Raffaele Corso, and the other is "Father gives a birth. According to cases of two stories" by Dimitrios Lukatos (Διμιτριος Λουκατος)<sup>5</sup>. Both authors compare folk tales with Greek myths regarding the birth of Athena Palled (Ατηνα Παλαδα). The first one, Corso, compares it with a less known variant of the myth of Athena Palled's birth from the stomach of Zeus and with a Corsican story (type AT 705)6 in which a hero is born from the stomach of a dragon, letting out the air collected in his stomach (same as Zeus). The second, D. Lukatos, also makes comparisons between the same myth and some variants of the type (AT 705) with which the Italian author makes comparisons. Only Lukatos has more variants of these two types. Both authors agree that these stories are connected with Greek myths and they are convinced that they derive from the custom called kuvade, for which Lukatos comes to a conclusion that: "There is no doubt that many layers of ritual memories, a few ages old actions and understandings of the ritual of adopting a child (αρρενολοχεια)" – kuvade are hidden in these fantastic concoctions in myths and stories about father giving a birth. We would like to say that we do not consider Greek myths about Athena Palled's and Dionises birth (both the lest known variant used by the mentioned authors and the well-known variants) - she from Zeus's head and he from his hip, as children born by father, that is this case does not belong to «ανηρ τικτει», nor to parthenogenesis in general. Athena is first of all a daughter of Mitida (Μητιδα), Goddess of intellect (της γνωσης), who became pregnant with Zeus. God of all gods found out that Mitida is pregnant and that she was going to deliver a girl named Athena ( $A \vartheta \eta \nu \alpha$ ), and after that a son with a special strength and cleverness (εξυπναδα). But fortune-tellers (Οι μοιρες) told Zeus the secret that his son delivered by Mitida was going to throw him from the throne and took over the power he had over the world (στον κοσμο). The almighty God put Mitida to sleep and he ate her while she was sleeping. After a while he got a strong headache. He asked his son Hefest (Ηφαιστος) to help him to get read of pains. Hefts took the hammer (τη βαρια) and opened Zeus's head. That was how warlike goddess Athena Palled came into the world. She grown up and armed "from the head to the feet" ( $\alpha\pi'$  thy kopph we ta νυχια) and appeared among gods of Olympus with a bright helmet on her head, asp and a lance. Gods were very surprised. The case with the birth of Dionises (Διονυσος) was similar. He was born as a very weak child (he hardly gave sign of life). His mother

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Raffaelle Corso, Il mito della nascita di Minerva ed un racconto popolare della Corsica. Folklore, V, 1-2, Napoli 1950.

<sup>5</sup> Δημ. Σ. Λουκατος, Πατηρ τικτων. Σχετικαι περιπτωσεις εις δυο τυπους παραμυθιων. Επετηρις του λαογραφικου αρχειου τομος ενδεκατος και δοδεκατος (ετη 1958-1959), Εν Αθηναις, 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Antti Aarne's - Stith Thompson, quated work.

was Semeli ( $\Sigma \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta$ ), daughter of king of Tiva ( $\Theta \eta \beta \alpha$ ) and her father was Zeus, too. As he was a very weak child, his father Zeus took him and "stitched him to his hip" ( $\sigma \tau o \mu \epsilon \rho \tau \tau o u \tau$ 

According to motif Index of Thompson<sup>7</sup> volume V, cod T 578, we have the problem father gives a birth ( $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$  tiktei) that is **Pregnant man**, crystallised in some Asiatic myths.

An old Chinese myth, for example, tells us that there was a land of men in the south of the land of Shamanis. Women were not living in this country. Their cloth was always very tidy. They carried a sward around their middle and were a personification of men qualities and had a suggestive eye. According to the legend, the land of men was created in the following way: at the time of In<sup>8</sup> the principal of Taj-u sent Van-man with his man to Sin-van-mu - mistress of West to bring her an immortal medicine. They came to this place but were out of food. They could not go further and stayed to live in the mountains and woods. They used tree fruits to eat and made cloth of barks. They did not have wives but each of them could give a birth to two children. These children were a "shadow" and when they got a human look, then men who gave a birth to them were dying. Myths say that they were born of man's armpits. 10

While in the mentioned myths of the land of Shamans men were dying after they had given birth, in one of myths of Nimuendaju, S (I borrow the example from Klod Levi-Stros) we have the opposite case: "There was a time when there were no women, and men lived as homosexuals. Thus, a man got pregnant. But he died since he could not give a birth." <sup>11</sup>

In the Afghanistan story "Adam-han and Durhan", 12 two famous khans - Hasan-han and Taus-han did not have children. An old fakir came to them one day. And as it usually happens in stories, he offered Hasan-han three dates: to eat one and to throw

Stith Thompson, Motif - Index of Folk - Literature, Vol. I - VI. Copenhagen 1955-1958.

<sup>\*</sup> In or San - the oldest and the first Chinese state in the 16-11 century BC. According to archaeological excavations from 1928, the last metropolis was near the present Anjana s. Sjaotun (province of Henan). The hieroglyphics, so called problematic (doubtful) inscriptions on the bones of animals and mails and skulls appeared in the time of In. Малая Советская энциклопедия, 1954, 154.

A motif that is very often found in stories - Going for a live water so that the car remains alive. Usually the three brothers go and the youngest arrives at the water.

<sup>10</sup> Оань Кз, Мифы Древнего Китая, Москва, 1965, 260-261

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Klod Levi-Stros, Mitologike 1. Presno i pečeno. According to the translation of Danilo Udovički. Beograd, 1980, 109.

<sup>12</sup> Авганистанске народне бајке. Веоград, 1961, 60.

the other two. He ate one while servants took the other two. Then the wizard went to Taus-han and gave him a half of a date and said to him: "My Lord, eat this enchanted fruit and you will get a child". He first threw it away, but he took it later and ate. And he got a girl named Durhana. Hasan-han got a son and he named him Adam-han. The story has a ballad end, similar to our variants from the analysed motif - irreproachable delivery. A woman is not mentioned in this story and it is not said how children are delivered, only that "nine months, nine days and nine hours passed ...". Enchanted dates are eaten by men, its for sure that children that were born (in unknown way) were children born by fathers.

There is a Macedonina story in which a man ate an apple that was to be eaten by a woman (a very often event in stories about irreproachable giving a birth) and he gives a birth to a child - a dry head. It speaks immediately after it is born asking to eat; after some time it expresses its wish to marry car's daughter. He accomplishes three difficult tasks given as a condition for the marriage by the girl's father and married the car's daughter. But the family taboo is deranged and the boy dies. 13 (type AT 433B). The Greek variant published by Lukatos is similar to this: "An old man and woman did not have any children. One day an apple seller passed there and yelled: "Nice apples for giving a birth!" (Καλα γκαστρομιλα!). He had two baskets. Taking apples from one baskets - a boy was going to be born, and from the other - a girl. Grandmother wanted a girl. She took an apple and put it on the fireplace. A grandfather came and ate the apple. After some time he noticed that his stomach had swollen. He thought that water was collected in it. Time was going on. One day he went for firewood, he slipped and felt and stabbed on a thorn. At that moment a baby felt. Grandfather did not turn to see it. A beautiful girl, like an apple, grown up."14 Further the plot is developed according to the order of type AT 707 - The Three Golden Sons. The formula of this story is: «Μηλο ημουνα / η γρια μ' αγορασε / ο γέρος μ' εφαγε /στην κνημη του εφυτρώσα / στο βατός εγενηθηκα ..... (I was an apple / grandmother bought me / grandfather ate me / I grown up on the leaf / I was born in a blackberry ...).

It is very natural for a human being to ask the way find a solution for his problems and this solution may even be magic solutions. The same is happening in these stories. In the following Macedonian variant that belongs to Thompson's motif T 578 + AT 707 we read: A man and a woman did not have any children. A woman consulted an old woman. The old woman gave her in a bottle "some kind of water" telling her to drink from that water and that she was going to have a baby. But a man drank the water by mistake (he thought it was brandy). "And the man became pregnant by the water". All have noticed that a man became fatter. Nine months later he took an axe and went for firewood. He lied under a tree and felt asleep. An angel came, took the baby (it was a girl) out, put it by him and left. The man woke up, and although he loved the child, he was ashamed to take it home because people would say: "The man gave a birth, the woman does not have children". There was a nest on the tree of a "noa-bird" and left the child there. A bird fed it on its breast and thus the girl grown up. The man said nothing to his wife. The story goes on according to the mentioned type. The formula is repeated in the text: "Од маж родена / од ноа-птица доена / ветер дуваше / jac ce

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Folklore Institute Archive, Skopje, tape no. 1437, registered in Veles, 1972.

<sup>11</sup> Quated work, page 37-42.

лулав / дож паѓаше / jac ce капев!" (Delivered by a man / fed by noa-bird / a wind was blowing / I was cradling / rain was falling / I was having bath!) 15

There is also a Croatian story in which a man gets pregnant through water. A beautiful girl is born. A car wanted to marry her. The girl did not wanted to marry him, but the car sent an old woman and she deceived her. She gave a birth to two beautiful children, but the old woman wrote to the car that she had born dogs. She threw the children and sent the empress to graze sheep. She grazed them and sang: "Bog me je stvorija, čovek me je rodija, očaj me rani, a baba me mami. Bi kraljica, bi banica, a sa' jadna pastirica" (God created me, a man born me, desperation wounded me and an old woman deceived me. I was a queen and now I am shepherdess.)<sup>16</sup> The car heard her, took her and sent to his home, thus the truth came out. The guilty one got what she deserved - they burnt her.<sup>17, 18</sup>

Another Macedonian story<sup>19</sup> says: a young couple left for a visit to the bride's parents. The young boy stopped because of the call of nature. After that he went on. But the excrements followed him. - "Wait for me, I am coming to the grandmother, too! - The took a stone and aimed at it..., it jumped and again followe them." They could not get rid of it. Then the boy took it and put it into his drawers. Thus they arrived at her parents. - "Good evening!" - say the young couple to the hosts - "Good evening!" it repeats. "Welcome" - say the hosts and it asks to say to it "Welcome" too. They treated the guests, and it asks to treat it too. The boy threw it in the beans in order to get rid of it. The grandmother started to stir the beans and it says from there: "Бабо, не буричкај очињата ми ѓи извади!" (Grandmother, do not stir, you will take my eyes out!) They threw the beans in the muckheap. A cow went there and leaped it up. It was now in the cow's stomach and was yelling every day. They sold the cow to a Muslim priest. His wife went to milk it, and it yelled: "Ођице, ођице шо ти зејт – ођице, ођице то ти зејт?!" (What you take - that you take?!) The Muslim priest took the cow and took it in the mountain. A wolf ate it. The wolf went to a flock to catch a sheep and it started to yell: "Овчаре, овците ќе ти jajт волко!" (Shepherd, a wolf is going to eat your sheep!) It did it today, and tomorrow, and every day. Thus the wolf died from hunger. This story is identical to stories AT 700 - Tom Thumb. This variant is not the only one in the Macedonian tradition.

This story mentioned an episode of the myth enclosed in "Mitologike 3" of Klod Levi -Stros where (...) a cut human head asked its friend (a hunter) to take it with him (...). Each time the hunter thought to leave the head, it would roll to him and ask him

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Folklore Institute Archive, Skopje, tape no. 1425. Narrated by Todor Ivanov, born in 1894 in Ergelija, Ovce Pole, lives in Skopje, registered by Stanimir Vishinski in Skopje in 1970.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In the international type Index of Aarne thompson to type 705 is said that a man eats a fish and get pregnant; he gives a birth to a girl nine months later from his knee. The daughter tells about her origin through the following formula: "a fish was my father, a man was my mother".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Archiv INU, Zagreb, no.734, Folklorna gradža Zadarskih otoka, page 31.

Getting pregnant by water is considered to be one of the most archaic motifs. We meet it in a Macedonian story, too: "Царското посмърче". A car dies soon. The empress "while going once to the grave a car's foot came. There was water in it and the empress drank some of it. And she got pregnant. "Greek goddess Euphigenia, Triod's daughter became pregnant by water, too. She used to seat by the sea beach, to gather sea waves and pour them into her arm. Thus she got pregnant and gave birth to Efiat and Ot. Кузманъ А. Шапкаревъ, Зборник от български народни умотворения наука и книжнина, кн. 8-9 София 1892, 169; Robert Grevs, Grcki mitovi, Beograd, 1969, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> I registered it in the village of Krivogashtani, region of Prilep in November 4, 1978 and it was narrated by Pauna Panéevska, 62 years old.

to take it. After a while the hunter said that he had a call of nature. He went a little further (...). And when the head started to response, his excrement answered that he had not finished yet (...).<sup>20</sup>

"Why only woman gives birth" - Cepenkov's story tells us that when God created the man and woman he blessed both of them to give a birth. After a short time they both got pregnant. The woman delivered the baby and raised it as God had said. When the man so how it was difficult for the woman, he could not agree with that and wanted to have the same difficulties. Therefore when the time for giving a birth came he climbed on a pear tree "that he had in the yard and from the pear tree he gave a birth to a baby and that felt on the ground - It made "Waw!" and died immediately." And than God drew back his bless that he had given to man to give a birth. Thus only women give a birth and children call "O, mother!" and not "O, father!"

As a conclusion we would like to explain why we decided on Geza's hypothesis, and not on Bachofen's that is generally accepted. First of all, in stories a man is unsuccessful as one that gives birth. He fails because he either gives a birth to something that is not alike a human being and that never becomes a human being, as it is a case with parthenogenetic children (a woman gets pregnant in a magic way), or gives a birth to a child and it dies immediately. If that thing that he gave a birth is a human being and lives as a human being, than the father (the man) dies immediately. None of those that give birth (they give birth only to girls) and stayed alive do not look after their child. It means that he is unsuccessful in the role of keeping the human kind. According to folk fantasy regarding giving birth without making a vice, a woman gets pregnant without being with a man and she always gives birth to boys, always successful in all areas of the life

The way of getting pregnant, that is the means that are used for this purpose, are the same as at childless women in the above mentioned stories, that is: fish, water, a date, an apple, magic words etc. A folk fantasy has a problem in stories and myths about a father that gives a birth and that is how to give a birth to a living creature ( to an embryo ) that is in him. The fantasy gives various possibilities - from the armpit, the stomach (a gap is made through a stab), through a colon, an angel helps, it is not known how, nothing is said in stories about this and so the issue remains open. How can in that case a man be a representative of a social order - Patriarchy, a theory that J.J.Bachofen stands up for. We consider this phenomenon as a wish expressed in a fantasy (this is a reality that is known in an animal world), independent of social orders.

Cepenkov put an end to this fantasy: "God drew back the blessing that gave that man can also give birth to a child". Folk proverbs (some of them) have broken away with this a long time ago: "He is looking a calf under an ox" meaning that one is looking for something impossible. Will a man stop dreaming in this direction?! We think that nowadays wishes as a fantasy are becoming true in a some way - young fathers are closer to their babies (to their fellow traveller's babies); laws are every day more and more adapted to their wishes; medicine is doing its work - does a fantasy has an influence on all this?!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Klod Levi-Stros, Mitologike 3. Poreklo ponašanja za trpezom. Prevod Svetlana Stojanović (part I, II, III and IV), Mirjana Perić (part V,VI and VII), Beograd, 1983, 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Марко Цепенков, Македонски народни умотворби во десет книги, кн. 7, 1972, прк. 563.

## Kaj vemo o motivu »noseči mož«

Motiv noseči mož, sad ljudske domišljije, vtkan v ljudsko pripovedno izročilo in v mit, je snovno povezan z motivom partenogeneze oziroma magičnega rojstva junaka v pravljicah, mitih in povedkah. Po védenju avtorice tega prispevka, za razloček od motiva partenogeneze (kjer ženska spočne na čaroben način), motiv Oče rodi v pravljicah ni deležen velikega zanimanja. Ta partenogenetski sklop izročila se tako v zvezi s pravljičnim gradivom kot v zvezi z znanstvenim preučevanjem le-tega zdi nekako izrinjen od omenjene šege, vendar njeni raziskovalci iz vrst etnologov (antropologov) in folkloristov tako pravljice kot mite, povezane s tem motivom, pridružujejo kuvadi.

K vprašanju *kuvade* tukajšnji spis pokaže na kratko njene temeljne karakteristike, navede najbolj znane svetovne avtorje, ki so se z njo vbadali, in zavzame stališče do obstoječih teorij in hipotez v zvezi z motivom *Oče rodi*. Avtorica soglaša z mnenjem (hipotezo), ki ga je o kuvadi izrekel Geza Róheim in ki seveda velja tudi za pravljice s tem motivom. V nadaljevanju opozori tudi na druge objave, posvečene temu pravljičnemu motivu. V zvezi z deli te vrste je prav tako povedano, da se avtorica ne strinja s povezovanjem določenih grških mitov in pravljic s tem motivom, kot da bi šlo za mite in pravljice *oče rodi* (πατηρ τικτει).

Motiv *Oče rodi* (πατηρ τικτει) oziroma – po motivnem kazalu Stitha Thompsona V, T 578 – je doživel svojo kristalizacijo v nekaterih azijskih mitih.

Na začetku spisa je razloženo, zakaj avtorica sprejema hipotezo Geze Róheima, ne pa Bachofnove teorije: predvsem, ker je mož v pravljicah neuspešen v vlogi roditeljice, oz. rodi nekaj, kar ni podobno človeku in se nikoli ne spremeni v človeka, kakor se dogaja s partegenimi otroki (magično spočetimi od žene); ali pa rodi otroka in takoj umre; če je pa to, kar je rodil, vendarle človek in živi naprej kot človek, oče (mož) takoj umre; niti eden od tistih, ki so rodili otroka (rojevajo samo deklice) in ostali živi, za svojega otroka ne skrbi. To pomeni, da je v vlogi ohranjanja človeškega rodu neuspešen. Z drugimi besedami – po ljudski domišljiji, kakor se kaže v pravljicah z motivom *partenogeneze*, ženska, ki spočne brez sodelovanja moškega, v vseh primerih rodi samo otroke moškega spola, uspešne v vseh življenjskih okoliščinah. Način spočetja ali sredstva rabljena v ta namen, so ista kot pri nerodovitnih ženskah, in sicer: riba, voda, datelj, jabolko, čarovne besede ipd. Edino, kar bi utegnilo ovirati ljudsko domišljijo v pravljicah in mitih *Oče rodi*, je v tem, kako naj bi živo bitje (embrij) prišlo na dan. Domišljija ponuja pazduho, želodec (odprtina nastane z vbodom), skozi debelo črevo, na kolenu, neznano kako pomaga angel, med pripovedovanjem se to preskoči, vprašanje ostane odprto. Kako naj bo potem v takem primeru moški predstavnik družbenega reda patriarhata, za kar se zavzema Bachofnova teorija!

Ta pojav avtorica šteje za željo, izraženo v človeški domišljiji (v živalskem svetu ne neznana realnost) brez zveze z družbenim redom.

Cepenkov je takole presekal s takimi domišljijami: "Gospod je preklical blagoslov, ki ga je bil dal tudi moškemu, da rodi otroke"; prav tako so že zdavnaj naredili križ čez to tudi nekateri pregovori, npr. "Išče tele pod volom" – to pomeni iskanje nečesa, kar je nemogoče.

Ali pa bo človek nehal fantazirati v to smer? Prispevek pa na koncu še omenja, kako se v modernem času vendarle deloma uresničujejo tudi želje in domišljija. Tako so npr. mladi očetje zmerom bliže svojim otrokom ali otrokom svojih sopotnic; zakoni se namreč zmerom bolj prilagajajo njihovim željam. Tudi medicina prispeva svoje. Mar ima domišljija kaj vpliva na vse to?!